

## The Railway in Canadian Poetry

In his essay on the railway in Australian literature, Russell McDougall outlines some reasons why the railway has not been a resonant image in Australian writing. He points, by way of contrast, to Canada, “where the construction of the CPR has been regarded by a number of writers and critics as a potent symbolism for enacting the sense of nation, steel lines running through the disparate regions of the mosaic” (76). His decision to compare his nation’s literature to Canada’s in this regard seems sensible enough; after all, although our railway history is not substantially different from that of the United States, we adopted the railway as our “national dream,” a vision of cooperation and collective industriousness that stands apart from the individualist vision of the “American dream.” What is striking about McDougall’s comment is that he never cites a Canadian writer or critic who refers directly to the railway. In fact, there exist in Canada only three journal articles on the railway in Canadian literature. One is Wayne H. Cole’s 1978 article in *Canadian Literature*, “The Railroad in Canadian Literature,” a cursory study of ten Canadian texts which claims that the railway is “the symbol of modern Canada, embodying within it the many elusive dimensions of the modern Canadian identity” (124). The second is Douglas Jones’s “Steel Syntax: The Railroad in Canadian Poetry” (1987), which supports McDougall’s assumption by stating bluntly that, “[e]xcept in Canada” (35), the railway “has no great attraction for the twentieth-century muse” (34). Like Cole, Jones bases his judgement on a small sampling of texts: seventeen in total, devoting nearly

as much space to Rudy Wiebe's novel *The Temptations of Big Bear* as to *Towards the Last Spike* (an odd imbalance in an essay on railway poetry). The third is my own "Destination Nation: Nineteenth-Century Travels Aboard the Canadian Pacific Railway" (1999), which surveys late nineteenth-century travel books and argues that these narratives, whose customary westward progress mirrored that of Canadian settlement, mark "the most easily recognizable roots of a Canadian nationalism embedded in the might of the machine and the special power of the book to propagate it" (191). Three critics is certainly "a number," but it is a rather smaller number than McDougall likely suspected had written articles on this subject.<sup>1</sup> That there are quite good anthologies of British and American railway poetry (Robert Hedin's *The Great Machines: Poems and Songs of the American Railroad* and Kenneth Hopkins's *The Poetry of Railways: An Anthology*) but none of Canadian poetry indicates the slight attention paid to literary representations of the railway in the country that, arguably, most identifies it as a symbol of its national character.

Perhaps Canadian writers have been more interested in the railway, however, than have our critics. As I have noted elsewhere, scores of travel books were published after the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway, many of them contributing to "the CPR's status as a national symbol of industriousness, progress, and unity" (203). Indeed, the CPR took advantage of the popularity of these books by spinning out its own long, advertisement-laden travel guides, whose repeated encouragements to settle in Canada show that they were intended as guidebooks not just for travellers but also for those who wanted to participate in the building of the nation.

The railway also has a strong presence in Canadian fiction, although it is rarely employed as a national symbol there. The train sweeps through Canadian fiction as surely as it does through the Canadian landscape. Nicholas Temelcoff, newly arrived in Canada from the Balkans, boards a train in Saint John, New Brunswick in Michael Ondaatje's *In the Skin of a Lion*, riding on rails that reach into the Annapolis valley, where David Canaan, the failed artist of Ernest Buckler's *The Mountain and the Valley*, watches a train pass and is reminded of how "the train of your own life went by and left you standing there in the field" (271). From the Maritimes through Quebec, where Athanase Tallard rides the train in Hugh MacLennan's *Two Solitudes* and looks out at French-Canadian farmers who are "bound to the soil more truly than to any human being" (77), and into Ontario, where Robert Ross sits aboard a troop train in Timothy Findley's

*The Wars* awaiting transport to a training facility, the train continues on its way. On through the prairies it goes, impressing young Gander Stake, in Robert Stead's *Grain*, with the sheer power of its engine and taking the life of Hagar Shipley's son in *The Stone Angel* before it finally reaches the west coast, where a group of track-walkers press themselves against the walls of a tunnel to avoid being killed by an oncoming train in Douglas Coupland's *Girlfriend in a Coma*. From early short stories such as S. J. Robertson's "Home Again, 40-1" (1897) to recent novels such as Wayne Johnston's *The Colony of Unrequited Dreams* (1998), the railway is everywhere to be found—but, judging by its lack of literary-critical treatment, little to be noticed—in Canadian fiction.<sup>2</sup> The response to the railway in our fiction is not nearly so uniform as in our travel writing, nor so baldly nationalist; instead, as the instances listed above will suggest, Canada's fictive response to the railway has been regionalized and individualized, so that a journey by train is less a symbol of national development—or even communitarian interest—than of personal growth.

The same holds true for Canadian poetry, whose lyric "I" has seemed resolutely unwilling to yoke train, text, and nation in the way that travel narratives did. Indeed, despite its nationalist inclinations and fondness for landscape description—traits shared by travel literature of the period—late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Canadian poetry virtually ignored the railway. Counterintuitive though it may seem, until the mid-twentieth century Canada's poets were not much interested in the railway at all. The same ideals of progress that excited travel writers upset the notions of timeless communion with an undisturbed landscape upon which the pastoral poetic consciousness of the late nineteenth century grounded its identity. Because the railway threatened to defile the very landscape in and through which the pastoral consciousness conducted its self-examination, poets of this generation largely chose simply to ignore it. By the 1930s and 1940s the train seemed a more appropriate subject for verse, but there are still remarkably few twentieth-century Canadian poems that treat the train as a discrete aesthetic object in the way that Whitman had a half-century earlier in "To a Locomotive in Winter." The modern poet might see or hear the train, or perhaps even ride in it, but with very few exceptions—Pratt's documentary long poem *Towards the Last Spike* being the most noteworthy—the lyric "I" of modern poetry shares with its nineteenth-century counterpart a penchant for self-examination that precludes treatment of the railway as a communitarian symbol. The personae of modern poems

tend, like their forebears, to be individualists, detached from the concerns and even the presence of a community. It seems clear that there exists a gap between poets whose vision of the train is almost exclusively private and interiorized and a public who views the railway as an important symbol of nation and community.

In the late nineteenth century, Canadian poetry was still absorbed in ideals of god, landscape, and nation. Poetry was not seen as the appropriate genre in which to describe technical change, the sort of material best herded into the preserves of prose in order to keep poetry safe from its influences. Indeed, turn-of-the-century issues of *The Canadian Magazine* are filled with dazzling technical descriptions of mechanical minutiae that nineteenth-century Canadian poetry simply did not treat as art. The “dated formality and elevated subject matter” that Robert Lecker finds throughout Watson and Pierce’s anthology *Our Canadian Literature* (57) are symptomatic of Canadian literature’s adherence to an Arnoldian conception of poetry as the highest form of art, an adherence that explains Roy Daniells’s observation that, despite poetry’s status as the “supreme art” in Canada between 1880 and 1920, its attention to current events “hardly exist[ed]” (193). Its gaze was fixed elsewhere.

Turn-of-the-century Canadian poetry was obsessed with landscape, with depicting its minutiae and the mental and spiritual process of its observer, and with creating an idealized space though which the train was seldom allowed to pass. Sir Charles G. D. Roberts’s “The Tantramar Revisited,” for example, would be a much different poem were a train suddenly to roar through it and disturb the “present peace of the landscape” (55). Although its autumnal seaside setting does not readily conjure images of shepherds tending their flocks in verdant hills, nostalgic preoccupations of this poem with time and change in the rural setting have clear pastoral resonances. Like the traditional pastoral enclosure, defined by Andrew Ettin as “a safely contained and self-contained haven from the hazards of public places and the flow of ordinary time” (11), Roberts’s rural setting is bounded on one side by a threatening wilderness (“the turbid / Surge and flow of the tides” [17-18]) and on the other by a road that leads, presumably, back to the city. This was no place for a train. Trains belonged in cities and travel narratives, not in the pleasant countrysides of Canadian poetry.

This opposition between the rural and the urban, and an accompanying opposition between traditional and modern poetic values, is apparent in the treatment of the railway in Canadian poetry. Anxious to preserve their pas-

toral enclosures, early Canadian poets regarded the railway as a threat to a way of life and a way of poetry. The train was a sure sign not only of progress, but also of the dread, implacable enemy of the pastoral idyll: time. Modern poets, who worked with the new language, rhythms, and imagery of the twentieth century, admitted the railway into their verse and employed the train as a setting or inspiration for the ruminations that earlier poets conducted in a peaceful rural setting. This is not to say that all modern poets wrote approvingly of the railway, nor that they necessarily eschewed the pastoral impulse in their work. But the generally stable oppositions between rural and urban, simplicity and complexity, timelessness and history, and, of course, nature and technology correspond so perfectly to oppositions between traditional-pastoral and modern poetic interests that it is impossible to ignore them. A study of the railway in Canadian poetry reveals a literary tradition whose response to the machine is caught between pastoral influences and modern poetic practices, and which imagines the railway in individualist rather than communitarian terms.

Many of our poets have referred to the railway in their poetry. Margaret Avison, Earle Birney, Erin Mouré, P. K. Page, and Al Purdy have all published several railway poems, as have many lesser known poets. Their efforts range from early narrative poems such as Agnes Maule Machar's "Joe Birse, the Engineer" (1899) to abstract poems of mid-century such as Louis Dudek's "Midnight Train" (1947), and from there to more personal and nostalgic poems of the late twentieth century, such as Don Gutteridge's "Canatara" (1982). Tom Wayman's "The Station Agent" (1976), Erin Mouré's reply, "What the Station Agent Never Says" (1977), and the poems collected in Michael Gee's two slim, self-published volumes of *An Anthology of Steam Railroad Poems* (1986) describe the life and work of railwaymen. Isabel Ecclestone Mackay's "Calgary Station" (1912), Winifred N. Hubert's "VIA Ottawa Station" (1978), and, most famously, Archibald Lampman's "The Railway Station" (1888) depict scenes in railway stations, and Irving Layton's "Excursion" (1956) and Elizabeth Brewster's "Coach Class" (1951) depict scenes within a rail car itself. After mid-century, this poetry is increasingly concerned with the ways that rail passage transformed space by imparting motion to its observer, as in Douglas Lochhead's "Poems in a Train—Newfoundland" (1960) and Barker Fairley's "Prairie Sunset" (1984). Absent from nineteenth-century poetry, the image of the train window finally appeared in modern Canadian poems, creating what bpNichol calls "discrete frames in / a continuous flow" (*Continental Trance*, n.pag.),

frames for a newly aestheticized modern Canadian landscape.<sup>3</sup>

Of course, this landscape had already been aestheticized long before the modernists laid claim to it. At the time of the CPR's completion in 1885, however, it was being aestheticized in a very particular way. In *Land Sliding*, W. H. New argues that depictions of landscape "constitute an ongoing history of a culture's relations with place and space" (8). He goes on to say that the Confederation Poets signaled a pivotal moment in that history by insisting that the landscape be "in some measure [. . .] perceived as *home*," thereby dispelling "the trope of the evil, godless, savage, grotesque, barren land" (96). Ettin writes that this feeling of being "at home" (which, I will argue later, is related to the emergence of nostalgic railway poems in the late twentieth century) is also "the dominant impression of the pastoral environment" (135), and it seems clear that the home that nineteenth-century Canadian poets fashioned for themselves was a pastoral enclosure, one in which they could gaze contentedly upon peaceful rural scenery and, in some cases, achieve the "spiritual completion" that Harold Toliver argues is typical of pastoralists still held under the sway of Romanticism (210).<sup>4</sup> In leafing through hundreds of books of Canadian poetry published between 1885 and 1925, I found plenty of evidence of yearning for an idealized union with nature and little at all of poetic interest in the railway.

Take, for instance, Lampman's "Across the Pea-Fields," in which the entire landscape seems to "hum" (1). There is no sense of dissonance here, of the human presence disturbing nature's hushed tones; Lampman's speaker is perfectly in tune with his environment. Although the title of this poem suggests movement, it is clear that the speaker has no wish other than to stay where he is, to "lean and listen, lolling drowsily" and resisting the threatened incursion of the sounds of the city into his pastoral surroundings and sensibility (10). When he mentions his proximity to "blackening rails" (9), he is speaking of fence rails rather than train rails, rails that bound the landscape rather than enable transgressions between rural and urban worlds. Although these rails cannot protect the idyllic setting completely—the distant sounds of the city, "murmurous with mills" (6), are a reminder that although the pastoral enclosure "is a spot for containment, that containment signifies an awareness of the menacing power outside" (Ettin 12)—Lampman strives to create a natural preserve in his poetry and contrasts his peaceful dream of nature with the noisy reality of the city. It is in his poem "The City," appropriately, that his speaker is subjected to "the roar of trains" and not just the distant sounds of urban life (24). Lampman

confines the train to the city in order to protect both the pastoral enclosure and the speaker's mental and spiritual state while he is in it, and in doing so he helps to confirm the divide not just between nature and civilization but also between rural and urban attitudes toward the railway.

Despite Lampman's efforts, the train thrust itself mercilessly into the pastoral consciousness. In contrast to the peace of "Across the Pea-Fields" is the pandemonium of Lampman's "At the Ferry":

At moments from the distant glare  
 The murmur of a railway steals,  
 Round yonder jutting point the air  
 Is beaten with the puff of wheels;  
 And here at hand an open mill,  
 Strong clamour at perpetual drive,  
 With changing chant, now hoarse, now shrill  
 Keeps dinning like a mighty hive. (41-48)

This is a far cry from the landscape's hum in "Across the Pea-Fields." Roberts, Lampman's Confederation *confrère*, writes of a similar spiritual disruption in "The Train among the Hills." The quiet of this poem's first four lines is broken by a slow crescendo, "till suddenly, with sweep / And shattering thunder of resistless light / And crash of routed echoes, roars to view, / Down the long mountain gorge the Night Express" (7-10), rending asunder the "[i]nviolable" "solemn valleys" of the third line. The train, which Roberts calls a "dread form" (12), is a metaphor for death here,<sup>5</sup> for how we are all "To goals unseen from God's hand onward hurled" (14), but it is also a symbol of progress without knowledge of one's destination, which was one of the dangers posed by new machine technology. The response to the train in these two poems is identical to what Leo Marx finds in American literature after the mid-nineteenth century: "The sudden appearance of the machine in the garden is an arresting, endlessly evocative image. It causes the instantaneous clash of opposed states of mind: a strong urge to believe in the rural myth along with an awareness of industrialization as counterforce to that myth" (229).

Marx's comment points toward an ambivalence that resonates throughout British, American, and Canadian literary representations of the railway. For some, the practical benefits of the train for farming, trade, and immigration could not outweigh its detrimental effects on the landscape. It is not surprising that Canadian poetry was slow to embrace the railway when one considers the split literary response to the machine in Victorian England as "both the unwearied iron servant and the sacrificial god to whom mankind

has offered its soul” (Sussman 7). Remo Ceserani, in his study of the impact of the train on the European literary imagination, suggests that this ambivalence is the product of a split between the interests of poets and society. Whereas poets and philosophers viewed the transformation of landscape by the railway as a sign of “derangement in the external and internal life of man,” this view “was in explicit contrast to the more positive and progressive ideologies that were dominant among the ruling classes, and new industrial bourgeoisie, that emerged in Europe and America during the nineteenth century” (Ceserani 128-29). In Canada, the railway altered Canada and perceptions of Canada as well. For every Mrs. J. C. Yule, who wrote of the train in 1881 as a vehicle for progress, “Sweep[ing] proudly on its exultant course, / bearing in his impetuous flight along, / the freighted car with all its living throng” (“Canada” 64-66), there were a dozen Canadian poets who would have joined Wordsworth in wondering whether there was “no nook of . . . ground secure / From rash assault” by the railway (“On the Projected Kendal and Windermere Railway” 1-2). Wilson MacDonald’s “A Song to Canada” (1918) and Clive Phillipps-Wolley’s “A Contrast” (1917) both lament the changes wrought by the railway. MacDonald finds the “span of steel” little more than a symbol of the nation’s greed (51) and Phillipps-Wolley compares the Vancouver of 1787 (“A world as its Maker made it—unpeopled, unspoiled, alone” [12]) to the Vancouver of 1887 (“The voice of Nature silenced [by . . . / . . .] / The scream of the locomotive, the voices and homes of men” [22-24]). Corporate disruption of the landscape through railway progress had profound implications for the pastoral observer. If the landscape with which the pastoral “I” identified was altered, then that “I” was altered too. So the train might indeed be a valuable communications technology, connecting rural and urban spaces to create a national community, but it threatened the individual who dared to believe that he could remain alone and untouched, his identity preserved in a pastoral enclosure of his own mind’s making.<sup>6</sup>

Like tracks and trains, railway stations were signs of the incursion of technology and modernity into the traditional rural landscape, casting a long shadow over what were supposed to have been eternally bright Elysian fields. The rural station, with its timetables and waiting trains, shook the faith of the pastoral consciousness in the possibility of respite from “the flow of ordinary time” (Ettin 11). Nathaniel A. Benson’s “Station Platform” (1939), for instance, depicts two lovers who are doubly enclosed—in the



pastoral setting's "Green fields and summer skies" (2) and in one another's eyes. But then the train, which will take one of these lovers away from the other, nears the station and disrupts their idyllic union:

We stood alone as lovers,  
Happy to all beholders,  
And the bloody weight of this damned life  
Hung on our shoulders. (9-12)

Owing again to lingering Arnoldian values, railway stations seemed not to belong in the countryside of Canadian poetry, which partially explains why they were so often portrayed as embodiments of urban hustle and bustle. The commotion inside the station gave rise to a sense of isolation and alienation rather than the peaceful solitude of the rural setting, a feeling that pervades Canadian poetry into the twentieth century. Dorothy Livesay's "Railway Station" (1945) uses wartime images of "flak" and "punctured sky" (15, 16) to depict the assault on her senses:

Confused, embedded, over-turbulent world  
Whirling and swarming on outbound passage—  
In space churning; in ether resounding,  
Never ceaseless; never without sound. (1-4)

All the whirling, swarming, and churning here induces a kind of psychic motion sickness. It is not just movement but movement away—away from home, away from one's roots, away from loved ones—that causes pain and disorientation in railway stations. Twenty-five years later, in "la gare centrale, montreal," Joan Finnigan calls the railway "this place of torn flesh and the insufficient kiss" (17). "[O]nce beautiful and believing" (60), the people rushing about here are hopelessly adrift, caught in "the netherlands between leaving / and arriving" (55-56). Contact with other people is fleeting and riddled with uncertainty. Contact with nature is impossible because the station's sky contains only "neon stars" (3, 41, 61) that "illuminate / our longing" for meaningful connection (62-63). Like the pastoral enclosure, the railway station is a liminal space. Although railway stations fulfilled important social functions in small-town life—catalogued in Ron Brown's *The Train Doesn't Stop Here Anymore: An Illustrated History of Railway Stations in Canada*—these functions have rarely been represented in Canadian poetry, which tends instead to depict the ways in which the railway facilitates our departure from loved ones and estranges us from the traditional values of rural life.

This sense of estrangement is evoked most pointedly in Lampman's "The

Railway Station,” which is the focal point of Lampman’s critique of the “noise and commotion, aggression and alienation” (Jones 41) of the urban world. Lampman is deeply affected by the station scene—“the rush, and cry, and strain,” “the hurrying crowds, the clasp, the flight” (3, 4). The station here is a foreign land, compelling Lampman to employ diction that is foreign to most of his poetry; the peaceful repose of his pastoral verse does not often require him to use words such as “scream” (4), “smite” (4), and “pain” (6). Even the most dependable of nature’s rhythms are rendered meaningless: “The darkness brings no quiet here, the light / No waking” (1-2). After studying his surroundings and meeting the eyes of the station’s denizens—“mournful eyes,” “eyes that are dim with pain” (10, 6)—Lampman’s own eyes rebel against the scene and “grow fixed with dreams and guesses” as he muses on the “dark distresses” and “various agonies” of the people around him (11, 13, 14). The railway station is an affront to Lampman’s spirit of romantic pastoralism.

There are some significant exceptions to such negative representations of the railway, exceptions that integrate the railway station into the pastoral setting. Most notable are two poems by Edna Jaques, “An Old Woman Cleaning a Station” (1939) and “Station in the Mountains” (1941). The former describes a woman who “goes about her work in a happy mood” (4), lovingly transforming a station into a home. Indeed, she “mothers little folk” here (10), and “often tired women passing through / Waiting for trains and resting for a while / Are comforted and made to feel at home” (13-15). Her station is more a resting place than a point of departure. For Jaques, the station is not an isolated structure in which travellers are suspended between home and away. It is, however briefly, a welcoming home away from home.

This is even more evident in “Station in the Mountains,” which employs the station as the setting for a family idyll. The tension between the natural world and the station is completely dissolved in the poem’s image of a mother standing at the open door of a station home, its windows “filled with flowers all abloom” (14). The open door signals a relaxation of the boundary not only between natural and constructed spaces, but also between individualist and communitarian visions. Through this door the traveller, a stranger, may pass in order to affirm his or her sense of home—not the private sense of home sought by the pastoral “I,” but rather a sense of community and belonging that informs much later, nostalgic, railway poetry. It is no coincidence that so many of Canada’s railway stations look

alike and, moreover, look like homes. Like churches, these structures could, through the sheer familiarity of their form, reflect and engender communal values. The domestic architecture of Canadian stations—a sharp contrast to the “palpably industrial” stations of Europe described by Wolfgang Schivelbusch in *The Railway Journey* (172)—were intended not only to dispel “the fears of English Canadians over an American-style railway and those of French Canadians over an English railway” (Brown 68), but also to invoke a sense of the familiar, a reassurance that these stations, which looked so much alike in distant parts of the country, were part of a common Canadian experience.<sup>7</sup> Despite the communal values suggested by their design, however, Canadian poetry has rarely consented to the vision of the station as home, preferring instead to see it as a place of parting and separation.

Jaques endorses the domestic vision of the station house in her description of the husband and father in “Station in the Mountains,” the kindly station-keeper for whom the train is the “bright climax of his day” (14) and who feels the same “pride and sense of ownership” in his work that the old woman cleaning a station feels in hers. The closing lines reveal the basis of his pride:

How faithful to their jobs these people are  
 How great a trust we put in their brown hands,  
 The humble guardians of tie and rail  
 That gird our country with its shining bands.  
 Linking the little places each to each,  
 Bringing the whole wide world into reach. (19-24)

In her references to “we” and “our,” Jaques makes the leap from describing a pastoral scene to framing a pastoral vision of the nation, each of its “little places,” and the people in them, linked to each by the railway. As rare as it is to see a railway station bathed in such glowing light in Canadian poetry, it is rarer still to see a Canadian poem that implies the railway’s importance to national sentiment.

It is a particular kind of national sentiment, however, that Jaques has in mind. Even through she embraces the railway as a symbol of community, the community she imagines, even at the national level, is a rural one. Her poems, like the British rural landscape representations discussed by Elizabeth K. Helsinger in *Rural Scenes and National Representation*, “give the abstract conception of the nation a local, lived meaning” (19). For Lampman, the railway has “betrayed the pastoral vision” (Jones 42). For

Jaques, it connects Canada's separate rural spaces to create a national pastoral landscape, so that the whole country is home. She envisions Canada as a cultivated national green space whose peace the railway does not disturb in the least.

A few poets point out that the railway, rather than destroying the garden, can actually transport one to it, that it can facilitate, rather than threaten, the pastoral experience. In Jean M. Douglas's "Travelling West" (1939), the train bears its passenger pilgrims to "another Lebanon" (8) far removed from the urban scene: "The vales and hills stretched forth on either hand / And rich with blossoming orchards the homestead / Smiled in the sun, and life seemed fair and sweet" (9-11). The religious encounter with nature had been poetic stock in trade in Canada since the nineteenth century. But Douglas takes the train, long a symptom of urban blight, and turns it into a remedy. Sophie Kaszuba's 1996 poem "We Left the City and Moved North (Ontario Northland Railway)" performs a comparable maneuver by tracing the train's route from "the delicious poisons of the city" to a place where its passengers can "climb up onto the granite / and open the green door / in the land" (9, 40-42), although her retreat from the city is located in the northern frontier and "dreams of the bush" (30) rather than in the customary green countryside of pastoral verse. Over a hundred years earlier, S. Moore's "The Laurentides and the Lake St. John Railway" (1887) also shows how the railway grants access to a curative countryside:

O! what a health-invigorating boon  
To go by train to these Laurentian hills!  
.....  
The air is redolent with fragrant gums,  
And every breath inhaled is health renewed—  
For every grateful sense is satisfied. (90-91, 101-103)

This is not exactly the place, however, for wandering lonely as a cloud. Like the travel narratives of the day, Moore's poem is as much advertisement as literature. There are poets in its landscape, but they are joined by the fishermen, sportsmen, botanists, and geologists who arrive by train. The pastoral enclosure was now open for business, and Moore's depiction of it as a tourist attraction manages to praise the advances of machine technology and the purity of the garden in the same breath:

[Travellers may] come and feast their eyes, and breathe the cool  
And fragrant air of these Laurentian hills.  
All honor to the men of wealth and skill  
Who planned and built this line which leads to scenes  
Of new delight . . . (133-37)

Just as Schivelbusch explains happened in Europe, the railway in Canada made “remote regions . . . available to the masses by means of tourism: . . . a prelude, a preparation for making any unique thing available by means of reproduction” (42). Nature, the railway, and poetry are all partners in the “COMMERCIAL ENTERPRISE” trumpeted by Moore earlier in her poem (76).

Their accommodation of the train distinguishes the landscapes described by Moore and Jaques from those of Lampman and his railway-hating compatriots. It might be expected that poets with such divergent attitudes toward the train would have similarly divergent attitudes toward the land through which it sped, but these poets all agree that the rural space is one of peace, health, and rejuvenation. Still, space is only one half of the pastoral equation. The other is time, and it is in their attitudes toward time that these two camps part company. By sustaining “pastoral enclosures where ideal harmony reigns timelessly,” traditional pastoralists exerted their control over a specific way of looking at the world, so that the poem, like the pastoral scene itself, was “its own bower where time is suspended” (Toliver 41). It is not at all surprising, then, that most early Canadian poets tried to keep the train, the great symbol of progress in the nineteenth century, out of that bower as much as they could; however, the train, like time itself, kept creeping into their poetry and disrupting the idyll they guarded so fiercely. It is not just that the train threatened to distract or remove people from the pastoral enclosure; it is that the progress and historical advancement that the train embodied threatened the pastoral ideal itself. The tacit assumption on which much Canadian poetry rests is that the train *is* time.<sup>8</sup> It is progress, just as it was for the rest of Victorian society and for Lord Lorne, Canada’s Governor General from 1878 to 1883, who proclaimed that the CPR had “a great and useful work to perform in developing the vast country which has called it into being” (27). Pastoral poets were not seduced by mechanical progress, and by rejecting the railway in their poetry they rejected an important basis of Canadian nationalism, one that was rooted in national pride in the railway but that might contaminate the rural character of the nation. Moore and Jaques, however, encouraged traffic between rural and urban spaces and celebrated the progress that allowed it. However, the reaction of most Canadian poets to the train between the 1880s and 1930s mirrors Nathaniel Hawthorne’s notebook descriptions, as described by Leo Marx:

[The locomotive] appears in the woods, suddenly shattering the harmony of the green hollow, like a presentiment of history bearing down on the American asylum. The noise of the train, as Hawthorne describes it, is a cause of alienation in the root sense of the word: it makes inaudible the pleasing sounds to which he had been attending, and so it estranges him from the immediate source of meaning and value in *Sleepy Hollow*. (27)

Well into the twentieth century, the sound of the train reverberates through Canadian poetry as an accompaniment to dark emotions and the depreciation of the pastoral ideal in life and art.

With the advent of modernism in the 1930s and 40s, however, the railway was not so threatening to poets anymore, nor were poems timeless bowers. Poetic interest shifted “from the bucolic to the urban, from ‘regional passions’ to the ‘abstract’” (Birney, “E. J. Pratt and His Critics” 125-26). Although Ginestier probably overstates the case when he says that “certain poetic genres, like the eclogue and the pastoral, are dead simply because no one is willing to believe in them any longer” (18), it is no doubt true that the effects of the Depression and two world wars gave pause to anyone who might have dared to imagine an ideally peaceful and fecund world. With the new rhythms and urban interests of modernist verse came a new conception of machine technology which redressed the Victorian literary “failure to recognize, and to value the aesthetic qualities of the machine” (Sussman 229). Although the railway captured the public imagination in the nineteenth century because its technological advances “appeared perfectly in tune with the New World character” (den Otter 21), the public who loved the railway and the poet who wrote about it were two very different creatures, particularly in a literary culture that endorsed an Arnoldian conception of poetry. Modern poets, however, saw things a little differently. The poetic imagination could now accommodate a train’s whistle into its conception of the Canadian landscape.

The sound of a train—especially at night—continued to exercise an emotional influence on poetry throughout the twentieth century, but not in the same way that it had in the nineteenth. Whereas the whistle interrupted the peace of the pastoral “I,” shrieking an unwelcome reminder of the busy world that encroached on his idyllic solitude, it often reinforced the loneliness of modern speakers. In Clara Bernhardt’s “Trains” (1948), the whistle sounds like a “human voice” speaking “Of desolation, pain and loss, / And loneliness tomorrow” (7-8). Half a century later, Patrick Friesen’s “the wheels” depicts a speaker who, alone in his home and separated from his

lover, “cannot bear the sound of trains” (1). Surprisingly, given modern poetry’s tendency toward impersonality, treatment of the sound of a train as a discrete aesthetic object has been as rare in the twentieth century as in the nineteenth. Only a handful of such poems exist in Canada. Martha Banning Thomas’s “Railroad Crossing (Winter Night)” (1950) imagines the train’s sound creating a “glittering crack” in the night air (10) and Richard Woollatt’s “Trains Passing at Night” (1992) performs a similar imagistic turn:

Brittle Alberta winter night  
amplifies whistles at crossings  
sharp crack  
                    of dynamite caps  
steam blasts from  
                    engine flanks (1-6)

Woollatt’s and Thomas’s efforts aside, Canadian poets have been reluctant, even in the twentieth century, to forsake emotional attachments to the sound of a train in the distance. The observing “I” is as strong in modern railway poetry as it was in the nineteenth century, and is even more forthright in its admission that self-examination is its end; however, while the pastoral “I” ignored or impugned the railway in order to preserve the self from presumably corrosive influences, the modern “I” embraces the railway as only another component of the experience through which the self is constructed.

Unlike their predecessors, modernists eagerly rode the train in order to describe it and its passengers. In “Night Travellers” (1939), Anne Marriott recreates the ethereal scene inside a cramped rail car, the restless movements of her eye capturing perfectly the discomfort of her fellow riders as she catalogues the various “[f]orms grotesquely bent in green plush seats” that comprise her still-life portrait (4). The sexually charged setting of Louis Dudek’s “Night Train” (1946) is produced in large part by the rhythm of the train:

. . . the motion  
Of the railroad’s belly pounding under us—  
While within the lighted car, in the loudness,  
Girls sit, their heads bowed over books,  
Ferretting the pages of love, unsatisfied. (12-16)

Both poems—particularly Marriott’s, with its reference to a man dreaming “of bombs and gas masks” (19)—use the train as an accompaniment to, and even a reflection of, the perceptions and emotions of the age rather than as a

disruption of these, as it had been for the pastoralists. The train could now mirror the world and a person's state of mind rather than lay waste to them. It could join the landscape as a setting in which to examine one's psyche. It could, perhaps, finally be treated as a bona fide poetic subject. In answer to Ginestier's question about whether the train was "really poetic" (19), Dudek, who wrote a number of train poems, would have replied with an emphatic—and most un-Arnoldian—yes. Dudek realized, however, that the train's aesthetic potential lay not only in its form, which was still rarely the subject of poetic description, but also in its power to move people physically and imaginatively. He recognized that the train influenced people by imparting its motion and rhythms on them, thereby altering their experience and perception of their surroundings.<sup>9</sup>

By the 1940s an entirely new image began to appear in Canadian poetry: the train's window as a frame for the landscape. The image of "pieces of the countryside pass[ing] under [passengers'] eyes, in the frame of the window" is, as Cesarani has shown, common to the railway literature of other nations (131). But this image was absent from Canadian poetry until well into the twentieth century. Robert Finch's "Train Window" (1946) provides an excellent example of this new image. In it, the window frames a modern landscape whose only hint of green is in the colour of a truck that sits, laden with ice, on a cement platform:

Five galvanized pails, mottled, as if  
of stiffened frosted caracul, three  
with crescent lids and elbowed spouts,  
loom in the ice, their half-hoop handles  
linking that frozen elocution  
to the running chalk-talk of powder-red  
box-cars beyond, while our train waits here. (15-21)

Finch's cold, metallic scene is as notable for its sound as its imagery. He obviously delights in the striking rhythms and consonance of the "stiffened frosted caracul" and "chalk-talk of powder-red / box-cars," sounds more appropriate to a modern urban landscape than a traditional pastoral one.

In another of his poems, the nearly identically titled "Train-Window" (1966), Finch uses the window frame to turn scenery into images on a moving canvas, "the diesel / Fling[ing] land and sky back on the easel" (1-2). It may be that Finch's poems demonstrate just what the pastoralists had feared: a passenger sits behind his window and observes the passing landscape dispassionately, intellectually engaged with it but spiritually discon-





a stable identity, Jiles embraces the transformation that this disruption occasions.

Page and Jiles present a communal railway experience no more than do the pastoral poems, or later poems by Finch, Dudek, and countless others. Indeed, Canadian poetry has played virtually no deliberate role in engendering shared public interest in the railway—a surprising circumstance given the widely held assumption that literatures reflect and engender national values, and that the railway would be so convenient a means of doing so in Canada. Maurice Charland's argument for the railway's central role in the public conception of the nation is compelling, but it is an argument that has not been reflected in our poetry:

In the popular mind, Canada exists more because of the technological transcendence of geographical obstacles than because of any politician's will. Thus, technology itself is at the centre of the Canadian imagination, for it provides the condition of possibility for a Canadian mind. (201)

You would simply never know this from reading Canadian poetry, which has never seemed interested, whether in the hands of traditional or modern poets, to get the train and the nation together in the same poem.

There are, of course, a few significant exceptions to this rule, chief among them E. J. Pratt's long poem *Towards the Last Spike*. From the standpoint of form, Pratt's poem is unique because its documentary narrative—distinct even from other long poems of the railway such as bpNichol's *Continental Trance* and "Trans-continental"—allows Pratt to circumvent the limitations of the introspective "I" of lyric poetry. Pratt's blank verse is not particularly experimental, and despite his obvious interest in technology and the "new particles of speech" ushered in by science (*Towards the Last Spike* 346) it actually contains very little of the scientific diction that Pratt, almost alone among Canadian poets, found so musical. But by treating the construction of the railway as a narrative, divorced from the workings of the private mind except insofar as he depicts the imaginings of characters such as Sir John A. Macdonald and William Van Horne, Pratt approaches his subject with an objectivity absent from most Canadian railway poems.

This is not to say that Pratt is a poet without passion. However, whereas most railway poets write about private passions, Pratt depicts national ones in *Towards the Last Spike*. His objectivity is crucial to his thematic project in the poem. Simply by depicting the construction of the CPR—the vision, the labour, and the political wrangling leading up to its completion—*Towards the Last Spike* takes on a monumental task, one attempted (in scope, if not

in style) in our literature only by Alan Sullivan's novel *The Great Divide: A Romance of the Canadian Pacific Railway* (1935). A number of critics have, like James F. Johnson, compared Pratt's work to that of the railway builders themselves:

As Van Horne laid steel rails over some of the most intractable regions of mountains and muskeg in the world, so Pratt, on the level of the poetic imagination, surveyed the terrain, discovered the passes, and made accessible to the imagination vast expanses of Canadian history that must have seemed, at first glance, very uninviting to poetry and myth. (150)

As daunting a project as this is, Pratt sets an even more difficult task for himself. He labours to express a vision of the nation, and indeed of humanity, that accounts for individualist and communitarian impulses and attempts to resolve them in a way that other Canadian railway poetry does not. Pratt recognizes that the nation, like the railway, is the product of a partnership between individual and corporate efforts. To that end, he takes care to represent the vision and energy of individuals such as Macdonald and Van Horne and the massed will and effort of the thousands of Canadians who helped build the railway through their tax dollars and labour. Moreover, he insists on integrating the two sides, on demonstrating that they are mutually dependent: without the vision, the labour cannot take place; without the labour, the vision cannot be fulfilled. Without each other, there can be no nation to which the individual and the community belong.

Al Purdy shares Pratt's vision of the railway as a means through which the individual can experience the nation. "Transient" (1968) describes "the nationality of riding freight trains through the depression" (59) by recreating the adventures of a young man hitching a cross-country ride aboard a box-car:

After a while the eyes digest a country and  
the belly perceives a mapmaker's vision  
in dust and dirt on the face and hands here  
its smell drawn deep through the nostrils down  
to the lungs and spurts through blood stream  
campaigns in the lower intestine  
and chants love songs to the kidneys. (45-51)

This is a powerful, visceral statement of how the train enables an intensely personal identification with the nation. The national panorama of Purdy's "Canadian" (1950) performs a similar gesture. Forty-odd years earlier, the station-to-station stops of W. H. Porter's acrostic panorama in "Canadian Scenes from Eastern Coast to Western Isle" (1907) show how the railway

bound cities together in national unity. Such expressions are countered, however, by an equivalent number of poems that use the train to suggest important ways in which our national identity is fractured. F. R. Scott's "All the Spikes but the Last" (1957) is a well known retort to the nationalist assumptions of Pratt's *Towards the Last Spike*. Seymour Mayne's "Passengers" (1977) contrasts travellers who pass through Ottawa as they "barrel towards their destinations / in times of perennial depression" (3-4) with federal politicians who "take to the air / and pass over as if on / high burnished chariots" (11-13). The train is also the subject of bill bissett's poem of national class consciousness, "The Canadian" (1967):

. . . i did en  
 vision th society of fact in Canada  
 as a train, its peopuls classd, & sub-  
 classd, according to th rank & station,  
 .....  
 its peopuls cut off from each other by  
 such coach cars & compartments. (23-26, 29-30)<sup>11</sup>

These examples aside, the vast majority of Canadian poetry does not consider the railway and the nation in close conjunction. Certainly the railway, despite massive cuts to its passenger service in the late 1980s, continues to stir national passions in Canada. Events such as the Ottawa International Writers Festival's VIA Rail Great Canadian Literary Tour, books such as Ron Brown's *The Train Doesn't Stop Here Anymore* and Ted Ferguson's *Sentimental Journey: An Oral History of Train Travel in Canada*, and national contests sponsored by businesses such as Home Hardware in which customers are offered the chance to win a cross-country rail trip, are all reminders of the place that the railway holds in the popular national consciousness. So why have Canadian poets so rarely appealed to this sentiment in their verse?

The answer to this question may lie, ultimately, less in the clash between pastoral and modern poetic modes than in the nostalgia that is the basis of the popular attachment to the railway. Nineteenth-century Canadian poets were intent on imagining a pastoral enclosure that stood as an example of the "original condition of human life" (Ettin 45), and seemingly could not bear to acknowledge that the railway threatened to change this state so soon after its inception. Modern poets, intent on reckoning with the rapid pace of change in the twentieth century and with their own experiments with form and language, preferred to think of the train in local terms, as one of

many settings and symbols of a world whose chief characteristic was its modernity, not its Canadianness. Furthermore, nostalgia was not a tool near at hand for either of these groups. Their close physical and temporal proximity to the landscapes that inspired them left the pastoralists little cause to engage in nostalgic reverie, and the edict of impersonality did not encourage nostalgic ruminations by modernist poets. Only recently, since about 1980, have Canadian poets made an effort to treat train, landscape, and nation together under the umbrella of nostalgia. They have done so by suggesting that the train and the landscape that the pastoral poets fought so hard to keep it out of have both become endangered species, that they are both important to Canadians, and that they are, after all, both symbols of home—the same concept of home that informs the pastoral ethos. Anne Marriott’s “Transcontinental” (1985) reminisces about the way that the sight of the country from aboard the train affected a young girl whose “skin grew tight / threatened to split / holding in all the wonder” (20-22) and who found a sense of community sitting on seats “that shone from the shifting / of a thousand bottoms” (29-30). In “Humber Valley Railway Trestle” (1983), Raymond Souster remembers standing with other boys on a railway platform and thinks of how different, how much simpler, life was back then. In “The Train Set” (1991), Michael Hulse recalls watching trains with his parents:

ever  
 since, whenever  
 I’ve sat on that hillside, I’ve been the child  
 I once was in that wide-eyed world  
 watching over a train set with my mother  
 and father till it was dark, loving to see  
 the trainlights and fireflies, the headlamps of cars  
 as shooting stars. (20-27)

All of these poems endorse a pastoral vision in their longing for a return to origins, for a chance to recapture an “innocent past that has yielded to a decadent and turbulent present” (Ettin 127). But they do so in a most modern way, by musing on the train in order to overcome the passage of time and rediscover an innocent and unspoiled Canadian experience. What these poems dream about, ironically, is a railway that can take one back to the pastoral space and embody its principles—a railway of the sort that takes the readerly “you” of Stephen Leacock’s *Sunshine Sketches of a Little Town* back to an idyllic rural home that is a symbol for a once-innocent nation: “I

don't know whether you know Mariposa. If not, it is of no consequence, for if you know Canada at all, you are probably well acquainted with dozens of towns just like it" (13). Leacock insists in "L'Envoi: The Train to Mariposa" (*Sunshine Sketches* 181-86) that you can go back home again, that the individual can return to the community and renew his sense of belonging, and that the train performs a certain magic by transporting people back to their roots. What Leacock shares with these late-twentieth-century poets is a dream of a pastoral railway, a dream that is rooted in nostalgia for the nation in a form so pure that none of us has ever experienced it because it has, regrettably, never existed. Given the impossibility of recapturing these elusive origins, it is perhaps a sign of prudence that Canadian poets have otherwise steadfastly refused to address the role of the railway in the nation's mythology, despite having given us so many and varied poems about the railway itself.

#### NOTES

- 1 I am referring here specifically to literary-critical texts, since these are the focus of McDougall's comment. A simple library search does, of course, turn up a mountain of non-fiction books treating Canadian railways in relation to trade, history, politics, engineering, and so on, and magazine and newspaper articles on the railway have been ubiquitous in Canada since the late nineteenth century.
- 2 A thorough survey of the railway in Canadian fiction is neither possible nor necessary here, but such a catalogue would surely include the following: Earle Birney's *Down the Long Table*; George Bowering's *A Short Sad Book*; Hugh Garner's *Cabbagetown*; Frederick Philip Grove's *The Master of the Mill*; Paulette Jiles's *Sitting in the Club Car Drinking Rum and Karma-Kola: A Manual of Etiquette for Ladies Crossing Canada by Train*; Joy Kogawa's *Obasan*; Sky Lee's *Disappearing Moon Cafe*; Hugh MacLennan's *Barometer Rising* and *Each Man's Son*; Sinclair Ross's *As For Me and My House*; Gabrielle Roy's *Bonheur d'occasion*; Peter Unwin's *Nine Bells for a Man*; Geoffrey Ursell's *Perdue: or How the West Was Lost*; and Rudy Wiebe's *The Temptations of Big Bear*. I have also collected in my research a fairly substantial body of short fiction by lesser-known writers.
- 3 The poems I refer to in this essay represent only a small sampling of the more than 300 I have collected, and which I am currently assembling in an anthology of Canadian railway poetry. Although selective, the poems I address in my discussion are indeed representative of Canadian railway poetry. Confronted with my research results (and my own realization that they would not fulfill my expectations that there should exist a large body of poetry celebrating the importance of the railway to Canada), I simply followed the material where it led.
- 4 As my earlier reference to "Tantramar Revisited" will suggest, I am employing an inclusive definition of the pastoral here, one that does not follow Paul Alpers's dictum that "we will have a far truer idea of pastoral if we take its representative anecdote to be herdsman and their lives rather than landscape or idealized nature" (22). I prefer to fol-

low the examples of Toliver, who has “extended the principles of the old shepherd poem freely to literature that abandons many of its conventions while illustrating its themes and attitudes” (vii), and Ettin, who argues that adhering to a restrictive definition of the pastoral limits our appreciation of its influence on literature (2) and points out that “more modal than generic examples of the pastoral occur in literature of the last two centuries” (69). I use the term “pastoral” here not just as shorthand for a rural setting, but to encapsulate certain attitudes toward that setting—and toward time, history, technology, and the nation—that will become clear as I proceed.

- 5 The railway is commonly used as a dark metaphor in other literatures. See Sussman; Duff.
- 6 Condemnations of the railway’s despoliation of the landscape were not limited to nineteenth-century poetry. Earle Birney’s “Transcontinental” (1945) comments upon the way that the railway has left the earth “creased with our coming and going” (17) and the sexual imagery of Mary Ainslie’s “Northern Rail” (1933), in which rails “embrace” the land and trains “Come tumbling through this tunnelled mound” (16, 26), suggests a figurative rape of the pastoral landscape by rail technology.
- 7 Brown reminds us that station houses did also function as real houses, homes to “many Canadians [who] were born in, got married in, lived in, and died in railway stations” (127). In subsequent pages, Brown describes the living quarters of station agents in detail.
- 8 See Schivelbusch 42-43 for a consideration of how the railway altered rural time by making it dependent on the standardized time necessary to railway schedules.
- 9 For more on the way that the train altered space by accommodating its passengers to a moving landscape, see Schivelbusch 55-57, 59-60.
- 10 To trace the development of this window-frame image in Canadian railway poetry, see Amoss, “Locomotive Smoke Shadows”; Bates, “Prairie from a Train Window”; and Avison, “Sketch: From Train Window (Leamington to Windsor) in March” and “Beyond Weather, or From a Train Window.”
- 11 A similar class-conscious inquiry of nationalist representations of the railway is conducted in Garner’s *Cabbagetown* and Birney’s *Down the Long Table*. Canadian fiction has proven no more interested than our poetry in propagating a technological nationalism grounded in the railway.

## WORKS CITED

- Ainslie, Mary. “Northern Rail.” *Canadian Forum* 14 (Nov. 1933): 73.
- Alpers, Paul. *What is Pastoral?* Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1996.
- Amoss, Harry. “Locomotive Smoke Shadows.” *Sunday-Monday: Selected Poems*. Toronto: Ryerson, 1947. 15.
- Avison, Margaret. “Beyond Weather, or From a Train Window.” *Not Yet but Still*. Hantsport, NS: Lancelot, 1997. 14.
- . “Sketch: From Train Window (Leamington to Windsor) in March.” *sunblue*. Hantsport, NS: Lancelot, 1978. 17.
- Bates, Maxwell B. “Prairie from a Train Window.” *Far-Away Flags*. Victoria, BC: n.p., 1964. 51.

- Benson, Nathaniel A. "Station Platform." *The Glowing Years*. Toronto: Thomas Nelson, 1937. 84.
- Bernhardt, Clara. "Trains." *Hidden Music*. N.p.: n.p., 1948. 17.
- Birney, Earle. *Down the Long Table*. Toronto: McClelland, 1955.
- . "E. J. Pratt and His Critics." *Our Living Tradition*. Ed. Robert L. McDougall. 2nd and 3rd ser. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1959. 123-47.
- . "Transcontinental." *The Collected Poems of Earle Birney*. 2 vols. Vol. 1. Toronto: McClelland, 1975. 124.
- bissett, bill. "The Canadian." *Tamarack Review* 45 (Autumn 1967): 30-31.
- Brewster, Elizabeth. "Coach Class." *Contemporary Verse* 34 (Spring 1951): 12-13.
- Brown, Ron. *The Train Doesn't Stop Here Anymore: An Illustrated History of Railway Stations in Canada*. Toronto: Lynx, 1998.
- Ceserani, Remo. "The Impact of the Train on Modern Literary Imagination." *Stanford Humanities Review* 7.1 (1999): 127-35.
- Charland, Maurice. "Technological Nationalism." *Canadian Journal of Political and Social Theory* 10.1-2 (1986): 196-220.
- Cole, Wayne H. "The Railroad in Canadian Literature." *Canadian Literature* 77 (1978): 124-30.
- Daniells, Roy. "Confederation to the First World War." *Literary History of Canada: Canadian Literature in English*. Ed. Carl F. Klinck et al. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1965. 191-207.
- Den Otter, A. A. *The Philosophy of Railways: The Transcontinental Railway Idea in British North America*. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1997.
- Douglas, Jean M. "Travelling West." *Canadian Poetry Magazine* 3.4 (Apr. 1939): 33.
- Dudek, Louis. "From a Train Window." *Zembla's Rocks*. Montreal: Véhicule, 1986. 23.
- . "Midnight Train." *Canadian Poetry Magazine* 10.4 (June 1947): 13.
- . "Night Train." *East of the City*. Toronto: Ryerson, 1946. 32.
- Duff, Ian. "Appalling Rush and Tremble: On the Metaphorical Use of the Railway." *Critical Dimensions: English, German and Comparative Literature Essays in Honour of Aurelio Zanco*. Ed. Mario Curreli and Alberto Martino. Cuneo: SASTE, 1978. 447-63.
- Ettin, Andrew V. *Literature and the Pastoral*. New Haven and London: Yale UP, 1984.
- Fairley, Barker. "Prairie Sunset." *Wild Geese and Other Poems*. Moonbeam, ON: Penumbra, 1984. 33.
- Ferguson, Ted. *Sentimental Journey: An Oral History of Train Travel in Canada*. Toronto: Doubleday, 1985.
- Finch, Robert. "Train-Window." *Poems*. Toronto: Oxford UP, 1946. 7.
- . "Train Window." *Silverthorn Boughs and Other Poems*. Toronto: Macmillan, 1966. 41.
- Finnigan, Joan. "la gare centrale, montreal." *It Was Warm and Sunny When We Set Out*. Toronto: Ryerson, 1970. 46-47.
- Flynn, Kevin. "Destination Nation: Nineteenth-Century Travels Aboard the Canadian Pacific Railway." *Essays on Canadian Writing* 67 (Spring 1999): 190-222.
- Friesen, Patrick. "the wheels." *Malahat Review* 110 (March 1995): 76.
- From Ocean to Ocean Via the National Highway: Canadian Pacific Railway*. Toronto: Gorrie, [188-?].
- Garner, Hugh. *Cabbagetown*. Toronto: Ryerson, 1968.



- Gee, Michael. *An Anthology of Steam Railroad Poetry*. Illus. Marie Nagel. 2 vols. Prince George, BC: Gee, 1986.
- Ginestier, Paul. *The Poet and the Machine*. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1961.
- Gutteridge, Don. "Canatara." *God's Geography*. Ilderton, ON: Brick, 1982. 26-27.
- Hedin, Robert. *The Great Machines: Poems and Songs of the American Railroad*. Iowa City: U of Iowa P, 1996.
- Helsing, Elizabeth K. *Rural Scenes and National Representation: Britain, 1815-1850*. Literature in History. Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1997.
- Hopkins, Kenneth. *The Poetry of Railways: An Anthology*. London: Frewin, 1966.
- Hubert, Winifred N. "VIA Ottawa Station." *Canadian Author & Bookman* 53.4 (1978): 44.
- Hulse, Michael. "The Train Set." *Antigonish Review* 84 (Winter 1991): 80.
- Jaques, Edna. "An Old Woman Cleaning a Station." *Beside Still Waters*. Toronto: Thomas Allen, 1939. 54.
- . "Station in the Mountains." *Aunt Hattie's Place*. Toronto: Thomas Allen, 1941. 72.
- Jiles, Paulette. "Waterloo Express." *Waterloo Express*. Toronto: Anansi, 1973. 3.
- Johnson, James F. "Brébeuf and His Brethren and Towards the Last Spike: The Two Halves of Pratt's National Epic." *Essays on Canadian Writing* 29 (1984): 142-51.
- Jones, Douglas. "Steel Syntax: The Railroad in Canadian Poetry." *Symbols in Life and Art: The Royal Society of Canada Symposium in Memory of George Whalley*. Ed. James A. Leith et al. Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 1987. 33-51.
- Kaszuba, Sophie. "We Left the City and Moved North (Ontario Northland Railway)." *ARC* 36 (Spring 1996): 6-7.
- Lampman, Archibald. "Across the Pea-Fields." *Lampman's Sonnets*. Ed. Margaret Whitbridge. Ottawa: Borealis, 1976. 60.
- . "At the Ferry." *Lyrics of Earth*. Toronto: Musson, 1925. 79-81.
- . "The City." *The Poems of Archibald Lampman*. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1974. 215-17.
- . "The Railway Station." *Among the Millet and Other Poems*. Ottawa: Durie, 1888. 142.
- Layton, Irving. "Excursion." *The Improved Binoculars: Selected Poems*. Highlands, NC: Jonathan Williams, 1956. 59.
- Leacock, Stephen. *Sunshine Sketches of a Little Town*. 1912. New Canadian Library. Toronto: McClelland, 1989.
- Lecker, Robert. "Watson and Pierce's *Our Canadian Literature* Anthology and the Representation of the Nation." *Canadian Poetry: Studies, Documents, Reviews* 38 (Spring-Summer 1996): 49-87.
- Livesay, Dorothy. "Railway Station." *Canadian Forum* 24 (Feb. 1945): 260.
- Lochhead, Douglas. "Poems in a Train—Newfoundland." *It is All Around*. Ryerson Poetry Chap-Books 191. Toronto: Ryerson, 1960. 20-23.
- Lorne, John D.S. Campbell, Marquis of. *Our Railway to the Pacific*. London: Isbister, 1886.
- MacDonald, Wilson. "A Song to Canada." *The Song of the Prairie Land*. 1918. Toronto: Ryerson, 1923. 24-26.
- Machar, Agnes Maule. "Joe Birse, the Engineer." *Lays of the 'True North,' and Other Canadian Poems*. Toronto: Copp, 1899. 169-70.
- Mackay, Isabel Ecclestone. "Calgary Station." *The Canadian Magazine* 38 (Nov. 1911-Apr. 1912): 195-96.
- Marriott, Anne. "Night Travellers." *Canadian Poetry Magazine* 4.3 (Dec. 1939): 11.
- . "Transcontinental." *Letters from Some Islands*. Oakville, ON: Mosaic, 1985. 74-75.

- Marx, Leo. *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America*. New York: Oxford UP, 1964.
- Mayne, Seymour. "Passengers." *Diasporas*. Oakville and Ottawa: Mosaic, 1977. 46.
- McDougall, Russell. "The Railway in Australian Literature." *World Literature Written in English* 28.1 (1988): 75-82.
- Moore, S. "The Laurentides and the Lake St. John Railway." *Poems*. Montreal: Lovell, 1887. 207-11.
- Mouré, Erin. "What the Station Agent Never Says." *This Magazine* 11.3 (May-June 1977): 24.
- New, W. H. *Land Sliding: Imagining Space, Presence, and Power in Canadian Writing*. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1997.
- Nichol, bp. *Continental Trance*. Lantzville, BC: Oolichan, 1982.
- . "Trans-continental." *Love: A Book of Remembrances*. Vancouver: n.p., 1974. N. pag.
- Page, P. K. "Reflections in a Train Window." *The Metal and the Flower*. Indian File Book no. 7. Toronto: McClelland, 1954. 41.
- Phillipps-Wolley, Clive. "A Contrast." *Songs from a Young Man's Land*. Toronto: Thomas Allen, 1917. 50-51.
- Porter, W. H. "Canadian Scenes from Eastern Coast to Western Isle." *Canadian Scenes and Other Poems*. Toronto: Briggs, 1907. 11-24.
- Pratt, E. J. *Towards the Last Spike*. 1952. *The Collected Poems of E. J. Pratt*. Ed. Northrop Frye. 2nd ed. Toronto: Macmillan, 1958. 346-88.
- Purdy, Al. "Canadian." *Canadian Poetry Magazine* 13.5 (Autumn 1950): 4-5.
- . "Transient." *Selected Poems*. Toronto: McClelland, 1972. 122-23.
- Roberts, Sir Charles G. D. "The Tantramar Revisited." *Poets of the Confederation*. Ed. Malcolm Ross. 1960. New Canadian Library. Toronto: McClelland, 1991. 3-5.
- . "The Train among the Hills." *The Collected Poems of Sir Charles G. D. Roberts*. Ed. Desmond Pacey. Wolfville, NS: Wombat, 1985. 194-95.
- Schivelbusch, Wolfgang. *The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the 19th Century*. 1977. Berkeley: U of California P, 1986.
- Scott, F. R. "All the Spikes but the Last." *Poets Between the Wars*. Ed. Milton Wilson. New Canadian Library 5. 1967. Toronto: McClelland, 1991. 98.
- Souster, Raymond. "Humber Valley Railway Trestle." *Going the Distance*. N.p.: Oberon, 1983. 32-33.
- Sullivan, Alan. *The Great Divide: A Romance of the Canadian Pacific Railway*. London: Dickson, 1935.
- Sussman, Herbert. *Victorians and the Machine: The Literary Response to Technology*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1968.
- Thomas, Martha Banning. "Railroad Crossing (Winter Night)." *Maclean's* 63 (15 Jan. 1950): 36.
- Toliver, Harold. *Pastoral Forms and Attitudes*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1986.
- Wayman, Tom. "The Station Agent." *This Magazine* 10.5-6 (Nov.-Dec. 1976): 46.
- Whitman, Walt. "To a Locomotive in Winter." Hopkins 18-19.
- Wordsworth, William. "On the Projected Kendal and Windermere Railway." Hopkins 72.
- Woollatt, Richard. "Trains Passing at Night." *Canadian Author & Bookman* 67.4 (Summer 1992): 18.
- Yule, Mrs. J. C. [Pamela S. Vining]. "Canada." *Poems of the Heart and Home*. Toronto: Bengough, 1881. 202-5.