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The Construction of Masculinity in Martin Allerdale Grainger's *Woodsmen of the West*

Martin Allerdale Grainger's *Woodsmen of the West* (1908) is often cited as a historically accurate account of the culture of early British Columbia and is a favourite text of local history enthusiasts who like to see British Columbia history as imbued with masculine virtues: physical daring and endurance, the explorer spirit, free enterprise and triumph over nature. This reading of *Woodsmen* is reiterated (albeit with the moral values reversed) in Daphne Marlatt's *Ana Historic*, in which Grainger's book serves as a "source" for the main character's research into gender oppression in early British Columbia history. Marlatt's novel reads *Woodsmen* as evidence of a destructive masculine culture at the base of British Columbia society, a culture characterised by an uncontrolled drive for domination over nature which identifies the raped landscape of the logged coastline with the violation of women's bodies.

In reading *Woodsmen* this way, Marlatt has chosen to represent patriarchy as if it were, as it claims to be, natural, single, and identical to itself. This approach is strategically useful to the political project of identifying the ways gender ideology functions in literature to subordinate women, and for that reason is always appropriate. However, treating masculinity as a monolithic "other" can have the effect of reinscribing gender ideology by naturalising the category of masculine in opposition to feminine. Analyses such as Marlatt's also focus on the ways that the dominant pattern of nineteenth-century narrative is fundamentally implicated in gender ideology[1]; the destructive or self-destructive energies of an immature male hero are even-

tually lodged in an appropriate female object and harnessed to work for the state through heterosexual marriage. This pattern presumes a society in which both sexes are represented—the difference of women becomes the dominant difference in such a society.[2] However, the B.C. logging culture of *Woodsmen* confines gender difference to the past and to the future—in the present it is a single gender society. In order to create a narrative of self-definition, *Woodsmen* must negotiate differences among men, the cracks in the seemingly monolithic masculine gender identity.

An alternative way of reading *Woodsmen of the West* focusses on the way the book exemplifies the narrator's ambivalence toward the masculine culture that interpellates him. This culture, while presented by the narrator as "natural" and part of "nature," exists by virtue of its project of subduing and civilizing the natural world; a supposed venue for craftsmanship and unalienated labour, the masculine culture of *Woodsmen* is created by a relationship between capital and workers which alienates labour and de-skills jobs. Finally, this masculine culture is not "natural" to the narrator himself, "Mart," who despite his attempts, falls short of the Western ideal of masculinity, violating its codes and behavioural norms. The split between the loggers who are the object of the narrative and "Mart," the autobiographical narrator who is its subject, suggests that the unified generic masculine implied by the text is fundamentally split and self-conscious. Mart retains a distanced ambivalence toward masculinity as the book defines it, and the instability of his own position in relation to the men he admires undermines the ideal the text sets forth.

The invitation to "you" with which the book begins indicates the book's intended audience. The narrator, "I," invites the reader, "you," to accompany him to the part of Vancouver populated by loggers, to join them in lounging along the street, looking in the shop windows, to "comeanavadrink" (14). The narrator assumes that "you" can indulge in all these activities without fear of harassment, assault, or loss of reputation. Clearly, "you" can only be a man. Thus, everything that follows in the book takes place in the world of men alone, with the various invitations to compare the logger's life with one's own offered only to men. Under the pretense of inviting readers to vicariously experience the vitality of a logger's life, the narrative works to exclude female readers by refusing to acknowledge that a founding premise of the world offered to our gaze is exclusion of women. This exclusion is underlined stylistically by Grainger's frequent use of the

words "a man" as substitute for the pronouns "you" and "one." The use of "you" or "one" tends to generalise the applicability of specific statements to all possible readers—as in, "you need a rain suit to be comfortable in the bush"—while Grainger's substitution of "a man" in such phrases as "oil-skins . . .are uncomfortable and hamper a man at any work" (78) or "that is the impression a man gets" (75) stands out as more than just the traditional generic masculine.

Such stylistic techniques serve to create the illusion of a universal masculine gender identity, a project demanded by the turn-of-the-century "crisis of masculinity" (MacDonald 16-17; Kimmel 137-154). A vision of a particular kind of romantic masculine life developed in response to the perception that British men were becoming "soft" and weak. English-speaking artists and writers of the "aesthetic" movement in the 1890s questioned the importance of masculine breast-beating and the imperial military; the celebrated trial of Oscar Wilde made homosexuality in private life visible, and provoked "homosexual panic" as a response in the public sphere.[3] During the Boer War and the invasion scares of the early twentieth century the British popular press reported that many lower-class men were found to be too physically weak and malformed to serve in the army. Increasing industrialization throughout the nineteenth century removed another of the traditional props of manhood, the skill of the independent craftsman, and replaced it with assembly line work, or even with female workers (Maynard 165-66). In addition, the women's movement was becoming more militant and eventually violent in its agitation for the vote (Federico 19, 25; Schwenger 8). The antifeminist backlash to these challenges was characterised by, among other things, the idealization of manual labour performed in the colonies, a new interest in fostering the talents of the "backwoodsman" in boys and men through the Boy Scouts and various militia and paramilitary organizations, and a romanticising of the "frontier" of empire as the location of masculine endeavour. This interest was articulated in the works of Rudyard Kipling, Charles G.D. Roberts and Ernest Thompson Seton (among others), and in the mix of militarism and backwoods self-reliance that made men like Theodore Roosevelt and Robert Baden-Powell into popular heroes (Macdonald *passim*; Kimmel 146-148).

Yet Grainger's need to articulate the essence of the masculine by assuming a male reader and specifying the reactions of "a man" indicates that a certain anxiety attended the project of articulating a universal masculine

gender identity. The problematizing of masculinity by turn-of-the-century British culture created the self-consciousness necessary for it to enter the realm of discourse, but at the same time that self-consciousness threatens masculinity by suggesting "the possibility that the natural man is an artifice" (Schwenger, *Phallic Critiques* 9). The entry of masculinity into discourse fragments it, as masculinity traditionally inheres in actions rather than words. Peter Schwenger writes: "To think about masculinity is to become less masculine oneself. For one of the most powerful archetypes of manhood is the idea that the real man is the one who acts, rather than the one who contemplates. . . . Like MacLeish's perfect poem, the perfect male 'must not mean but be.' Self-consciousness is a crack in the wholeness of his nature" (Schwenger,"The Masculine Mode" 110). In *Woodsmen*, this self-consciousness is expressed in the distinction between western men (or woodsmen) and civilized men (who may be Easterners or Englishmen). Being a "man" is revealed as cultural, not natural; it is not single but double, and must be defined, articulated, and policed in order to retain its illusion of naturalness.

A community of loggers on Canada's West coast is a typical venue for a turn-of-the-century narrative defining masculinity. The book is set in colonial space, associated in popular culture with the heroic encounter between civilization and barbarism (MacDonald *passim*); in addition, the action is located in "the West . . . with its limitless space and undefiled nature —a grand symbol of freedom" (Pugh 16). *Woodsmen* advises an outsider (who is both Mart and the reader) how to live the life of a logger in turn-of-the-century British Columbia by extolling the masculine virtues that inform the life of a "man" in "these uncivilized parts" (86)—independence, freedom, initiative, closeness to nature, manual competence, and emotional reserve.[4] The narrator engages in manual labour, which itself holds a privileged position in the culture of masculinity.[5] Mart comments on his reasons for preferring the life of a logger: "There is definite work to be done: Nature and natural obstacles to be struggled against (and not one's fellow men); and there is, besides, the vanity of not being seen to be incompetent" (32). Mart values the sense of agency he gains from being able to see the results of his work, to display his physical competence in front of other men; he prefers this validation to the more socially destructive competition with other men for business or for employment. "The needs and sudden emergencies of the work, and the presence of other men's standards of achievement right

before one's eyes, give one stimulus, and check self-indulgence" (33). In addition, he values the freedom from social convention which life in the woods grants him: "One does not have to submit to anything —not even from public opinion. There is a toleration that surpasseth all the understanding of the old-country English" (33). Above all, Mart values the freedom to choose his boss, and with his boss, his working conditions. He likes the freedom to "move on" if he is unsatisfied with either: "If one's work, or one's boss, or one's food, or one's surroundings displease one, one can move at once elsewhere, provided times are reasonably good—as they usually are" (33).

Physical and mental confidence are part of the masculine ideal of the text: "this . . . lack of self-distrust, this simple-minded willingness to face every problem by the light of Nature, is a thing that one is always meeting in the West. Men trust their own judgement; their minds are not honeycombed with doubts of it" (77). Physical competence and the independence of mind this fosters also creates the sense of professionalism in the "woodsmen" that Mart admires: "I like this better than the trained sense for instantaneous compromise that many decent, educated men develop. I like the artist's pride, the boyish craving for *efficient* performance, the feeling for sound, clean work, and the very moderate care for consequences" (26). He uses the term "woodsman" to designate his ideal western man —a logger marked by his skill with the axe, his pride in efficient and elegant manual processes, his independence and self-reliance.

Mart presents this utopian life of unalienated labour—in which men work as an expression of their masculine selves, expressing pride of workmanship and the integration of their personal desires with those of their employers—as a natural state, achievable because pursued in a natural setting. The logger's actions are governed by natural judgement, and his closeness to the natural world, constructed as the elemental "West" of eastern imagination, is part of what restores his wholeness and health (73). In contrast, Mart presents the "civilized" and un-natural life of the English-speaking city-dweller who is his reader, a life of insignificance, of "playing a small and most unimportant part in a gigantic scheme,"(33) restricted by the social requirements of his position and feminised by his inability to govern the smallest aspects of his own life. In this, Mart reinscribes a common turn-of-the-century judgement (also argued by Charles G.D. Roberts in his essay, "The Animal Story"), that "civilization, its class system, social confor-

mity and moral obligations and constraints" (Pugh, 16) had distorted men's lives, perhaps biologically as well as socially; a restorative return to "nature" through adventure stories or wilderness trips could revive the "natural" man.

Mart's view of "nature" clearly owes much to the Romantics; here "nature" refers to the site of a pre-lapsarian ideal of innocence, wholeness and agency. The worker in a natural setting is described in terms of the idealised child (32) who regards work as play, and whose work is a natural expression of high spirits and an integrated self. The logger's camp is an ideal democracy populated by "artists" in manual labour, a Pre-Raphaelite utopia in which authority is diffuse and individuals choose their own way of living. Yet, Mart's idea of "nature" and of the naturalness of the masculine ideal is fractured at the base; he seems unaware of the contradiction posed by the fact that he never, himself, achieves his goal of a "natural" masculine life, nor do any of the other characters in the book. Mart and his fellow-loggers are at work destroying the natural setting to which he attributes the power of bestowing psychic and physical integration, "butcher[ing]" the woods, leaving the sea-front "in tangled wreckage" (55). He is engaged in the primal struggle of "man" with "nature" (32), the civilizing mission which intends to defeat "nature" in its objectified and human forms. And he is working, throughout the book, not for himself but for Carter, a man whose obsession with power over other men and over the natural world epitomizes the "raw spirit of free enterprise" (Gerson *Oxford Companion*, 315), the capitalist snake in the garden of nostalgic socialism.

Carter's obsession with ownership and the power it gives him over other men provides both the necessary condition for the existence of Mart's ideal, and the undermining other that proves masculinity's difference from itself. Mart's loggers could not exist without employers; as Mart points out, woodsmen are unreflective as a group, and do little planning for the future. In order to practice the craft which defines them, they must be employed by someone who owns timber leases, donkey engines, bunkhouses. Yet the sort of person likely to own such equipment, and so have need of loggers, is unlikely to respect their values of freedom and craftsmanship. Rather, as a powerful boss and a man of property, he depends upon his ability to deny freedom and agency to others.

Carter is a "self-made man" (Pugh 33) who believes that the mere force of his character —"expansive, self-reliant, aggressive" (Pugh 41)—has made

him financially successful and so proved his superiority to those in the social situation from which he has risen. "Men in the nineteenth century learned quickly to view and to use economic gain as a means of proving something both to themselves and to other men, namely, that money was the measure not only of the ability to endure risk and hardship but to defeat other men" (Pugh, 26). He fetishizes his money and possessions *as* power, and emphasizes with every breath the possessive pronouns he attaches to his achievements:

> "All *MINE*," he croaked —"*my* donkey, *my* camps, *my* timber, *my* steamboat there. *Fifteen* square miles of timber leases belong to me. *Money* in the bank, and *money* in every boom for sixty miles, and hand-loggers *working* for me, and ME the boss of that there bunkhouse full of men . . . I done it all!" (70)

Rather than allowing his employees to maintain the fiction of wholeness and masculine agency, Carter exerts his authority boldly, "hustling the work" (56) and refusing to allow the "artistic" (55) methods of falling which differentiate loggers from mere labourers. Instead, Mart says, he "set out to sack the woods, as medieval towns were sacked, by Vandal methods" (55). Carter uses a special tone of voice, learned from his work as a railroad foreman, to express disdain for the workers, and manipulates them by bullying those older and weaker. In good times, Carter's methods and personality mean he has a high turnover among his workmen; however, in a time of recession in the logging industry Carter's obsessions have free rein among workmen who must stay in his camp if they want work. "For to exert power over men is whiskey to Carter's soul: it is the craving for crude power that drives him at his life's work" (58).

Mart's attempts to justify Carter's methods are double-voiced and ironic. He compares Carter to the biblical Pharaoh who tormented the Jews in Egypt: "I know now that my judgement of a certain Pharaoh was too hasty. The man who wanted bricks made without straw was a great man—a great hustler. He was of kin to Carter. He wanted *efficiency*; he wanted men not to depend on others, helplessly. He wanted to instill his own great spirit into them" (84). By this comparison, Mart seemingly reverses the usual judgement of the villain of the Bible story in order to condemn Carter as a tyrant, unjustly demanding impossible tasks from his workmen. The great attributes of the new "self-made man"—efficiency, speed (hustling) and independence—are mocked as the ancient goals of slave drivers. Mart displays an Arnoldian distaste for the "Hebraic" drive of Carter's capitalism, a distaste

shared by Canadian writers of the turn of the century such as Stephen Leacock and Sara Jeannette Duncan. His idealist stance is confirmed by his judgement that "among the clinkers and the base alloys that make up much of Carter's soul there is a piece of purest metal, of true human greatness, an inspiration and a happiness to see" (60). While this metaphor represents the idealist vision of life as a "vale of soul-making," it depicts Carter's soul as a mound of mixed and discarded metal from a refinery, an ironic comment on the usual outcome of the refining processes of life, the "true as steel" or "pure as gold" which characterises the heroes of contemporary adventure stories.

Mart remains unaware of the ironic contradictions presented by the text which fracture the "naturalness" of the masculine ideal and the possibility of an unalienated masculine agency. But he is aware of his own inability to achieve the masculinity the text defines, and ironically attributes this failure to a comic and fallible self. On the one hand, Mart self-consciously recognizes that the life he led before he came to B.C. was insufficiently strenuous to model masculinity, and addresses the reader directly on the superiority of the life of a woodsman to the life of an easterner or educated Englishman. Mart learns the codes of Western masculine life, recommends them to the reader, and attempts to emulate them himself. On the other hand, he *is* an educated Englishman, and signals his awareness that he falls short of the Western ideal of masculinity through numerous reader addresses and ironic jokes at his own expense. The book's ending underlines Mart's inability to achieve the masculine ideal: he returns to a feminised "civilization" literally to scrub the kitchen floor, Punch and Judy style, under the direction of his new wife.

Mart presents his inability to feel the proper masculine self-confidence as a failure, but his ironic descriptions of his fellows make it clear that in Mart's opinion, a man's confidence in himself is often misplaced. Bill challenges the safety inspector's doubts about the engines of the steam launch *Sonora*, and assures Mart that "As long as [a man] had 'any savvy to him' and did not lose his head 'if anything happened,'" (94) the *Sonora* is perfectly safe. Mart's comic tales of Bill's actual ignorance of the engines, his attempts to fix the shims and valves and odd bits of pipe that fly off and release scalding jets of steam, and his inability to interpret the safety information posted on an ancient and fly-blown certificate in the pilot house undermine Bill's reliability as a mechanic. Mart self-consciously addresses the reader, aware that his account of the vessel's safety is hardly believable: "I hate to tell you all about the *Sonora*, because she was so humorous, and you will think I am

piling it on . . .[but in dangerous situations] I used to wish she had been less of a jest" (94). Far from discarding his "queer, limited ideas" on steam-ship safety for Bill's "wider view"(94), Mart confirms his fears by presenting himself as a gullible victim of Bill's masculine self-confidence.

Mart never voices his fears about the *Sonora* to Bill, for he learns that life among the loggers is regulated by an unarticulated code of behaviour: "a sort of tacit etiquette . . . punctilio that one never hears defined in words" (107). The injunction against revealing weakness is one of the most important rules regulating logger society, part of the masculine code of "cool" that proscribes emotions, especially those of fear or despair.[6] One of Mart's rare successes occurs as he manages to maintains his "cool" facade when the *Sonora* confronts a dangerous situation. As Bill moans a stream of curses, Mart triumphantly notes that Bill "*had voiced his despair first*": "Immediately my opinion of myself rose like a lark. I had not given myself away. I felt so superior to the man who had entertained despair; I felt I could show him how to keep cool and competent" (82). Mart revels in his superiority to Bill for the benefit of the reader who might miss the significance of his masculine success. He recounts that he found it difficult to refrain from patronising Bill by adding "Don't get excited" (82) and comments with self-conscious irony, "I liked myself immensely in my new role"(82). Mart can "keep his head when all about. . .are losing theirs and blaming it on [him]"; as in Kipling's poem, this experience makes him "a man" ("If" lines 1-2).

Another related code is the injunction against asking for help or information.[7] Information comes by indirection, Mart explains: "A man in this country does not walk right into a store or a hotel and ask point-blank questions about what he wants to know" (79). If you prove yourself the right sort of man, help comes to you. Mart chooses to spend his leisure time at the Hanson Island Hotel chopping firewood for the kitchen, "an altruistic-looking act born of cold calculation" (27) he admits. He is rewarded with precious advice and information about local working conditions from the hotel owner. Asking for help on a new job expresses doubt of one's own judgement and an unwillingness to work that marks a city man, or slacker. "Old Andy," a passenger on the *Sonora*, tells an anecdote about his first job "barking" logs. He spends three days on the job energetically barking the wrong side of the logs before he is politely told how to do it right; he has to prove himself ready and able to work before a fellow worker decides to let him in on the trick. Yet despite this advice, Mart often violates the code:

"and very disconcerted I become" he recounts. "That is because I am impatient and want to find out things at once" (79).

Mart also introduces complex ironies around the (seemingly) compulsory practice of alcohol consumption. Everyone in this novel drinks, at times heavily, and social codes around drunkenness and leisure, fighting, work, revenge and physical danger are detailed with a fine awareness of the fictitious distance between those who only get "good-and-drunk"(15) once in a while, for the sake of their health, and "drinking" men, signalled by the quotation marks around the second category. Mart appropriates the language of the "temperance tract" (23) to describe the hotel bar as a "whirlpool . . . a-booming and a boiling" (23) but ironically undercuts this stereotype by further comparing it to "boating suppers and undergraduates" (23) at Cambridge. Mart apologizes for the prevalence of alcohol in logger society, explaining that meals, lodging, socialising and recreation as well as negotiations for work all take place in licensed premises, and while he does not indulge to excess by logger standards, he clearly finds little to object to in the practice.

The very fact that Mart recognizes these codes of behaviour as codes, social rules specific to one society and not necessarily universal or natural, marks his distance from the ideal he sets up. Mart must learn these codes in order to survive as a logger; as his commentary demonstrates, much of his work and all of his safety on the job depends upon his fellow workers, and he must accept their ways as his. Yet he is also fully aware of how strange the rules of logger society seem to the "sophisticated eyes" (33) of his reader, and must account for, explain and justify them; they do not appear to him as "nature," but as nature at one remove, learned nature, "second nature."

Violence between men is a traditional gender marker, and one which Mart foregrounds in attempting to delineate the masculine ideal. Mart avers that violence is not the norm among loggers, and suggests that the violent fist fights of the stereotypical West are the inventions of novelists:

> Of course, out West, as elsewhere in the world, men do not readily come to blows. You will not see a fight from one year's end to another—among sober men; except those conjured up in mind by the short-story writer and the West describing novelist. (45)

In contrast, Mart describes loggers as "easy-going; easy to get on with; men who have knocked about the Western world and have been taught, by experience, to be tolerant and passively considerate for others" (45). Yet

Mart can find few alternatives to violence when provoked by the actions of Jim, who shirks his share of the joint work of gathering fuel for the steam launch: "Short of violence I should figure undignified, weakly querulous, should I upbraid a fellow-worker with 'not doing his share of the work'" (108). Mart responds by doing Jim's share of the work, a procedure supposed to humiliate Jim and work "silently upon his vanity": this, according to Mart, is to "act the perfect logger" (108).

Yet Mart's self-conscious addresses to the reader on the topic of his refusal to fight inscribe an ambivalence about violence that contradicts his earlier statements. Jim brings a crowd of drunks aboard, contravening Mart's express policy against transporting drunks, and these men cause anxiety and threaten the safety of the tug by interfering with Mart's navigation of a dangerous passage at night. Mart clearly anticipates that his male reader will judge him a coward, and defensively challenges: "You note, perhaps, the limitations of my character displayed so artlessly before your reading eyes. You smile at what you see. And what would you have done yourself? Used the hard fist? Tipped someone overboard? Brought violence among that happy, rowdy crowd of drunks?" (110) Mart's anxiety over the place of violence in the masculine identity and the reader's judgement of his actions is even more pronounced when Carter insults him. Mart fantasises physical retaliation: "I would bash him in the face and put an arm lock on him. A gloating thrill ran through me to think how I would listen for the crack of Carter's dislocated arm" (141). But this scene is resolved by one of the many physical gaps in the text; Mart reports that he hears Carter speak but "what words Carter spoke I did not know, nor even what happened then . . .[sic]" (141). Mart claims not to remember how this confrontation ended; it dissolves in an ellipsis and Mart reports: "I came to my prosaic self kneeling on the bunkhouse floor" (141). Mart fears to identify himself too strongly with the "peaceable" (45) loggers in case his readers judge him as unmanly.

Mart is quite aware that he falls short of the Western ideal of masculinity; he is "splendidly educated" (29) and speaks with an accent that betrays his English background (21); he is not patient enough and asks questions when he should be silent (79); he does not have the "proper Western confidence" in his abilities and mechanical competence (108); he is ashamed of his work as an axe-man. But Mart's most damning self-revelation is that he has allowed himself to be manipulated, and feminised, by Carter. We discover Mart's impending marriage only at the end of the book, and the reve-

lation breaks the static narrative pattern. Mart must assume the masculine role of subject, moving towards the full integration with society that the marriage as narrative closure symbolises. Yet Mart hesitates, staying on at the logging camp in order to oblige Carter. He is disgusted with himself for bending to Carter's will, for being weak: "I saw myself to be a fool. I belonged again to the weakly-obliging class of men, the facile type that lends its barroom friends small sums of dollars when wife and family are going hungry. For I had . . . done all this injury to serve the mere convenience of Bill and Carter" (136).

Mart finally becomes aware of Carter's contempt for his obliging disposition and returns to "civilization" and fiancée, seemingly rejecting the masculine ideal of power, independence and agency represented by the loggers. The concluding verse of the book associates the life of a logger with his youth and all that must be discarded in marriage and mature adulthood.[8] Yet the comical picture of the masculine logger bidding "Farewell" to his "youth" in order to "scrub the kitchen floor of/The cottage next to Mrs. Potts',/in (what will be) Lyall Avenue,/ (outside the city limits of) VICTORIA, B.C." (147) ironically reinscribes the hierarchy of "boss" and "worker" in a way more familiar to the reader. Mart feminises himself as the henpecked husband, who is paradoxically the representative of real power in a gender hierarchy which prescribes that his future wife be expunged from the text, nameless and passive throughout the book.

The distance between Mart's masculine ideal and his ability to achieve it, the ambivalence and irony with which he presents the masculine ideal, shows turn-of-the-century masculinity as constructed, fractured at the base by the concept of nature as both ally and enemy, and of work as the site of both self-expression and self-alienation. The codes of masculine interaction, including maintaining one's "cool," displaying competence and confidence, and drinking are undermined as elements of a 'natural' masculinity by Mart's ability to see these codes as artificial and specific to logger society. Mart's inability to stabilise his attitude toward violence as a masculine attribute further separates him from the masculine ideal the text sets forth. The book's ending, with the narrator returning to a feminised "civilization" further expresses the critical moment of self-awareness and an ironic perspective on the masculine culture of agency it purports to define.

NOTES

1 Poovey, ch.4.

2 According to Adele Perry, in a paper delivered at the "B.C. and Beyond: Gender Histories" Conference at the University of Victoria on June 17, 1994, this paradigm is also a pervasive one in historiographic interpretations of the effect of the scarcity of white European women in early B.C. society. Such interpretations focus on nineteenth century calls for the recruitment of more white women immigrants to marry white men in B.C. and so "soften and civilize" B.C. culture. In addition to objectifying women, this paradigm makes invisible, of course, B.C. native women and their marriages to European men.

3 See Dellamora, ch.10.

4 Annette Federico includes "competitiveness, personal ambition, social responsibility and emotional restraint" along with "will power and self-reliance" among the characteristics of a British turn-of-the-century masculine identity (23).

5 "Male working class forms seem to symbolize masculinity . . . for men of other social classes as well." (Henley and Thorne, cited in Schwenger, *Phallic Critiques,* 9).

6 In his study of masculinity in twentieth-century fiction, Peter Schwenger sums up the theme of masculine emotional reserve: "[the man] is invulnerable to the assaults of the outside world and his manliness is measured by that invulnerability. He must always resist the temptation, under adversity or stress, to open up emotionally" (*Phallic Critiques* 43).

7 This code will of course be familiar to anyone who knows the joke: Why did NASA need a female astronaut? So that if the shuttle got lost, there'd be someone to ask for directions.

8 One might also argue that Mart's rejection of Carter reiterates the narrative pattern of many books set in Canada by Canadians of British descent, rejecting the values of unrestrained capitalism for those of community. See Mathews, 134-35.

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