

MRS. MOODIE'S BELOVED PARTNER

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MOST READERS WHO DEPEND solely on one of the currently available editions of *Roughing It in the Bush* for information about Susanna Moodie will readily concur with Margaret Atwood's description of John Wedderburn Dunbar Moodie as his wife's "shadowy husband"¹ and with Carol Shield's characterization of him as "a negative personality."² Accustomed to distrusting first-person narrators, sceptical post-modern critics attempt to read between the lines of the Coles or New Canadian Library versions of Susanna's story to interpret some of the gaps in her narrative as intentional concealment of her "husband's bungling."³ To avoid acknowledging that the man she married has turned out to be "inept," a "stricken deer,"⁴ Susanna appears to concentrate on portraying a flute-playing gentleman, his "mind richly stored with literary allusions,"⁵ who becomes the unfortunate dupe of his less scrupulous social inferiors only because his nobility of character prevents him from foreseeing their designs.

However, as Michael Peterman has reminded us,⁶ the texts by which we usually make the acquaintance of the Moodies are deficient. When we turn to the most complete version of *Roughing It*, the second edition of 1852, it becomes evident that the haziness of Susanna's treatment of the economic details of her family's life was not deliberately evasive. Rather, in literature as in life she left that department to her husband. J. W. Dunbar Moodie originally contributed three chapters to his wife's book which were excised from the 1871 edition and all versions of that text now in print. The object of the first two of his chapters was "to afford a connecting link between my wife's sketches, and to account for some circumstances connected with our situation, which otherwise would be unintelligible to the reader."⁷

In explaining precisely how he committed his three major errors — moving from his cleared Cobourg farm to join Susanna's brother and sister in the bush, selling his commission which would have provided him with a steady annual income of about £100, and investing in steamboat stock which eventually proved worthless — Dunbar presents himself as the victim of both the machinations of others and his own poor judgement. On the one hand, he tries to absolve himself of responsibility for his misadventures:

After all this long probation in the backwoods of Canada, I find myself brought back in circumstances nearly to the point from whence I started, and am compelled to admit that *had I only followed my own unassisted judgment*, when I arrived with my wife and child in Canada, and quietly settled down on the cleared farm I had purchased, in a well settled neighbourhood, and with the aid of the means I then possessed, I should now in all probability have been in easy if not in affluent circumstances.⁸

With the aid of experience and hindsight, he can now attribute his reverses to inconsistent instructions from the British war office and the manipulative practices of land jobbers, and hint at the family pressures which may have "assisted" his judgement. On the other hand, he quite honestly admits to his infection by the fever of speculation :

It is always somewhat humbling to our self-love to be compelled to confess what may be considered an error of judgment, but my desire to guard future settlers against similar mistakes overpowers my reluctance to own that I fell into the common error of many of my countrymen, of purchasing wild land, on speculation, with a very inadequate capital.⁹

This "common error" was compounded by his too-hasty compliance with a later rescinded "intimation from the war-office" which "appeared in all the newspapers calling on half-pay officers either to sell their commissions or to hold themselves in readiness to join some regiment."¹⁰ Not only did Dunbar quickly dispose of his commission, but he entrusted the sale and the subsequent investment of the proceeds to a speculator of rather doubtful honesty. And he freely acknowledges that he was easily persuaded to join the Traills and Stricklands in the Douro bush because he preferred the company of "gentlemen of liberal education" and a "labouring class . . . fresh from the old country" to the "rude and demoralized American farmers"¹¹ who had been his neighbours at Cobourg. Hence he ruefully warns prospective immigrants that ". . . no amount of natural sagacity or prudence, founded on experience in other countries, will be an effectual safeguard against deception and erroneous conclusions."¹²

For it must be remembered that Mr. Moodie did indeed come to Canada equipped with significant "experience in other countries." In 1814, at the age of sixteen, he had been stationed in Holland with the 21st Fusiliers, and his emigration to British North America had been preceded by a decade in British South Africa; these two adventures presumably contributed to his wife's confidence in his ability to succeed as a pioneer in the New World. Hence to enjoy a full understanding of both the book and personality of Mrs. Moodie it is necessary to see her in relation to her "beloved partner"¹⁴ who, long before Susanna ventured into autobiographical writing, had provided her with two examples: his account of his adventures as a youthful soldier in his . . . *narrative of the campaign of 1814*

in *Holland* (1831)¹⁵ and his description of his experiences as a settler in *Ten Years in South Africa* (1835).

I N 1830 SUSANNA STRICKLAND met J. W. Dunbar Moodie in London, at the home of the poet Thomas Pringle. Pringle had himself failed in his venture to settle at the Cape, where he had had some acquaintance with the three Moodie brothers,¹⁶ and where his zeal for liberty of the press had run afoul of the authoritarian structure of the colonial administration. Now he was combining his literary and his humanitarian interests by editing *Friendship's Offering* (to which Susanna contributed several poems) and working as Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society. Susanna lived for a time in Pringle's household, writing poetry and anti-slavery tracts, her penchant for self-dramatization already evident in the description of her conversion to the abolitionist movement contained in her introduction to *Negro Slavery Described By A Negro: Being the Narrative of Ashton Warner, A Native of St. Vincent's . . .* (1831).¹⁷

Susanna and Dunbar had much in common. In their late twenties and early thirties respectively, both were mature, independent adults and both saw themselves as heirs of genteel families whose fortunes had declined due to their fathers' or forefathers' honourable behaviour in a dishonourable world. Both expected to be treated with appropriate deference by their social inferiors, but as liberals with faith in the "inherent benevolence of mankind"¹⁸ both were vehemently opposed to slavery, an institution they viewed to be as detrimental to the moral well-being of the slave-owner as it was to the physical well-being of the slave. Both were aspiring authors and 1831, the year of their marriage, saw the publication of Susanna's *Enthusiasm and Other Poems* and of Dunbar's military narrative.

At this time, Dunbar was also at work on his book on South Africa, which was completed shortly before his embarkation for Canada in June 1832 but not published until nearly three years later. Dunbar later attributed to this manuscript the responsibility for his decision to "try Canada"¹⁹ rather than return to the Cape. One of its more colourful episodes describes its author's narrow escape from being trampled to death by an elephant — an episode with sufficient appeal to the sedentary Pringle for him to include it in two separate publications of his own,²⁰ but which distressed Susanna who, in her husband's words,

had imbibed an invincible dislike to that colony. . . . The wild animals were her terror, and she fancied that every wood and thicket was peopled with elephants, lions, and tigers, and that it would be utterly impossible to take a walk without treading on dangerous snakes in the grass.

"Unfortunately," he added rather dryly, "she had my own book on South Africa

to quote triumphantly in confirmation of her vague notions of danger. . . .²¹ Dunbar was unsuccessful in his argument that

travellers and book-makers, like cooks, have to collect high-flavoured dishes to please the palates of their patrons. So it was with my South African adventures; I threw myself in the way of danger from the love of strong excitement, and I collected all my adventures together, and related them in pure simplicity, without very particularly informing the reader over what space of time or place my narrative extended, or telling him that I could easily have kept out of harm's way had I felt so inclined.²²

It is therefore particularly interesting to note that when the time came for Susanna to record her own adventures as a settler she resorted to a similar process of selection to highlight her themes, such as downplaying the proximity of her brother and sister and their families in order to stress her own sense of isolation in the Douro bush.²³

I would not argue that Dunbar's now forgotten *Ten Years in South Africa* served as a direct model for his wife's justly more famous *Roughing It in the Bush*, but the books contain a number of interesting similarities. Susanna was by far the better writer, with a greater talent for reproducing dialect and dialogue, developing incidents and characters, and shaping chapters into self-contained narrative units. However, there is no doubt that Susanna was well acquainted with her husband's book (which "was sufficiently popular to yield the author £64 13s. by April 1841,"²⁴ although it was never reprinted), and that he, as co-editor of *The Victoria Magazine* and participator in *Roughing It*, was privy to much of her literary activity.

DUNBAR'S ATTRACTION to South Africa seems to have increased in retrospect, under the influence of his misadventures in Canada. In 1852, he declared that "when I left South Africa it was with the intention of returning to that colony,"²⁵ and in 1866, three years before his death, he described "going to Canada instead of returning to South Africa" as "my first mistake."²⁶ However, earlier remarks which appear toward the end of *Ten Years in South Africa* indicate that in 1829 he had been quite happy to leave the Cape:

I found, notwithstanding all my exertions, that I was not likely to be able to settle comfortably for life, or to have the means of providing for a family, according to my first expectations, . . . and I therefore determined to wait an opportunity of returning to Europe and trying my fortune in some other situation.²⁷

Dunbar's experiences in South Africa proved prophetic of his trials in Canada, for in each colony he made two unsuccessful attempts to establish himself on the land as a gentleman farmer. In 1816, the near-bankruptcy of Melsetter, the

Moodie family's traditional estate in the Orkney Islands, prompted Dunbar's eldest brother, Benjamin, to hatch an emigration scheme to transport impoverished Scottish labourers to the Cape of Good Hope, which had recently been ceded to the British by the Dutch. Benjamin's vision of himself "re-ensconced on a mighty estate, as the Colonial counterpart of the lairds of Melsetter, surrounded by his retainers"²⁸ foundered on the unco-operativeness of the colonial administration, the intransigence of his men, and his own ignorance of South Africa. In 1819 he was joined by his younger brothers, Donald and Dunbar. The three applied for land grants in the new town of Fredericksburg, a military settlement being established in the Neutral Territory of the Eastern Province as a buffer against the Kaffirs. After several years it became clear that because of personal quarrels among the men and administrative bungling Fredericksburg was, in Dunbar's words, "doomed to be sacrificed between the conflicting views of two governors."²⁹ His subsequent losses, "which had been principally occasioned by relying too much on the good faith of the government,"³⁰ did not, however, cure him of the trust in authority which would contribute to some of his Canadian mishaps. Nor did he adopt the motto "Fools build and wise men buy,"³¹ which ultimately proved Benjamin's salvation. After extricating himself from the debts incurred by his ill-fated colonizing venture, the eldest Moodie eventually prospered from the wool trade partly because he retained Groot Vader Bosch, an established farm in a long-settled area. Donald embarked on an even more illustrious career when he married into a prominent Cape family and received a series of administrative appointments, later becoming Colonial Secretary of Natal and Speaker of the Natal Legislative Assembly. It is tempting to infer that the sense of bitterness and betrayal pervading Dunbar's final account of his life, in the Introduction to *Scenes and Adventures, As a Soldier and Settler, During Half a Century* (1866), arose in part from his knowledge that his two brothers who remained in South Africa had achieved the degree of physical comfort and social standing he had striven for in Canada in vain. But in the 1820's Dunbar was young and restless, lacking the anchor of a wife and family to give him a firm commitment to South Africa. Following the dissolution of Fredericksburg he spent more than three years working a substantial grant of very attractive, fertile land near the mouth of the Bushman's River. While he continued to enjoy the wild sports of the country, a combination of loneliness, ill health, and impatience at the slow progress of his material fortunes finally sent him back to England in search of "some other situation."

LIKE *Roughing It in the Bush, Ten Years in South Africa* opens with a humorous shipboard anecdote and closes with unexpected abrupt-

ness. Its narrative structure is similarly diffuse, intertwining personal experiences and observations with addresses to the reader, pieces of factual information, descriptions of the landscape, snippets of social analysis, and sketches of local customs and “original” characters. Susanna chose a more interesting narrative strategy by dramatizing the process of her gradual acclimatization to her new environment (learning to milk cows, bake bread, and outsmart the Yankees); Dunbar adopted the more reliable but duller persona of the man of experience, already cognizant of basic factual matters such as the farming methods most suitable to various areas of the Cape. Both, however, wrote with absolute confidence in the validity of their observations; Susanna’s epigraph, “I sketch from Nature, and the picture’s true,” was preceded by her husband’s claim to present “a true notion of the habits and mode of life of a colonist in the southern extremity of Africa.”³² His sincere belief in his own objectivity appears in his claim to both “give my own impressions without disguise on every topic on which I write”³³ and to “avoid all reflections of a personal nature,”³⁴ thereby “leaving the reader to form such conclusions from the facts I mention as may suit his own particular mode of thinking.”³⁵ Like Susanna, he assumes the stance of a seasoned settler addressing prospective emigrants, whom he warns not to trust “the narratives of travellers which, unfortunately, in nine cases out of ten, are lamentably deficient in that kind of information which is of most vital importance to the settler.”³⁶

Dunbar’s desire to include vital information regarding the terrain, agriculture, wildlife, and potential economic development of the new land frequently gives *Ten Years* the flavour of a settlers’ handbook, rather like a masculine, South African precursor to *The Female Emigrant’s Guide, and Hints on Canadian Housekeeping* (1859) later written by his sister-in-law, Catharine Parr Traill. Of greater interest to the Canadian reader is his book’s social analysis, where we can see the extent to which the interests, attitudes, and actual experiences of the two Moodies coincided.

Like his wife, Dunbar presents himself as a tolerant person of taste and education who takes umbrage only when confronted with violations of manners and morality which cannot fail to offend all equally refined persons of a similar liberal caste. Readers of *Roughing It* will remember how Susanna justifies her practice of not eating with her servants by declaring the matter to be a difference of education, not birth. She then demonstrates her good will by defending the humanity of Mr. Mollineux, the black man, and in the next chapter she mentions that the Indians are invited to her table. However, the subjective nature of her interest in the Indians is reflected in her habit of grouping all aboriginal Canadians under the single title “Indian,” without specifying or differentiating actual tribes. This practice is not unlike Dunbar’s use of the names “Kaffir” (which he spells “Kaffre”) and “Hottentot.” Both originated as slur-words (the former meaning

“infidel” in Arabic, the latter meaning “stutterer” in Dutch [OED]) and today both are terms of derogation. Nonetheless, like most of his English-speaking contemporaries, Dunbar accepted and used these names simply as generic designations for the people now more properly identified as Xhosa and Khoikhoi respectively. (To avoid confusion, the Moodies’ terms will be retained for the remainder of this essay.)

As well-intentioned as his wife, Dunbar goes out of his way to compliment a Jew,⁸⁷ and during his account of his visit to the Kaffirs (Xhosa) he sets up a contrast between the dour Presbyterianism of his travelling companion, Mr. S—, and his own open-mindedness. While Dunbar sees the Kaffirs as “among the happiest of the human race,” Mr. S. “frequently assumed a serious and saddening expression when he considered that these honest and kind-hearted people could be happy without any knowledge of the original sinfulness of their nature and of the only way by which they might hope to escape eternal punishment hereafter.”⁸⁸ On their journey, the two men witness a portion of a Kaffir initiation ceremony which in Dunbar’s eyes constitutes a “mirthful scene” of children “teasing and taunting” the strangely clad initiates, accompanied by women “beating their drums, clapping their hands, laughing, singing, and yelling.” True to character, Mr. S. “assumed a melancholy expression; and he lamented the ignorance and degraded condition of the Kaffres, whose extravagant and careless mirth seemed only to increase his sadness.” Dunbar, however, briefly (if condescendingly) identifies with the native scene: “. . . I felt a secret inclination to make myself a Kaffre, and share in the general hilarity around me, in which I could see nothing but innocent enjoyment.”⁸⁹

Dunbar was sufficiently impressed by the intellectual and physical attributes of the Kaffirs to declare them “a very superior race of barbarians — I cannot call them savages . . .”⁴⁰ He could, though, apply the term to the Hottentots (Khoikhoi), and his inclination to imbue the savage with some elements of nobility appears in his generalization that “The savage is habitually sincere and unsuspecting — benevolent, and complaisant in his demeanor. His vices are those of violence under powerful excitement, not of depravity of heart. If he is cruel to his enemies, he is actuated by revenge unrestrained by discipline or laws.”⁴¹ With the Hottentots, therefore, he is prepared to appreciate their generosity and honesty, their childlike manner of living “but for the present moment,”⁴² and their natural ear for music. Susanna was to praise similar qualities in the Canadian Indians, but while she romantically dubs the Indians “Nature’s gentlemen”⁴³ and broods elegiacally on the “mysterious destiny [that] involves and hangs over them, pressing them back into the wilderness, and slowly and surely sweeping them from the earth,”⁴⁴ Dunbar invests little personal emotion in the aborigines of South Africa. He describes the Hottentots as a people with fewer virtues than vices (“disgusting”

and "indolent" are two frequent epithets) as a result of their oppression by the Dutch. And despite his interest in the indigenous qualities of the Kaffirs and his distress at the activities of sectarian missionaries among them, he looks forward to their conversion to civilization and Christianity with no apprehension that such changes might spell the end of the very features he admires.

Both Dunbar and Susanna, however, reserve their greatest disapproval for uncivilized whites. The Cape Dutch in Dunbar's narrative occupy a position similar to that of the unruly lower classes (British and Yankee) in Susanna's: both groups are castigated for their lack of manners, disinterest in education, and hypocritical dishonesty. Dunbar's discovery that the Boers are "even less refined than the Hottentots"⁴⁵ anticipates his wife's unfavourable comparison of the recently disembarked immigrants at Grosse Isle to the more gentlemanly Indians. As a teen-aged soldier Dunbar had enjoyed the company and care of the European Dutch, including a lively flirtation with a young widow, but he finds the Cape Dutch at times less than human. From their customs at funerals he infers an "indifference to death"⁴⁶ and from their marital and extra-marital behaviour he infers a similar incapacity to love. His account of the Boer admiration of "'Sem-migheid,' or cunning" could scarcely have failed to alert the real-life Susanna to the borrowing of the Yankees, a practice which bears a surprising resemblance to the "friendly requests" inflicted upon the Moodie brothers by their neighbours at Groot Vaders Bosch:

We had many amusing instances of the petty cunning of the Dutch at Groot Vaders Bosch. Scarcely a day passed but some slave or Hottentot brought an epistle to my brother from one of the neighbouring "frows" or "boers," accompanied by some present of wild flowers, or, perhaps, half a dozen of eggs; in return for which they humbly requested him to send some article by the bearer, which they well knew was five or six times the value of their "present," as they called it. . . . When they were successful in this advantageous interchange of friendship, they never failed to renew their applications as soon as an opportunity occurred.⁴⁷

Both Moodies treat unacceptable behaviour on the part of fellow whites with a combination of humour, disdain, and alarm. Each perceives the threat of social upheaval occasioned by the colonizing process — a threat more immediate than the possibility of hostilities from the now-subdued natives. Susanna's genuine distress at the spectacle of "insubordination and misrule"⁴⁸ at Grosse Isle is scarcely modified by her later explanation that in the old world the lower orders and the servant class are kept in check by a system of "unnatural restraint."⁴⁹ When she describes their disorderly conduct as "the natural result of a sudden emancipation from former restraint"⁵⁰ she echoes her husband's phrasing but not his sentiments. Dunbar concluded his discussion of the misbehaviour of his brother's indentured servants with the declaration that "Nothing is more dangerous to the character of men than sudden changes from a state of artificial restraint

to entire liberty of action,"⁵¹ but Susanna reveals that "With all their insolent airs of independence, I must confess that I prefer the Canadian to the European servant."⁵² A similar contrast between her impetuous romanticism and his cooler (and often duller) moderation appears in their attitudes towards the abolition of slavery. While Susanna passionately declared herself in favour of "*early and total abolition*" as "the only practical remedy for this moral and political gangrene,"⁵³ Dunbar's first-hand knowledge of the complexity of a slave society led him to propose a system of gradual emancipation which would ease the slave into the valid economic role of tenant farmer.

As a narrative, *Ten Years* contains far less of the thematic density created by *Roughing It's* almost novelistic profusion of secondary characters and incidents. Her sequence of maladjusted Englishmen — Tom Wilson, Brian the Still-Hunter, Captain N, and Mr. Malcolm — can be seen as oblique (and at times inadvertent) reflections of the Moodies themselves, and a projection of the dangers awaiting those who allow the wilderness to loosen their grip on the manners and values of civilization. Less an artist than his wife, Dunbar presents only one such "singular character":⁵⁴ Colin Mackenzie, a precursor of Tom Wilson in his improvidence and simplicity. To this young fellow officer at Fredericksburg Dunbar gives the affection of a "brother,"⁵⁵ sharing with him an interest in books, hunting, and good society. However, Mackenzie's willingness to endanger his health, his pocket, and occasionally his life graphically illustrates the pitfalls awaiting the man who (like Dunbar on occasion) has a propensity to act with more courage than judgement.

DUNBAR HOPED TO FOLLOW *Ten Years* with a similar book on Canada. In November 1834, he wrote to the publisher Richard Bentley, who then had the South African manuscript under consideration, offering

to give a plain unaffected narrative of the progress and proceedings of a settler in this colony whether he settled in the cleared and improved parts of the country or went into the back woods. I have tried both of these kinds of settlement myself — hitherto successfully — and can therefore form a tolerable estimate of their respective advantages and disadvantages.⁵⁶

Nothing came of this proposal, however, and Dunbar's major literary activities in Canada appear to have been limited to his contributions to *The Victoria Magazine*, *The Literary Garland*, and *Roughing It in the Bush*, and his *Scenes and Adventures, As a Soldier and Settler, During Half A Century*. Published by subscription, his last book is a collection of previously printed pieces, assembled by a tired, ailing elderly gentleman in an attempt to "procure some support for my wife and myself in our old age."⁵⁷ The Introduction is a catalogue of the virtues

and sufferings of himself and his family, and a justification of the practices which in 1863 led to his reluctant resignation from his position as Sheriff of Hastings County. In her detailed investigation into the Moodies' Belleville years in *Gentle Pioneers*, Audrey Y. Morris upholds Dunbar's declaration that he had acted in good faith and was the victim of his political enemies, noting that

John W. Dunbar Moodie's particular contribution to his adopted land was to be the standards he set in the behaviour of a public servant. His career was not entirely without blemish, but it sparkled in contrast with the usual standards of behaviour. And he did have some small influence in raising those standards.⁵⁸

Posthumous praise and an impoverished old age⁵⁹ — not quite the reward envisaged by “the poet, the author, the musician, the man of books, of refined taste and gentlemanly habits”⁶⁰ who partnered Susanna Moodie across the Atlantic.

NOTES

- ¹ Margaret Atwood, *The Journals of Susanna Moodie* (Toronto: Oxford, 1970), p. 13.
- ² Carol Shields, *Small Ceremonies* (Toronto: Totem, 1978), p. 122.
- ³ Marian Fowler, *The Embroidered Tent* (Toronto: Anansi, 1982), p. 110.
- ⁴ Fowler, p. 122.
- ⁵ Fowler, p. 95.
- ⁶ Michael A. Peterman, “Susanna Moodie,” in *Canadian Writers And Their Works*, Fiction Series, vol. 1, ed. Robert Lecker, Jack David, and Ellen Quigley (Toronto: ECW Press, 1983), p. 83.
- ⁷ Susanna Moodie, *Roughing It in the Bush; or, Life in Canada*, 2 vols. (London: Bentley, 1852), I, 241.
- ⁸ *Roughing It*, I, 241. My emphasis.
- ⁹ *Roughing It*, I, 280.
- ¹⁰ *Roughing It*, I, 288-89.
- ¹¹ *Roughing It*, I, 286.
- ¹² *Roughing It*, I, 282.
- ¹³ *Roughing It*, I, 240.
- ¹⁴ *Roughing It*, II, 121.
- ¹⁵ First published in the *United Service Journal*, the piece was then issued in book form in the second volume of *Memoirs of the late war: comprising the personal narrative of Captain Cooke . . . the history of the campaign of 1809 in Portugal, by the Earl of Munster; and a narrative of the campaign of 1814 in Holland, by Lieut. W. D. Moodie* (2 v., London, 1831). It was again reprinted in Moodie's *Scenes and Adventures, As a Soldier and Settler, During Half a Century* (Montreal: Lovell, 1866).
- ¹⁶ “B. Moodie” was a founding member of Pringle's Literary and Scientific Society, formed in 1824. See Thomas Pringle, *Narrative of a Residence in South Africa* (1834; rpt. Cape Town: Struik, 1966), pp. 191-93.
- ¹⁷ See Carl Ballstadt, “Susanna Moodie: Early Humanitarian Works,” *Canadian Notes and Queries*, 8 (November 1971), pp. 9-10.

- ¹⁸ Lieut. J. W. D. Moodie, *Ten Years in South Africa: Including A Particular Description of the Wild Sports of That Country*, 2 vols. (London: Bentley, 1835), I, 24.
- ¹⁹ *Roughing It*, I, 244.
- ²⁰ Pringle's interest in Moodie's account led to its inclusion in *The Menageries. Quadrupeds, Described and Drawn from Living Subjects*, vol. 2. The Library of Entertaining Knowledge (London: Knight, 1831), pp. 138-42. He also quoted it in his *Narrative of a Residence in South Africa*, pp. 121-24. Moodie selected the same piece for one of his first appearances in print in Canada in *The Cobourg Star*, 17 October and 24 October, 1832. (I thank Michael Peterman for the last reference.)
- ²¹ *Roughing It*, I, 243. Susanna's fear of animals as an adult contrasts with Catharine's memory of her as a child, when she was "a great admirer of frogs and toads" and played with lizards. See Catharine Parr Traill, "A slight sketch of the early life of Mrs. Moodie (MG 29, D 81, vol. 6, pp. 9878-91, Public Archives of Canada) for more details concerning Susanna's youth and courtship.
- ²² *Roughing It*, I, 244.
- ²³ Other examples of her deliberate shaping of her text to suit her presumed audience may be discovered by comparing the preliminary versions of the eight chapters first published in *The Victoria Magazine* and *The Literary Garland* with the versions that later appeared in *Roughing It in the Bush*. See Michael Peterman, "Susanna Moodie," pp. 84-88.
- ²⁴ Carl P. Ballstadt, "Moodie, John Wedderburn Dunbar," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, IX.
- ²⁵ *Roughing It*, I, 243.
- ²⁶ J. W. Dunbar Moodie, *Scenes and Adventures, As A Soldier And Settler, During Half a Century* (Montreal: Lovell, 1866), p. ix.
- ²⁷ *Ten Years*, II, 302.
- ²⁸ Edmund H. Burrows, *The Moodies of Melsetter* (Cape Town: Balkema, 1954), p. 56.
- ²⁹ *Ten Years*, II, 103.
- ³⁰ *Ten Years*, II, 115.
- ³¹ Burrows, p. 83.
- ³² *Ten Years*, I, v.
- ³³ *Ten years*, I, 35.
- ³⁴ *Ten Years*, II, 311.
- ³⁵ *Ten Years*, I, 35.
- ³⁶ *Ten Years*, I, 2.
- ³⁷ *Ten Years*, II, 309.
- ³⁸ *Ten Years*, II, 265.
- ³⁹ *Ten Years*, II, 277-78.
- ⁴⁰ *Ten Years*, II, 245.
- ⁴¹ *Ten Years*, I, 173.
- ⁴² *Ten Years*, I, 341.
- ⁴³ *Roughing It*, I, 11.
- ⁴⁴ *Roughing It*, II, 51.

- ⁴⁵ *Ten Years*, I, 169-70.
- ⁴⁶ *Ten Years*, I, 158.
- ⁴⁷ *Ten Years*, I, 147-49.
- ⁴⁸ *Roughing It*, I, 12.
- ⁴⁹ *Roughing It*, I, 213.
- ⁵⁰ *Roughing It*, I, 217.
- ⁵¹ *Ten Years*, I, 54.
- ⁵² *Roughing It*, I, 217.
- ⁵³ *Negro Slavery Described by a Negro: Being the Narrative of Ashton Warner, a Native of St. Vincent's* (London: Maunder, 1831), pp. 95-96.
- ⁵⁴ *Ten Years*, I, 108.
- ⁵⁵ *Ten Years*, I, 112.
- ⁵⁶ J. W. D. Moodie, Letter to Richard Bentley, 9 November 1834, Richard Bentley Collection, British Library. See Michael Peterman, "Susanna Moodie," p. 82.
- ⁵⁷ *Scenes and Adventures*, p. xv. Susanna later stated that her husband "realized about six hundred dollars" from the book. Susanna Moodie to Allen Ransome, 26 December 1868, Glyde Papers; Microfilm reel A1182, Public Archives of Canada.
- ⁵⁸ Audrey Y. Morris, *Gentle Pioneers. Five Nineteenth-Century Canadians* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1968), p. 173.
- ⁵⁹ Copies of letters recently acquired on microfilm by the Public Archives of Canada reveal that the poverty of the Moodies' final years was exacerbated by yet another error in judgement. After Dunbar's resignation, the Moodies gave their estate of \$2,000 to their eldest son "on the condition that he was to give us a home during the rest of our lives." This son, Dunbar, bought a farm in Delaware, "thinking that Father wd. prefer removing to the States to remaining in Canada goaded by the recollection of intolerable wrong but his wife, a proud selfish West Indian, treated us so unkindly that after everything was prepared for our journey we both concluded that it was the best and wisest course to remain behind and work for our own living." Consequently the elderly couple was left with only \$200 and "our own mental resources." Susanna Moodie to Allen Ransome, 26 December 1868, Glyde Papers; microfilm reel A1182, Public Archives of Canada.
- ⁶⁰ *Roughing It*, I, 210.

EULOGY FOR H. MACKAY

J. D. Carpenter

Herb knew his apples.
I wanted to buy his farm
and sat all an afternoon
in his pink and green kitchen
as he spoke of spartans