

PAN AND THE CONFEDERATION POETS

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*An unknown race and people occupy
That land: are they, perhaps, from our same stock
Or do they boast an ancient ancestry
Derived from Pan, inheriting from times
Gone by a land of woods and fertile fields
And cities needing not the rule of law?*

—*Stephen Parmenius, De Navigatione (1582) trans.
David B. Quinn and Neil M. Cheshire*

ONE OF THE POEMS IN ARCHIBALD LAMPMAN'S *Alcyone* volume of 1899 is "The Song of Pan" which was first published in the July 1896 issue of *Harper's Magazine*. In this brief lyric, Lampman recounts the legend of how Pan, the Arcadian goat-god who is the patron of shepherds and of forests, came to have a pipe made of seven reeds. "Mad with love," Pan had "pursued" the maiden Syrinx until, when he "had nearly / Touched her," she was changed by the nymphs of Arcadia into a "reed."¹ This "reed" was cut by the sorrowing god and "Deftly fashioned" into "Seven / Pipes" (the syrinx) through which he "poured his pain" over the loss of the maiden "Unto earth and heaven / In a piercing strain." Lampman concludes "The Song of Pan" by drawing a parallel between the "god" and the "poet." Both are lured on by "Beauty," he observes, which "Flies, and ere they know it / Like a wraith is gone";

Then they seek to borrow
Pleasure still from wrong,
And with smiling sorrow
Turn it to a song.

In "The Song of Pan" Lampman uses the goat-god's bitter-sweet song on the syrinx as a parallel for the joy and pain (his somewhat lame oxymoron is "smiling sorrow") of the creative act. Although this poem was published in Lampman's

last volume, it is not the only parallel drawn in his work between Pan and the poet; nor is "The Song of Pan" the only poem by a Confederation poet in which Pan plays a central role. In the following pages an attempt will be made to show that Pan's various attributes and associations — his dualistic nature, his pastoral setting, his musical abilities, and his supposed death — made him a potent image, not only of the poet, but also of human nature and of Nature itself, for the 'Confederation' group, for — besides Lampman — W. W. Campbell, D. C. Scott, Charles G. D. Roberts and, of course, Bliss Carman.

There are two other poems in Lampman's canon which deal explicitly and at length with the figure of Pan. The first is a Petrarchan sonnet in *Among the Millet* (1888) entitled "The Poets." In this poem, which Raymond Knister has described as a "deeply shaded caricature,"² Lampman suggests that poets are the "Children of Pan" because they, like Pan, are "Half god, half brute, within the self-same shell, / . . . / Who dream with angels in the gate of heaven, / And skirt with curious eyes the brink of hell." Although the Pan-like poets themselves represent a yoking together of the divine and the brutish, these opposites serve to polarize their fellow humans: there are "some, the few," who love the "Poor shining angels" but the majority of people are frightened by the "goatish smell" of the "Children of Pan." On one level, then, Pan — who, in his sinister aspect, has by tradition the ability to cause *panic* — is an apt and appropriate image of the poet as outcast, as a being who, perhaps in part because he changes "with every hour from dawn till even," is beloved only by a *coterie* and rejected by the mass of society. Needless to say, the conception of the artist as an alienated outsider is Romantic in its origins; but it also echoes forward to modern and, indeed, contemporary notions of the poet's position in — or outside — Canadian society. Perhaps because it is a "caricature," Lampman's sonnet is a telling, if somewhat exaggerated, depiction of the relationship between the poet and society as it has developed from the Romantic to the Modern tradition.

In the sestet of "The Poets," Lampman draws further parallels between the poet and Pan. Addressing the "Children of Pan" directly, he says:

Half brutish, half divine, but all of earth,
 Half-way 'twixt hell and heaven, near to man,
 The whole world's tangle gathered in one span,
 Full of this human torture and this mirth:
 Life with its hope and error, toil and bliss,
 Earth-born, earth-reared, ye know it as it is.

Since we have already looked at "The Song of Pan," perhaps the first thing we notice here is the catalogue of opposites — "torture" and "mirth," "hope" and "error," "toil" and "bliss" — which, besides echoing forward to the later poem, make Pan's dualistic nature an appropriate representation of the dualism of mankind in general and of the poets in particular. The thrust of this passage is that the

“Children of Pan” are the scene of a constant strife between, on the one side, their “brutish,” lower parts and, on the other, their “divine,” higher parts and that, because of this, they are all too earthly and human. Although the “divine” part of the “Children of Pan” is not stressed in “The Poets,” it is clear from Lampman’s essay on “The Modern School of Poetry in England” (c. 1885) that the part of man which partakes of the divine is equally and, indeed, more important than that which is “Earth-born, Earth-reared.” After expounding the theory (which he took from Alfred Austin’s essay on “Old and New Canons of Poetical Criticism”) that poetry is “the ‘Transfiguration of Life,’ meaning Life with the halo of the imagination thrown over it,” Lampman observes that “human nature may be represented by the ancient Pan — half human and half beast — but the human is the mightier part, and the whole is ever striving to be divine.”³ And he continues:

The main current of the human spirit . . . is setting eternally toward a condition of order, and divine beauty and peace. A poet may never have uttered this thought, may never perhaps have been even conscious of it, but unless the general body of his work is in some way accordant with it, unless his transfiguration of life has in some way tended to strengthen and glorify the universal yearning for order and beauty and peace, the heart of man will keep no hold of it.

Implicit in this statement of the function of the poet and, beyond that, of what is worthwhile and enduring in poetry, is the idealistic meliorism which Lampman shared with his fellow Confederation poets Scott and Carman. It is precisely because the poet, though confined by the body and the senses, has an impetus towards the divine that he is able to assist mankind in its progress towards an ideal, spiritual state. Not without reason is “The Poets” bracketed in *Among the Millet* by “Aspiration” and “Truth,” two sonnets which are indicative of the role that the “Children of Pan” must play in assisting the “best upward movement of the human race.”⁴ It seems clear enough, then, that the primary characteristic of Pan — the fact of his being part animal and part god (or man) — made him for Lampman the perfect symbol of the dualistic nature of man, and, concomitantly, of the poet, whose task it is to encourage a yearning for the divine and, by so doing, to assist mankind in its movement up the evolutionary ladder.

The other Lampman poem in which Pan plays a central role is the “Favorites of Pan.” This, one of the longer poems in the *Lyrics of Earth* volume was first published as the “Successors of Pan” in the April 5, 1894 issue of *The Independent*, which was edited from 1890 to 1892 by Carman. The “Favorites of Pan,” which is Lampman’s most extended and important treatment of the goat-god, breaks naturally into three parts, each consisting of six, four-line stanzas. The first part deals with the “long ago” before the Greek gods had succumbed to the mortal blow of Christianity and “left this earth.” Drawing on the mythical association of Pan with the noon-hour, Lampman imagines a time when there came “to the tired listener’s ear / . . . at noonday or beneath the stars” what he would have

recognized as “the note of Pan.” In the Arcadian setting Pan’s music had the power to dispel “every brooded bitterness” from the listener’s “soul” and to replace these with “an unnamed delight — / A sudden brightness of the heart / A magic fire drawn down from Paradise.” This transformation, which usually derives from Nature itself in Lampman’s poetry, enabled the Arcadian listener to see, “far beyond his eyes,”

The loveliness and calm of earth
 . . . like a limitless dream remote and strange
 The joy, the strife, the triumph and the mirth,
 And the enchanted change.

From the first six stanzas of the “Favorites of Pan” it can be seen that for Lampman, the goat-god’s music was a force which enabled the listener, not only to transcend the vexations of the mundane, urban life, but also to achieve a dream-like, pastoral vision of both the human and the natural worlds.

The second part of the “Favorites of Pan” focuses not on the Arcadian past but on the Canadian present when, though “Pan has gone . . . the infinite dream / Still lives for them that heed.” “In April, when the turning year / Regains its pensive youth,” says Lampman,

To them that are in love with life
 Wandering like children with untroubled eyes,
 Far from the noise of cities and the strife,
 Strange flute-like voices rise

At noon and in the quiet of the night
 From every watery waste; and in that hour
 The same strange spell, the same unnamed delight,
 Enfolds them in its power.

The characteristic Lampman references in this passage to “April,” to the “noise” and “strife” of “cities,” to the “noon” hour, to the “flute-like voices” of the frogs, and to the child-like *naïveté* of those who would imaginatively participate in the “unnamed delight,” indicate that the “Favorites of Pan” may provide the key to a full understanding, not only of the *Lyrics of Earth* volume (where Pan also appears in “The Return of the Year” and “June”), but also of such central poems as “Heat” and “The Frogs.” For is it not possible that the significance of noon in a poem such as “Heat” and of the frogs in the poem that bears their name derives, at least in part, from their association in Lampman’s mind with Pan, whose music, whether heard in Arcadia or imagined in Canada, frees the sensitive listener to enter into the “endless dream / The high Lethean calm”? If such a possibility were allowed it would place Pan, himself a type of the poet who was wont, like the Lampman of “Heat,” to “lean at rest” during the noon-hour and who im-

parted to the frogs their "wisdom won without a quest," very near to the centre of the Canadian poet's thought and writing. It remains to the third and final part of the "Favorites of Pan" to explain how the frogs came to possess the enchanted and enchanting song of Pan.

At the time when Christianity was in its ascendancy, when (and perhaps we can detect a hint of Lampman's anti-sacerdotal bias here) "the new strains / Of hostile hymns and conquering faiths grew keen," the "old," Greek gods "fled silent and unseen" from "their deserted fanes." Pan, too, was "sadly obedient to the mightier hand" of Christ and, in "sore distress," cut "new reeds" on which, as he passed from "land to land" by "sinuous stream or grassy marge," he "blew / A note divinely large,"

And all around him on the wet
Cool earth the frogs came up, and with a smile
He took them in his hairy hands, and set
His mouth to theirs awhile,

And blew into their velvet throats;
And ever from that hour the frogs repeat
The murmur of Pan's pipes, the notes,
The answers strange and sweet;

And they that hear them are renewed
By knowledge in some god-like touch conveyed,
Entering again into the eternal mood
Wherein the world was made.

Of course, Lampman's assertion that Pan is not effectively dead, that his music may still be heard in the voices of Nature, is not especially original: virtually all the poets whose work he knew well — Wordsworth and Shelley with their "Invisible" and "universal" Pans, Keats with his "realm of Flora and old Pan," Emerson with his "eternal Pan," and even Arnold, who contrived to be "breathed on by the rural Pan" in "Kensington Gardens"⁵ — perceived the goat-god to be alive and well in Nature. Indeed, this was very nearly commonplace in nineteenth-century literature, particularly that of the *fin-de-siècle*. Nevertheless, Lampman's choice of the frogs (creatures whose amphibious nature supplies something of a parallel for the goat-god's dualism) as a vehicle for the music of Pan constitutes an original turn on a stock theme.

Whatever it may suggest with regard to the derivation or originality of Lampman's conception of Pan, the poem which we have just examined indicates that for the Canadian poet the Greek god was a vital force to be experienced in the Canadian forest. By giving imaginative credence to the perception that Pan's music can be heard in the "murmur" of frogs Lampman, in effect, gives a mythological dimension to Canadian nature. When Lampman published the "Favorites

of Pan" it had been many years since Andrew Shiels had regretted the lack of "classic rivers and sylvan brooks (each bearing its own specific legend . . .)" in Canada and many years since Charles Sangster had observed that no nymphs or neriads or gnomes appear out of the "crystal streams" of the St. Lawrence "To Charm the pale Ideal Worshipper / Of Beauty."⁷ Yet the Confederation poets were still searching for figures to mythologize the Canadian environment, to affirm the existence here of a mythic heritage that stretched back to the roots of Western civilization. Lampman's Pan is both ubiquitous and indigenous: he sings out of the heart of Nature, which is at once universal and local, past and present. As we shall see in a few moments, Lampman's conception of Pan as a force infused in and speaking through physical nature, and, indeed, as a metaphor for that nature, was shared by both Roberts and Carman.

GIVEN THE USE LAMPMAN MADE OF PAN, both as a type of the poet and as a power in nature, it is hardly surprising that W. W. Campbell should have mourned his memory in "Bereavement of the Fields" (1899) by likening him to "some rare Pan of those old Grecian days."⁸ Nor is it surprising in view of the friendship that existed between Lampman and Campbell — the fact that they were for a time neighbours in Ottawa and for a time, with Duncan Campbell Scott, co-authors of the *Mermaid Inn* column in *The Globe* — that Campbell, too, saw Pan as an apt image of the poet. Campbell was, by all accounts, of a more melancholy, pessimistic complexion than Lampman and, hence, he tended to see both the myth of the goat-god and the fate of the poet through dark-tinted spectacles. Campbell's incidental references to Pan, in "The Lyre Degenerate" (1905) and in "The Tragedy of Man" (1915), tend to bear out Carl Klinck's observation that, characteristically, he "dwells . . . less upon the joys of Pan's songs than upon the tragedy of his life and death."⁹ This observation is directed specifically at Campbell's only extended treatment of Pan — the poem entitled "Pan the Fallen" which was included in his third volume, *The Dread Voyage and Other Poems* (1893).

Campbell's Pan, a less attractive figure even than the one in Lampman's "The Poets," is a "grotesque shape," "Part man, but mostly beast, / Who drank and lied, and snatched what bones / Men threw him from their feast." In "Pan the Fallen," the god with "pipes and goatish hoof" is a moribund figure of fun, a clown and an entertainer, whom "man despised / . . . And still would have it so." Beneath Pan's "sardonic" mask, "Elfin music," and "clownish play," however, the speaker of the poem discerns a gaze which is directed towards "some far heaven / Whence a soul had fallen down." Eventually the "careless" people who had rewarded Pan for his entertainment with "earthflung pence" become "tired for a

time of his antics" and leave him to starve and, ultimately, to die in the "dust" of the "empty" marketplace. But in death the god's "tired face" is "turned towards heaven" and suffused by a "softer light" and a "peace ineffable." "Pan the Fallen" concludes with a description of the reaction of the "careless" people when, in the moonlight, they discover the dead god:

the people, when they found him,
 Stood still with awesome fear.
 No more they saw the beasts' rude hoof,
 The furtive, clownish leer.
 But the lightest spirit in that throng
 Went silent from the place,
 For they knew the look of a god released
 That shone from his dead face.

Although, as Klinck says, Campbell does not "labour the obvious moral"¹⁰ of the poem, it is abundantly clear that in "Pan the Fallen" he is dealing with the fate of the poet in a callous and unthinking society. While Campbell's sombre — and slightly sentimental — use of Pan as a type of the poet is reminiscent of Lampman's "The Poets," "Pan the Fallen" also echoes forward to such poems as Layton's "Cold Green Element" and Klein's "Portrait of the Poet as Landscape." Like the later Canadian poets, Campbell offers a dark, albeit not unrelievedly negative, view of the poet as an outsider to whom recognition comes, if at all, too late.

While Lampman's "The Poets" may well have supplied some of the inspiration for Campbell's "Pan the Fallen," it has been suggested by Sandra Djwa that in the "Favorites of Pan" Lampman himself owes a debt to an earlier Canadian poem: "The Pipes of Pan" by Charles G. D. Roberts.¹¹ Since it was published in Roberts' second volume, *In Divers Tones* (1886), "The Pipes of Pan" was not one of the pieces in *Orion and Other Poems* (1880) which had had a catalytic effect on Lampman in c. 1881. Nevertheless, the transplanted hellenism of "The Pipes of Pan" recalls the poems in the *Orion* volume which by Roberts' own admission are "harsh and ill-formed . . . / Of alien matters in distant regions / Wrought in the youth of the centuries."¹² (It might also be noted that the epigraph to *Orion and Other Poems* is a prayer in Greek beseeching Pan to make the speaker inwardly beautiful.) Roberts' aim in "The Pipes of Pan," however — an aim which most certainly looks forward to the "Favorites of Pan" — seems to have been to assert that the music of Pan can be found by those who are receptive in Canadian nature. Even the pattern followed by Roberts in "The Pipes of Pan," which is to focus first on the Arcadian past and then on the Canadian present, is similar to the one followed by Lampman in the "Favorites of Pan." There seem to be ample grounds, then, for confirming Lampman's debt to Roberts in this instance and for asserting that "The Pipes of Pan" is a seminal document for the Confederation poets' conception of Pan.

"The Pipes of Pan" consists of forty-six lines divided into four stanzas, three (the first two and the last) of eight lines each and the remaining one (the third) of twenty-two lines. In the paired stanzas which open the poem Roberts gives a dreamily atmospheric description of the "vale" of the Greek gods. Roberts' "Tempe" is a cosy pastoral valley "within shepherding watch of Olympus"; and it is "Walled from the world forever under a vapour of dreams." Within the vale of Tempe flows "sweetly the river Peneus" whose banks are frequented by centaurs, dryads, and nymphs. With the third and longest stanza of the poem the focus is narrowed to a "nook" where "Two rivulets fall to mix with Peneus." This is where the elements of air, earth, and water commingle ("grass waves in the . . . water," "roots" "Twist thro' dripping soil," "the air / Grooms with the dripping tangle . . . of branches") and where Pan, whose form represents the fusion of the earthly and the divine, comes to rest when "his piping / Flags." On this "pregnant earthly spot" Roberts imagines Pan "breaking and casting away" his "pipes outworn" and fitting "new reeds to his mouth with the weird earth-melody in them, / . . . alive with a life able to mix with the god's." When Pan blows a "searching sequence" of notes on his new pipes "a bird stirs and flutes in the gloom / Answering." But Roberts' main interest in "The Pipes of Pan" is not the goat-god's Orphic ability to charm the creatures of the natural world (this forms the subject of the related poem entitled "Marsyas");¹³ rather, his concern here is with the "outworn pipes" which are carried away by the river Peneus. Pan's "God-breath lurks in each fragment" of these pipes "forever," and they are "Dispersed by Peneus / . . . / Over the whole green earth and globe of sea . . . / . . . to secret spots, where in visible form / Comes not the god, though he comes declared in his workings." Like Lampman after him, Roberts asserts that the spirit of Pan lives on, that his music can be heard by "mortals" who, whether at "morn," or "eve," or "noondays" find these pipes, play them, and "fling them away." The mechanism through which Roberts' mortals can apprehend the music of the goat-god is clumsier and less imaginative than Lampman's use of the frogs as vehicles for the "note of Pan." Yet the concluding stanza of "The Pipes of Pan," which turns on the effect of Pan's music on the "mortals" who have played the reed and been infected by the "God-breath" within them, is, if at all, only marginally less effective than the equivalent passages in the "Favorites of Pan":

Thereafter
 Creeps strange fire in their veins, murmur strange
tongues in their brain,
 Sweetly evasive a secret madness takes them, — a charm-struck
 Passion for woods and wild life, the solitude of the hills.
 Therefore they fly the heedless throngs and traffic of cities,
 Haunt mossy caverns, and wells bubbling ice-cool;
and their souls

death and, finally, the "translation" of the artist-piper. Scott may even have been familiar with the legend, traceable to Plutarch, that Pan's death was first reported to the passengers on a ship bound for Italy. With the addition of some poetic alchemy on Scott's part, this legend could have been transformed into the tale of the piper who drowns aboard the "outland" ship that sails into his "cove." Be this as it may, however, — and it would clearly be unwise, without embarking on a Lowesian journey on the road to Arll, to insist too strongly in the matter — there are ample parallels between Scott's piper and the Confederation Pan. For Scott, as for Lampman and Roberts, the figure of the piper who, in life, sings "into nature's heart, / . . . / With deep, unconscious, childlike art" and, in death, attains a kind of immortality in art and nature was a potent image of the poet himself and, beyond that, of a pastoral ideal which to him was the very source and substance of poetry.

IT IS FITTING THAT THIS DISCUSSION of Pan and the Confederation poets should end with Bliss Carman, the writer who made a veritable cult of the goat-god and gave his name to the five-volume series entitled *The Pipes of Pan* (1902-1905). Of all the Confederation poets, Carman drew most extensively on the myth of Pan, making the goat-god a symbol of "the mystical confluence of Earth and Spirit in nature and man."¹⁷ John Robert Sorfleet has persuasively argued that a major theme of Carman's work from the nineties onwards was the "kinship among all that exists."¹⁸ It is hardly surprising, therefore, that in the early years of the present century, Pan, traditionally symbolizing the fusion of the earthly and the divine, the physical and the spiritual, became, not only Carman's "favourite deity," but also an "up-to-date figure in [his] cosmology."

In the title poem of *The Pipes of Pan* series, Carman, like Lampman in "The Song of Pan," rehearses the myth of Pan's pursuit of Syrinx and his construction of his pipe from "a swaying river reed."¹⁹ He then proceeds to assert, in stanza after stanza, that Pan's spirit, an omnipresent and omniscient power in history, in man, and in nature, can still be apprehended in "Mountain brook," "orchard bird," and, indeed, in all the voice of creation. Carman's exhaustive, and exhausting, catalogue of these various voices includes, amongst others, frogs (of course), crickets, cicadas, owls, cattle, horses, sheep, wolves, eagles, and even mink and moose — all of whose "bubbling notes once ran / Thrilling through the pipes of Pan." In short, "The Pipes of Pan" makes it abundantly clear that, for Carman, Pan is a "world deity,"²⁰ an ever-present force both in the world of nature and in the affairs of man. Following a poem on "Marsyas," whom Carman, like Roberts, perceived as a cognate of Pan, the first volume of *The Pipes of Pan* continues with related poems such as "Syrinx," "The Magic Flute," "A Shepherd in Lesbos,"

"The Lost Dryad," "The Dead Faun," and "A Young Pan's Prayer," this last of which is less a treatment of the Arcadian god than an expression of Carman's own poetic and spiritual aspirations. A detailed examination of these poems, let alone of the others in the five *Pipes of Pan* volumes which partake of the Pan myth either explicitly or implicitly, is beyond the bounds of the present undertaking. Suffice it to say that, for a time, Pan stood at the very centre of Carman's conception of the essential unity of creation and was for him a figure whose eternal pipes, when heard by the young Pan-poet, could restore to him the elemental power of nature.

James Cappon is right in observing that the Pan of Carman's later poetry is no longer the "world deity" of *The Pipes of Pan* but, rather, is a more muted and less omnipresent god who symbolizes merely "a wild music of nature." Nevertheless, whether his pipes are heard in the song of Catskill thrushes, as in "Pan in the Catskills," or in the music of a hurdy-gurdy man, as in "The Urban Pan," the goat-god is still very much alive in the less vigorous but often technically more accomplished poetry of Carman's last period (1905 and following). The nostalgia evoked by the pipes of Pan in these later poems is a nostalgia for a lost, pastoral ideal located in an Arcadian world whose memory enables the poet to transcend for a moment "the noise of truck and van" and to participate in "the springtime of the world."²¹ It is tempting to see the vanished, halcyon past for which Carman laments in "The Urban Pan" as the pastoral past, not merely of Acadia, but of America too; for by 1906 when this poem was first published in the May 5 issue of the *Saturday Evening Post* urban life was, increasingly, more of a reality for more people than were the pastoral haunts of the typical Confederation Pan.

The Confederation poets, like their predecessors and contemporaries in the United States and the United Kingdom, each succeeded in different ways and for different reasons in giving a local habitation and a name to Pan. Yet behind the differences which characterize the treatment of Pan by Roberts, Lampman, Campbell, Scott, and Carman there are several notable similarities. For nearly all the Confederation group, the dualistic Pan is a type of the pastoral poet who, because he is in tune with and even a part of nature, is an outsider in the cacophonous world of the city. For most of them, perhaps following Wordsworth and Emerson, he is also a force which is infused into and speaks through all creation, a metaphor for the natural world itself, calling the receptive listener, the Pan-poet, away from the "noise of truck and van," the "throng and traffic of the cities," into communion with the undying soul, the immortal heart, or the primal unity of Nature. What Pan offered to the Confederation poets was an imaginative means of partaking, not only in the eternal power of nature, but also in a vanished, and vanishing pastoral ideal. A. J. M. Smith, in his "Rejected Preface" to *New Provinces* (1936), looked back on earlier Canadian poetry and saw all-too-many uninspired "exercises . . . concerned with pine trees, the open road, God, snowshoes or Pan."²² And, almost exactly forty years earlier, in a brief discussion of Lampman's *Lyrics*

of *Earth* in *The Atlantic Monthly* for September 1896, an anonymous reviewer, after noticing the "sound" of the "syrinx" and the presence of Pan in the volume, had commented that "perhaps we demand something more than this from our poets. . . ." ²³ There is an element of truth in both these observations, but it need not blind us to the fact that Pan was for a time a vital force in the environs of Ottawa and Fredericton, and in the imaginations of the Confederation poets.

NOTES

- ¹ *The Poems of Archibald Lampman (including At the Long Sault)*, ed. and intro. Margaret Coulbly Whitridge (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1964).
- ² "The Poetry of Archibald Lampman," in *Critical Views of Canadian Writers: Archibald Lampman*, ed. and intro. Michael Gnarowski (Toronto: Ryerson, 1970), p. 116.
- ³ *Archibald Lampman: Selected Prose*, ed. and intro. Barrie Davies (Ottawa: Tecumseh, 1975), pp. 93-94.
- ⁴ "Two Canadian Poets: A Lecture," *University of Toronto Quarterly*, 13 (July 1944), 407.
- ⁵ Particularly useful in regard to the background of the Pan myth in English and American literature have been: Helen H. Law, *Bibliography of Greek Myth in English Poetry* (Oxford, Ohio: American Classical League Bulletin 27, 1955), Douglas Bush, *Mythology and the Romantic Tradition in English Poetry* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1969), and Patricia Merivale, *Pan the Goat-God: His Myth in Modern Times* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1969).
- ⁶ "Preface," *The Witch of Westcot; A Tale of Nova Scotia . . .* (Halifax: Joseph Howe, 1831), p. [2].
- ⁷ *The St. Lawrence and the Saguenay and Other Poems; Hesperus and Other Poems*, ed. and intro. Gordon Johnston (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1972), p. 11. See also Charles Sangster, *Norland Echoes and Other Strains and Lyrics*, ed. and intro. Frank M. Tierney (Ottawa: Tecumseh, 1976), pp. 9-11.
- ⁸ *The Poetical Works of Wilfred Campbell*, ed. with a Memoir by W. J. Sykes (London: Hodder and Stoughton, n.d.).
- ⁹ *Wilfred Campbell* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1942), pp. 119-20; see also p. 52 for the possible influence of John Fiske, *Myths and Myth-Makers* (1872) on "Pan the Fallen."
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 120.
- ¹¹ See "Lampman's Fleeting Vision," in *Colony and Confederation: Early Canadian Poets and Their Background*, ed. George Woodcock (Vancouver: Univ. of British Columbia Press, 1974), p. 132.
- ¹² *Poems* (Boston: L. D. Page, 1907).
- ¹³ Both Pan and the satyr Marsyas engaged in musical contests with Apollo, the former in the so-called "Judgement of Midas" and the latter preceding the so-called "Flaying of Marsyas."
- ¹⁴ See Milton Wilson, "Scott's Drowned Poet," and Gary Geddes, "Piper of Many Tunes: Duncan Campbell Scott," in *Duncan Campbell Scott: A Book of Criticism*,

- ed. and intro. S. L. Dragland (Ottawa: Tecumseh, 1974), pp. 136-38 and pp. 165-77; both first published in *Canadian Literature*.
- ¹⁵ Although Scott's suggestively Scottish "Arl" could be a contraction of "Ar[gy]ll," it is also suggestive of the word All, recalling the erroneous tradition that "Pan" was derived from the word for all (*Pan*). The goat-god is also supposed to have entertained "all" the gods. There is a sense in which Scott's piper is "The Piper of All."
- ¹⁶ *The Poems of Duncan Campbell Scott* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1926).
- ¹⁷ James Cappon, *Bliss Carman and the Literary Currents and Influences of His Time* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1930), p. 117.
- ¹⁸ "Transcendentalist, Mystic, Evolutionary Idealist: Bliss Carman, 1886-1894," in *Colony and Confederation: Early Canadian Poets and Their Background*, ed. George Woodcock, p. 203.
- ¹⁹ *Pipes of Pan* (Boston: Page, 1906).
- ²⁰ Cappon, p. 202.
- ²¹ *The Poems of Bliss Carman*, ed. and intro. John Robert Sorfleet (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1976).
- ²² Quoted from the text of the "Rejected Preface" contained in A. J. M. Smith, *Towards a View of Canadian Letters* (Vancouver: Univ. of British Columbia Press, 1973), pp. 170-73, and reprinted in Michael Gnarowski, ed., *New Provinces* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1976), pp. xxvii-xxxii.
- ²³ "Comment on New Books," *The Atlantic Monthly*, 77 (September 1896), 425-26.

LIVES OF THE POET

Ron Miles

To biographers, in rebuttal,
 these facts. We whored little
 and only for reputation's sake.
 Alcohol and drugs were like
 chocolates to the matron, merely
 ensuring the inevitable, rarely
 adding an ounce to the burden.

Politics? Aesthetics? Metals to harden
 the mind, apologies for drought.
 Sweethearts abandoned, friends we fought,
 only the hazards of living enough.

What remains, to explain, to rebuff,
 massive egos and sexual perversion?
 More meek, more natural than a third-hand version.