$5.00 per copy

CANADIAN LITERATURE No. 83

Winter, 1979

SPECIAL ISSUE: INTELLECTUAL HISTORY

Articles

BY SUSAN MANN TROFIMENKOFF, DOUGLAS OWRAM, PIERRE SAVARD, WAYNE ROBERTS, A. B. MCKILLOP, ALLAN SMITH, GRAEME PATTERSON, GEORGE WOODCOCK, FRANCIS SPARSHOTT, DENNIS DUFFY, ELI MANDEL

Bibliography

BY DAVID STAINES

Poems

BY ALFRED G. BAILEY, DAVID SOLWAY, RALPH GUSTAFSON, DOUGLAS BARBOUR, PATRICK LANE, DARYL HINE, TOM WAYMAN

Reviews

BY MICHAEL STEIG, KATHY MEZEI, PAUL STANWOOD, D. J. HALL

Opinions and Notes

BY JAMES DOYLE, NORMAN SHRIVE, MAURICE LEBEL

A QUARTERLY OF CRITICISM AND REVIEW

PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA, VANCOUVER

CANADIAN LITERATURE

LITTERATURE CANADIENNE

NUMBER 83, WINTER 1979

A Quarterly of Criticism and Review

PRINTED IN CANADA BY MORRISS PRINTING COMPANY LTD., VICTORIA

Second Class Mail registration number 1375

Publication of *Canadian Literature* is assisted by the Canada Council

Canadian Literature is indexed in the *Canadian Periodical Index* and is available in microfilm from University Microfilms, 35 Mobile Drive, Toronto M4A 1H6

Back issues prior to current year available from Kraus Reprint Co., Route 100, Millwood, New York 10546

Unsolicited manuscripts will not be returned unless accompanied by stamped, addressed envelopes. Poems by invitation only.

Address subscriptions to Circulation Manager, *Canadian Literature*, University of British Columbia, 2075 Wesbrook Mall, Vancouver, B.C. V6T 1W5

SUBSCRIPTION $18.00 A YEAR IN CANADA $21.00 ABROAD

ISSN 0008-4360

contents

editorial

A SHAPING CONTEXT

IN MANY WAYS, INTELLECTUAL HISTORY can be seen as a series of articulate relationships between a people, its place, its time, and its institutions. By "institutions" I mean a variety of structures. People are who they are partly because of their church and their school, their form of government and their banking system, the holidays they celebrate and the newspapers they read. And they are who they are in Canada in large part because of the various roles of the Roman Catholic orders, Ryerson's Methodism, and the Anglicanism of Bishop Medley and Bishop Strachan; because of Joseph Howe's and Goldwin Smith's and René Lévesque's journalism; because of the nineteenth-century influence of Queen's University, Laval, McGill, Dalhousie, and the University of Toronto; because of systems that allow into existence things like Royal Commissions, Legal Aid, labour unions, and Letters to the Editor. Through such channels we have been trained, sometimes constrained (certainly, as John Porter pointed out some years ago in the *Vertical Mosaic*, they helped stratify Canadian society and organize levels of power); at the same time we use the freedom of expression that they have led us to desire as touchstones of other values as well.

"Place" and "time" refer to equally varied concepts — not just to locale and contemporaneity but also to more general attitudes toward the nature and functions of space and tradition. "Space" involves a sense of relationship — whether hemispheric or personal — which in turn constitutes one of the chief elements in people's intellectual preference for centralized and hierarchical or regional and diversified systems of order. Attitudes toward "home" and "here" punctuate postcolonial as well as colonial writing, linking place with political allegiance. A sense of place affects government, therefore, through definitions of cultural "unity" and notions concerning the virtues of regional and ethnic variation. It affects economics, through principles of land ownership (the private home, the CPR grant, the church estates). It affects many of the principles of design in art and architecture. It affects communications theory, transportation means, and the identification (as in Innis and McLuhan) of transport with communication

in a spatial age. A sense of space also affects ecological attitude: Malcolm Lowry, for example, identified an idea of "wilderness" with Canada's true soul; land was to enjoy rather than develop. In an entirely different context (a 1978 book from Arno Press entitled *Ernest Thompson Seton: Man in Nature and the Progressive Era 1880-1915*), John Wadland charts the functional disparities between technological aspirations and biological necessities, and the organizational and philosophical ones between Seton's pantheistic "Woodcraft Indians" and the institutionally more successful Boy Scout Movement of America. Being in and on and of the landscape differs widely from being owner over it, and in the rational basis for this distinction lies much of the history of twentieth-century Canadian social change, industrial growth, American connection, and literary concern.

"Time," clearly, is involved in such change. To extrapolate its meaning to involve "tradition" is to see its involvement also in various institutional survivals and in matters like Canada's regional-central dispute. Linear notions of tradition tend to define culture centrally and singly: a frame of mind which Creighton, Grant, Frye, and Abbé Groulx all enunciate, though separately and differently. Alternative notions of tradition — brachiate, perhaps, or discontinuous, or multinuclear — emphasize disparities and simultaneities instead, as in Eli Mandel's *doppelgänger* poems, or Robert Kroetsch's *Seed Catalogue*, or possibly Marshall McLuhan's *Understanding Media*. Tied with this distinction is yet another: between public polity and private belief, public myth and private ritual. To grow within a culture does not necessarily mean to accept it wholly, nor does it mean to reject another utterly. And from this ambivalence derive still further connections between a nation's art and a nation's minds.

One must guard against easy generalizations about a national imagination, for there are many elements that go into the making of public traditions, and as many more that impel how people think and act privately. No truly creative writer serves only the state. No truly creative thinker draws ideas only from within a national boundary. And in Canada — which has inherited so many institutions, modified so many others, been further shaped as it deliberately leaves its borders open to immigration, transportation, and the free exchange of ideas and information — no claim that intellectual history is a purely national phenomenon could ever be satisfactorily countenanced. English, French, and American educators (and educations) have had their impact; Montalembert, Disraeli, Emerson, and Arnold, as well as Garneau, Macdonald, Haliburton, and Aubert de Gaspé, influenced Canada's nineteenth-century experience. And the Canadian pantheon manages to include Greek muses, Norse gods, Christian saints, Jewish sages, Jung, Marx, Darwin, Freud, English travellers, American engineers, Shakespeare, Dickens, Voltaire, Locke, and Dewey. As well as Gandhi, Mohammed, Fanon, and Lao Tzu. The point is that people read widely, following their own minds along paths that others might or might not follow. Traditions constantly reconnect

and coalesce. And asking where ideas come from is consequently a question destined never to be answered with crisp finality.

Still, people do write and do exchange ideas, and there is ample justification for seeing in the ideas and beliefs and social movements of any time a context for literature. Who is Ralph Connor without his Presbyterianism? or Mazo de la Roche without her conservative imperialism? Understanding Charles Mair and *Pour la Patrie* requires an understanding of the Canada First Movement and Catholic nationalism; reading Dennis Lee and Jay MacPherson requires an appreciation of George Grant and Northrop Frye. Behind Jacques Ferron lies *parti pris*, and behind *parti pris* lies *Cité libre* as well. For Leacock there is Veblen; for Atwood there is Simone de Beauvoir; for Nichol there is McLuhan; for McLuhan there is Innis. And so on. We know that aesthetic values emerge from cultural values; analyzing and explaining the connections can lead us to an illumination both of a nation's intellectual heritage and the dimensions of its art. We also know that these values may well express only the set of mind of a particular group; hence it is also worth questioning the viability of such ideas as well as their literary impact, for we are jostled then into analyzing the depth of bias and the validity of axioms — such as the almost doctrinal environmentalism that surfaces in Canada — that have variously influenced artists' and historians' imaginations, critics' methodologies, and mythmakers' presuppositions.

When we examine ideas and attitudes, therefore, we are doing more than just cataloguing historical "facts"; we are engaging ourselves with the "fictions" of belief which as a society we have accepted — *despite* historical facts as often as because of them. Works like Carl Berger's *The Writing of Canadian History* (University of Toronto Press) and Serge Gagnon's *Le Québec et ses Historiens* (Les Presses de l'Université Laval) do more, then, than just itemize historiographical accomplishments; they also make clear the intellectual horizons that govern the shape of each generation's sense of itself and its potential. In this context it is perhaps worth reminding ourselves that Canada's potential was not always regarded as great. For Edward Gibbon Wakefield, one of Lord Durham's aides, a colony was in 1829 an uncivilized and even uncivilizable phenomenon — a notion which of course depended upon an assumption of the perfectibility (and the Englishness) of civilization. By the phrase "a new people," he wrote in *A Letter from Sydney*,

> We mean... a people like what the Canadians will be, and the United States' Americans are — a people who, though they continually increase in number, make no progress in the art of living; who, in respect to wealth, knowledge, skill, taste, and whatever belongs to civilization, have degenerated from their ancestors; who are precluded from acquiring wealth except by the labour of slaves; whose education, though universal, stops before the age of puberty, and thus becomes, if not an evil, at least a dangerous thing, instead of the greatest good; who, ever on the

> move, are unable to bring anything to perfection; whose opinions are only violent and false prejudices, the necessary fruit of ignorance; whose character is a compound of vanity, bigotry, obstinacy, and hatred most comprehensive, including whatever does not meet their own pinched notions of right; and who delight in a forced equality, not equality before the law only, but equality against nature and truth; an equality which, to keep the balance always even, rewards the mean rather than the great, and gives more honour to the vile than to the noble.... We mean, in two words, a people who become rotten before they are ripe.

The subjects Wakefield deemed worthy of notice — nature, economics, education, social equality, justice — are among those which have continued to preoccupy analysts of national life. But if we now believe that as Canadians we have an intellectual and cultural future, that is in large part due to the development over many decades of an intellectual and cultural past.

To examine the work of a selected group of clerics, historians, journalists, and teachers — from Ryerson to Groulx, Montalembert to Creighton, Smith to Woodcock, and Watson to Grant and Frye — is not, of course, to exhaust Canadian intellectual history or to clarify all of its connections with literature. There are other figures worthy of enquiry: among them Howe, Alline, Garneau, Hardin, Phillips Thompson, Agnes Macphail, Deacon, Sandwell, Vallières, and Frère Untel. There are other events and groups and movements: Imperial Federation, the Temperance league, *parti pris*, and ethnic fundamentalism; labour organizations, the Couchiching conferences, and journals like *Canadian Forum* and *Liberté*. There are other approaches to the study, and all the external influences to be explored. Focussing even briefly, however, on the flux of ideas in Canada, makes us aware of the solid social background that Canadian literature draws upon, and some of the processes, too, that continue to lead to the changing and shaping of a diverse culture.

W.H.N.

THE NIGHT COUNTRY

Alfred G. Bailey

The night enveloped lakes and
hillocks of the broken country,
night noises under their feet or
somewhere in the shadowed nearness
that seemed to brush their cheeks,
to rise and sigh like a great
breathing of the sky and earth.

They could not stop their ears though
they tried to do it.
They could not calm their hearts
in hazard of the murky gullies
that loomed beside them.
What was this night country through
which they passed?
Their destination they could only guess at.
Had they to go this way towards it,
Whatever it was at the other side
to be reached
if they could reach it?
If only they had a wand, the travellers,
(like children in the remembered tale of
childhood)
that held aloft and waved dispelled the
dark
and all the earthly sorrows pouring
as in a river or lake water
disgorging through a stoney gap!
They thought, though wandless, their journey
must lead somewhere
for them and others who might come this way
in time to come.
Not only wandless were they, but their
wordlessness
left them undone by time and time's
task that tried them.
And yet was time's hand upon them
of their own contrivance,
the shadowed substances that seemed to
crowd them as they passed?
They could find no answer to this question
And so took counsel together, saying
that unless they could make utterance
of the holy names
there would be no way out,
and no end of the night country
to be found anywhere,
but that it would go on and on in this fashion
for ever and ever.

NATIONALISM, FEMINISM & CANADIAN INTELLECTUAL HISTORY

Susan Mann Trofimenkoff

NATIONALISM AND FEMINISM have usually been in bad odour in Canada. Hindsight has conferred upon the one a potential for evil that most intellectuals find distasteful although actual expressions of nationalism in Canada's past have been timid voices of regret and concern quickly silenced by more tangible signs of progress and prosperity. Foresight has conferred upon the other a similar potential for evil that most conservatives find horrifying although actual expressions of feminism in Canada's past have also been timid voices of request and concern quickly silenced by more powerful signs of ridicule and control.

Is there something more than a fanciful connection between the two? What role have historians of ideas played in shaping the images that come to us of nationalism and feminism? If one put the two together, might one see both in a different light, avoiding the intellectual historian's greatest pitfall — presentism (seeing and judging the past in terms of the present) — and arriving at a role for women in the formation of ideology and thereby a broader view of the nature of intellectual history?

Origins of ideas are difficult to discern. Traditionally, intellectual historians have contented themselves with unravelling the connections between ideas, tracing the influence of them and, one suspects, passing moral judgment upon them. The history of ideas thus constituted more a commentary upon the present than a study of the past. More contemporary intellectual historians are obliged to take social stock of their past concerns, tracking down the birth, schooling, class and connections of the exponents of various ideas. Rarely in Canada but occasionally elsewhere, psycho-historians have also tried their hand at piecing together the puzzle of ideas. Even the computer can get in on the act with varying attempts at content analysis. But the mix remains a mystery; endless playing with variables still leaves one wondering.

My own wondering about the possible connection between nationalism and feminism began with the reading of a poet writing prose about women. Adrienne Rich's *Of Woman Born* is a far cry from nationalism. But combining my own background of thinking about nationalism with a contemporary interest in

feminism,[1] it occurred to me on reading Rich that the intellectual domains permitted to women whether in image or reality, are precisely the underpinnings of nationalism: myth, poetry, tradition, inspiration, continuity, preservation, morality.

Why should that be so? And was there here a hint of an explanation of the force of nationalism in the contemporary world? Had this particular ideology been able to draw on mythic representations of the male and the female in the psyche of the western world, combining *la patrie* of authority, strength, reason and order with the maternal assurances of nurture, emotion, stability, continuity and even grace? A secular religion indeed.

Historians of any variety never proceed very far on pure speculation. The social scientist in them is too highly developed. Some facts for the fancy then. Nationalism and feminism in French Canada at the turn of the twentieth century are surprisingly similar. Whether one thinks of the Ligue Nationaliste or the more poetic Action Française, the Fédération Nationale Saint-Jean-Baptiste or the more prosaic Ligue des Droits de la Femme, the ideological similarities are too startling to be dismissed. Both harboured a notion of "separate spheres," distinct and proper places for French Canada and for women. Both posited special qualities to accompany, perhaps to justify, the separate sphere: a civilizing mission, perpetuating values, morality and the traditions of the past. Both therefore clearly stated a superiority to the Anglo-Saxon or male world around them. And both believed these qualitative differences, this cultural superiority, to be given by birth and developed by history. Both insisted that theirs was the true path away from the evils of contemporary society, evils from which they both recoiled in the same manner: a moral revulsion to industrialization, urban crowding, unhealthy living conditions, infant mortality, tuberculosis, alcoholism, crime and venereal disease. Both nationalism and feminism promised to cleanse, purify and rectify society of these present plagues. Both flirted with religion and politics, neither ever sure of the sanction of the religious or the secular sphere but both anxious to draw upon the former and have a place in the latter. In that light both posited a series of duties and rights incumbent upon each. Both insisted unsuccessfully on French Canadian and female unity under the banner respectively of nationalism and feminism.

To account for such striking similarities is difficult. They appear to go beyond mere chronological, ideological or social coincidence, although that coincidence is almost as remarkable. Both nationalist and feminist spokesmen can of course be found earlier in the nineteenth century, but the initial outburst of each appears to arise as a response to the economic and social changes brought about by urbanization and industrialization from the 1890's into the 1920's. Nationalists feared for the survival of the French Canadian nation; feminists feared for the survival of the family. Ideological coincidence is also quite apparent, for both

nationalism and feminism can be interpreted as a redeeming myth, a justification, a camouflage or even a hope of change for a group sensing itself a subordinate minority. There may even be social similarities, since ideological spokesmen tend to have the same social, economic and professional backgrounds; that they should make similar utterances is perhaps not too surprising.[2]

WRITINGS ON NATIONALISM AND FEMINISM have in fact been few and far between, their authors needless to say never hinting at a possible link. Indeed both have been coloured by a world context which has made of nationalism a "great event" and of feminism, at least until very recently, a "non-event." So the feeble strains of Canadian nationalism and the somewhat stronger ones of French Canadian nationalism have been bombarded with the hostility reserved for the awful occurrences of the second world war or the snobbery reserved for an intellectual anachronism.[3] At the same time, some of the people have suggested that the *leit motiv* of both English and French Canadian historical writing, in itself a domain of intellectual history, has been the concern for survival, a nationalist concern.[4] The fear aroused by such a suggestion leads to entire articles bitterly denying the argument that Harold Innis, for example, could have been a nationalist.[5] And the general belief that nationalism could or should be a potent force in Canadian society is everywhere in evidence from the intentionally feeble efforts of the Foreign Investment Review Agency to the precarious existence of the Committee for an Independent Canada. Of feminism, one need merely note that had it been a dominant force, both our written history and our contemporary society would be vastly different.

The hint of presentism in the approach to nationalism in particular is enhanced by the relative youth and political orientation of intellectual history in Canada. Only in the 1960's did historians take up Frank Underhill's challenge of the 1940's to write intellectual history.[6] Ramsay Cook in fact followed Underhill's directives to the letter, virtually making of the history of political ideas the mainstay of intellectual history in Canada.[7] Indeed, by the late 1960's, the history of a specific political idea, nationalism, had narrowed the field even more. Doubtless the Quiet Revolution served as an impetus: here was a political idea that might well destroy another, Canada itself.[8] In any case the period produced a number of studies of aspects of French Canadian nationalism by Cook and by people who, although influenced by him in their choice of topic, did not always reflect his hostility: Cook's *Canada and the French Canadian Question* and *The Maple Leaf Forever*, Joe Levitt's *Henri Bourassa and the Golden Calf*, Susan Trofimenkoff's *Action Française*, Phyllis Sherrin's "Lionel Groulx," Patricia Dirks' "Union Nationale."

At the same time intellectual history began to be taught in the universities, the course outlines surprisingly similar. The history of political ideas predominated, but the search for the nationalist contours of those ideas seemed to be the main driving force. And so students grappled with the possible effect of an English Canadian nationalist group like Canada First on French Canadian nationalism, with the similarities between the nationalism of Bourassa and J. S. Ewart, of Groulx and Lower. Behold, English Canada had its nationalists too and they even began showing up on the conservative side of the political spectrum, historically in Carl Berger's imperialists and in Sid Wise's preachers, contemporaneously among George Grant's lamenters.[9]

The concern for the present is thus very obvious among intellectual historians, six of them appearing in Peter Russell's very present-oriented *Nationalism in Canada*. A Canada threatened with disruption by a culturally defined nationalism convinced them of the need to see how previous generations of writers, spokesmen and journalists had viewed the destiny of Canada. Conflicting views of nationalism became the very stuff of intellectual history, their contemporary political interest openly admitted.[10] In such an arena, women could scarcely compete since they rarely appeared in the ranks of nationalist spokesmen, politicians or even intellectual historians. Only when an ideology concerned with women appeared on the scene did historians begin noticing. Perhaps not surprisingly, Ramsay Cook was again one of the earliest to spot feminism as an intriguing path of intellectual and contemporary concern.[11] Just as he did so, two younger intellectual historians turned away from nationalism and indeed (perhaps as a consequence) away from a present day focus for their interests. Both Sam Shortt and Carl Berger have shunned the explicit political commentary of earlier intellectual history, Shortt insisting on the inherent interest of the ideas of his six *Search*[ers] *for an Ideal*, Berger now investigating the idea of nature in the late nineteenth century. Intellectual history may be coming of age. Before it does so completely, I would argue, it will have to take women into account.

The elusive search for a Canadian identity has in fact led historians to see nationalism — but few women — in the oddest of places. Carl Berger manages to suspend the reader's initial disbelief and argue persuasively that turn-of-the-century imperialists were really nationalists. It was only a *Sense of Power* that led people like George Denison, George Grant, George Parkin, Stephen Leacock and Andrew Macphail to see potential for Canada in the imperial tie; the real sustenance came from Canada itself. These "imperialists" had a particular, loyalist, view of Canada's past, a whig notion of Canadian political development, an agriculturalist ideal of the rural life, a conservative antipathy to industrial society, a frontier lad's delight in militarism and a moralist's disdain for the social decadence of England and the United States. Their nationalism and their imperialism were, however, decidedly masculine affairs. Berger's first chapter is

simply and pointedly entitled "Men." These men saw wheat and soldiers springing full grown out of the Canadian prairies. It did not occur to them that the evolution of liberty and self-government, so much admired, might entail women. Nor did they spot any women among the factories and the slums of the industrial order they so much despised. Perhaps there is more than the first world war to explain the gradual irrelevance of imperialism in Canada.

Sam Shortt, on the other hand, makes no attempt to transform his six turn-of-the-century worriers into nationalists. The *Search for an Ideal* of Andrew Macphail, Archibald MacMechan, James Cappon, Maurice Hutton, Adam Shortt and James Mavor involved excursions into philosophic ideas, none of which led to nationalism. In an effort to explain their worries and their eventual ideals, Shortt does in fact go back to family roots. He spots religion and, for once, women, in the form of mothers. The wives of his worriers are less obvious, a half-sentence suggesting their removal from the intellectual lives of their husbands, a half paragraph on Elizabeth Smith Shortt hinting that much remains to be seen. Among the six intellectuals themselves, only one noticed the presence of women (as cause or effect?) in their crumbling world order. Andrew Macphail's ideal society was in fact very much like that of Groulx: women in the family held the entire social fabric together.[12] All of the men grasped at philosophic straws, Shortt detailing in order the strains of idealism, romanticism and empiricism in their thought. Even though someone like Adam Shortt contributed to the contemporary critique of imperialism and to the historical bases of a subsequent English Canadian nationalism, his grandson Sam Shortt shies away from the national question as purposely as Berger and Cook placed it in centre stage.

Literary historians and critics, often the sources of much intellectual history, have however often abetted the historian's penchant for studying nationalism. Indeed, they may even have shown the way. Much of their work is an attempt to pin down a "Canadianness" or a "French Canadianness" in the texts they study, revealing thereby the nationalist desire for differentiation and identity. Northrop Frye, for example, suggests an optimistic willing away of distance as one of the hall-marks of Canadian literature.[13] He finds it among the poets. Historically one would find it among the women. The men had fur trades and railroads to construct, tangible means of conquering the distance; the women had only their will to defy the distance to family in France, in England, in eastern Canada, to overcome the distance to husband *dans le grand nord, aux chantiers, aux Etats, à la guerre.* The poets may sing, but it is the women who have spun the fabric of the nation, for the critics to admire. Until very recently however no one has raised the question, in history or literature, "What about the women?"

Admittedly some French Canadian writers have done so. Both literary critics and sociologists have, however, limited their enquiry to the mythic mother,[14] their concern being more with the dire effect an omnipresent and omnipotent mother

has had on the national psyche than with the experiences of the women themselves. These women are not real, they are images, harboured, one suspects, in the minds of men, and developed over time through the institutions of men. But it is precisely of such images that nations are made.

FRENCH CANADIAN HISTORIANS are in a more ambivalent position. Conscious that they have "played perhaps the largest single role in developing the nationalist ideology,"[15] and often despairing of contemporary expressions of such nationalism, many of the younger historians have turned deliberately to social, economic and urban history. Others have attempted to investigate past ideologies with a critical eye, the impulse for their investigations being threefold. A concern for contemporary French Canada — a nationalist concern — guides all their studies. And yet most of them study the conservative clerical ideology of the latter half of the nineteenth century, painfully aware that what they do so obviously believe to have been rank soil produced one of the varieties of nationalism which still nourishes them. At the same time, they tend to disdain intellectual history *per se* (one even suggesting a distinction between French Canadian historiography and English Canadian historiography with the first more socially oriented, the second more political)[16] and investigate ideologies in a particular context of social class, power relations and economic change.

It is precisely that social context where French Canadian intellectual historians see ideas having their greatest impact. Indeed, the common thread between people as diverse as Michel Brunet, Fernand Ouellet, Maurice Séguin, Pierre Trudeau, Jean Hamelin and Nadia Eid is their tendency to see past nationalist ideas as a deterrent to the social and economic development of French Canada. Much ink has been spilled in both English and French Canada to amplify or attack Brunet's "trois dominantes de la pensée canadienne-française"; the point here is simply that Brunet treats "agriculturalisme," "anti-étatisme" and "messianisme" as powerful, and damaging, political ideas.[17] Ramsay Cook in fact adds another political idea — that of conquest — to the trio to enhance an ideological explanation of French Canada's present situation.[18] Fernand Ouellet's wide ranging synthesis of the economic underdevelopment of Quebec pinpoints a conservative *mentalité* as prime cause.[19] Maurice Séguin reinterprets French Canada's past in the light of what he admits regrettably to have been a minority idea — that of separatism; while lending the weight of intellectual history to a present political option, he also hints that the adoption of such an idea long ago would have permitted Quebec a more natural development. In his case, a pan-Canadian political nationalism has been detrimental to his *pays*.[20] Trudeau's intellectual antipathy to nationalism, shared by Ramsay Cook, is reinforced by

his conviction that it has had deleterious effects on present day Quebec. Even Jean Hamelin's ambitious attempt to chronicle *Idéologies au Canada français* rests on the assumption that the developing clerico-nationalism of the late nineteenth century stifled something in the French Canadian spirit, that the virtual ossification of that nationalism in the early twentieth century prohibited an adequate response to changing economic and social conditions and that even the beginnings of doubt in the 1930's had to be expressed in such traditional terms that it could not produce a thorough critique of the depression.[21] Nadia Eid scrutinizes a particular variety of clerico-nationalism, ultramontanism, to point out its political purpose and its social results: power to the Church and the politicians, "immobilisme" for society and the mass of the people.[22]

French Canadian historians, however, have seldom been any more aware of the existence of women than their English Canadian counterparts. True, as an adjunct of religion or the family, two topics that cannot be avoided when studying traditional nationalism in French Canada, women occasionally do appear, shadowy figures at best. The essayists in *Idéologies au Canada français* who do record a given newspaper's views on the family express no surprise at families which exist solely for the sake of paternal authority or the father-son relationship.[23] Indeed, the relatively few mentions of the family in the various studies of newspapers in the *Idéologies* series could lead one to believe that the nationalist concern for the family was mere lip service. If an individual such as Henri Bourassa foresaw immense social evil as a result of feminism, a newspaper such as *L'Action Catholique* was far more troubled by freemasons, Jews and Bolshevists.[24] Since freemasons and Bolshevists were hardly more numerous than feminists in the Quebec of the 1920's, the newspaper must have perceived feminism as being less of a threat. Had someone already spotted similarities to nationalism? Author Jones is silent. As undoubtedly will be the forthcoming final volume of *Idéologies*. The period since 1940 has apparently room for only two essays concerning women, the second one only hastily added in the late summer of 1979. Even the most recent study of an ideology, written by a woman, has only a few pages devoted to the education of young girls of different classes.[25]

Intellectual historians then have largely chosen to study the conservative ideological past of Canada. Not surprisingly, since most of them are liberal academics, they have given us a basically negative view of nationalism. And by ignoring women in their studies, they have not only passed over a potentially fruitful area of intellectual and historical speculation and research, they have abetted the notion that women are not important.

Small wonder then that an interest in feminism and feminist ideas stemmed from another source. Social history and the women's movement, not intellectual history, gave rise to women's history.[26] And one of the first areas of study in that field was feminist organizations, feminist ideas. Like the French Canadian students

of nationalism, the authors here are also tainted by the very subject they study. The taint of course colours their work. Carol Bacchi laments the fact that early English Canadian feminists did not take the path to total liberation (in the 1910's!) but settled for political compromise, respectability and the vote.[27] Veronica Strong-Boag analyzes somewhat wistfully the "maternal feminism" of the middle-class National Council of Women, documenting how easily the women's energies could be diverted to national, patriotic causes during the first world war, only to lose their reform momentum thereby and, like other reform movements, peter out in the 1920's.[28]

The same hint of disappointment with their foremothers can be discerned in French Canadian historians. Yolande Pinard remarks rather plaintively that some early feminists in French Canada, coloured already by nationalism, imported a strain of *féminisme chrétien* from France, and therefore developed an organization distinct from that of English Canadian feminists: the Fédération Nationale Saint-Jean-Baptiste in 1907.[29] That organization itself, although displaying the same fairly successful search for unity among various women's groups as evinced by its Canadian counterpart, the National Council of Women, lost an early radical colouring under constant harassment from the clerico-nationalists, much to the chagrin of authors Micheline Johnson, Marie Lavigne, Yolande Pinard and Jennifer Stoddart.[30]

That the early feminists might share a common outlook with the clerico-nationalists did not occur to these authors, convinced as they seem to be that feminism and nationalism are opposites. In fact, French Canada's early feminists, like most of those in the western world, resolutely denied any revolutionary intent, looking askance at the antics as well as the ideas of a radical minority fighting physically for the suffrage in England. As one of the founders of the Fédération Nationale Saint-Jean-Baptiste expressed in 1907:

> On pourra peut-être se demander si ce n'est pas là [la FNSJB] du féminisme? Je réponds oui sans hésiter, mais je me hâte d'ajouter qu'il y a deux sortes de féminisme. Le féminisme révolutionnaire qui a pour but d'éloigner la femme de son rôle et de son foyer, et le féminisme chrétien qui a pour but l'amour du prochain et le devoir.[31]

Such sentiments are of course grating to the ears of feminists in the 1970's, anxious as they are to find historical precedents for their own more radical stand. But as historians of ideas their priorities must lie elsewhere. Even if they suspect a tailoring of feminism to the prevailing winds of orthodoxy (thereby one can draw a pleasing parallel to Laurier's famous speech on liberalism in 1877), they must recognize that feminists and priests alike thought the women were engaged in the same activities: self-help, moral development, wifely and maternal duties, philanthropic and religious works.[32] Even if they point to the long struggle for female

suffrage in Quebec against tremendous clerico-conservative odds, they must acknowledge that the suffrage constituted only one activity among many that fired feminist activity in the early twentieth century. Even a study of the ideas of the French Canadian suffragists, a study yet to be undertaken, would still not reveal the full extent of feminist ideas.

Another aspect of the intellectual history of feminism has been the study of images of women. Here too the impetus for such studies is a present one and the danger of both personal disappointment and historical falsification can be great. For by seeking the intellectual and ideological roots of the segregation and oppression of women, historians can easily become enraged by exponents of the notion of "separate spheres." The rage is likely to blind them to the fact the notion was very commonly held at the turn of the century, by men and women of most political persuasions.[33]

One of the more intriguing suggestions for the study of images has been to see the Canadian nation itself in sexual terms. Developing an analogy that can be found in early twentieth-century French-Canadian writings about Confederation, Ralph Heintzman toys with Henri Bourassa's idea of a marriage between an "apostolic, intellectual, artistic, rural" (and female) French Canada and a "practical, aggressive, economic, political" (and male) English Canada.[34] The contemporary interest is clear. If abbé Groulx in the 1920's could suggest that Confederation was a mixed marriage and therefore, by Catholic implication, dissoluble, so in the 1970's a French Canada, stretching its limbs along with the women's movement, could reject a marriage based upon an outmoded image. Perhaps it is not surprising that the Quiet Revolution and the women's liberation movement are contemporaneous occurrences.

Nor should it be surprising that intellectual historians in Canada have anchored their studies to the question of nationalism, for intellectual history dates from the Quiet Revolution too. The image they have given us is that the nation is all important (even Ramsay Cook by his very denunciation of nationalism contributes to that image). At the same time they have implied that women are virtually non-existent. When and where the women do timidly begin to appear, they form but pale reflections of something the historians would have preferred them to be.

THE FOREGOING PAGES have hinted that a fruitful marriage might be possible by combining feminism and nationalism. A new look at intellectual history might emerge from such a union, the role of women in the formation of ideology might be explored, the origin and transmission of ideas might be plumbed. And one might avoid the greatest danger of existing studies of national-

ism and feminism; the danger of presentism is in fact far greater than the possible perils of the two ideologies themselves.

Needless to say, intellectual history has been and can be done without taking women into account. Most intellectual historians have been men and, as shown above, few of them have considered the role of women in the thought of their male subjects. Their primary concern has been the study of nationalism as a political idea, again necessarily excluding women. In this, they are no different from any of the more general students of nationalism: Cobban, Deutsch, Kedourie, Kohn, Shafer, and Smith, to name only a few, write about a masculine world. There is of course some justification for their approach. Until relatively recently women did not leave tracts for study, did not write, and therefore by implication did not think. Barren terrain indeed for an intellectual historian, biased as he is towards the written record. Moreover, women's history has developed largely as an outgrowth of social history, therefore in isolation from intellectual history. And after the initial stage of legitimation, a stage few other fields of enquiry have had to go through, the biggest problem confronting women's history has been a methodological one: how to unearth the silent, often uneducated, illiterate and certainly private women of the past. Here, too, the intellectual historian could easily pay no heed.

However, another source of the interest in and outpouring of women's history in the 1970's has been the feminist movement throughout the western world in in the 1960's and 1970's. This has provided a theoretical base for women's history which should be of immense concern to intellectual historians. Two major ideas have fostered the feminist movement and ultimately the writing of women's history: the idea of patriarchy and the idea of the relations between the sexes. Both imply that the major driving force of history is not the struggle between classes or the oppression of one class by another but rather the relationship between the sexes whether that relationship be solely one of domination by the male (patriarchy) or a more complex web touching the family, religion, politics, the economy, even, as I am suggesting here, ideas. Here is surely sustenance for intellectual historians whether they choose to trace the development of ideas over time or the wider social ramifications of particular ideas in a given context. One suggestion in fact of the measure of a civilization is the status accorded to women at any given time.[35] And that status is as much a mixture of ideas about and images of women as it is a combination of economic, demographic and political factors. If intellectual historians are looking for new fields to conquer, they might well consider the women.

Once they do so, intellectual historians may open up another new area, the role of women in the formation of ideology. For the very strength of nationalism may lie in its appropriation of what has traditionally been seen as women's sphere. Nationalist propaganda in any form and any language has drawn heavily on the

female trio of *Kinder*, *Küche* and *Kirche*. Early twentieth-century feminist movements throughout the western world, sharing such notions, both contributed to nationalist ideology and lost their own *raison d'être* as nationalism flourished during and after the first world war. A promising field indeed for intellectual historians: they may be able to assist historians of women in accounting for the demise of feminism in the 1920's and they may well show that women have provided much of the intellectual sustenance for an ideology like nationalism. In attempting the latter, they will have to take issue, as I am doing, with the many feminist theoreticians who see the entire ideological superstructure as another instance of patriarchy: intellectual means and justification for keeping women in a subordinate position.

Combining the study of nationalism and feminism could provide some clues to another problem of immense importance to intellectual historians, how and why ideas are transmitted across generations. Historians of nationalism and feminism have independently spotted similar agents of transmission: the clergy (notably for French Canada), the educational system and the family. Somewhat ironically many contemporary nationalists and feminists despair of two of those very agents, the clergy and the family, both seen as conservative, inhibiting forces. Perhaps intellectual historians can help overcome this presentist bias by looking critically at such institutions. To do so will, however, necessitate their delving more deeply into social history, notably the history of the family, of child rearing and of education. Such studies are being done,[36] but not by intellectual historians. Rather they are undertaken as a result of developments in social history and in women's history — the attempt to place ordinary folk, notably women, in centre stage. And yet the question of the cultivation and transmission of ideas through such social institutions is a legitimate one for intellectual historians. Perhaps one of the ways to push them towards it is to suggest, once again, their potential interest in the cross-generational link *par excellence*, women.

Still another reason why intellectual historians should consider nationalism and feminism together is the peculiar interest such historians tend to have in the nature of history itself. For the two ideologies both raise fundamental questions about the meaning of history, although both do so in a different yet complementary way. Nationalism raises the nineteenth-century question asked by historians and philosophers of history alike: *what* does history mean? Feminism raises the twentieth-century question posed by the same groups: *how* does history mean? Nationalist history posits purpose and ultimate significance (its detractors even suggesting apocalypse); feminist history questions methods, classification, periodization and importance. The combination of the two may be a particularly potent source for intellectual history.

Finally, such an approach may lead historians to a reconsideration of nationalism. For by investigating the possible connection between feminism and national-

ism, they may decide that the link, while accounting for the strength, is also the Achilles' heel of nationalism. If nationalism truly is the evil that some of our historians would have us believe, then the means of stamping it out may well be to destroy the image of women upon which it is based. That nationalism should develop towards the end of the nineteenth century is not surprising, at a time when the state began taking over many of the traditional functions of the family: education, care of the sick and the elderly, philanthropy. Indeed, in some ways nationalism is the legitimation of such a take-over.[37] But if the image behind such functions ceases to be a female figure, what will happen to nationalism? Perhaps nationalism will be with us, wreaking whatever havoc its proponents or detractors surmise, just as long as a particular and peculiar image of women, propagated by turn-of-the-century feminists, remains alive. Contemporary feminists of the 1970's know this instinctively, their biggest battle one against the millstones of images and attitudes hung about the necks of female infants. Contemporary nationalists probably do not. Perhaps a path of relevance without presentism for intellectual historians can begin with the question "What about the women?"

NOTES

[1] Eg., *Abbé Groulx: Variations on a Nationalist theme* (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1973); *Action française: French Canadian Nationalism in the 1920s* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1975); "Henri Bourassa and the 'Woman Question'," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 10 (Nov. 1975), 3-11.

[2] The two paragraphs draw upon the conclusions of analysis of the image of women in the nationalism of Lionel Groulx: "Les femmes dans l'oeuvre de Groulx," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*, 32, 3 (déc. 1978), 385-98. They arise from the observation that a particular image of women constitutes the basis of Groulx's view of society and hence of Groulx's nationalism; that same image of women was also fostered by the feminist movement in French Canada (and elsewhere, one might add) at the beginning of the twentieth century. I have of course considered the possible differences between feminism and nationalism. They are much less numerous, much less striking, and probably hold true more for the nationalist and feminist movements of the 1970's than for those of the 1900's and 1910's.

[3] Pierre Trudeau and Ramsay Cook curiously enough use another "anachronism" from the nineteenth century, Lord Acton, in their battles against nationalism. P. E. Trudeau, *Le fédéralisme et la société canadienne-française* (Montréal: HMH, 1967; G. R. Cook, *Canada and the French Canadian Question* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1966) and *The Maple Leaf Forever* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1971).

[4] G. R. Cook, "*La Survivance* French Canadian Style" and "*La Survivance* English Canadian Style" in *The Maple Leaf Forever*, pp. 114-40; 141-65. Also Kenneth Windsor, "Historical Writing in Canada to 1920," in Carl Klinck, ed., *Literary History of Canada* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1966), p. 250.

[5] W. Christian, "Inquisition of Nationalism," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 12 (Winter 1977), pp. 62-72.

[6] "Some Reflections on the Liberal Tradition in Canada," presidential address to the Canadian Historical Association, 1946, in *In Search of Canadian Liberalism* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1961), pp. 3-20.

[7] G. R. Cook, *The Politics of John W. Dafoe and the Free Press* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1963).

[8] William Kilbourn has a happy phrase: "one is sometimes left with the odd sensation that Canada is nothing but a figment of the historical imagination, a concept nurtured in the minds of a small minority of Canadian leaders, aided and abetted by a few historians." "The Writing of Canadian History" in Klinck, p. 497.

[9] Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1970); S. F. Wise, "Sermon Literature and Canadian Intellectual History," *Bulletin* of the Committee on Archives, United Church of Canada, 18 (1965), 3-18; George Grant, *Lament for a Nation* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1965).

[10] G. R. Cook, "Nationalist Ideologies in Canada," text of a lecture delivered at the Univ. of Ottawa, Jan. 19, 1978, p. 6 or even the subtitle of his *Maple Leaf Forever: Essays on Nationalism and Politics in Canada.*

[11] Cook's political interest remained foremost. He edited and introduced a new edition of Catherine Cleverdon, *The Woman Suffrage Movement in Canada* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, [1950], 1974) and he wrote an article on a female western reformer and social gospeller: "Francis Marion Beynon and the Crisis of Christian Reformism" in C. Berger and R. Cook, eds., *The West and the Nation* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1976), pp. 187-208.

[12] S. E. Shortt, *The Search for an Ideal* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1977), pp. 28-29.

[13] *The Bush Garden* (Toronto: Anansi, 1971), pp. x, 10.

[14] Jean LeMoyne, "La femme dans la civilisation canadienne-française," *Convergences* (Montréal: HMH, 1962), pp. 69-100; Guy Rocher, "Les modèles et le statut de la femme canadienne-française," *Revue internationale des Sciences Sociales*, 14, no. 1 (1962), pp. 132-39.

[15] R. Cook, "The Historian and Nationalism," *Canada and the French Canadian Question*, p. 121.

[16] F. Ouellet, "Historiographie canadienne et nationalisme," *Royal Society of Canada, Proceedings and Transactions*, 4th series, 13 (1975), pp. 25-39.

[17] The article first appeared in *Ecrits du Canada Français*, 3 (1957) and is reproduced in M. Brunet, *La Présence anglaise et les canadiens* (Montréal: Beauchemin, 1958), pp. 113-66.

[18] "Conquêtisme," *The Maple Leaf Forever*, pp. 99-113.

[19] *Histoire économique et sociale du Québec 1760-1850* (Montréal: Fides, 1966).

[20] *L'idée d'indépendance au Québec, genèse et historique* (Trois-Rivières: Boréal Express, 1968).

[21] *Idéologies au Canada français 1850-1900* first appeared as a special issue of *Recherches sociographiques*, 10, 2-3 (mai-déc., 1969); *Idéologies au Canada français 1900-1929* (Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1974); *Idéologies au Canada français 1930-1939* (Québec: PUL, 1978). Hamelin's collaborators in editing the series are two sociologists, Fernand Dumont and Jean-Paul Montminy.

[22] *Le clergé et le pouvoir politique au Québec* (Montréal: HMH, 1978).

[23] See, for example, Gérard Bouchard, "Apogée et déclin de l'idéologie ultramontaine à travers le journal *Le Nouveau Monde*," *Idéologies au Canada français 1850-1900*, p. 269.

[24] J. Levitt, "Henri Bourassa: the Catholic Social Order and Canada's Mission," *Idéologies au Canada français 1900-1929*, pp. 199-200; Richard Jones, "*L'Action catholique*, 1920-1921," ibid., pp. 332-43.

[25] Eid, pp. 224-26.

[26] This development is sketched in the introduction to S. M. Trofimenkoff and A. Prentice, eds., *The Neglected Majority* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1977).

[27] "Liberation Deferred: The English Canadian Woman's Suffrage Movement, 1877-1918," unpub. Ph.D. thesis, McGill Univ., 1976.

[28] *The Parliament of Women: the National Council of Women of Canada 1893-1929* (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1976).

[29] "Les débuts du mouvement des femmes," in M. Lavigne and Y. Pinard, eds., *Les femmes dans la société québécoise* (Montréal: Boréal Express, 1977), p. 85. It is difficult to discern which of the three elements dismays Pinard most; I suspect it is the *féminisme chrétien*.

[30] M. Johnson, "Histoire de la condition de la femme dans la province de Québec," in *Tradition culturelle et histoire politique de la femme au Canada*, études préparées pour la Commission royale d'enquête sur la situation de la femme au Canada, #8 (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1971), p. 24; M. Lavigne, Y. Pinard, J. Stoddart, "La Fédération Nationale Saint-Jean-Baptiste et les revendications féministes au début du 20e siècle," in Lavigne and Pinard, pp. 89-108.

[31] Mme Carolina [Dessaulles] Béique, *La Presse*, 27 mai 1907, p. 9.

[32] Mme Marie [Lacoste] Gérin-Lajoie speaking at the first annual meeting of the FNSJB, quoted in *La Fédération Nationale Saint-Jean-Baptiste célèbre le cinquantenaire de sa fondation*, *La Bonne Parole* (1956-58), p. 18. Mgr Bruchési, Archbishop of Montreal, speaking on the same occasion said virtually the same thing.

[33] I think I avoided both traps in my "Henri Bourassa and the 'Woman Question'," although there is only the tiniest of hints of what I am developing here: on p. 4 of that article I suggest that Bourassa could not have known his feminist protagonists very well or he would have recognized many common beliefs.

[34] "Till Death do us part," editorial in the *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 10 (Nov. 1975), 68.

[35] Joan Kelly-Gadol, "The Social Relations of the Sexes: Methodological Implications of Women's History," *Signs*, 1 (Summer 1976), 811.

[36] For example, in Canada, the studies of David Gagan, Michael Katz, Alison Prentice, Susan Houston and Robert Stamp.

[37] Most French Canadian nationalists, particularly those of a clerical hue, abhorred this shift from the family to the state, and said so. So, I suspect, did most feminists, depriving women as it did, of considerable autonomy, control, and perhaps even meaning. The denunciations were, however, of no avail, as Quebec, like other provinces and states in North America, moved towards active state intervention in education, adoption, prohibition, social welfare, etc.

STRACHAN & RYERSON

Guardians of the Future

Douglas Owram

THE TWO CAREERS OF Egerton Ryerson, the "Pope of Methodism," and John Strachan, first Anglican Bishop of Toronto, span much of the religious and educational history of Upper Canada in the nineteenth century. Yet the two men are probably best known for their activities in a relatively few, though tumultuous, years which preceded the 1837 rebellions. This is not surprising, for it was in this period that the most active and acrimonious debate occurred between them as to the proper relationship between the church, education, and the state. In the positions they took as this debate unfolded, they helped to crystallize some of the basic issues confronting the young colony. The controversy of these years is, however, only a part of the story. The common bases which underlay their positions and the evolution of their ideas over time must also be taken into account in order to understand the important role they played in the formation of an Upper Canadian intellectual tradition. It was a role that was both symbolic and concrete. It was symbolic in that their arguments and their agreements often mirrored the attitudes of the society around them and concrete in that for more than half a century one or both of them was directly involved in forging the educational and religious institutions which became the interpreters and guardians of that tradition.

The backgrounds of the two men and their general views as developed by the 1820's may be summarized quickly. John Strachan, the older of the two, had been born in Scotland but had come to Canada as a young man. Beginning as a tutor to the children of Kingston merchant Richard Cartwright, he soon joined the Church of England, assumed a parish in the colonial capital of York and had, by 1820, become a noted presence among the small ruling elite of Upper Canada.[1] In fact his appointment to the Executive Council in 1815 and to the Legislative Council in 1820 mark the development of that elite into the famous, or notorious, "Family Compact" in the years after the War of 1812.

Whether as churchman or as politician, Strachan did not hesitate to urge the development of the colony along conservative lines. This conservatism was probably rooted in his early Scottish education and religion but it seems to have

developed fully only after he came to Canada. Exposed to the hostile American republic or, more accurately, to Upper Canadian perceptions of that republic, Strachan quickly concluded that the luxury of dabbling in reformist ideas could not be afforded in a colony as vulnerably situated as Canada. As he put it, "I profited from my neighbourhood to democracy."[2] The result was a social and political conservatism reminiscent of the eighteenth-century British political philosopher Edmund Burke.

Strachan's attachment to conservative ideals seems to have been reinforced by a belief that conservatism was closely linked to loyalty. Continued attachment to Britain was, he felt, dependent on the creation of a conservative social order distinct from the United States. Loyalty and conservatism thus became almost interchangeable terms and were, together, Strachan's most basic concern. Other issues, including religious and educational ones, were thus viewed in relation to this larger question. Both the church and the school became, in Strachan's scheme of things, socializing agents to encourage adherence to traditional values. Such a relationship would develop the morality of the people and, equally important, strengthen their attachment to their government and constitution.

In order to ensure that the institutions of religion, education and the nation reinforced rather than challenged one another, Strachan believed it imperative that education be linked to the church and that the church, in turn, be "wedded to the state." As it was the church's role to encourage loyalty to the state and its values, so it was the state's role to support the church in its mission. Of course different nations would support different denominations and do so in different ways. In Upper Canada in the 1820's, however, such a position meant recognition of the Church of England as the established church and advocacy of the Clergy Reserves and a church-oriented University in order to assure it a dominant position. It was this point, with its attendant implications, that more than anything else brought John Strachan into controversy with Egerton Ryerson.

The public debate between them was triggered by a sermon of Strachan's marking the death of Bishop Jacob Mountain in 1825. The sermon itself, while a clear summary of Strachan's views, did not bring forth any new or remarkable ideas. In it he simply reiterated his long-standing contention that "a Christian nation without a religious establishment is a contradiction."[3] The sermon was, nonetheless, a minor landmark in Canadian history, for when it was published the following year it caused a twenty-three-year-old Methodist, Egerton Ryerson, to publicly attack Strachan's pretensions for the Church of England. A clash of personalities and ideals thus began which would not end until Strachan's death more than forty years later.

Ryerson was born into a loyalist family in Charlotteville township, Upper Canada, in 1803. Besides their attachment to the monarchy, Ryerson's parents, and especially his mother, brought to British North America a deep sense of

religion. Ryerson inherited these traits and religion became for him the central focus of his life.[4] His quest led him to abandon the Anglicanism of his father and to turn instead to the evangelical Methodists. As a man who found in Methodism a religious satisfaction that he could not find in the Church of England, it is not surprising that Ryerson found the idea of an established church abhorrent. He naturally saw his chosen denomination as a major force for spiritual good in the young colony and the proposition that it be discriminated against in favour of a church he had left thus seemed both absurd and morally dubious. Marriage of church and state, Ryerson was fond of saying, was "adultery."

If it was politics in the broadest sense that shaped Strachan's view of religion, it was religion that determined Ryerson's view of politics. Strachan objected to undirected religious enthusiasm, such as that practised by the Methodists, because of the dangers it implied for the social order and the state. Ryerson objected to the formal linkage of church and state because it degraded the true purpose of religion. "When we see the heavenly affection which she [the church] infuses into the minds of men represented as nothing more than an attachment to a particular constitution," Ryerson complained, "we are sensible that the religion of the meek Saviour is being made to bleed by a wound more fatal than those which are inflicted by the ravings of infidelity."[5] The formalized view of religion as a social agent collided with the evangelist enthusiasm of North American Methodism.

Underlying this clash was a commonly held belief that education and religion were inextricably related to each other and to the creation of social values. Christian values developed through a sound school system were seen by both men as the bedrock of moral standards for man and governments. And as both also realized, the issues were all the more important because they were concerned not so much with the present as with the future. As Ryerson said, in the school yard "we see, in embryo, our future Legislators, Ministers, Physicians, Parents."[6]

The issues involved were so basic to the development of the colony and so controversial that the initial debate soon widened to deal with other matters. In the process Ryerson became as much identified with political matters as was Strachan. Certainly both men found themselves associated, sometimes willingly and on occasion unwillingly, with issues far beyond the realm of education and religion. This was perhaps inevitable. The questions of education and religion were fundamental expressions of developing colonial values. As a result their debate had implications not only for the questions of church establishment or school systems but for the much more general question of the direction the colony was to take in future years.

Strachan needed no justification for involvement in political matters. It was central to his own views. Ryerson, however, with his belief that religion was above politics, was always somewhat on the defensive about his political activities. Nor

was his position made easier by recurrent criticisms that he was using his post as editor of the Methodist *Christian Guardian* (Toronto) to promote his own views. Ryerson always maintained that religion and related concerns lay behind his forays into the political issues of the day and to some extent he was correct. Religious concerns first brought Ryerson into the arena of public controversy and these issues continued to dominate in his assessment of more secular concerns. Nevertheless, it must be noted that Ryerson was as much a controversialist as Strachan and once challenged on a topic, any topic, he refused to back down.

For both historical and contemporary reasons Ryerson's widening debate with Strachan tended to draw him toward the developing Reform Party in Upper Canada. Historically, Methodism was associated with reform elements in England and it would seem that many members of the church equally tended to sympathize with reform in the colony. This was reinforced by the generally hostile attitude of the Compact, and most notably Strachan, toward Methodism, and by the support found in Reform circles for the Methodist opposition to church establishment. In one sense then, Egerton Ryerson became a member of the opposition because John Strachan was a member of the government. Whatever the exact reasons, Ryerson found that in the turbulent climate of the late 1820's temporal and secular matters were inseparable. Before long he became almost as much a symbol of reform as Strachan was a symbol of conservatism.

YET TO DEAL ONLY with the personal antagonism between these two men, and their associations with political movements in the years before 1837, would be to distort their true significance. A closer examination of their positions and of the way in which these positions evolved, reveals certain cross currents. Strachan, on occasion, expressed surprisingly liberal views and Ryerson quite conservative ones. Such an examination also shows that beneath the controversy over an established church and current political topics lay a number of commonly held opinions as to the values necessary for the proper development of Upper Canada.

The liberal side of the conservative Strachan may be shown by two examples. First, as is well known, his proposed University for Upper Canada as set out in the 1827 charter was much more open than were the English universities of the time. It would, it was true, be associated with the Church of England and its divinity school open only to students of that faith. In all other areas, however, students of any denomination were free to attend. Second, Strachan's attitude toward elementary education was very similar to Ryerson's. Drawing from his Scottish heritage he rejected the class-oriented English system in favour of an open, tax-supported school system that would allow the poor as well as the

wealthy access to education.[7] Intelligence, he believed, should be allowed an opportunity to develop whatever the social class from which it originated. It was a position that seemed rather strongly to favour the encouragement of social mobility for someone committed to a conservative society, but then it must be remembered that Strachan was the product of a working class family. He was well aware that one did not have to come from the elite to develop the conservative values which he considered both so important and so proper.

That Ryerson was not quite as radical as either his opponents or some of his supporters may have thought began to become apparent in 1833. As Upper Canadian politics became increasingly polarized, Ryerson found it increasingly uncomfortable to be associated, even casually, with radicals like William Lyon Mackenzie. His visit to England that year, the attempt of Canadian Methodism to work with English Wesleyanism, and English radical Joseph Hume's comments on the desirability of "independence" for Canada all served to emphasize to Ryerson his fundamental attachment to the monarchy and British constitutional practice. Ryerson soon found himself engaged in a controversy with Mackenzie that was, in some ways, more bitter than his long standing debate with Strachan. In the ensuing months he made it clear to his readers that he had completely dissociated himself from radical reform. Subsequent events reinforced this aversion to Radicalism. By the time he returned to the editorship of the *Guardian* in 1838, after a four year absence, many of his editorials revealed strong conservative tendencies.

The common ground between Ryerson and Strachan continued to increase through the 1840's. Ryerson, it is true, was more amenable to the union of Upper and Lower Canada. Also, while Strachan's influence in government circles decreased with the collapse of the Family Compact, Ryerson's grew sharply with his appointment as Superintendent of Education in 1844. Nevertheless, while differences remained in positions and policies, the decade's tensions tended to emphasize their common ground and common opponents. Neither man felt comfortable with the political tendencies of these years nor with their most powerful expression, the Reform Party of Robert Baldwin and Louis Lafontaine. "Partyism," patronage, secularism, and radicalism often seemed to be the real meaning of the Reform version of responsible government. This was as true for Ryerson as for Strachan and it simply reinforced his conservatism. His involvement in government in these years came, after all, in defence of the conservative administration of William Henry Draper. Values of "loyalty, order, stability" — conservative values — seemed threatened by challenges from the left and both men were led increasingly to similar views as they grew older.

Nothing better illustrates this trend than the way in which their involvement in the tortuous University question developed. Strachan's original charter, however liberal by English standards, had been vehemently opposed by all those,

including Ryerson, who saw it as an attempt to establish the Church of England in Upper Canada. That opposition had effectively prevented any action on the charter for years. Successive administrations had altered the original concept of the University until, by 1849, Robert Baldwin established a largely secular University of Toronto to act as the centre of higher education in Canada West.

The defeat of Strachan's intentions may have given Ryerson satisfaction but the new University of Toronto certainly did not. Ryerson's opposition to a University dominated by the Church of England had never implied support for a secular university. Religion and higher education, he felt, were best tied together and this included the presence of denominational colleges. Consistent with this attitude was his involvement in the creation of the Methodist Upper Canada Academy (later Victoria College) and his willingness to seek government funds for that institution. In his acceptance of government support, often to the dismay of other Methodists, and in his support for denominational universities, Ryerson's views were not that different from those of Strachan. The only basic disagreement was whether the Church of England should have exclusive or dominant support from the government for its particular institution.

Even that difference disappeared with the creation of the University of Toronto. Strachan had lost his original charter and was reduced to following in the footsteps of the Methodists by setting up a denominational college. In fact his pleas for support pointed to the precedents set by Victoria College and the Presbyterian Queen's University, asking simply for "those privileges that have been granted to others."[8] Both men were by this time in an identical position on the question of higher education. They supported the principle of government-aided denominational colleges and they were united in their hostility to the "Godless University" that had been established at Toronto. The similarity could not help but be noticed by contemporaries. As early as 1846 a supporter of non-denominational universities, smarting under the combined criticism of two of the most powerful churchmen in Canada, complained of "two cheaply made Doctors, till very lately the most implacable enemies," now working in alliance to prevent the creation of the new University.[9]

The common views that Ryerson and Strachan held on educational and other matters thus indicates that they cannot be used as some sort of statement of thesis and antithesis within early Upper Canadian society. For in spite of the often acrimonious clashes their positions on various issues and on the basic relationship of church, education, and society had many similarities. Moreover, these similarities were, in many ways, quite conservative ones. Many of the positions taken by Ryerson as much as by Strachan would seem to support the contention that there existed within Upper Canada a strong conservative tradition.[10] It is a minor, but interesting, point that Ryerson, on his trip to England in 1834, found his own beliefs reflected among that group which he termed the "moderate

Tories," and that his opposition to the Family Compact was never expressed as opposition to conservatism in itself.[11] John Strachan may have been somewhat more liberal than his opponents thought but Egerton Ryerson was certainly more conservative than the more radical reformers had hoped in those early years.

If it is not possible to use Strachan and Ryerson as examples of two dramatically alternative ideological streams, neither is it possible to use them to prove that there was in fact an incipient underlying consensus within Upper Canadian thought.[12] To do so would be to ignore two things. First, for all their agreements there remained serious and profound disagreements. Second, and more important, there was a third element present through these years. This element, most obviously represented by William Lyon Mackenzie's supporters in the 1830's and the Clear Grits in the later 1840's and 1850's, had a different, and more radical view of the proper course for Canada. In those areas of most interest to Strachan and Ryerson, education and religion, the Radicals viewed with suspicion any association between church and state. With the support of other reform elements, including powerful individuals like George Brown, this group often forced Strachan and Ryerson to take a common stand. The basic and profound differences that existed were what made issues such as the Clergy Reserves and the problem of the Universities so difficult to resolve.

Yet the issues eventually were resolved and it might be tempting therefore to argue that whatever clash had existed in the 1830's and 1840's a consensus was emerging, at least in these basic areas, by the 1850's. Even a conclusion such as this would, however, be premature. These issues were resolved not because an ideal solution was found which could appeal to all but because an acceptable one, sometimes barely tolerable, was discovered. The final solution of the Clergy Reserves Question or Universities question did not completely satisfy Ryerson, Strachan, nor for that matter the Clear Grits. They were at best compromise solutions wrung from often reluctant alliances of various groups within Canadian society.

It is in this process of compromise that the relationship between Ryerson and Strachan and their influence on the development of Upper Canadian traditions becomes meaningful. Where common beliefs were challenged they worked together or, more accurately, worked separately toward the same goals. Thus Ryerson and Strachan's influence was brought to bear jointly to ensure that religion would not be removed from the educational process and to preserve denominational universities. Conversely, Ryerson often worked with Reform elements to defeat Strachan's policies on church establishment. Many of the basic issues confronting Ryerson and Strachan were resolved through such compromises because compromise was the only way to gain the necessary support from shifting coalitions of conservatives, moderates, and radicals. Answers were eventually

found after years of deadlock, only because it became increasingly apparent to those involved that they would never achieve their ideal solution.

The growing recognition of the necessity for compromise was what put Ryerson into an increasingly powerful position as time went on. His moderate conservatism put him in the middle of widely ranged views. It was an uncomfortable position, open to attack from both extremes, but it was also an ideal place from which to form alliances in the face of more dreaded alternatives. This is why, in part, the outsider of the 1820's became the voice of the government in the 1840's on questions of education and remained in that position until he retired from the post of Superintendent of Education in 1876. Whatever arguments Ryerson had with various administrations (and there were many of them), he survived for the reason that his positions remained close to the compromise solutions acceptable to the majority.

In contrast John Strachan found himself with increasingly less influence on successive administrations. In the 1850's, at a time when John A. Macdonald forged a new moderate conservatism while George Brown worked to absorb the radicalism of the Clear Grits, Strachan found that his extreme positions found little support. Like William Lyon Mackenzie, Strachan found that the polarization of the 1830's was not acceptable a generation later. There is perhaps a certain irony in Strachan's warning to his clergy that the Church of England should settle the Clergy Reserves on a basis that would leave it independent of the government. "Till such separation take place," he warned, "it is clear from past experience that we can have no peace."[13] In the quest for the marriage of church and state, it would seem, even the more ardent suitor finally realized the match was impossible.

Strachan's failure to achieve his goals does not mean that he is without long term significance in Canadian history. Indeed, his legacy is in many ways as important as that of Ryerson. First, in practical terms, in his work on the 1816 Common School Act and its subsequent amendments he developed much of the framework for education in Upper Canada. It was a structure which Ryerson would complete years later. Second, and more important, Strachan provided a counterweight to more radical views. His extreme positions were not popular enough to determine the direction of religion and education in Upper Canada. As has been argued, however, many of his positions appealed to those with more moderate views, including Ryerson. It is perhaps an indication of the power of such a combination that these two men between them so dominated the formation of educational and religious institutions in Upper Canada.

Through the clashes and compromises of a half century the basic institutions of the colony were established. Consensus did eventually emerge out of compromise as those schools and universities became accepted as the interpreters of social values. It was a consensus achieved not at the time of their establishment but as

new generations went through them. This was perhaps fitting, for both Ryerson and Strachan had always known that it was the future generation which would determine the nature of Canada.

NOTES

[1] For a biography of Strachan see J. L. H. Henderson, *John Strachan 1778-1867* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1969).

[2] Strachan to Dr. James Brown (Oct. 21, 1809). Cited in J. L. H. Henderson, *John Strachan: Documents and Opinions* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1969), 26.

[3] John Strachan, *A Sermon Preached at York, Upper Canada, Third of July 1825, on the Death of the Late Bishop of Quebec* (Kingston: n.p., 1826).

[4] For a biography of Ryerson see C. B. Sissons, *Egerton Ryerson His Life and Letters*, 2 vols. (Toronto, 1937, 1947). See also Neil McDonald and Alf Chaiton, eds., *Egerton Ryerson and His Times* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1978).

[5] Sissons, vol. 1, 24-25.

[6] *Christian Guardian* (Jan. 16, 1830).

[7] J. D. Purdy, "John Strachan's Educational Policies, 1815-1841," *Ontario History*, 64, No. 1 (March 1972), 45-64.

[8] Strachan to Governor General Lord Elgin (Jan. 20, 1851). Cited in Arthur Doughty, ed., *The Elgin-Grey Papers*, vol. 2 (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, 1937), 802.

[9] Toronto *Examiner* (Feb. 18, 1846). Cited in Sissons, vol. 2, 106.

[10] On the conservative tradition in Upper Canada see S. F. Wise, "Upper Canada and the Conservative Tradition," Edith Firth, ed., *Profiles of a Province* (Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 1967), 20-33.

[11] *Christian Guardian* (Oct. 30, 1833).

[12] See on this question of consensus and conflict, S. F. Wise, "Liberal Consensus or Ideological Battleground," Canadian Historical Association, *Historical Papers*, 1974, 1-14.

[13] *John Strachan: Documents and Opinions*, 226.

BISHOP TO KING

David Solway

Sir, the kingdom is all in turmoil.
The knights refuse to bring you tribute
and converse only with their grooms;

the rooks are unprepared for war
and covet the center of the board;
and as for the queen, I must report

she enjoys the hourly attentions
of your trusted, praetorian pawn.
The pawns themselves are in revolt:

why risk their precious lives, they ask,
in your hereditary wars
for a speech at the funeral-pyre?

You see what lack of faith will do?
The bishops, who preach and advise,
are in despair. It's modern times.

And even the bishops themselves
have been seen without their vestments
in impious communion with the pawns.

And this is sufficient reason, sir,
why our policy and design
have grown so indiscriminate.

There is nothing we can do but wait.
History may run in cycles
or a messiah may appear

and our great distemper be cured.
Until that time, be reconciled
with appropriate analogies,

as chess, for example: after years
of erratic play, a master comes
or a prodigy redeems the game.

THE POWERS OF THE PAWN

David Solway

"The pawns are the soul of chess" — PHILIDOR

The king can move a single square
without restrictions made
but once he topples from his place,
no ransom to be paid.

The queen, as you might well expect's
a complicated dame;
she does most anything she wants
and quite controls the game.

The bishop is a sly old fox,
strategically oblique;
if there is trouble on the board
he is not far to seek.

And some are fascinated by
that most eccentric knight
who gallops rather awkwardly
but loves a bloody fight.

The stately rook's a mighty piece
and mainstay of the force;
he'll beat the bishop anytime
and overwhelm the horse.

But never underestimate
the powers of the pawn
who can promote into a queen
and put a kingdom on,

or moving humbly up the board,
killing on the side,
outpriest the priest, and leave the knight
without a horse to ride,

and trip the elevated rook
to bring it crashing down,
and nudge the psychopathic queen
into oblivion,

and stop before great Caesar's throne,
a tiny regicide,
and watch a cornered monarch fall
and ponder how he died.

MONTALEMBERT AU CANADA FRANÇAIS

Un Aspect des relations culturelles des deux mondes (1830-1930)

Pierre Savard

ON NE SAURAIT SE FAIRE AISÉMENT une idée aujourd'hui de la place qu'ont occupé dans la vie culturelle et religieuse de notre long 19e siècle les "illustrations et célébrités" catholiques de la France.[1] Les écrits de Lamennais première manière font partie de l'arsenal des adversaires du gallicanisme souvent entendu ici comme l'entente du haut clergé avec l'administration britannique. La philosophie même de Lamennais suscite des débats passionnés. On utilise aussi son autorité contre l'enseignement mutuel. Dans les années 1830, les patriotes répandent les *Paroles d'un Croyant* pour fouetter l'ardeur révolutionnaire contre l'administration britannique. Lamennais disparaîtra ou à peu près ensuite condamné par Rome, engagé dans la voie d'un socialisme qui dit peu aux leaders canadiens tandis que s'amenuise le cercle de ses admirateurs ici.[2] Son frère, le fondateur de congrégation sera le plus connu des deux après 1850. Lacordaire suscite un intérêt plus durable. Les conférences de Notre-Dame ont leur écho jusqu'aux bords du Saint-Laurent où elles trouvent des imitateurs. La venue des dominicains dans les années 1880 qui s'établissent dans les grandes villes et se font un nom dans l'enseignement de la philosophie et de la théologie ravive l'intérêt pour la personne et le nom du fondateur[3] qui laisse son empreinte dans la toponymie québécoise: une grande artère de Montréal, et un des innombrables lacs du Québec portent son nom. Un concours de circonstance fera que le nom de Lacordaire sera associé pendant plusieurs décennies à un florissant mouvement d'abstinence alcoolique répandu par tout le Canada français.[4] Plus connu encore peut-être fut le nom d'Ozanam créateur de la Société Saint-Vincent de Paul promise à un développement prodigieux au Canada français à partir du premier groupe créé à Québec en 1846 par le docteur Joseph Painchaud, ancien étudiant à Paris.[5] Ozanam, lui, a droit au nom d'un hameau et d'un lac dans la toponymie sans compter quelques rues de villes comme Québec. D'autres noms aujourd'hui plus oubliés nourrissent la pensée d'ici tels les évêques et clercs

Dupanloup, Pie, dom Guéranger, Rohrbacher, Gerbet, Gaume, Perreyve. Le mouvement des zouaves fait répandre les biographies de Lamoricière, de Pimodan, du général de Sonis et d'autres "soldats chrétiens." Les politiques comme Broglie ou Falloux se retrouvent dans les bibliothèques mais sont moins lus parce que trop liés à la structure politique française. Des écrivains mineurs doublement recommandables pour l'inspiration religieuse et l'orthodoxie y occupent une place de choix: Laprade, Brizeux, Eugénie de Guérin sans parler de Madame de Craven. Nul n'atteint la célébrité de Louis Veuillot, maître à penser et à écrire de générations de Canadiens français depuis déjà le milieu du siècle. Cette influence incalculable va se maintenir longtemps dans notre siècle. La faveur de héros catholiques de la génération de 1870 comme le comte de Mun ou celle plus tard de François Veuillot n'atteindra jamais celle de l'auteur des *Parfums de Rome*.[6]

I. *Le défenseur de l'Eglise*

Claude Galarneau et Philippe Sylvain ont raconté la découverte du défenseur de l'*Ecole libre* et de la liberté religieuse par un séminariste de Saint-Hyacinthe, Joseph-Sabin Raymond. Dès 1831, Raymond, lecteur de l'*Avenir*, prend connaissance des écrits de Montalembert comme sa lettre célèbre sur la foi du 3 août 1831 et le fameux discours sur la liberté de l'enseignement à la Chambre des Pairs. En 1833 on répète au Séminaire de Saint-Hyacinthe, lors des exercices publics, le "Procès de l'Ecole Libre" avec les discours de Montalembert, de Lacordaire et de Coux. En 1844, ce sont les plaidoyers sur la liberté de l'enseignement qui sont en vedette alors qu'un écolier joue avec brio le rôle de Montalembert. En 1839, Raymond s'est enhardit à écrire au grand orateur catholique. Montalembert lui adresse son Histoire de *Sainte-Elisabeth de Hongrie* parue en 1836 et lui fait expédier par son éditeur Lecoffre les autres oeuvres au fur et à mesure de leur parution. En voyage en Europe de novembre 1842 à octobre 1843, le prêtre canadien à l'âme romantique est reçu par Montalembert et, il laisse un récit plein d'exaltation de la rencontre de son héros. Raymond n'est pas le seul professeur de collège qui sache passionner ses élèves pour l'actualité religieuse et politique de l'Ancien Monde: un abbé Bouchy au collège de Sainte-Anne-de-la Pocatière fait de même. En 1844, Raymond s'ouvre à son correspondant des raisons qui l'attirent vers l'oeuvre de Montalembert et sa patrie. "Vous avez contribué à maintenir la liberté d'enseignement dans notre pays" affirme-t-il péremptoirement. L'abbé fait allusion ici à l'usage des écrits de Montalembert pour ceux qui luttent pour la création d'une première université canadienne-française et catholique dont les fonds pourraient venir des Biens des Jésuites confiés au gouvernement à la fin du 18e siécle à l'extinction de la compagnie au Canada. Et le clerc de rappeler le réconfort de la France catholique pour ses compatriotes qui comme lui s'extasient sur les cathédrales gothiques "ces prodiges

de l'art de la foi de nos pères." Raymond ne doute pas "des espérances que la France, malgré l'indifférence qui ronge encore une partie de la société, peut donner à la religion." Même Paris offre des consolations par son archiconfrérie du Sacré-Coeur de Marie, ses conférences de Saint-Vincent-de-Paul et "l'esprit de foi et de zèle qui anime cette jeunesse d'intelligence et de coeur" que le clerc canadien a vu au Cercle catholique.[7]

Quelques années plus tard la question romaine défraie la chronique des journaux canadiens. La question du pouvoir temporel du Pape est âprement débattue dans la vallée du Saint-Laurent. La lutte est inégale. D'un côté un carré de libéraux avancés autour du journal *Le Pays* dénonce l'état arriéré des Etats pontificaux sous l'administration papale et défend le droit du peuple italien de disposer de lui-même. Le clergé et les autres journaux prennent massivement partie pour l'intégrité des Etats pontificaux s'alimentant au *Monde*, à la *Civilita cattolica* et aux écrits de Veuillot. Le discours de Montalembert à la Chambre des Pairs ne manque pas de connaître la reproduction dans les *Mélanges religieux*, feuille officieuse de l'évêché de Montréal, dès le 15 février 1848. L'orateur y rappelle que "l'indépendance temporelle du Saint-Père est le patrimoine de toutes les nations chrétiennes."[8] Le discours célèbre de 1849 à l'Assemblée Nationale où Montalembert compare l'Eglise à une femme et à une mère est aussi répandu au Canada.[9]

L'oeuvre de l'historien religieux semble tôt connue au Canada: les vieilles bibliothèques contiennent de nombreuses et anciennes éditions de l'Histoire de *Sainte-Elisabeth de Hongrie* et des *Moines d'Occident* acquises peu après leur parution.[10] Des revues littéraires offrent à leurs lecteurs des reproductions du défenseur de l'art chrétien, du biographe de Lacordaire ou de l'historien des *Moines d'Occident*.[11] Les biographies du grand catholique sont aussi nombreuses dans les bibliothèques paroissiales ou de collèges.[12] Le grand poète canadien de l'époque, Octave Crémazie alors en exil en France fait part de son admiration pour le talent littéraire de Montalembert dans une lettre de 1867 à son ami l'abbé Casgrain qui fait partie de la rédaction du *Foyer Canadien*. Regrettant l'insipidité des reproductions françaises des périodiques canadiens, il suggère qu'on y donne des pages des "beaux génies catholiques" comme Montalembert, Gerbet, Ozanam, Veuillot et Brizeux."[13]

D'autres Canadiens écrivent au grand écrivain catholique pour lui présenter leurs oeuvres et lui dire leur admiration. Le directeur de la *Revue canadienne* adresse un abonnement en hommage à Montalembert. Le comte remercie en soulignant qu'il a été frappé par l'article "Une conclusion d'histoire de François-Xavier Garneau." Il conseille aux Canadiens de se consoler "d'avoir été séparés par la fortune de la guerre de leur mère-patrie, en songeant que cette séparation leur a donné des libertés et des droits que la France n'a su ni pratiquer, ni conserver ni même regretter."[14] Dix ans plus tôt, Chauveau présente son premier

roman à Montalembert et il reçoit une belle lettre de félicitations pour son *Charles Guérin*. Regrettant "l'inaction et l'obscurité" auxquelles il est condamné pour avoir refusé de s'associer "aux palinodies de ses contemporains et à l'abaissement de son pays," Montalembert avoue qu'il forme le voeu d'aller un jour visiter les Etats-Unis et le Canada. Il déclare savoir qu'il retrouvera dans ce dernier pays "une image fidèle de la vieille France dans ce qu'elle a de plus recommandable."[15]

II. *Le thuriféraire des Etats-Unis et l'adversaire de Veuillot*

L'admiration que Montalembert nourrit à l'endroit de la Grande République américaine va l'éloigner des ses amis canadiens. Au milieu du 19e siêcle, après les désillusions de la révolte de 1837-38 et sous le régime de l'Union qui favorise l'ex-Haut-Canada, il se trouve des intellectuels et des hommes d'affaires canadiens pour rêver d'une annexion à la République du Sud dont la prospérité les fascine. Groupés autour de feuilles comme l'*Avenir* pus *Le Pays*, ces annexionnistes espèrent l'épanouissement de la culture française sous la bannière étoilée à l'instar de la Louisiane qui a conservé son droit civil et où on parle encore la langue française. Une forte réaction à cette tentation de fusion du Canada français catholique dans le grand tout américain anglo-protestant se développe tant dans les milieux politiques que religieux. Le nationalisme et l'ultramontanisme aidant, on se met à dépeindre de plus en plus les Etats-Unis comme une terre de violence et d'immoralité. Le flot d'immigrants qui déferle du Canada français vers le Sud ne fait qu'accentuer la réaction des journaux et de l'élite canadienne-française. Encore ici, seul un carré de libéraux ardemment démocrates défent les institutions et le peuple américains. Ils souscrivent volontiers aux paroles de Lacordaire à l'Académie en 1861: "la démocratie américaine a fondé un grand peuple religieux, puissant, respecté, libre enfin."[16]

Après avoir entretenu des opinions méprisantes sur les Etats-Unis, Montalembert, à partir de 1848, ne tarit pas l'éloge sur la république américaine dont il s'est formé une image des plus flatteuses à la lecture d'articles de Henry de Courcy, de Lacordaire, d'Ozanam, de Veuillot et de Ravignan. L'opinion de de Courcy correspondant de l'*Univers* à New-York se modifie à la suite des émeutes Bedini qui font ressortir un fond d'intolérance américaine indéniable. Montalembert se détourne alors de de Courcy pour s'allier à Orestes Brownson, esprit libéral et nationaliste américain vigoureux. Brownson devient un disciple inconditionnel de Montalembert tandis que le comte épouse la vision idéalisée des Etats-Unis de son correspondant.[17] L'alliance qu'il cherche en vain en Europe entre l'Eglise et la liberté, Montalembert croit la trouver aux Etats-Unis. Cette position ne peut que l'éloigner de la grande majorité de l'élite canadienne-française de plus en plus critique à l'endroit des Etats-Unis. En 1858, Joseph-Charles Taché adresse au "chef du parti catholique et notre général à tous" un exemplaire de la brochure *Des Provinces de l'Amérique du Nord et d'une union*

fédérale ensemble de trente-trois articles déjà paru dans le *Courrier du Canada*. Tout en remerciant son correspondant canadien de l'avoir éclairé sur la situation canadienne, Montalembert lui signifie carrément qu'il diffère totalement d'opinion avec lui sur les affaires états-uniennes sur lesquelles Taché suit de Courcy.[18]

Plus spectaculaire est la polémique dans la presses canadienne en 1865 à la suite de la publication de l'article célèbre de Montalembert "La victoire du Nord aux Etats-Unis." Après avoir vanté la générosité des vainqueurs et célébré la suppression de l'esclavage, l'auteur y vantait l'Amérique qui "pratique et conserve la liberté à un degré qu'aucune nation, excepté l'Angleterre, n'a encore pu atteindre." Tout au plus déplorait-il "la rudesse de ses allures" et une "certaine déperdition du sens moral qui semble se manifester chez elle depuis la mort de Washington."

Le Canada français avait suivi avec passion le grand duel entre le Nord et le Sud. Des volontaires canadiens-français nombreux avaient servi dans les armées du Nord. Peu sensibles au problème de l'esclavage l'élite canadienne-française n'éprouve guère de sympathie pour le Nord dont la presse a manifesté une arrogance certaine à l'endroit de la colonie britannique durant les hostilités.[19] L'article de Montalembert a paru dans le *Correspondant* de mai 1865. Le *Pays* de Montréal qui reste le dernier bastion des libéraux radicaux canadiens-français le reproduit triomphalement dans ses livraisons du 11 au 18 juillet. *Le Courier du Canada* de Québec a déjà dénoncé vigoureusement l'article le 30 juin 1865 qualifié d' "enthousiaste réclame aussi maladroite qu'intempestive en faveur des idées démocratiques et des institutions républicaines, réclame mal déguisée sous le manteau trouvé de la philanthropie négrophile." *Le Courrier du Canada* du 3 au 10 juillet se livre à une réfutation de Montalembert. L'auteur rappelle la cruauté des armées nordistes, le sort misérable réservé à Jefferson Davis président déchu de la Confédération et la prétendue "liberté donnée aux noirs [qui] n'est autre chose que la liberté d'aller mourir de faim sur les chemins publics." L'auteur anonyme attire l'attention sur la décadence du catholicisme américain, dont les gains numériques attribuable à l'immigration cachent mal les nombreuses défections. On ne pouvait plus différer d'opinion sur "la liberté comme en Amérique" pour employer l'expression chère aux catholiques libéraux de l'Ancien Monde.[20]

Autant sinon plus que par ses positions face aux Etats-Unis, c'est par son attitude face aux problèmes religieux que Montalembert perd du crédit auprès d'une fraction de l'intelligentzia. Le journaliste du *Courrier du Canada* à la fin de son article du 10 juillet 1865 présente le comte comme un "déclassé" politique qui "dans un moment de mauvaise humeur (. . .) a faussé compagnie au grand parti catholique français pour courir après ce météore trompeur et dangereux qui s'appelle indifféremment *l'esprit moderne, l'humanité, le progrès*, ces niaiseries qui servent de bélier pour battre en brèche la vérité catholique." Deux ans aupa-

ravant avait eu lieu le Congrès de Malines où les deux discours de Montalembert sur "l'Eglise libre dans l'Etat libre" avaient aggravé sa réputation de catholique libéral.[21] Le 8 décembre 1864, Pie IX avait lancé l'encyclique *Quanta cura* et le *Syllabus errorum*. Le nom de Montalembert devient synonyme de libéralisme et de compromission avec l'erreur dans les milieux de l'ultramontanisme canadien-français. La mort du grand catholique le 13 mars 1870 est l'occasion d'escarmouches dans la presse. Le *Pays* radical paraît liséré de noir le 16 mars 1870. Il consacre un éditorial à vanter "l'illustration littéraire," la "gloire de la tribune" et "un des plus nobles caractères de cette époque troublée si fertile en défaillances." Il en profite pour regretter les "restrictions perfides" sur les idées de Montalembert qu'a faites le *Nouveau-Monde*, organe ultramontain de Montréal. Au même moment, le *Pays* publie à pleines colonnes les plaidoyers du procès Guibord où l'Eglise est malmenée par les procureurs de la veuve qui exigent que le typographe excommunié soit inhumé en terre chrétienne. *Le Courrier du Canada*, *la Minerve* et le *Nouveau Monde* se scandalisent de voir le *Pays* rendre hommage à Montalembert. L'organe radical rapelle le 23 mars qu'il n'a fait qu'imiter ses confrères libéraux parisiens. D'ailleurs, ajoute-t-il avec une pointe de méchanceté, le Pape n'a-t-il pas fait dire une messe pour l'âme du grand catholique? Il devient usuel d'opposer Veuillot et Montalembert. Quelques années auparavant on associait leurs noms. En 1862 encore, l'*Echo du Cabinet de lecture paroissial* reproduit une belle lettre de remerciements de Veuillot au directeur qui l'a félicité de son dernier livre en la coiffant d'une éloge: "le lion de la polémique chrétienne comme M. de Montalembert appelle saint Jérôme dans les *Moines d'Occident*."[22] Veuillot est présenté par les ultramontains comme: "l'homme de lettres le plus parfait, le plus complet de cette époque." On concède du talent aux libéraux mais on regrette leurs tendances néfastes. "Quels beaux monuments plusieurs d'entre eux ne laisseront-ils pas à la postérité dans l'histoire, dans la critique, dans la politique chrétienne et, malgré les tendances gallicanes et libérales de Montalembert et de Falloux, que se sont égarés quelque temps avec Mgr l'Evêque d'Orléans, quels services éminents n'ont-ils pas rendus à la cause catholique!" soupire un des jeunes intellectuels ultramontains.[23] Au premier congrès catholique canadien-français tenu à Québec en 1880, un chef de file ultramontain, François-Xavier Trudel rapelle les luttes farouches entre journalistes, libéraux et ultramontains autour de 1870, alimentés par leurs congénères français et évoque "le domaine de l'erreur où Montalembert et de Falloux, eux, avaient bien campé une partie notable de leur existence."[24]

Les radicaux n'hésitent jamais à utiliser Montalembert pour embarrasser leurs adversaires ultramontains. Arthur Buies dans *La Lanterne* du 7 juin 1869 rappelle le mot que Montalembert aurait attribué à Veuillot: "Les libéraux n'ont pas le droit de nous refuser la liberté puisque c'est leur doctrine; quant à nous, nous ne pouvons pas leur accorder parce que notre religion s'y oppose."[25]

Parmi les journalistes ultramontains qui semblent s'être donné comme mission de réduire à néant le crédit de Montalembert, Jules-Paul Tardivel, veuillotiste inconditionnel qui dirige la *Vérité* de Québec de 1881 à 1905, occupe une place de choix. Passant sous silences les luttes des Montalembert pour l'Eglise et son oeuvre d'historien religieux, Tardivel s'attache encore en 1893 à rappeler la "fin lamentable" de "ce pauvre Montalembert" qui "avait la rage au coeur, cette rage qui a entraîné tant d'esprits d'élite, moins orgueilleux, dans le schisme et l'hérésie." Il est mort de conclure le journaliste dans des sentiments qui ne peuvent qu'inspirer de graves inquiétudes sur le salut de son âme.[26] A l'instar du *Courrier du Canada* et d'autres feuilles ultramontaines, la *Vérité* a reproduit avec satisfaction en 1885 la tirade du cardinal Pitra contre les catholiques libéraux dans laquelle Montalembert est nommément dénoncé.[27] La *Vérité* ouvre aussi bien larges ses colonnes au curé français Mgr Justin Fèvre autre pourfendeur de Montalembert.[28]

L'acharnement de Tardivel s'explique par l'usage que font de Montalembert les libéraux canadiens-français. Le chef du parti libéral fédéral Wilfrid Laurier ne manque jamais d'occasion de se réclamer du libéralisme anglo-saxon et de l'école de Lacordaire et de Montalembert tout en vilipendant Veuillot et ses thuriféraires canadiens.[29] Pour Tardivel, des radicaux anticléricaux de l'*Avenir* des années 1840 aux libéraux de 1880 en passant par les disciples canadiens de Montalembert il y a filiation et commune pensée. Voltaire, écrit-il dans la *Vérité* du 31 janvier 1885, "engendra le philosophisme impie répandu plus ou moins dans notre pays dès son apparition en Europe, et importé au Canada plus spécialement au Canada français par Papineau après son retour d'exil, engendra l'école *rouge* de l'*Avenir* et du *Pays*, des Doutre, des Laflamme, des Dessaules, des Popin, des Dorion, des Daoust etc.: l'école rouge engendra l'école des "poseurs au radicalisme" de nos jours dont la *Patrie* est le principal organe, école qui absorbe rapidement la faction des libéraux plus *modérés* de l'école de Montalembert." Le directeur de la *Vérité* fait trop d'honneur aux rouges. Ce sont les libéraux modérés sous la conduite de Laurier qui mènent le parti dès la fin des années 1870 et vont neutraliser peu à peu les tendances radicales.

Au milieu de ces débats on n'en continue pas moins de lire Montalembert dans les collèges et les familles bourgeoises. Hectorine Langevin, fille de sir Hector, père de la Confédération et catholique bien-pensant, s'entretient de Montalembert avec Thomas Chapais son futur époux en 1877 comme elle note dans son journal intime.[30] L'abbé Napoléon Bruchési promis à un grand avenir épiscopal est un liseur de Montalembert au début des années 1880 qu'il passe à Québec.[31] Montalembert reste pendant longtemps un maître de l'éloquence politique et académique.[32] Le nom de Montalembert commande le respect. Quand le vicomte Alfred de Meaux avec sa femme, fille du grand écrivain catholique et une vingtaine d'amis visitent Montréal en route vers le congrès catholique de Baltimore de 1890, les Soeurs de la Congrégation Notre-Dame de Montréal les reçoivent

avec de grands égards.[33] Dans son ouvrage sur l'avenir du peuple canadien-francais écrit dans les années 1890, Edmond de Nevers raille doucement "la moyenne instruction" de l'élite de son temps faite d'un maigre bagage de latin et de littérature emporté du collège et dont le fin du fin consiste à causer des oeuvres de Bonald, de Maistre, de Montalembert, de Veuillot, de dénoncer Zola et de critiquer Hugo.[34]

III. *Un modèle pour la jeunesse*

Au tournant du siècle, le nom de Montalembert est remis en honneur dans les milieux de collégiens et d'étudiants tant en France qu'au Canada français. Lionel Groulx élève du collège de Ste-Thérèse découvre avec enthousiasme les grands noms du catholicisme français du 19e siècle à commencer par Veuillot puis l'abbé Perreyve, Lacordaire, Ozanam, Berryer, le père Gratry, de Maistre.[35] Le "séduisant Charles de Montalembert, le "fils des croisés" le jeune pair du procès de l'Ecole libre, m'avait littéralement enroûté" confiera-t-il plus tard. Il va même se demander s'il ne fera pas, pour mieux servir l'Eglise, carrière d'apôtre laïc plutôt que de prêtre.[36] C'est dans la biographie par l'abbé Léon Bouthors qu'il a découvert le grand catholique.[37] La correspondance de Montalembert et de Cornudet le confirme dans son projet de "montalembertisation de la jeunesse" c'est-à-dire de préparer un laïcat apôtre qui va régénérer le Canada français.[38] Prêtre-professeur au collège de Valleyfield, il anime de 1903 à 1906 une "croisade d'adolescents" sous le double signe du Christ adolescent et du jeune Montalembert.[39] Groulx va ensuite étudier à Fribourg puis passe des vacances en France chez le vieil amiral de Cuverville, un Breton qui a bien connu les grands noms du catholicisme français de 1830 dont Montalembert. Orateur et inspirateur de jeunes, Groulx gardera sa vie durant un culte pour Montalembert qu'il aime citer comme un auteur familier.[40]

Les idées Groulx partagées par son ami l'abbé Emile Chartier professeur au Séminaire de Saint-Hyacinthe de 1904 à 1914 vont marquer l'Association catholique de la jeunesse canadienne (A.C.J.C.) lancée part des jésuites montréalais en 1904.[41] C'est le nom de Montalembert qu'invoque le plus souvent de 1904-1908 le *Semeur*, organe de l'association.[42]

Ce nouveau cours de la fortune de Montalembert s'est fait sentir dès la fin des années 1890. En 1895, l'abbé Gustave Bourassa présente une conférence au Cercle Ville-Marie.[43] L'avocat Thibaudeau Rinfret, le 9 mars 1900, prononce à son tour une conférence devant ce cercle fondé par les Sulpiciens à l'adresse des étudiants universitaires.[44] Les cercles de l'A.C.J.C. prolifèrent dans les collèges. S'ils adoptent en général des patronymes canadiens, plusieurs se mettent à l'enseigne de grands catholiques de France tel celui de Saint-Hyacinthe, un des premiers qui adopte le nom de Montalembert.[45] C'est sans doute à cette époque

que le gouvernement québécois donne le nom de Montalembert à un canton de l'Abitibi qui s'ouvre à la colonisation.

La biographie de Lecanuet a contribué à cette renaissance montalembertienne. Le premier tome paru à Paris en 1895 est salué avec enthousiasme dans la *Revue canadienne* quelques mois plus tard.[46] Le même accueil est réservé au deuxième tome tandis que le troisième, controversé en France ne fait pas l'objet de mention.[47] Réédité jusqu'en 1927, l'ouvrage de Lecanuet sera abondamment répandu dans les bibliothèques canadiennes. Il ne suscite pas de réactions aussi passionnées au Canada qu'en France. Cependant, dans la première édition (de 1912) d'*Une Croisade d'adolescents* Groulx rappelle la "méfiance" qu'on peut sûrement entretenir sur le compte de certaines pages du volume. Et l'auteur de citer un jugement tiré du tome 4 du *Dix-neuvième siècle* du jésuite Longaye: "Tout le monde sait que le grand orateur catholique a eu la rare fortune de trouver un digne biographe, le R. P. Lecanuet. Dans les trois volumes de l'éminent historien, je ne regretterais pour ma part, qu'un léger excès de complaisance aux témérités de l'*Avenir* (tome Ier) et une adhésion un peu trop complète aux ressentiments personnels de Montalembert pendant ses dernières années."[48]

Rien cependant au Canada ne rappelle des débats comparables à ceux qui entourent le centenaire avorté de la naissance de l'écrivain catholique en 1910. Les *Etudes* publient un article du père Léonce de Grandmaison auquel les Canadiens eussent volontiers souscrit. Le jésuite loue l'ami de collège de Léon Cornudet, le défenseur de l'Ecole libre, l'auteur de *Sainte Elisabeth de Hongrie*, le défenseur du pouvoir temporel et de la liberté de l'enseignement. Il propose ensuite qu'on jette le manteau de Noé sur la vie du "solitaire un peu morose de la Roche-en Brenil" "l'orateur trop optimiste à Malines" et "l'épistolier virulent des dernières années." Enfin, s'il déclare plus sage qu'on se soit abstenu de célébrer le centenaire tout en félicitant les "jeunes hommes" qui ont fêté le "jeune héros" dans le numéro de la revue *Montalembert* qui vient de paraître.[49] Au Canada français le centenaire de Montalembert ne laisse pas de trace tandis que celui de Veuillot en 1913 est célébré avec pompes dans les collèges et l'université.[50]

Le nom de Montalembert continue de figurer en bonne place dans les manuels de littérature d'ici à l'instar des manuels de l'enseignement libre français.[51] En 1925 paraît à Lachine la première édition du *Précis d'histoire des littératures françaises, canadiennes-françaises, étrangères et anciennes* des Soeurs de Sainte-Anne. Ce manuel sera le plus répandu dans les couvents et les collèges de jeunes filles jusque dans les années 1950. L'auteur anonyme y loue le "fervent catholique" qui "fit à sa foi le sacrifice d'une grande et forte amitié en brisant avec Lamennais, rebelle à la voix de l'Eglise."[52] Puis on rapelle que "comme Mgr Dupanloup, il croyait inopportune la définition du dogme de l'infaillibilité; toutefois, il avait le coeur trop catholique pour ne pas l'accepter."[53]

En 1916 se place un épisode qui révèle l'importance des écrits de Montalembert pour ses admirateurs. Antonio Perrault, jeune avocat et premier président de l'A.C.J.C. en 1904 fait lire à la séance annuelle de la Société Royale du Canada une longue communication "A propos d'une opinion de Montalembert sur le Canada."[54] Familier de l'oeuvre du grand orateur, le jeune avocat a trouvé dans "Un débat sur l'Inde au parlement anglais" paru d'abord dans *Le Correspondant* du 25 octobre 1858 un passage sur le Canada qui lui semble empreint d'exagération. L'auteur raconte longuement les circonstances qui entourent l'article, les services rendus à la religion par Montalembert, son attachement à l'Angleterre, son intérêt pour le Canada français manifesté dans sa lettre à Chauveau publiée en 1900 puis en arrive au débat fameux que rapporte l'écrivain catholique. Alors qu'il est à célébrer la politique coloniale de l'Angleterre, Montalembert écrit: "Au Canada, une noble race française et catholique arrachée malheureusement à notre pays, mais restée française par le coeur et par les moeurs, doit à l'Angleterre d'avoir conservé ou acquis, avec une entière liberté religieuse, toutes les libertés politiques et municipales que la France a répudiées." Après avoir rapporté les péripéties du procès que valut à Montalembert la critique du régime impérial dans son article, Perrault revient au jugement sur l'histoire du Canada. Il rappelle que la dette du Canada français envers l'Angleterre reste une question fort controversée de l'historiographie canadienne, question que l'orateur français résout "sans la moindre hésitation."[55] S'appuyant surtout sur Groulx qui vient de donner une série retentissante de conférences à l'Université de Montréal sur cette période, il souligne que "la liberté chez nous ne fut pas un don mais une conquête" puis il rappelle toutes les tracasseries que l'administration britannique fit aux chefs politiques et religieux du Canada français. "Les expressions *conservés* et *acquis*, employées par Montalembert, se trouvent être inexactes et son observation, à ce sujet, contraire à la vérité historique."[56] L'optimisme de Montalembert pourtant assez au courant des choses canadiennes s'explique du fait que vivant "loin du théâtre où grandissaient ces notions nouvelles, tout à la joie d'acclamer ces libertés de l'heure présente, il oublia les luttes, longues et pénibles, par lesquelles elles avaient été gagnées."[57] L'auteur termine par un vibrant plaidoyer en faveur des "vaincus de 1760" et souhaite que se lèvent des imitateurs de "l'intelligence si largement ouverte," du "coeur si haut placé" de "l'ardeur," du "désintéressement de l'homme admirable" dont il a "voulu rappeler le souvenir."[58]

Le nom et l'exemple de Montalembert s'estompent dans les années 1920. L'A.C.J.C. valorise les héros nationaux de Mgr de Laval à Mgr Bourget en passant par Dollard des Ormeaux. A partir de 1935, l'Action catholique qui se répand comme une traînée de poudre sous les formes de J.O.C. et de J.E.C. propose d'autres modèles tel Pier Giorgio Frassati. Le scoutisme à son tour met en valeur Guy de Larigaudie après 1940. Les hommes politiques sont fascinés par des grands ténors nationalistes d'ici comme Bourassa ou, s'ils sont attachés au

parti libéral, Laurier. Les intellectuels cherchent leur inspiration chez Maritain et Mounier qui, il faut le dire n'atteignent encore que des couches fort minces. La journaliste Adrienne Choquette recueille en 1939 des *Confidences d'écrivains canadiens-français*. De la trentaine d'auteurs de tous les horizons, seul Jean Bruchési mentionne Montalembert alors comme lecture de jeunesse: les nouvelles idoles littéraires ont pour nom Léon Daudet, Pourrat, Mauriac, Barrès, Bazin, Bourget, Bordeaux, Bloy et Maurras.[59] En 1962, le *Nouveau Journal* publie 97 réponses d'intellectuels sur leurs nourritures livresques de tous les âges, de diverses professions et de tendances idéologiques variées. Aucun ne cite Montalembert alors que Veuillot revient cinq fois.[60] Les autodafés qui ont suivi la "Révolution tranquille" des années 1960 et les ébranlements conciliaires ont achevé d'effacer le nom de Montalembert des bibliothèques de collèges et de paroisses. Le déclin de l'art oratoire et le glissement des préoccupations vers le syndicalisme aident aussi à comprendre que le grand écrivain catholique de 19e siécle n'intéresse guère aujourd'hui que les historiens.

LA FORTUNE DE MONTALEMBERT au Canada français pendant un siècle apparaît riche d'enseignements sur la conjoncture idéologique. L'astre du général des troupes catholiques de France brille d'un vif éclat jusqu'aux années 1860. Défenseur de la liberté au sens large, protagoniste à l'occasion des libertés nationales comme celle de la Pologne, gardien des droits de la religion et de l'Eglise, défenseur de l'Ecole libre, ami des libertés politiques à l'anglaise, défenseur inconditionnel du pouvoir temporel des Papes, et biographe de Sainte Elisabeth de Hongrie répandu dans toutes les bibliothèques, Montalembert a tout pour édifier l'intelligentzia canadienne-française tant dans sa fraction cléricale que chez ses "libéraux."

Les différends avec Veuillot idolâtré au Canada qui prennent, transportés outre Atlantique, un sens plus abstrait encore qu'en France c'est-à-dire moins lié à la conjoncture politique et plus philosophicothéologique, l'enthousiasme et l'admiration pour la République américaine dans laquelle les élites canadiennes-françaises voient de plus en plus comme une menace à leur survie culturelle et religieuse, les hardiesses du libéral à Malines sévèrement désavouées par Rome minent considérablement son crédit. Ce qui n'empêche pas d'admirer l'auteur des *Moines d'Occident* et le jeune catholique des années 1830. Les ultramontains des années 1870 et 1880 voire ceux des années 1890 l'opposent sans cesse à Veuillot à l'avantage du directeur de l'*Univers* et insistent lourdement sur les dernières années de sa vie. Cet acharnement s'explique par l'usage de Montalembert "libéral à l'anglaise" et des catholiques libéraux comme Lacordaire que font libéraux et anticléricaux canadiens-français "anti-veuillotistes" décidés.

A la fin du siècle, la querelle des frères ennemis s'estompe au Canada français. Si Veuillot continue d'y être l'objet d'un culte puissant, Montalembert devient l'idole d'une jeunesse de collèges. Groulx puis l'A.C.J.C. lancent des jeunes à la croisade à l'exemple du jeune catholique français des années 1830. Le glissement de cette mystique vers un nationalisme d'ici va toutefois éclipser Montalembert au profit de héros comme Dollard et, à partir de 1920, le nom du grand catholique français n'éveille guère plus d'échoes.

Révélateur sur les structures idéologiques et littéraires du Canada français traditionnel apparaît également l'étude de l'image de Montalembert. On y retrouve l'influence inappréciable des grands modèles français chez un petit peuple perdu au milieu des Anglo-saxons et confronté à l'occasion aux grands modèles britanniques. Comme il arrive en ce cas, la gloire de Montalembert débarassée des contingences de la vie politique française est comme revêtue d'une *aura*. Les querelles politiques avec le régime impérial, par exemple, ont peu d'intérêt pour les Canadiens pas plus que celles qu'entourent sa biographie par Lecanuet ou l'agitation autour du centenaire manqué. Quant au faux problème du catholicisme social de Montalembert, il est sans écho au Canada français dont les élites s'éveillent tard à ces questions et vont chercher leur inspiration ailleurs que chez les catholiques libéraux qu'une confusion tenace de l'historiographie a trop voulu rattacher au catholicisme social.

En des temps où l'art oratoire occupe la place de choix dans la formation de la jeunesse des collèges[61] le nom de Montalembert, auréolé de son rôle de défenseur de l'Eglise, maître d'éloquence tant académique que parlementaire, ne pouvait que briller d'un vif éclat. L'écrivain français avait aussi une place que ne pouvait être minime dans un monde scolaire où de 1830 à 1960, "la" littérature c'était principalement la littérature française et les grands modèles, autant les grands auteurs catholiques du 19e siècle que les classiques du 17e siècle.

Ce survol nous ramène enfin au problème fondamental des emprunts de l'intelligence canadienne-française. Pendant le siècle qui nous occupe ici, chaque génération et chaque école d'esprit catholique s'est nourrie de l'extérieur suivant ses besoins propres. Cette dialectique de l'ici et de l'ailleurs a rendu possible non seulement la survie mais l'épanouissement d'une culture. Notre temps affecte à un fort degré le mépris à l'endroit de ce qui n'est pas tiré de notre propre fonds. Et les intellectuels ne sont pas de reste. Dans un article magistral sur l'identité québécoise et celle de l'Eglise catholique d'ici, Fernand Dumont soupirait: "N'allons-nous pas, une fois de plus, dissoudre nos questions dans celles des autres."[62] Venu d'un autre bord idéologique, Denis Monière, dans sa brillante synthèse sur *Le développement des idéologies au Québec des origines à nos jours* (Montréal, 1977) discrédite l'idéologie ultramontaine à cause de son caractère essentiel d'importation.[63] La tâche de l'historien est autre. C'est de montrer pourquoi telle idéologie dure dans un milieu donné d'où que soient ses sources.

L'illusion de notre temps de se suffire à lui-même vient peut-être du fait que sources, canaux et formes d'emprunts s'avouent avec moins de candeur qu'autrefois alors que l'ailleurs restait paré de tous les prestiges. *Major et longinquo reverentia* selon les temps.

NOTES

[1] Sur l'arrière-plan France-Canada français nous renvoyons le lecteur à notre chapitre, "Les Canadiens français et la France de la 'Cession' à la 'Revolution tranquille' " dans Paul Painchaud éd., *Le Canada et le Québec sur la scène internationale* (Québec, 1977) pp. 470 à 495. Il y aurait aussi beaucoup à écrire sur les catholiques d'ailleurs tel O'Connell le grand leader irlandais, Garcia Moreno, le "président-martyr" de l'Equateur connu à travers la biographie du rédemptoriste français Berthe qu'on a lu de Mercier au cardinal Léger, de Windthorst le chef du Centre allemand. On retrouve certains de ces noms évoqués dans les sources citées plus bas.

[2] Voir entre autres Philippe Sylvain, "Un disciple canadien de Lamennais, Louis-Antoine Dessaules" dans *Les Cahiers des Dix* (Montréal, 1969) No 34, pp. 61 à 83.

[3] *Eléments pour une sociologie des communautés religieuses au Québec* de Bernard Denault et Benoît Lévesque (Montréal et Sherbrooke, 1975) porte sur la période 1837-1970. On y trouve des survols historiques bien informés et des réflexions intéressantes sur les débuts des dominicains, par exemple (pp. 163 à 165).

[4] Fondé en 1911 à Fall River (Mass., E.-U.) par le dominicain Joseph-Amédée Jacquenet (1867-1942) venu de France, le mouvement se répand au Québec à compter de 1935 (*Le mouvement des cercles Lacordaire et Sainte-Jeanne d'Arc au Canada*, Québec, s.éd. 1946).

[5] Voir Robert Rumilly, *La plus riche aumône. Histoire de la Société de Saint-Vincent de Paul au Canada* (Montréal, 1946). Ozanam fait l'objet d'un copieux ouvrage de plus de 600 pages sous le titre *Frédéric Ozanam, Sa vie et ses oeuvres* publié à Montréal en 1887. Signé Pierre Chauveau, fils de Pierre-Joseph-Olivier Chauveau, la compilation, sans grande originalité, "révèle la popularité d'Ozanam au Canada français" (Maurice Lebel, art. Frédéric Ozanam dans *Dictionnaire des oeuvres littéraires du Québec (. . .)* Québec, 1978, tome I, p. 288).

[6] L'étude de l'influence de Veuillot reste à faire. On trouvera beaucoup à glaner dans les travaux de Philippe Sylvain depuis son *Henry de Courcy* publié en 1955 à Québec et dans ses articles des *Cahiers des Dix*. Des écrivains et penseurs français du 20e siècle lus au Canada tels Barrès, Bazin, Bordeaux, Maurras, Mauriac, Maritain, Mounier, seul Bourget a fait l'objet d'une étude de Gilles Dorion (*Paul Bourget et le Canada*, Québec, 1976).

[7] Claude Galarneau, "L'abbé Joseph-Sabin Raymond et les grands romantiques français 1834-1857" dans le *Rapport 1963* de la Société historique du Canada, pp. 81-88; Philippe Sylvain, "Le premier disciple canadien de Montalembert: l'abbé Joseph-Sabin Raymond" dans *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*, juin 1963, pp. 93-103; Jean Ménard dans *Xavier Marmier et le Canada avec des documents inédits. Relations franco-canadiennes au XIXe siècle* (Québec, 1967) pp. 93-96 publie la lettre du 16 juillet 1843, ou Raymond raconte sa vistie à Montalembert et rappelle la visite de Marmier, admirateur de Montalembert au séminaire en 1849. Les citations sont tirées de Sylvain p. 101. Dans un article récent sur la "Conception de la littérature chez Joseph-Sabin Raymond" dans

Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française (vol. 32, no 4, mars 1979, pp. 585-602) Guy Provost rappelle la place importante de Montalembert auteur le plus cité par Raymond après Chateaubriand et de Maistre (p. 600, n. 82).

[8] Sur la question romaine au Canada voir les travaux de R. Sylvain, en particulier "Quelques aspects de l'antagonisme libéral ultramontain au Canada français" dans *Recherches sociographiques*, vol. VIII, no 3 (septembre-décembre 1967), p. 286 à 289 et de Nadia Fah-Eid, "Les *Mélanges religieux* et la Révolution romaine" dans *Idéologies au Canada français, 1850-1900* (Québec, 1971) qui cite cet extrait p. 104.

[9] Par exemple, extraits en appendice (pp. 210-212) des *Conférences de Notre-Dame de Québec par l'abbé Jean Holmes*, seconde édition (Québec, 1875).

[10] La bibliothèque du Petit Séminaire de Québec, par exemple, contenait 6 éditions du premier de ces ouvrages de même que les autres livres de Montalembert il y a une vingtaine d'années. (Marc Lebel, Pierre Savard, Raymond Vézina, *Aspects de l'enseignement au Petit Séminaire de Québec*, Québec, 1968, p. 132.) Le cabinet de lecture paroissial créé par les Sulpiciens pour le public montréalais renferme non seulement des éditions d'oeuvres complètes mais encore une dizaine de discours publiés entre 1844 et 1858. Cette collection fait aujourd'hui partie de la Bibliothèque Nationale du Québec (ancien fonds).

[11] *L'Echo du Cabinet de lecture paroissial* t. 4 (1862) : long passage sur Lacordaire et la crise de l'*Avenir*; *L'Echo de la France* donne en 1867 das ses tomes 4 et 5 de longs extraits du tome 3 des *Moines* qui vient de paraître à Paris. *L'Echo du Cabinet*, 3 (1861) pp. 138-141 souligne le succès de librairie des *Moines* et reproduit de longs extraits du compte rendu de Dupanloup dans *Le Correspondant*. *L'Echo du Cabinet* t. 3 (1861) p. 193 rappelle le rôle éminent de Montalembert dans la restauration de l'art chrétien. C'est Napoléon Bourassa, disciple de Flandrin et admirateur de l'école d'Overbeck qui représente le meilleur représentant de cette tendance en faveur au Canada français. Voir Raymond Vézina, *Napoléon Bourassa, 1827-1916* (Montréal, 1976).

[12] Le cabinet de lecture paroissial possède à lui seul les biographies par Castille (1856), Mirecourt (1859), Craven (1873), Fourier (s.d.), Bouthors (1896), Meaux (1897), Gibon (1913) sans compter Lecanuet, les éditions de correspondances et la brochure de 1852 de Guizot.

[13] Odette Condemine éd., *Octave Crémazie, Oeuvres II*, p. 89. Dans une lettre de 1856 (*op. cit.*, p. 46) Crémazie de passage à Paris raconte qu'il a vu Montalembert, Thiers et Guizot à l'Académie à l'occasion du discours de réception de Broglie.

[14] La lettre est du 3 septembre 1864 et l'auteur y fait allusion à sa "carrière publique désormais terminée." Chauveau reproduit cette lettre dans sa biographie de Garneau publiée en 1882.

[15] Lettre datée du château de la Roche-en-Brény, le 19 octobre 1854 et reproduite par Ernest Gagnon en tête de l'édition de 1900 chez Beauchemin de *Charles Guérin* de Chauveau.

[16] *L'Echo du Cabinet* rapporte le discours et le succès de Lacordaire en ajoutant: "on a pu reprocher à l'orateur chrétien d'avoir jugé trop favorablement les succès et les triomphes de la liberté en Amérique" (t. 2 (1861) p. 58).

[17] Dans *La vie et l'oeuvre de Henry de Courcy (1820-1861) (...)* (Québec, 1955) Robert Sylvain a bien analysé l'évolution des catholiques français et de Brownson.

[18] Philippe Sylvain, "Les débuts du *Courrier du Canada*" dans *Les Cahiers des Dix*, 32 (1967) p. 272-273.

[19] Brian Jenkins dans *Britain and the War for Union* (Montréal) p. 52 dit que les Canadiens français auraient vu avec indifférence sinon avec satisfaction l'éclatement de l'Union. Nous avons étudié les 3 journaux francophones de la ville de Québec devant la guerre et il en ressort nettement de l'antipathie à l'endroit du Nord. ["La press québécoise et la guerre de Sécession" dans *Mosaïque québécoise* (en collaboration) (Québec, 1961, pp. 111-128).] Dans une conférence fort bien reçue à l'Institut canadien de Québec en 1861, Rameau de Saint-Père réduit le conflit entre le Nord et le Sud à une guerre de tarifs entre les régions industrialisées et agricoles. Sa sympathie le porte vers le Sud qui combat *pro aris et focis*. Et le conférencier de terminer en vantant la supériorité morale des Canadiens français loin de l'opulence factice des Etats-Unis (*L'Echo du Cabinet*, vol. 3, pp. 154-155).

[20] La querelle entre catholiques sur le succès ou l'échec du catholicisme américain continue de faire rage jusqu'au début du 20e siècle. Voir sur la question notre étude *Jules-Paul Tardivel, la France et les Etats-Unis 1851-1905*, (Quebec 1967), en particulier pp. 313 et 316.

[21] *L'Echo du Cabinet de lecture paroissial* de Montréal publie dans son tome 5 de 1863 (pp. 292-297 et 308-312) le premier discours de Malines. Le second ne sera pas reproduit.

[22] Vol. 4 (1862), p. 148.

[23] Adolphe-Basile Routhier dans son tableau de la littérature française dans *Causeries du Dimanche* (1871), cité dans René Dionne, *La patrie littéraire*, (Montréal 1978), p. 470.

[24] *Actes et délibérations du Premier congrès catholique canadien-français tenu à Quebec les 25, 26 et 27 juin 1880* (Montréal, 1880), p. 95 et 87. A un autre moment du congrès, le jeune comte de Foucault de Paris fait l'éloge de Montalembert historien de la vie monastique (p. 209).

[25] Cité par Jean-Guy Genest dans "La Lanterne 1868-1869" dans *Idéologies au Canada français, 1850-1900* (Québec, 1971), p. 255. Dans l'éphémère *Réveil* qui paraît du 27 mai au 23 décembre 1876, Buies reproduit encore des textes de Montalembert.

[26] *La Vérité* 26 août 1893. En 1885, Tardivel faisait mourir Montalembert dans des "tourments d'esprit et des angoisses indiscibles." (*La Vérité*, 31 janvier 1885.)

[27] Voir Savard, *Jules-Paul Tardivel, la France et les Etats-Unis, 1851-1905*, p. 134.

[28] *Id. Ibid.*, p. 161.

[29] Polémiques avec Tardivel dans notre ouvrage cité, p. 95 (en 1893). Voir aussi p. 125-126.

[30] Julienne Barnard, *Mémoires Chapais* t. 3 (Montréal, 1964), p. 48. En 1884, Mgr Taschereau archevêque de Québec voit d'un oeil méfiant la montée du jeune journaliste Chapais "militant à la Montalembert et à la Veuillot" (*loc. cit.*, p. 229) Ici comme en France, des évêques s'inquiètent après 1850 de la place qu'occupe cette nouvelle race de journalistes laïcs qui se mêlent d'affaires religieuses.

[31] Jean Bruchési, *Témoignages d'hier* (Montréal, 1961), p. 211.

[32] Jean Bruchési rappelle que son père lui fait lire étudiant des discours de Montalembert (Adrienne Choquette, *Confidences d'écrivains canadiens-français*, Québec, 1976, p. 44).

[33] Récit dans les annales de la communauté à la date du 5 juillet 1890, cité dans Thérèse Lambert, *Histoire de la Congrégation Notre-Dame de Montréal*, tome 10 (Montréal, 1969), p. 120. Meaux publie en 1893 *L'Eglise catholique et la liberté aux Etats-Unis* dans lequel il reprend les thèses de son beau-père en les étayant.

[34] Page 141 de l'édition de Montréal, 1964 avec une préface de Claude Galarneau. L'édition originale a paru à Paris en 1896.

[35] A ces héros français s'ajoutent Garcia Moreno, Donoso Cortes et les évêques canadiens Bourget et Laflèche. Viendront s'ajouter Barrès et Maurras, Lionel Groulx, *Mémoires*, I (Montréal, 1970), *passim*.

[36] *Id. ibid.*, p. 70.

[37] *Id. ibid.*, p. 64. Cette biographie de 237 pages et illustrée a paru à Abbeville en 1896. Elle ne figure pas aux bibliographies classiques de Montalembert soit celle de A. Trannoy, *Le romantisme politique de Montalembert avant 1843* (Paris 1942) ni dans la "Bibliographie Montalembert" de E. de Montalembert et J. Gadille dans la *Revue d'histoire de l'Eglise de France*, t. 56 (1970), p. 132 à 137. On ne la trouve pas non plus au catalogue des imprimés de la Bibliothèque nationale de France. Nous en avons trouvé un exemplaire à la Bibliothèque nationale du Québec dans l'ancien fonds provenant sans doute de la bibliothèque du Cabinet de lecture paroissial.

[38] L'expression trouvée dans la correspondance inédite Groulx-Chartier en 1902-1903 est citée par P. M. Sherrin "Catholicism and Lionel Groulx," manuscrit d'une communication présentée au congrès annuel de la Société historique du Canada en 1974 (p. 39). L'auteur établit que jusqu'à 1914 Montalembert est le héros de Groulx au catholicisme qualifié d'activist."

[39] *Id. ibid.*, p. 104. Groulx a raconté dans *Une croisade d'adolescents* qui a connu deux éditions à Montréal (1912 et 1938) cette aventure. Le nom de Montalembert est cité plusieurs dizaines de fois dans le petit livre.

[40] Encore en 1942, défendant les droits des Canadiens français il cite le mot célèbre: "La liberté ne se donne pas, elle se conquiert" (*Id. ibid.* tome 4, p. 41).

[41] Sur ce mouvement voir Laurier Renaud, "La fondation de l'A.C.J.C." dans *Idéologies au Canada français 1900-1929* (Québec, 1974), p. 173 à 191 et Michael Behiels, "L'Association catholique de la jeunesse canadienne-française and The Quest for a Moral Regeneration, 1903-1914" dans *Journal of Canadian Studies / Revue d'études canadiennes*, Vol. 13, no. 3, été 1978, pp. 27-41. L'auteur montre que le mouvement a glissé de la régénération spirituelle au nationalisme canadien-français suivant l'esprit du temps.

[42] Renaud, *op. cit.*, p. 185. La même revue défend le rôle des laïcs catholiques et lutte contre l'enseignement gratuit et obligatoire préconisé par les héritiers des radicaux du siècle précédent. Ce n'est qu'en 1942 que la loi de l'enseignement obligatoire sera adoptée au Québec.

[43] Publiée en brochure à Montréal en 1895, elle est reproduite dans son recueil *Conférences et discours* (Montréal, 1899).

[44] Marcel Lajeunesse, *Associations littéraires et bibliothèques à Montréal au 19e siècle et au début du 20e siècle: l'apport sulpicien*, thèse de doctorat inédite, Université d'Ottawa, 1977, p. 301. Lacordaire (2 fois) Ozanam, Dupanloup, Garcia Moreno, Falloux et le général de Sonis figurent au nombre des sujets entre 1884 et 1910. Les oeuvres de Veuillot, Dupanloup, Pie, Freppel, de Maistre, d'Hulst, Gaume, Lacordaire, Falloux et Montalembert figurent largement (*Id.*

ibid., p. 242) dans la bibliothèque paroissiale d'alors qui joue le rôle de bibliothèque publique de Montréal.

[45] En 1916-1917 on relève les noms de Ozanam, Veuillot, Lacordaire, des fondateurs de congrégations La Mennais, Loyola, La Salle et Querbes, des papes Léon XIII, Pie X et Benoît XV, sans oublier Garcia Moreno. Encore en 1924, Mgr Louis-Adolphe Pâquet au faîte de la renommée de théologien propose Montalembert comme modèle aux grands élèves du Séminaire de Québec et cite le discours du jeune pair de France lors du procès de l'école libre (*Etudes et appréciations. Nouveaux thèmes sociaux*, Québec, 1922, p. 118).

[46] Tome 32 (1896), pp. 163-168: article signé Jean Le Franc (pseudonyme de N.-E. Dionne).

[47] Tome 34 (1898) p. 844: article signé "Le Glaneur" (pseudonyme de Alphonse Leclaire). La *Revue* qui évite la polémique a sans doute préféré ignorer le tome 3.

[48] Groulx, *Une croisade d'adolescent* (Montréal, 1912), p. 12. C'est Longhaye qui a fait dans les *Etudes* de 1899 et 1902 de longues recensions des tomes 2 et 3 de Lecanuet. Dans les *Etudes* de 1906 il compare Montalembert à Cornudet au profit du second.

[49] Les *Etudes*, 48e année, tome 126, janvier-février-mars 1911, p. 126.

[50] La presse du temps en particulier *le Devoir* y fait largement écho. Voir notre étude sur *Jules-Paul Tardivel, la France et les Etats-Unis, 1851-1905*, p. 97. En 1917 François Veuillot passe au Canada: nouveaux concerts de glorification du "grand chrétien et de l'admirable écrivain." (*Le Semeur*, 14e année, août-septembre 1917, no 1-2, p. 65).

[51] Voir par exemple, le manuel répandu au Canada français de J.M.J.A., *Littérature française au dix-neuvième siècle (...)* (Paris, 1921) pp. 133-143. Il s'agit de la 11e édition publiée chez de Gigord. Le *Manuel illustré d'histoire de la littérature française* de Jean Calvet lancé en 1920 et qui domine dans les collèges classiques canadiens-français jusqu'à 1960 et au-delà fait une place bien réduite à Montalembert.

[52] Edition de 1933, p. 144. Montalembert a droit à autant de place que Lacordaire, Veuillot, Ozanam et Lamennais, Vigny et Musset y sont traités plus brièvement. L'édition de 1944 présente de façon plus succincte "le plus grand orateur politique et le chef du parti catholique" sous Louis-Philippe de même que l'historien. Les *Lectures littéraires* pour le primaire supérieur par les Frères de l'Instruction chrétienne présentent six extraits de Montalembert dans leur volume II publié à La Prairie en 1961 (copyright de 1948) et qui porte sur l'art épistolaire, l'histoire, la poésie et l'éloquence. Il s'agit d'une lettre à Veuillot après la publication des *Libres Penseurs*, de trois extraits des *Moines d'Occident*, d'un extrait du discours du 17 octobre 1849 sur la question romaine, "On ne s'attaque pas au Saint-Siège," et de celui du 16 avril 1844, "Fils de Voltaire, files des Croisés."

[53] *Ibid.*, p. 145.

[54] *Mémoires et comptes rendus de la Société Royale du Canada*, 3e série, tome X (séance du 16 mai 1916), Toronto et Londres, 1917, pp. 248-271. Jerrault (1899-1955) docteur en droit en 1915 sera jurisconsulte, professeur et écrivain bien connu en son temps.

[55] *Id. ibid.*, p. 266.

[56] *Id. ibid.*, p. 269.

[57] *Id. ibid.*, p. 270.

[58] *Id. ibid.*, p. 271.

[59] Deuxième édition (Notre-Dame-des Laurentides, Québec, 1976). Voir plus haut note 32.

[60] Cité dans Germain Lesage, *Notre éveil culturel* (Montréal, 1963), p. 135 à 143. Dans l'ordre paraissent Pascal et Claudel, Bernanos, Teilhard, Maritain, Péguy, Balzac, Camus, le chanoine Groulx, Mauriac, Freud, Thomas d'Aquin, Mounier, Proust, Shakespeare, Valéry, Baudelaire, Bergson, Bloy, Gide, Joyce, Montaigne, Saint-Exupéry, Stendhal, Veuillot, Molière, Montesquieu, Malraux, Rabelais, Rimbaud et Sainte-Beuve.

[61] Comme vient de la rappeler Claude Galarneau dans sa belle synthèse sur *Les collèges classiques au Canada français (1620-1970)* (Montréal, 1978), p. 172 à 175.

[62] *Relations* (Montréal), août 1979, no 447, p. 127.

[63] *Id. ibid.*, p. 225. Le chef du parti libéral Wilfrid Laurier applique avec efficacité le procédé dans les années 1870 quand il dénonce ses adversaires canadiens-français ultramontains comme des esprits perdus et sans contact avec la réalité d'ici. Et ses adversaires s'appelaient F. X. A. Trudel et Mgr Laflèche.

RAMBLE ON WHAT IN THE WORLD WHY

Ralph Gustafson

Making a meaning out of everything that has happened,
The there-it-is, plainsong, pitch and pinnacle:
All is blanket-plucking otherwise. My father
Lighted a pipe out in a rowboat on the lake
When he fished and brought up Leviathan on a wormy
Hook, Ahab's pegleg in the belly,
So the watching boy said. Brahms
Percolated coffee, something to fiddle with,
The cup, the pot, the burner, to escape having
To write down music. Meaning is wearying, hammers,
Level, hacking out hunks of marble to raise
Cathedrals. I travel to duck it and walk in them —
And run slambang into gospels of course,
Pegasus loose and the barndoor slammed.
Berryman took poems and jumped off a bridge.
It all comes down to the necessity of making oneself
One with sea-slime. Knowing what is OK,
It's the why we've got to, the prehensile toes
And all the rest of it, slops, jade and Jesus,
Venice, murder, virgins and music, that counts.

GOLDWIN'S MYTH

The Nonconformist as Mugwump

Wayne Roberts

IF GOLDWIN SMITH HAD NOT EXISTED, it would have been necessary for Canadian historians to invent him. Because he was at one time Regius Professor of History at Oxford and a leading light of British reform in the 1850's and 1860's, his residence in Canada from 1871 to 1911 provided us simultaneously with a "low-rent Voltaire in the intellectual backwater of late Victorian Toronto"[1] and an opportunity to exercise moral superiority on a very prestigious straw-man.

In the mock heroics of Canadian morality-play history, Smith has been assigned the pat role of promoting annexation to the United States. Taken as the epitome of hard-headed, cold-hearted logic and calculation, he is a perfect foil for those who paint Canadian history as a struggle to enact an impossible dream against all the odds of geography and economics. Cast as an unfeeling don inflexibly attached to the free trade dogmas of his British experience, he serves neatly as a counterpoint against whom the daring virtues of Canadian survival, such as our emotional ties to Britain and our duties to tariff-protected manufacturers, were rallied.

Smith can also be packaged conveniently for the purposes of reform historians. Standard Whig versions of social history focus on the welfare state as the culmination of social liberty and divide the world between humanists who favoured, and callous men who opposed, state intervention in the economy. Smith was too quotable an opponent of state intervention for such chroniclers of the welfare state to pass by. Finally, the dominant image of Victorians, a product of research methods which the English historian W. L. Burns has aptly termed "selective Victorianism,"[2] has denied the anxieties so central to Smith and his contemporaries. In Canada, the youthful generation that rebelled against Edwardian puritanism in the 1920's, together with handwringing elderly academics who had retreated "from the social critic to the reminiscent Victorian,"[3] left us glib generalizations about the optimism and complacency of Canadian social thought before World War I. Smith and his pithy epigrams can be fitted into this fabrication of Canadian history as well.

Because the standard portrayal of Goldwin Smith is woven into these versions of Canadian history, a reassessment of Smith necessarily implies a reassessment of our modes of structuring the key developments and problems in Canadian history and thought. This article will try to define Smith as a social rather than an economic thinker, to place Protestant evangelism and nonconformity, rather than liberal economics, at the core of his thought. In this context Smith's life becomes an unrequited search for a moral basis of community in a world where pre-capitalist props of hierarchy and cohesion had been obliterated. This search turned him into one of his generation's most active controversialists, pamphleteers and journalists, and in his later years brought him into frequent contact with leaders of Canadian farm and labour movements. As a figure in Canadian literature, he is important as an independent journalist; his contemporary, A. V. Dicey, characterized him as the last of the great pamphleteers. To see that Smith's concerns evolved while he was in Canada is, however, further to identify him: as a representative member of a transatlantic community of beleaguered liberals, rather than as a cocksure disciple of Manchester. These two reassessments of Smith require us to see him in light of the labour question, not the Canadian question: to situate his polemics on the *laissez-faire* state and annexation in the context of his concerns about social order. From this perspective, we can begin to grapple with some of the real ambiguities characteristic of both liberal and socialist thought in the pre-World War I era.

SMITH'S SECRETARY, ARNOLD HAULTAIN, exasperated with the ranting and raving that came from the aged scholar's study, regretted that "the dear old Professor is a don, was a don and remains a Don," and agreed with Disraeli's cutting characterization of Smith as "a wild man of the cloister."[4] There is truth to this judgment, though not in the sense that Smith brought to Canada the mindset of a privatized academic. Smith came to Canada as a politicized intellectual as a result of his experiences while teaching at Oxford during the 1860's. Smith's formative experiences at Oxford were shared by most university liberals of his generation, so much so that one critic lumped them together as "liberals of the Goldwin-Smith type."[5]

The liberalism of this academic generation gelled in the struggle against sectarian ecclesiastical privilege enforced by religious tests applied to university admission. Such was the power of Oxford's ecclesiastical faction that Smith saw no prospect for reform within the university. University reformers would have to seek an alliance with the reformers of Manchester, he projected. In this way, they could "liberalize the national legislature and the national legislature will liberalize Oxford."[6] As a result of Smith's strategy, the agitation over sectarian

religious tests "necessitated an appeal to national politics and reinforced an alignment with Nonconformist radicalism: for nine years it linked the universities, Liberal politics, Nonconformity and the intellectual world of London."[7] Links to the intellectual world of London were further strengthened by the upsurge of periodical literature, in which Smith and his colleagues actively participated. It was doubtless at this time that Smith acquired his lifelong commitment to an independent press, aimed at a general readership. The periodical, not just the academic journal or monograph, became a legitimate and necessary outlet for intellectual opinion.

Smith's writings against sectarian religious tests provide us with a clear understanding of his nonconformist evangelical Protestantism. These beliefs, not the economics of Manchester, laid the foundations of his inflexible individualism and consequent hostility toward legislative interference in social and moral issues. His nonconformity with regard to institutionalized religion was based on his belief that "human morality is identified with the divine."[8] Therefore, the "limits of human reason must be fixed not by clergy . . . but by the will of Providence."[9] Religion was not a dogma, but "the worship and service of a moral God and a God who is worshipped and served by virtue."[10] From this perspective, Smith cheered the struggle against rigid theological tests at Oxford as part of the belated renewal of the Reformation struggle against the false restraints that stood in the way of Christian conscience.[11] This religious renewal was interlocked with the social and political transformations of the age. The modern state, Smith considered, was confronted with the parallel tasks of "elevating the labouring class from their medieval position of serfdom to that of full and enfranchised members of a real community" and "the still more momentous problem of transferring the basis of religion, on which all society rests, from medieval authority to conviction, the result of free enquiry and of liberty of conscience."[12]

The basis for such a "real community" was the nub of the problem. The search haunted and inspired Smith for the rest of his life. The free trade campaign of the 1840's, focussed on duty-free imports of cheap American foodstuffs, managed to evade the problem by posing an identity of interest among consumers, neglecting the conflict of interest between workers and capitalists.[13] Smith had been an ardent supporter of free trade, which he saw as the manifesttation of human brotherhood, not just as cost-cutting economics. The laws of free trade, Smith believed, were "the most beautiful and wonderful of the natural laws of God," since they provided a world-wide exchange of needed goods and made "one heart as well as one harvest for the world." Alas, he also recognized that the unrestricted laws governing the production and distribution of wealth were not based on affection or duty.[14] It was an urgent matter to find the maxims of community in such a situation. Smith's Christianity could not brook recent developments in political economy which erected "hardness of heart into a social

virtue."[15] On the other hand, he suffered no illusions in the poor meekly accepting charity, and saw in them "the sans-culottes who butchered with Robespierre."[16] It was perhaps this fear that led Smith to define his opposition to the construction of a railway carriage factory at Oxford in 1865 as "the greatest fight of my life."[17] His dread of social convulsion from below demarked him irretrievably from radicalism but spurred on his efforts to reform the morality of the upper class and instil a moral basis for community.

Once again, religion was central to Smith's conceptions. Because obedience to the laws of political economy did not coincide with the duties of social obligation, a high sense of religious obligation was necessary. Religion was the "only lasting spring of the unselfish affections and actions which bind men into a community, and save that community from dissolution."[18] Oxford had a special role to play here, to nerve itself to do its "duty to the poor . . . in coercing firmly the vices of the rich."[19] Non-sectarian religion could "introduce united education among the upper classes" and allow Oxford to train them in their social duty.[20] Guidance would be especially necessary for the less obvious duties of accumulated manufacturing, as distinct from inherited, landed wealth.[21] Britain's modern gentry must serve the people, "own its duty to those by whose labour they are fed. They must be resident, they must be well educated, they must be able and willing to act as the social and moral educators of those below them."[22]

Goldwin Smith tried to pattern his own life after these maxims. This accounts for the support he frequently offered to plebeian movements, support which included direct financial subsidies to such Canadian projects as the farm-oriented *Sun* after 1896, and a Toronto union-sponsored social centre in 1905. Similarly, his belief in these maxims accounts for his lifelong frustration with an amoral and socially removed ruling class, and his despair that a rising working class movement was drawing militant conclusions from the hostile indifference of the ruling class. In Toronto, the seat of his mature years, where he occupied the munificent residence on which the Toronto Art Gallery now stands, he became not so much the Sage of the Grange, a phrase used by many contemporaries to allude to his detached scholarly life; he became the Squire of the Grange.

The rhetoric of religious injunction and the fear of untutored plebeian upheaval were also clear in Smith's first serious examination of Canada and Empire relations in 1863. Characteristically, his book was not a monograph but a compilation of news articles written to influence public opinion. Assuredly, the anti-colonial policy of Smith and his co-workers was part of a campaign for the cheap administration of British government but Smith was convinced that "a truly great policy is generally cheap, because it has the moral forces on its side."[23] Moreover, he charged, the enforced political infancy of colonial status prevented Canada from developing "the independent character . . . of a nation."[24] This was a serious accusation indeed, since Smith believed that "nations, like men, are intended to

form their own character by self-exertion and self-control."[25] Prolonged infancy had resulted in the undue caution of a people which "has learned to scan her future without learning to face it";[26] Canada would miss its destiny by "clinging, like frightened children, to the skirts of the Old World."[27] Already it was insensibly drifting under the American impress, "like a mass of unfashioned clay, having no distinct figure of her own."[28] The task of creating a real community in rough-hewn and barbarous Canada would be arduous, but "it was as a scene for such efforts, apparently, that the world was made,"[29] Smith reasoned.

Canada's problems were aggravated by its imitative and colonial ways. There were motes in Canada's eyes, he well recognized, "but none so much to be taken away as the beam in ours."[30] As a New World country, Canada had to create community on a new foundation. "We by long and hard effort have made the will of kings subject to the law. It is her task to make the will of the people subject to the law of reason."[31] Britain's monarchical and aristocratic precedents were both irrelevant and harmful. The monarchy, which in Britain "binds the unenfranchised, ignorant and indigent masses of the people by a tie of personal loyalty to the constitution," had no roots in Canada.[32] The Canadian aristocracy was as much different from American democracy, he later wrote, "as the Irishman's ride in a sedan chair with the bottom out differed from common walking."[33] Aristocratic pretensions and monarchical lavishness in government expediencies gave a sense of false security which dangerously masked "the want of a conservative element in their institutions, and makes them feel free to plunge with impunity into all the excesses of universal suffrage."[34] In the absence of a leisure class devoted to public service, only strictly limited and simple government could hold demagogy and sordid ambition at bay. This was also a test of Canada as a community. Since government is essentially "a remedy for the bad passions of mankind the less of it a nation requires, the greater is the dignity of that nation."[35]

Smith rediscovered the New World in a more sympathetic light as a result of his partisanship for the anti-slavery North in the American Civil War. Smith came to America to embrace the northern cause in a conflict which he identified as more profound than that between Freedom and Slavery. "It was a struggle between Christianity and all that is most hostile to Christianity." He took heart in America, not because of its dubious and sometimes destructive democracy, but because of its pervasive Christianity, the one spirit "capable of animating and sustaining a real community."[36]

In his 1902 study of America's degeneration into a jingoist, plutocratic and imperialist state, Smith recalled his high hopes during the 1860's, and revealed something of the two lifestyles he had hoped Christianity could bridge in the New World: "Nowhere is English life better or more attractive than in a country parish, with a kind and conscientious squire, good ladies, an active pastor, a well-to-do tenantry and a contented peasantry," he mused. But arriving in

America, "an observer felt that he had come to something which had more of the true spirit of a community."[37] America projected "the essential unity of interest which underlies all class divisions, which in our onward progress towards the attainment of a real community, will survive all class distinctions . . . by establishing between them mutual good will. . . ."[38] He had also admired the relative absence of government in America, though not because he upheld a vision of the unrestrained market society. Since government is essentially compulsion, Smith reasoned, it decreases where social virtue and popular intelligence are high. "It is destined to decrease as Christianity increases, and as force is superseded by social affection, and spontaneous combination for the public good."[39]

The controversy which raged in Britain as a result of the government's support of the slave South also influenced Smith's social understanding. He received his first harsh lesson on the conscience of the British ruling class when he witnessed the treachery of Manchester manufacturers who aligned with the aristocracy in support of slave cotton. In 1864, Smith defined British national politics as "the balanced selfishness of the landowners and the commercial capitalists."[40] Smith had to collaborate with working class and popular reformers like Cobden and Bright, who worked "to convert the kingdom of the world into the Kingdom of Christ."[41] Smith also gained respect for the morality of working-men who defended the North, despite their reliance on Southern cotton for employment in the textile mills. Thus, Goldwin Smith and other engaged anti-slavery intellectuals came in contact with the working class world, which shared a common alienation from British politics. In a sense, this distorted Smith's appreciation of the working class movement, since, as Harvie explains, contact was made "not through the intimacy of shared perceptions and sympathies, but in a roundabout way . . . by shared enthusiasms and enmities in foreign politics."[42]

Be that as it may, the American Civil War seems to have confirmed Smith's acceptance of political democracy, expressed in the campaign for a broadened franchise. Although Smith always suspected mass suffrage and tried to establish restrictive age and educational requirements to provide "securities for reform,"[43] by 1862 he concluded that a broadened franchise was an "indispensible condition" of improvement and justice.[44] He spoke from both middle class and working class platforms to advance suffrage extension and favoured it for allowing government of the nation rather than a balance of classes. In 1863, Smith contributed to *Essays on Reform*, a compilation of leading reformers' writings designed to refute philosophical utilitarian objections to popular suffrage and to promote the incorporation of the working class into the life of the British nation.

Significantly, Smith wrote on the basis of his American experience. While conceding problems in America, like mindless party loyalty and Irish demagogues who flourished in the absence of well-established and refined cultural leaders, he

was confident that America was facing up to the challenge. He considered it an established fact that "Equality has created in America a nation great both in peace and war, wealthy, intelligent, united, capable of producing statesmen and soldiers," and "at least as loyal to the principle on which it was founded as any nation ever was to an hereditary sovereign or an oligarchy." In America, a step had been taken "towards the realization of that ideal community, ordered and bound together by affection instead of force, the desire of which is, in fact, the spring of human progress, though the worshippers of intellectual oligarchy may be unconscious of such an ideal in the mind of man." Evidently, this voluntary, informal community was especially satisfactory to a religious non-conformist. Smith also admired the tendency in American democracy which "aids Nature in the equal diffusion of wealth," fostered simplicity, and diminished the "seductive examples" of dangerous and idle wealth.[45]

Smith was still optimistic about the future when he moved to Toronto. In one of his first public functions, he spoke on *The European Crisis of 1870*, and the turmoil which was "casting humanity in a new mould." Beneath all the outbreaks and campaigns of the period, he sought the source "of all the other throes and convulsions of humanity — a religious movement more momentous . . . and more unlimited than the Reformation."[46] The theme was related to the stated purpose of the lecture — raising funds for a Newsboys' Home. This too was part of the movement that was uplifting humanity with "a common pulse of sympathy . . . making one heart and one intellect for the world." Amidst all the world's strife, "charity, with robe unstained by blood, pursues in confidence her gentle course."[47]

Shortly thereafter, he delivered a lecture on the labour movement. He reminded the Montreal Mechanics Institute that humanity was above all unions and combinations,[48] and that "the moral dangers of corporate selfishness are the same . . . in all classes."[49] He did not think unions could raise wages short of general technical advances, yet he welcomed the labour movement as emancipating the worker from feudal dependence, placing him on an equal footing with the employer. Above all, the labour movement had "opened our eyes to the fact that a nation, and humanity at large, is a community, the good things of which all are entitled to share."[50] Poor Smith even had to withstand public criticism for his attacks on the wasteful luxury of the rich. Smith upheld the Christian moral code: "We are every one members one of another."[51] His doctrine that the wealth of the world was a common store did not, however, subvert property rights. He looked to the day when property was modified by duty and "property and duty merged in affection."[52]

Smith could even be hopeful about Canadian nationality. He had urged intellectuals and professionals to let go of the ostentatious skirts of the wealthy so that they might live nobly.[53] In Canada First, he saw a group of talented native Canadians brought to the fore by the withdrawal of Old Country leaders and

military officers.[54] His financing of several periodicals in the 1870's and 1880's was probably part of an effort to sustain the influence of independent men like these against the forces of self-seeking and unthinking partyism.

DESPITE THIS INITIAL OPTIMISM, the intellectual basis of Smith's optimism was too fragile to be sustained in the world taking shape after the 1870's, a world which would bear the imprints of monopoly capitalism, imperialism and rising class conflict. Goldwin Smith lived long enough to gaze back on his childhood as on antiquity.[55] By the end of his life, he wondered where events were rushing in the modern "age of express trains, ocean greyhounds, electricity, bicycles, globe-trotting, Evolution, the Higher Criticism and general excitement and restlessness. . . ."[56] He had grown morose over the many "little Edens" his liberal agitation had helped topple.[57] When he revisited England and watched a village militia drill under the command of the local gentleman, he realized that the doom of the old rural parish would end "not a few ties and relations which had their value and their charms as long as people did their duty." It made him remember "that movement is not progress, unless it tends to happiness."[58] His old-fashioned liberalism was as doomed as the rural parish of old. Ideologically, Smith came to recognize himself as a "non-descript," as "a political and social mastodon."[59]

The outlook had indeed become grim by the twentieth century. Social cohesion was threatened on every side, especially once Toronto passed from a residential to a factory city at the turn of the century.[60] By then, Smith saw labour's alienation as virtually complete.

> Machinery has added vastly to the wealth, would we could say to the happiness, of the world. Factory hands are human hammers and spindles; they can feel no interest in their work; they do not even see it in its finished state; their abodes are dismal; their lives are monotonous. They can hardly be blamed either for addiction to sensual enjoyments or for readiness to listen to any Karl Marx who tells them that they ought to have more pay. Socially they are quite cut off from their employers, whose mansions, perhaps, in their Sunday stroll in the suburbs, they see with no friendly eye. Anything that could create a feeling of partnership between employer and employed would be the greatest of blessings, but nothing in that way as yet seems to have had much success.[61]

The crisis was rendered more acute by the spread of popular disbelief in orthodox Christianity, which he saw as the storm centre of the age, the "most momentous revolution in history."[62] A man for whom Humanity was "connected with the Christian view of the relations of men to their common Father"[63] saw conscience dethroned and philanthropy undermined by new revelations of Evolu-

tion and Higher Criticism. How could we have the brotherhood of man without the paternity of God?[64] By the 1880's, he saw society "in danger of an anarchy of self-interest, compressed for the purpose of political order, by a despotism of force."[65] The crisis of faith had immediate repercussions for popular social expectations leading to every manner of false hopes. This soon became his agonized refrain:

> Classes which have hitherto acquiesced in their lot, believing that it was a divine ordinance and that there would be redress and recompense in a future state, are now demanding that conditions shall be levelled here. The nations quake with fear of change. The leaders of humanity, some think, may even find it necessary to make up by an increase in the powers of government for the lost influence of religion.[66]

In discussing the great reformation associated with the European crisis of 1870, Smith made reference to a conservative process whereby nations and individuals recoiled from uncertainty. This process profoundly affected Smith, along with the whole transatlantic liberal community. In the United States, Radicals of a previous generation became liberal mugwumps, forming clubs for "the best men," in reaction to the political debauchery and social turbulence that followed the Civil War. They developed a programme based on pure government against spoils, free trade against tariffs, economic orthodoxy against reform, civil service reform against ward bosses and hostility to woman suffrage.[67] In Britain, disenchanted moderns were grouping around highbrow journals that featured anonymous writers striving to raise culture above anarchy.[68] Philanthropists collaborated in the Charities Organization Society to beat back welfare bums with the professional expertise of "a new urban squirearchy."[69] By 1886, the university liberalism of the 1850's and 1860's was a spent force; its dialogue with democratic institutions had broken down, and its proponents were alienated, pessimistic, and dogmatic.

Smith was attuned to these developments. He joined American liberals in repudiating Reconstruction.[70] His political programme mirrored theirs more than it did Manchester liberalism. He funded journals of high culture where he wrote as a quasi-anonymous "Bystander." He watched the enfranchised British poor "furnish Reaction with auxiliaries in the shape of political Lazzaroni" capable of being organized by wealth in opposition to the higher order of workmen and the middle class.[71] He set up a Canadian Associated Charities modelled on the British organization.

James Mavor, a close friend of Smith's in the 1890's and after, never heard him laugh and rarely saw more than a faint smile cross his lips.[72] As Smith saw it, the world was in the grips of an evil trinity of plutocracy, militarism, and imperialism. No force had arisen to counter-balance this thrust.[73] The world was being "painted red, dominated by bogus Anglo-Saxonism, subjected to a benevo-

lent feudalism of multi-millionaires, jingoized, Morganeered, turned into a white man's burden and a field of philanthropic rapine."[74] America, once the hope of labour, a land of freedom, self-help and self development, was now under the thumb of de-Americanized, inherited, and irresponsible wealth.[75]

In Canada, there were no forces to restrain Smith's backlash. In his effort to actualize some bond between the well-to-do and poor through charity and philanthropy, he was continually frustrated by the irresponsibility of colonial wealth. Smith was unable to prompt the Canadian elite's sense of social duty without resorting to dire threats that flaunting luxury was the anarchistic "dynamiter's best ally." The rich were a "dangerous class in their own right," he charged.[76] He saw this irresponsibility as a problem of new communities, "where the atoms of society are very shifting, where there are no strong family or local ties, or even old firms."[77] Men made their fortunes and left, sometimes returning to England. Smith hoped that charity committees would offset this tendency, giving men of wealth and leisure "an opportunity of doing something for the good of the community. Our rich men must do their social duty if they mean to escape a crash."[78] He came to realize, however, that there was "no use in applying for help to men of wealth."[79] For all his goading, it "was from people of small or moderate means, whose souls were not enslaved by money, that most of the support came."[80]

The effort to guide Canadian society in the absence of a rooted Canadian social leadership gave unity to Smith's various reform and philanthropic projects. His search for a substitute gentry led to his call for businesslike administration of municipalities by appointed commissions rather than elected officials. In the villages of old, "the leading men kept the power in their own hands, lived among the people, and directed them." By the 1890's, however, as a result of the upper class exodus to the suburbs and the time-consuming demands of business, the elite was removed from influence.[81] For this reason, non-partisan and high-minded men were required as proxies. Although Smith often used business metaphors and allied with businessmen in his campaign for commission government,[82] he was trying to fill a social breach, not his own pocket. Moreover, he included the working class as beneficiaries of his campaign. "None have a greater interest in an improvement of the system than the working class, whose well-being depends more on things common to the whole city, while that of the wealthier class depends more on things belonging to themselves."[83] Not without insight, Smith unwittingly pin-pointed the reasons for the abysmal record of business-inspired municipal reform.

Smith's philanthropic activity was also an exercise in substituting institutions for the spontaneous charity of society's natural leaders. Soon after his 1870 speech, Smith discovered that charity could not pursue its gentle course unstained by social tension. During the Civil War, Smith believed that Christianity "abhors

... the hideous extremes of wealth and destitution," and he hoped that philanthropic Christianity would triumph over punishment of the poor.[84] By the 1890's, he was lamenting working class resistance to supposedly model communities like those established by the U.S. capitalist Pullman, and fulminated at the "stiff-necked independence, by which the patience of philanthropy is apt to be very sorely tried."[85]

His increasingly uncharitable view of the poor led him to initiate the Associated Charities in the 1880's, when he discovered that the proportion of people on relief in Toronto was larger than that in London, England.[86] A co-ordinating committee was needed, a philanthropic equivalent of Dun and Bradstreet, to investigate the moral credit rating of the poor. This became Smith's first principle of modern charity. It would rationalize the welfare system and avoid overlap of services while safeguarding the lower class from aspiring to the lazy lifestyle of paupers. Because a certain amount of coercion was necessary here, Smith argued for government intervention and, in fact, even paid the salary of Toronto's Relief Officer out of his own pocket.[87]

For Smith, charity in the strict sense became a matter of relieving the "accidental distress" of old age and sickness.[88] Here, his second principle of modern charity, adjustment of relief to need, came into play. In the context of Toronto, this principle was quite humanistic, and involved him in heated controversies with the House of Industry and the Toronto magistrate. Smith was moved to reactivate the Associated Charities in the 1890's by the case of Edward Winch, an unemployed widower with four children who was charged with theft for picking up some fallen bits of coal. The magistrate told Winch to place his children in an orphanage and turn himself into jail as a vagrant.[89] Smith abhorred this vindictive and institutional approach, because he believed that charity had to be sustained by "the feelings that unite, not ... the passions that divide us."[90] Shortly before his death, Smith authored his final Christmas appeal for the Children's Aid Society, urging sponsors to join the Parliament of Pity and bring promise to slumdom with love and help.[91]

Of all Smith's causes during the 1880's and 1890's, he is most famous for his support of annexation between Canada and the United States. Smith's commitment to annexation, however, should be understood primarily in terms of his views on Canada's social crisis. It was Smith's frustration with the Canadian ruling classes' inability to provide social leadership capable of creating a high-minded and cohesive community in Canada that led him to favour annexation to the U.S.A. Smith became a continentalist because he was a mugwump reformer, not because he was a Manchester liberal devoted to the free play of the market.

Smith himself was partly to blame for the frequent misconception of his motives here, since he frequently polemicized about the natural thrust of geography and

economics in a north-south, rather than east-west, direction. His famous statement — "Few have fought against geography and prevailed"[92] — was more a tribute to the glib Victorian art of epigram than a rounded expression of his views. Smith was no geographical determinist: race and religion were singularly more important to him. Still less was he a philosopher schooled in the radical-republican appeal to the first principles of nature. In his more serious comments, Smith wrote of "the moral which the map . . . enforces."[93] While he parried with, in his words, "paper tiger" imperialism, by ridiculing the possibility that the Atlantic could be dried up by jingoism, in dealing with reasonable people Smith juxtaposed sentiment and the interests of the people. "Sentiment is the flower, but the plant on which the flower grows is the public welfare."[94]

The heart of the matter for Smith was the building of "a strong, stable, enlightened, and impartial government"[95] in a New World democracy. As in his earlier writings on the Empire, Smith continued to dismiss the colonial connection with British aristocracy as a bulwark against demagoguism "and the other pests of democratic institutions." Aristocratic pretensions only added the sins of flunkeyism to demagoguism. Moreover, the lack of binding ties in a colonial dependency simply could not prevail against the centrifugal loyalties of province, sect or fraternal order. "So it must be while the only antidote to sectionalism . . . is the sentiment of allegiance to a distant throne."[96] Dependency led to a low level of political self-respect and party behaviour, in the "absence of all that is bracing ennobling and elevating in the political influences which are bound up with the name of nation."[97] Finally, the colonial mentality removed leaders from their true post of duty. Some of the country's political problems were the result of absentee leaders, because "our social chiefs are apt to be almost as much citizens of London as of Toronto."[98]

The continentalist Smith and the Imperialists perhaps shared more than they knew, and this is why Principal Grant read Smith's classic *Canada and the Canadian Question*, which made the full case for annexation to the United States, with "mingled feelings." Smith found Imperial Federationist dissatisfaction with the petty localism and factionalism of Canada's lowly political life "well-founded and generous."[99] His criticisms of schemes for imperial federation were incidental and technical rather than fundamental; after all, continentalism for Smith was a prelude to a world-wide Anglo-Saxon moral federation. Like the imperialists, Smith saw Canada's colonial status as an urgent problem from which we could "afford to drift no longer."[100] Smith, too, preferred a society based on primary industries. Grant's allegation that Smith was preoccupied with the ignoble economic benefits of continental integration had already been anticipated: "that would be a weak nationality indeed which should depend on a Customs line,"[101] Smith countered. Smith did differ from the imperialists in several core assumptions. Most important probably, since Smith had once entertained such

high hopes for America, hopes which the Imperialists never shared, he was prepared to act on its behalf. It was a priority for him that the "native American element in which the tradition of self-government resides is hard pressed by the foreign element . . . and stands in need of reinforcement."[102] The priorities of imperialist racism were different. On most points, however, Smith's views on continentalism represented a tactical difference with imperial federationists, who shared his fundamental "mugwump" critique of Canada.

With the rise of Anglo-American imperialist expansion in the 1890's, Smith's disillusionment with ruling circles on a world scale deepened, perhaps accounting for his renewal of relations with certain popular movements. For this reason, the last decades of his life were not uneventful, as his chief biographer claims,[103] but revealed the full dimensions of his intellectual crisis. Noting French Canada's solid opposition to imperialism, he strove to build an English-French Canadian political alliance based on peace, economy, free trade, and political purity. This led to his prolonged correspondence with French Canadian nationalist Henri Bourassa, who, Smith hoped, would not leave such a party leaderless.[104] As for the relic of sheepish French-Canadian nationality which he had once hoped to crush through annexation with Anglo-Saxon Protestant America, he now found "its simplicity, its courtesy, its domesticity, its freedom from American push" quite attractive. "Above all, I look to French Canada as a conservative power saving us from being swept away by the tide of imperialism and jingoism,"[105] he wrote. Like many of his latterday writings, this hankering for a simple past revealed his fundamental ambivalence about capitalist social relations.

Smith also turned his hopes toward Canadian farmers, who had been most receptive to his annexationist appeals in the 1880's and 1890's. By 1894, Smith counted on Canada's husky farmers to "lift the wagon" of factional partyism "out of the slough" of political life.[106] Smith also envisioned farm life as offering a more human and cohesive community, and feared the drift of farm boys toward the excitement of the city, where they would overcrowd the professions with disastrous results. "The growth of an educated class of unemployed, with the sensitiveness that education gives, would be the source of much unhappiness, and might be the source of danger to the state,"[107] he projected.

In 1896, Smith purchased the *Canada Farmers Sun*, which until his tenure as publisher was drifting toward a Christian socialist and politically independent line quite out of keeping with the limited reform aims of Patrons of Industry parliamentary leaders.

Although Smith retained his connection with the *Farmers Sun* until his death, it was the labour question that disturbed and engaged him more than any other. In his later years, Smith spoke and wrote frequently on behalf of the labour movement. A major benefactor of the popular Labor Temple, designed to serve as a social and office centre for Toronto unionists, he was invited to give the sole speech at its grand opening.[108] He promoted and contributed financially to several independent labour candidates. To some extent, he saw parliament as one avenue of social reconciliation. Parliament should be the council of a united nation, he believed. "Still, there are special interests each of which is entitled to a voice. . . . The capitalist is abundantly heard: let the producer . . . be heard also. . . . a class can hardly be expected to look up with respect and confidence to a governing assembly in which none of its members had a place."[109] Exclusion from the legislature would only aggravate labour's bitterness. It was "in everyone's interest that this exclusion end."[110] In offering support to a 1908 Independent Labor Party campaign, he urged members to "ever remember that we as a community and that our wealth and happiness depend upon our being a community indeed."[111]

The homilies of community — not, as Carl Berger has argued, the homilies of self-help[112] — prevented him from identifying with most proposals of the union movement. Commenting on the 1896 Labour Day Parade, Smith pleaded for workers to view manual and mental labour equally, for both were "necessary to the community and belong to the same fellowship. The anniversary would be an evil if it served in any degree to draw or perpetuate a hard class line."[113] He hoped somehow that simple truths would prevail: that labour would see the capitalist as mere paymaster, and the community as the true employer.[114] However, because of his conception of the iron laws of capitalism and the inevitability of inequality, he could not bring himself to support such elementary reformist legislation as minimum pay laws. Thus, he found himself at odds with labour on most concrete issues affecting the economy.

However, beneath his hackneyed, reflex fulminations against schemes for social reconstruction, large or small, Smith harboured some fundamental dilemmas. He did not enjoy a principled rejection of government intervention in the economy. Voluntary co-operation was his real preference, as an amused James Mavor guessed on seeing how famously Smith got along with Kropotkin. Smith "never realized how near he was to philosophical anarchism," Mavor recalled.[115] Smith did not promote self-help in terms of the individualistic and competitive struggle for economic advance. "Self-help is mutual help," Smith enjoined, "because, constituted as we are, we all, at every moment of our lives, stand in need of each other's aid."[116] Nor did Smith believe that the government governs best which governs least, except in the religious sense. "The best form of government is that which doth actuate and inspire every part and member of a state to the common

good,"[117] he argued. How far the government should go was a matter not of theory but of the character and circumstances of a particular community.[118] He favoured "paternal" legislation for the helpless, and public ownership of certain facilities, but he did not confuse this with socialism.[119]

"To sympathize with the dream of the socialist is easy for anyone who meditates on the human lot," Smith conceded. "But dynamite bombs are not heralds of the socialist kingdom of universal love."[120] It was the appeal to class passion, and to some extent the fear of social convulsion,[121] that upset Smith. He defined grasping envy as "the main source of that extreme sort of Communism which may be called Satanism."[122] To this he preferred the social geniality of Dickens' *Christmas Carol.* It "has done more than sermons and dissertations to save the heart of society from being poisoned by social regenerators who philanthropically preach class hatred. . . ."[123] In an open letter attacking Jimmy Simpson and the strident socialist Board of Education manifesto, Smith wondered whether his fear of a collision between labour and the community "may be only because new lights do not easily dawn upon the vision of old age." He urged Simpson to preach sharply against inequality. "Bid us instead of rambling perpetually over the world in quest of pleasure, stay at home and do our duty to the community. . . . But do not treat the whole class as robbers to be exterminated."[124]

The labour movement felt as ambiguously toward Smith as he did toward it. Although rarely taking his advice seriously on points where they differed, labour leaders paid him the highest of respect. The 1905 Trades and Labor Congress convention chose him to deliver the welcoming address and thanked him with a standing ovation.[125] Following his death in 1910, labour leaders vied with one another in praise of "our beloved benefactor,"[126] whose "heartstrings vibrated in sympathy" with labour despite his "conservative Radicalism."[127] The Trades and Labor Congress even passed a formal resolution in honour of the "great and sincere friend of the toiler" who "always espoused the cause of the common people."[128]

What accounted for this ceremonial attachment? In part, labour leaders excused Smith for his age while respecting him for his earlier reputation as a reformer. In 1903, the Labor Council-sponsored *Toiler,* for which Smith occasionally wrote on foreign policy questions, handled him lightly in a matter of current dispute: "while a kindly and well-meaning old gentleman, Dr. Smith should have taken the late Prof. Huxley's advice, never to think of writing after sixty years of age."[129] In part, it was because union leaders appreciated a rebel who would stand up to the pretensions of Toronto's social elite and lampoon the flunkeyism of Canada's would-be aristocrats. Toronto labour spokesmen found the pretensions of the city's elite so grating that much of labour rhetoric sounded like a social text from the struggle against feudalism. In 1896, when an imperialist-sponsored campaign of denunciation forced Smith to decline an honorary

doctorate from the University of Toronto, the labour council buried any political differences and sided with him immediately.[130]

It is also worth noting that labour leaders spoke the same language as Smith. It was not difficult to interpret his statements to their liking. Most of them were nurtured in a strong tradition of community. Machinist Lou Gibbons welcomed Smith's support for the ILP and claimed that if there were more men like him, "we may have legislation for the whole of the community and not class legislation for the plutocracy as now enacted."[131] Labour columnist Tom Banton attacked Smith's view that the closed shop was hostile to the community, but followed up with an appeal to the community to establish fair conditions. Then, Banton hoped, neither labour nor capital would "vex the souls of Grange Philosophers in their old age."[132]

As well as sharing a common symbolic language, unionists and Smith respected some of the same codes. Independence from partyism was a point of honour for both. So was social independence and self-reliance. On two occasions, Smith made sizeable donations to a labor-council sponsored relief distress centre. While grateful for the money, unemployed workers left no doubt as to their humiliation in accepting charity. They knew that Smith would not find this ungracious, one labour reporter noted, because "no-one better understands their real sentiments in such matters than does the generous giver himself."[133]

It should be remembered that the thrust toward state intervention before 1914 was often associated with campaigns to institutionalize the feebleminded, set up labour camps for the unemployed, and prohibit a number of working class leisure activities defined as vice. The labour movement, bred on artisanal traditions of mutual self-help and spontaneous co-operation, was as uneasy about these directions as Smith, whose credo was summarized by one close associate as: "In liberty, enlightenment and justice lay the hope of human progress; and not — as many reformers would have it in these days — in extending the criminal code."[134] Thus, Smith joined labour in speaking against blue-law Sundays and prohibition, for he did not enjoy the prospect of falling under the "searching tyranny of crocheteers."[135] Some unsuspecting and barely literate working class residents who shared working people's initial reluctance to embrace the collectivist state as posed by moral and public health reformers, approached Smith as "a very liberal and broadminded man" who they thought would oppose the painful and dangerous introduction of compulsory smallpox vaccination.[136] Little did they know that on this issue Smith was a "collectivist," and wanted the vaccination controversy settled by trained science, not "elective ignorance."[137]

Socialists, who were perhaps more attuned to ideological distinctions than mainstream union leaders, were more incisive in their comments on Smith. The all-red *Western Clarion*, in one editorial, challenged Smith's baying against socialism, charging that it fostered class hatred. "Were the Bystander sincere, he

would indeed heartily endorse the socialist theory for it would make class hatred impossible by abolishing classes. But he is not sincere, except that he is sincerely a class conscious capitalist heeler, and to find a notorious jingoistic labor-hater such as he deploring class hatred is merely another case of 'Satan rebuking sin'."[138]

Other socialists who collaborated with Smith were more subtle in their evaluation of the distance between them. Jimmy Simpson, the leading Toronto socialist of the period and a devotee of Christian socialism and community welfare, responded to one of Smith's pamphlets on labour with this comment: "while we cannot agree on fundamentals, we are one in purpose."[139] Phillips Thompson, Canada's first Marxist and a writer who had known Smith since the 1870's, wrote an obituary of Smith which tried to grapple with Thompson's own "conflicting emotions" toward this "not over scrupulous" and superficial critic of socialism. Thompson readily agreed that Smith was "actuated . . . by the best motives" and showed the courage of his convictions on many occasions. His flailings against corruption, partyism and the like, however, never penetrated to an analysis of these banes as "an incident of capitalist rule. But Goldwin Smith, with all his wisdom, was one of the numerous class that tries to have omelettes without the breaking of eggs." Moreover, Thompson doubted "whether Canadians would ever have found out his ability if he had not come here with a ready made reputation and a good social position." Had Smith been poor or unknown, "he couldn't have held down a $2 a week job in any one of the Toronto papers that are now shedding hypocritical tears over his coffin." Thompson, who had experienced just such a fate, held this advantage of Smith to account for his ultimate limitations. "Such an experience would have completed his education and given him an insight into the social problem that he failed to get from books and had he survived the ordeal he would probably have made a first-class Socialist."[140]

How then do we take the measure of this man in Canadian history? As a promoter of the independent press, he has left us with a variety of journals which we can study profitably. But he was not addicted to thought, as his friend Mavor noted. Although he probably deserves recognition as a founder of Canadian scientific philanthropy, which eventually led to the creation of professional social work, he made no useful contribution to Canadian social thought. Although he could not make up his mind about the legitimacy of the capitalist social order, he would not break from its economic premises; nor did this tory touch stimulate a creative dialectic, just verbose platitudes. As a critic of Canada's colonial status, he had some shrewd observations, but there is little in his quips that can be developed into profound analysis.

Nevertheless, a re-examination of Smith in terms of his social thought does allow us to be more sensitive to several intellectual developments of his time. He should help us recognize the pre-World War I roots of the intellectual's alienation

from the crass materialism and narrow political vision of Canada. He should also help us avoid wooden schemas of "individualism versus collectivism" as applied to the rise of the welfare state, and "materialist rationalism versus high-minded idealism" as applied to controversies over Canadian nationality. Thankfully, Canada's history was more complicated than this. Goldwin Smith would be doing well if he helped us appreciate that.

NOTES

[1] *Saturday Night* (Dec. 1977), p. 34.
[2] *The Age of Equipoise* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1964).
[3] S. Shortt, *The Search For An Ideal* (Toronto: Allen & Unwin, 1976), p. 93.
[4] *Goldwin Smith, His Life and Opinions* (London: T. W. Laurie, 1913), pp. 187-88, 145-46.
[5] Chris Harvie, *The Lights of Liberalism, University Liberals and the Challenge of Democracy, 1860-86* (London: Allen Lane, 1976), p. 66.
[6] Cited in Harvie, p. 14.
[7] Harvie, p. 75.
[8] *Rational Religion and the Rationalistic Objections of the Brampton Lectures for* 1858 (Oxford: Wheeler, 1861), p. iv.
[9] Ibid., p. 59.
[10] Ibid., p. 20. See also "The Ascent of Man," in *Lectures and Essays* (Toronto: Hunter Rose, 1881), p. 101.
[11] *A Plea For The Abolition of Religious Tests* (Oxford: Wheeler, 1864), p. 103.
[12] Ibid., p. 102.
[13] E. Halevy, *The Growth of Philosophical Radicalism* (London: Faber & Faber, 1934), esp. pp. 513-14.
[14] *Lectures On The Study of History* (New York: Harper, 1866), p. 34.
[15] *On Some Supposed Consequences of the Doctrine of Historical Progress, A Lecture* (Oxford: Parker, 1861), p. 40.
[16] *Study of History*, p. 32.
[17] Harvie, p. 164.
[18] *A Plea*, p. 28.
[19] *The Reorganization of the University of Oxford* (Oxford: Parker, 1868), p. 47.
[20] Ibid., p. 57.
[21] *Study of History*, p. 13.
[22] Ibid., pp. 17, 15.
[23] *The Empire, A Series of Letters* (Oxford and London: Henry & Parker, 1863), p. vii.
[24] Ibid., pp. 134-35.
[25] Ibid., p. 36.
[26] Ibid., p. 136.
[27] Ibid., p. 96.
[28] Ibid., pp. 134-35.
[29] Ibid., p. 136.

[30] Ibid., p. 138.
[31] Ibid., p. 136.
[32] Ibid., p. 142.
[33] Cited in J. M. Bumsted, ed. *Documentary Problems in Canadian History: Post-Confederation* (Georgetown: Irwin Dorsey, 1969), p. 285.
[34] *The Empire*, p. 3.
[35] Ibid., p. 57.
[36] *The Civil War in America* (London: Simkin, 1866), 4, 28.
[37] *Commonwealth or Empire, A Bystander's View of the Question* (New York: Macmillan, 1902), p. 4.
[38] *England and America* (Manchester: n.p., 1865), p. 13.
[39] *Civil War*, p. 27.
[40] Harvie, p. 111.
[41] Smith, *Civil War*, pp. 4-5.
[42] Harvie, p. 103.
[43] Ibid., p. 139.
[44] Ibid., p. 120.
[45] "The Experience of the American Commonwealth," in S. Leslie et al., *Essays on Reform* (London: Macmillan, 1867).
[46] *The European Crisis of 1870, A Lecture* (Toronto: Adam, Stevenson, 1871), p. 1.
[47] Ibid., p. 32.
[48] "The Labour Movement," in *Lectures and Essays*, p. 146.
[49] Ibid., p. 126.
[50] Ibid., p. 134.
[51] "What is Culpable Luxury," *Lectures and Essays*, p. 152.
[52] Ibid., p. 159.
[53] "The Labour Movement," p. 136.
[54] *Canada First: A Memorial of the late William A. Foster, Q.C.* (Toronto: Hunter Rose, 1890).
[55] *Reminiscences* (New York: Macmillan, 1910), p. 11.
[56] Ibid., p. 4.
[57] Ibid., pp. 73-74.
[58] *A Trip to England* (Toronto: Williamson, 1891), p. 80.
[59] Cited in E. Wallace, "Goldwin Smith, Liberal," *University of Toronto Quarterly*, 23 (Jan. 1954), p. 170.
[60] See "Toronto: A Turning Point in its History," *Canadian Magazine*, 28 (April 1907), 523-25.
[61] *Reminiscences*, pp. 326-27; see also *News* (Toronto), June 20, 1907.
[62] *Guesses At The Riddle of Existence and Other Essays on Kindred Subjects* (New York: Macmillan, 1897), pp. 96, 204.
[63] "The Proposed Substitutes for Religion," *Lectures and Essays*, p. 116.
[64] *Guesses*, p. 204.
[65] "Proposed Substitutes," p. 116.
[66] *No Refuge But In Truth* (Toronto: Tyrrell, 1908), p. 3.

[67] See D. Montgomery, *Beyond Equality, Labor and the Radical Republicans 1862-1872* (New York: Knopf, 1967); J. Sproat, "The Best Men," in his *Liberal Reformers in the Gilded Age* (New York: Oxford, 1968).

[68] See C. Kent, "Higher Journalism and the Mid-Victorian Clerisy," *Victorian Studies*, 13 (Dec. 1969), 181-98.

[69] Harvie, pp. 174, 217-18.

[70] *The Moral Crusader, William Lloyd Garrison, A Biographical Essay* (Toronto: Williamson, 1892); *The United States, An Outline of Political History, 1492-1891* (New York: Macmillan, 1907), pp. 294 ff.

[71] "The Greatness of England," *Lectures and Essays*, p. 29.

[72] J. Mavor, *My Windows On The Street Of The World*, II (London: Dent, 1923), p. 129.

[73] *Commonwealth or Empire, A Bystander's View of the Question* (New York, 1902), 2, 8; *The Early Days of Cornell* (Ithaca: Andrews & Church, 1904), 17.

[74] *Weekly Sun* (Toronto), June 18, 1902.

[75] *Commonwealth or Empire*, pp. 3-4, 12, 19.

[76] *Social Problems, An Address delivered to the Conference of Combined City Charities of Toronto* (Toronto: Blacket, 1889), p. 18.

[77] Ibid., p. 20.

[78] *Telegram* (May 5, 1896). See also *Globe* (Nov. 23, 1907).

[79] Smith to Robertson, Jan. 18, 1905 (?), Smith-Robertson Correspondence (Toronto Public Library).

[80] *Reminiscences*, pp. 556-57.

[81] *Mail and Empire* (July 11, 1903).

[82] *Telegram*, Jan. 15, 1902; J. Weaver, "The Meaning of Municipal Reform: Toronto, 1895," *Ontario History*, 66 (June 1974), 89-100.

[83] *Telegram* (Jan. 15, 1902).

[84] *Civil War*, pp. 14, 21.

[85] *A Trip to England*, p. 90.

[86] *Telegram* (Nov. 7, 1901).

[87] R. Splane, *Social Welfare in Ontario, 1791-1893* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1965), pp. 114-15; Wallace, p. 105. See also *Globe*, Nov. 8, 1902.

[88] *Social Problems*, p. 18.

[89] *Telegram* (Jan. 21, 1896).

[90] *Social Problems*, p. 20.

[91] Draft letter, Dec. 1, 1909, Goldwin Smith papers.

[92] *The Political Destiny of Canada with a Reply by Sir Francis Hincks* (Toronto: Belford, 1977), p. 7.

[93] G. Mercer Adam, ed., *Handbook of Commercial Union: A Collection of Papers* Toronto: Hunter Rose, 1888), p. xiv.

[94] Ibid., p. 201.

[95] *The Political Destiny of Canada*, p. 16.

[96] Ibid., p. 17.

[97] Adam, p. 243.

[98] *Loyalty, Aristocracy and Jingoism* (Toronto: Hunter Rose, 1891), p. 58.

[99] Ibid., p. 62.

[100] "Loyalty," in B. Hodgins and R. Page, eds., *Canadian History Since Confederation, Essays and Interpretations* (Georgetown: Irwin Dorsey, 1972), p. 242.

[101] *Canada and the Canadian Question*, p. 233; see also p. 235.

[102] Ibid., p. 217.

[103] E. Wallace, *Goldwin Smith, Victorian Liberal* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1957), p. 129.

[104] Smith to Bourassa (April 10, 1902) in W. D. Gregory Papers (Queens University), Correspondence 1900-1909.

[105] Smith to Bourassa (Aug. 30, 1905).

[106] *Canada Farmers Sun*, Toronto (Aug. 29, 1894).

[107] *Weekly Sun* (Oct. 7, 1896).

[108] *Star* (June 11, 1904).

[109] *Citizen and Country* (May 25, 1900).

[110] *Star* (May 14, 1908).

[111] Smith to Shipman (May 25, 1908), Goldwin Smith Papers.

[112] Carl Berger, Introduction to *Canada and the Canadian Question*, p. ix.

[113] *Weekly Sun* (Sept. 2, 1896).

[114] "Simple Truths Needed," *51st Annual Convention of the International Typographical Union held at Toronto, Canada, August 14 to 20th, 1905.*

[115] Mavor, p. 133.

[116] *Reminiscences*, p. 230.

[117] "Labour and Socialism," *Canadian Magazine*, 32 (Jan. 1909), 500.

[118] *Essays on Questions of the Day* (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1893), p. 12.

[119] *The United Kingdom, a Political History*, II (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1899), p. 372; "Public Ownership, The Natural Thing," *Trade Union Guide and Mercantile Directory* (Toronto, 1904); *Weekly Sun* (Nov. 12, 1902 and Nov. 19, 1896).

[120] *News* (June 20, 1907).

[121] *Weekly Sun* (Dec. 31, 1896).

[122] *False Hopes*, p. 3.

[123] *Keeping Christmas* (Toronto: C. B. Robinson, 1888).

[124] *Telegram* (Jan. 7, 1906).

[125] Trades and Labor Congress, *Proceedings*, p. 4.

[126] Gibbons to Haultain (June 9, 1910), Goldwin Smith Papers.

[127] *Lance*, Toronto (June 11, 1910).

[128] Trades and Labor Congress, *Proceedings*, 1910, p. 10.

[129] *Toiler*, Toronto (Jan. 30, 1903).

[130] *Globe* (June 11, June 26, 1896), *Telegram* (June 19, 1896), Smith to Toronto District Labor Council, in Toronto District Labor Council *Minutes* (June 11, 1896) (Public Archives of Canada).

[131] *Machinists Monthly Journal* (July 1908), p. 632.

[132] *Star* (Nov. 1, 1902).

[133] *Star* (Dec. 7, 1907).

[134] G. Waldron, "Goldwin Smith," *University Monthly*, 12 (March 1912), 221.

[135] E. Wallace, *Smith*, p. 168. See also *Telegram* (May 30, 1895), *Star* (August 24, 1901), G. Smith, *Prohibition in Canada and the United States* (London: Macmillan, 1899), passim.

[136] D. Risk and H. Douglas to Smith (Feb. 28, 1903), in Goldwin Smith Papers.
[137] G. Smith, "The Value of Vaccination," *Canada Lancet* (April 1906), 695.
[138] *Western Clarion*, Vancouver (Aug. 8, 1908).
[139] Simpson to Smith (June 13, 1906), in Goldwin Smith Papers.
[140] *Western Clarion* (June 18, 1910).

CEZANNE'S LAST YEARS

Douglas Barbour

& he moved he
moved thru paint
& canvas stretcht after canvas
towards a simplicity

so complex that
it simply takes our eyes
out
& then in there

sketches the
sketches of a place
a world he knew
& renewd
on the canvas
of what he saw
how he saw it

blocks of colour of
light of
the bare canvas the bare
page

fewer gestures
say more
he says
in his language

& i repeat
repeat it
in mine

Paris summer 1978

JOHN WATSON AND THE IDEALIST LEGACY

A. B. McKillop

THE HISTORIAN OF IDEAS IN CANADA quickly discovers how central the philosophy studied at Canadian universities was in helping to bring about the intellectual and spiritual accommodations made necessary in the Victorian era. Much of that accommodation involved the interplay between certain strands of religion, science, and philosophy that found their way, as a kind of intellectual patchwork quilt, into the homes, the universities, and the churches of British North Americans in the nineteenth century.[1]

Readers of the *Literary History of Canada* will recognize immediately that central to this process of accommodation, and dominating philosophical inquiry generally in Canada between 1872 (when he arrived from Scotland on the campus of Queen's University at the ripe old age of twenty-five) and 1922 (when he retired from teaching), was John Watson. John Irving's lengthy account in the *Literary History* of Watson's signal achievements in the field of international philosophical scholarship need not be repeated here. It might simply be noted that the Garland publishing company in New York reminded Canadians in 1976 that his scholarship has been of enduring value: in a republication of the eleven most important studies of Kant since that philosopher's death, two of the volumes selected were by John Watson of Queen's.[2]

Yet Watson was not significant for his contributions to scholarship alone. More important to consider is the crucial role he and his philosophy played in the transition of the overtly Christian mental and moral philosophy of the nineteenth century in Canada into a broadly secular moral outlook which has dominated much of English-Canadian thought in the twentieth. When fully examined as part of the general intellectual and cultural history of English-speaking Canada, the legacy of nineteenth-century mental and moral philosophy will perhaps be seen to have been a profound one, part of what, in *A Disciplined Intelligence*, I have called a "moral imperative" that links the thought of Thomas McCulloch to that of Northrop Frye, and that will allow an historical connection to be made between moralists such as George Grant, W. L. Morton, Hugh MacLennan, Harold Innis, and Robertson Davies and the Victorian philosophic temperament.

This essay provides part of that background. To be explored here is the influence of the critical intellect of the speculative idealists, led by John Watson, upon the major religious phenomenon of early twentieth-century Canada: the liberalizing movement within protestantism known as the social gospel. In the process, some light will be shed on the interrelationship between philosophical and theological suppositions at a crucial stage in Canada's history, and some of the shifts and continuities in Canadian intellectual history which continue to affect Canadian cultural development will be suggested.

At the end of the nineteenth century, Anglo-Canadian thought had reached a watershed. For a half century, those who dominated religious, scientific, and philosophical thinking in Canada had been intensely suspicious of the critical intellect that emerged in the popular realm during Victoria's reign. Anglo-Canadian educators had, in effect, established an orthodoxy of ideas and assumptions in the formative years of the university *curricula* in the country. Yet by the end of the century that orthodoxy was everywhere under assault. In the first place, the Baconian scientific ideal (which stressed observation while eschewing speculation), reflected in the work of Toronto's Daniel Wilson and McGill's William Dawson, had proven inadequate under the onslaught of Darwinian science. Secondly, the Scottish Common Sense philosophy, which pervaded the teachings of James George at Queen's and William Lyall at Dalhousie in the third quarter of the century, had gradually been dismissed by younger minds as inadequate in its psychology to meet the needs and the challenges of an age of inquiry and analysis. Finally, the third and to an extent the most central element in this triumvirate of early Victorian orthodoxy, the Paleyite natural theology given expression by James Beaven and James Bovell at Toronto in the 1850's and 1860's, had, by the 1890's, largely been replaced. Originally utilized as a means of preserving the argument from design while utilizing the frameworks of both faculty psychology and Baconian observation, it had, by then, been supplanted by an equally teleological, but dynamic, Hegelian conception of social evolution. In short, by the end of the century the old orthodoxy of ideas, antispeculative by nature, founded on social constraint, and aimed at instilling students with a traditional Christian piety, had been shattered. In its place had emerged a Canadian variation of British speculative idealism.

In the twenty years after the arrival of Watson and Idealism in Canada in 1872, that philosophical creed seemed to have resolved certain problems critically important for the generation who had been trained under the assumptions of the old intellectual orthodoxy but who lived through the Darwinian revolution. Watson's confident philosophy seemed to resolve the problems faced by the Common Sense school in the decades which explored the intricacies of the central nervous system (or, as Richard Maurice Bucke chose to call it, "the Great Sympathetic"), for it could maintain the existence of the "moral nature" of man

while asserting the active powers of mind. It constituted a new conception of Design and Purpose operating in the universe, one that could encompass rather than capitulate to evolutionary science. It offered a critique of empiricism and put empiricists on the defensive by revealing the limitations of scientific enterprise without attacking science *ad hominem*. It cultivated a pious disposition, yet did not belittle intellectual inquiry. It showed the essential "rationality" of the universe and placed everything within the perspective of a new and modern interpretation of the Christian experience, even while defending the essentials of the faith as it conceived them.

For these basic reasons, the speculative Hegelian idealism whose British mentor was Watson's teacher Edward Caird and whose major Canadian voice was Watson himself found increasing acceptance among Canadian professors, clergymen, and students in the late nineteenth century. Yet even though Watson was, by 1890, a scholar of international stature, idealism was still a fresh intellectual force, a force for intellectual change that was coming to dominance in a decade when change in the country was everywhere.

The hegemony of idealism had begun, but only the first signs of its ultimate influence could then have been discerned. Every epoch is, in its own way, a time of transformation; but the 1890's marked a clear departure from the past in the nature and quality of Canadian life. John Watson's *Outline of Philosophy* (1895) was put before a Canadian reading public that witnessed in the decades to come a social and industrial upheaval for which there was no precedent in the history of the nation. His *Christianity and Idealism* (1897), a series of lectures given before the Philosophical Union of the University of California at Berkeley, appeared in the first flush of the Laurier boom; his Gifford Lectures, published in 1912 as *The Interpretation of Religious Experience*, were given when the rate of social and industrial change had reached its height.

This was, above all, a social transformation, and the idealist preached what was fundamentally a social ethic. Even at the level of intellectual speculation the social good was necessarily to prevail. And as with thought, so lives and careers were also seen to be meaningful only when regarded from a universal perspective. Society, it was argued, must be conceived as an organism. The individual must subordinate private interests to serve the greater whole. Watson had spoken from the first of "the various spheres of the universe," each forming "an ascending series, in which each higher realm includes while it transcends the lower. . . ."[3] Each "sphere" could become a focus of attention for Canadians whose thought was informed by this new moral imperative, articulated in a different form for a new age. One could perform one's social duties in ascending higher forms of service to an ever greater good, whether at the level of the church, the civil service, or the empire. During the thirty years that followed 1890, Canadian

intellectual life was thus suffused with the idealist variant of the Anglo-Canadian moral imperative.[4]

Idealism exerted its greatest influence, however, on Canadian protestant thought and practice. The full nature and extent of this influence will be determined only with more substantial historical investigation, yet a brief examination of the thought of certain key figures in early twentieth-century protestant circles may serve for the present purpose to suggest the general nature of the intrusion of idealist assumptions upon protestant thought in Canada.

THE LATE NINETEENTH-CENTURY IDEALIST delighted in using his creed to resolve seemingly irresolvable problems, and in Canada he took great pleasure in being simultaneously a force upholding the essentials of the Christian experience while inaugurating a profound transformation in religious life. The result, however, was a reorientation of Canadian protestantism that by the 1920's scarcely resembled that desired by the nineteenth-century clerical advocates of a reconciliation of science and religion through idealism.

Idealists inspired by Watson taught that reality consisted of the secular process of history infused with a spiritual principle that was at once the heart of knowledge and synonymous with the Mind of God. "In God we 'live and move and have our being,' " Watson told a Kingston meeting of the Y.M.C.A. in 1901; "we are spirits capable of communion with the Spirit of all things; the meanest as well as the highest object within our reach witnesses of this universal spirit; and, living in it, we may become worthy members of the family, the community, the state, the race. To realize this spirit in all its forms is our true life work."[5] So it was, but it was also a quest with a profoundly ambiguous legacy.

Watson's address had been entitled "The Sadness and Joy of Knowledge," its text taken from Ecclesiastes I:18, which said: "In much wisdom is much grief: and He that Increaseth knowledge Increaseth sorrow." This was a paradox such as Watson delighted in resolving, for the idealist's universal vision and dialectical mode of argument could show how the "perils and storms of the intellectual life" — the sorrow — would be quelled by the simple recognition that in this very sadness lay the source of joy. Strenuous effort in the search for universal truth by means of intellectual inquiry would gradually result in a deeper consciousness of reality, one in which "at each step we feel we are penetrating a little deeper into the nature of things, and learning to re-think the embodied thoughts of God." A generation earlier, such a statement would have been roundly condemned in Canadian protestant circles, for it would have been seen as the height of intellectual arrogance. Watson's large claim was an expression of a piety shorn of the Christian's awareness that because of the sinfulness of man he could never fully

achieve identity with the Mind of God, however much he might strive for it. But by the twentieth century this was a notion that found increasing acceptance in Canadian churches and protestant denominational colleges.

The pervasiveness of idealist assumptions in Canadian university circles is suggested by even the most cursory of examinations of student newspapers such as *Queen's Journal* or Victoria College's *Acta Victoriana*. This is likewise the case with the fledgling academic journals *University of Toronto Quarterly*, which began in 1895, and *Queen's Quarterly*, first published two years earlier. The editors of the latter proclaimed solemnly in an opening statement that their quarterly sought to keep its readers aware "of what Queen's is doing and thinking," and "to try to throw some rays of light on the questions that men's minds must always be most concerned about. . . ."[6]

Not surprisingly, the honour of making the first statement about such weighty questions fell to John Watson, who provided a piece called "The Middle Ages and the Reformation." Luther's reformation, Watson stated, was based upon the simple principle that reconciliation with God was possible only through "a spiritual act, an act of faith." Yet he had not gone far enough in assessing the application of his own principle. Watson insisted that Luther had failed to take into account the fact that "the individual's consciousness of God" transcends individuality and "is conditioned by the past history of the consciousness of the race." Luther, that is to say, had not, for Watson, taken into account the principle of development, since he had not recognized that religious consciousness evolved "with the growing intelligence and will of humanity." Once wedded to the idea of the progressive development of consciousness, however, protestantism would, in Watson's view, "purify the state by making it an embodiment of reason." This was the "logical consequence of the Protestant idea," one in which "the ideal is the real, and what contradicts the ideal must ultimately be annulled."[7]

Watson's *Queen's Quarterly* essay appeared in July 1893. In February of that year a very important event in the history of university extension in Canada had occurred. Initiated by Principal G. M. Grant, the First Theological Alumni Conference took place on the campus of Queen's University. Lasting for ten days, it was attended by Presbyterian ministers across the Dominion. Others, not graduates of Queen's but attracted by the intellectual vitality of the place, also attended. There they heard the Principal speak on a variety of doctrinal and practical subjects, and they were also exposed — as the alumni had been as undergraduates — to John Watson's hermetic philosophy. A sign of their appreciation of his views came in their closing resolutions, for they recommended the inauguration of a permanent Lectureship and stipulated that it first be held by a professor from Queen's and that he "should treat some subject bearing on the relations of Philosophy and Theology." Any doubt as to who they wished to hold the first lectureship is dispelled by the fact that when Chancellor Fleming

announced later in the year his intention to sponsor the desired lecture series, he stipulated that "no one could better fill the position than Dr. Watson, who did so much to make the first conference a success."[8]

Watson and his followers were not without their critics, but there can be no doubt that by the early twentieth century their distinctive protestant vision was beginning to have its effect. In February 1906, for example, a correspondent in Montreal reported to Albert Carman, General Superintendent of the Methodist Church in Canada, that

> many in this Conference [are] saturated with what they call "The new ideas," and it has become a sort of fad — a pretence of scholarship — to parade radical ideas. I have raised a few conflicts thus far, and expect to have more as I come in contact with these men. When the strife comes I find it is not so much the Higher Criticism . . . that I am forced to combat, but the Hegelian philosophy. . . . I find that nearly every man who has passed through "Queen's University," and a coterie who follow this set, are preaching Hegelianism. It is a sad plight.[9]

So it was, indeed, for Methodists or Presbyterians who wished in the early twentieth century to retain the fundamentals of their faith as they had been handed down from earlier generations.

This was no easier at Victoria College, Toronto, than it was at Queen's. There, idealism was given sustained expression early in the century by a philosopher only at the outset of his career: George John Blewett. In 1897, Blewett had won the Governor-General's Gold Medal at "Vic," placing first in his philosophy class, and, aided by the George Paxton Young Memorial Fellowship, he then did graduate work at Harvard, in Germany, and finally at Oxford under Edward Caird (by then Master of Balliol). After a stint at Wesley College, Winnipeg, he returned to Victoria College where he taught and wrote until his untimely death in 1912. By then, like Young before him, he had gained disciples — both through his brilliant and inspiring lectures and through his two books, *The Study of Nature and the Vision of God* (1907) and *The Christian View of the World* (1910). In a preface to the former, Blewett noted that he had first been introduced to philosophy through T. H. Green's *Prolegomena to Ethics*. Yet the book was stamped with the mark of Caird. He had not been exaggerating when, also in his preface, he had written of his "reverence and gratitude" to Caird, "whose venerable primacy in philosophy among English-speaking men makes him 'our father Parmenides.' "[10]

The combination of the views of Blewett (who could write that "the nature of God . . . may be expressed by putting together the three words, reason, righteousness, love") with the more abrasive and less spiritualistic rationalism of the Higher Criticism was a powerful force for change in Canadian religious thought. However much idealists such as Blewett and Watson attempted to infuse Reason with a Christian spirituality, the fact was that in stressing the way early Chris-

tianity "had inherited the intellectual spirit of the Greeks" they helped clear the path toward the application of an essentially secular version of the Christian revelation.

To the philosophically astute, Blewett's conception of a Reason that transcended but did not challenge faith was distinctly different from one that simply equated faith with irrationality and therefore dismissed it. But to someone less initiated into the subtleties and the rhetoric of idealist philosophy, someone who found the argument persuasive but the logic and the jargon difficult at times to follow, such distinctions were perhaps never fully clear. For such a person it may have been sufficient simply to remember that Caird, Watson, and Blewett had said that Christianity was evolving through the secular process of history; that this religious progress was essentially a spiritual one which nevertheless was everywhere manifested in concrete terms; that in this (admittedly vague) unfolding of the consciousness of the race, religious faith could be better comprehended through rational — even intellectual — understanding; that piety and intellectual activity were not at odds since faith could not be faith if it defied intellectual inquiry; and that, finally, somehow in this ongoing cosmic process the old divisions between the spiritual and the material, the sacred and the secular, God and man, were obliterated.

Perhaps the potential legacy of the idealist's view of Christianity is best illustrated in the culmination of the correspondence between Watson and one of his lay admirers, a Mr. J. M. Grant of Toronto. The troubled Mr. Grant could not quite reconcile Watson's notion of the Absolute with the doctrine of the Trinity, failed to see how Objective Idealism was not a form of pantheism, and, between 1911 and 1918, expressed to Watson, often in lengthy and tortuous letters, numerous other difficulties. Always Watson replied, and at length, in his reassuring and controlled hand. Always, Grant found, for a time, solace in a re-reading of Watson's *Philosophical Basis of Religion*; but only for a time. Finally, Grant announced that he felt compelled to resign his position as a Presbyterian Sunday School superintendent because of his doctrinal uncertainties. He had no choice, he said, but to join the Unitarian Church. "Do you think it really matters," Watson replied in a letter marked "confidential," "from the point of view of the essence of religion, whether one accepts what is called the divinity of Christ? . . . You will understand," he went on, "that I cannot accept any of the doctrines of any Church literally."[11] He then went on to dismiss, in their traditional forms, each of the doctrines which Grant found impossible to reconcile with Speculative Idealism.

Like his mentor, Edward Caird, Watson desired above all to reassert the moral and religious dimension of life undermined by modern scepticism. Yet his method of doing so resulted, ironically, in a form of belief that bore a distinct resemblance to the declared enemy, evolutionary naturalism. Both accepted the principle of

evolutionary change; both asserted the fundamental unity of nature. This convergence between Hegelian idealism and the new naturalism, John Passmore has argued, was one of the most important and distinctive results of Darwin's impact on British metaphysics. "It has been said," Passmore wrote, "that pantheism is a polite form of atheism: to assert that everything is God is certainly to deny that there is a God, as that word is ordinarily understood. And similarly one cannot but be struck by the resemblances between naturalism and the Absolute Idealism of philosophers like Caird and Bosanquet: so concerned are they to insist that there is nowhere a gap between the spiritual and the material, between the human and the natural, that one is often inclined to say — Absolute Idealism is the polite form of naturalism."[12] The spiritual agony of Mr. J. M. Grant, struggling with the competing messages of the Westminster Confession and Watson's *Interpretation of Religious Experience*, is an illustration of what could result when one honestly attempted to follow speculative idealism to its apparent conclusions. Grant found Watson's reply to his own urgent letter "so radical that it demands my most careful thought." Accordingly, he began the repeated study of Watson's *Interpretation*. A couple of years later he became a Christian Scientist.

One can only wonder about the extent to which other earnest Presbyterians and Methodists were similarly affected by the idealists' perception of the essence of Christianity; their willingness, in effect, to scrap much in order to "preserve the essence of the Christian consciousness — the unity of man & God." The Trinity, the divinity of Christ, Original Sin, the Atonement, Eternal Life, the Resurrection — each in its generally accepted meaning was an impediment to an understanding of the union of God, Man, and Reason. "No creed of any church can be accepted," Watson had written to Grant at the height of the latter's crisis, "and I don't think the Church be based upon any belief except that it is an organization for making men better."[13] How many of the divinity students trained under Watson in the fifty years from 1872 to 1922 came to accept Watson's simple definition of the Church, and to view traditional doctrines as impedimenta hindering the growth of consciousness?

For some, it is clear, the idealist philosophy was a revelation equal to that imparted to Watson by the Caird brothers in the 1860's. The social gospel movement in Canada was diverse both in its membership and in its origins; men and women drew their ideas on the social teachings of the gospels from sources as different as Ralph Waldo Emerson and Albrecht Ritschl. But they also drew, and perhaps in a more sustained and direct fashion, from the messages of men such as John Watson, George Monro Grant, George Blewett, and S. D. Chown (who became General Superintendent of the Methodist Church

in 1910 and who continued in the position until Church Union in 1925). These intellectual and institutional leaders of Canadian Methodism and Presbyterianism helped provide the intellectual foundations upon which the social gospel movement in Canada was constructed between 1890 and 1914.

The "Queen's spirit" of the 1890's, led by the contemplative Watson and the active Grant, inspired numerous individuals to engage in different forms of social service and to strive in their secular pursuits to bring about the Kingdom of God on earth. Some, such as Adam Shortt (a gold medallist in philosophy under Watson) and O. D. Skelton, became prominent federal civil servants; others, a far greater proportion than the population of Queen's warranted, became teachers throughout the country and sought to live up to the moral example set them by Grant and Watson. Still others sought to be instrumental in the reorientation of the Canadian religious order. No one more exemplified this ambitious spirit than the Methodist preacher, Salem Bland, who was to become the most radical of the social gospellers in Canada.[14]

Born in 1859, Bland, the son of a British Wesleyan Methodist preacher, had been present in Kingston from 1884 through the 1890's, and in every respect he was a "Queen's man," proud to call himself a student of Watson and a disciple of Grant. Though never formally enrolled as a student at Queen's, he nevertheless read Kant with Watson, attended political meetings and Sunday Afternoon Addresses with Grant, and thoroughly imbibed the new social and critical spirit of the nineties. The novelist Robert E. Knowles, himself a graduate of Queen's in the 1890's, noted when Bland retired from public life that he had "enlisted and enmeshed and engaged in all her life and ferment. Few faces were more familiar about her halls."[15] There, instructed by Watson (and through him Hegel and Caird) and Grant, Bland's life and mind took a new direction. Signs of this could be seen in his consistent participation in the Queen's Theological Alumni conferences, especially those of 1898 and 1899. By then, much of his voluminous reading in Kingston was beginning to give definite shape to his thought, and he was nearly ready to give it practical application. "In Canada as in all English-speaking countries," he told the 1898 conference, "social questions are engaging increasing attention. Christianity is becoming primarily sociological, which is a good deal better than if it should be regarded as primarily ecclesiastical or even theological. . . ."[16]

The stamp of Grant, Watson, and Queen's remained on Salem Bland, and no doubt he prized the influence as much as he did the honorary doctorate awarded him by the university in 1900. In the twentieth century, the reputations of Bland and Queen's would diverge radically, for by the 1920's Bland was best known as a radical socialist, whereas Queen's under the successors to Grant was gradually to assume an air of academic and humanistic detachment from fundamental social issues, even from Protestantism. Nevertheless, the connection between Bland

and the Queen's spirit of the nineties existed and continued to give a philosophical basis for his evolving social views. In 1925 he jotted down some notes on "A Philosophy of Life," and they consisted of three propositions: that man is fundamentally good; that there must be fullness of life for everyone; and that there must be a stronger social consciousness. In itself this philosophy was consistent with the social gospel in almost any of its derivations, but in the specific ways Bland sought to construct such a philosophy the legacy of his years in Kingston can distinctly be seen.[17]

It would be inaccurate to assume that Bland came away from Kingston with the social gospel he was later to preach in full blossom. When in Smiths' Falls in 1899, for example, he still taught that the Kingdom of God could be realized only through individual salvation. At this stage in his career the traditional conception of a transcendent Kingdom held sway, if uneasily. Matters such as minimum wages, municipal ownership of natural monopolies, and more equitable taxation were, in Bland's mind, clearly "within the range of the gospel, to be manifestly implied in the Kingdom of Heaven which it came to establish. *But these*," he added emphatically, "*do not make the Kingdom of God.*" At this point in his life, at the age of forty, the essential distinction between sacred and secular still held some meaning for him. "Knowledge of God is not . . . minimum wage of $1.50 a day, not free schools & free rides . . . not meat & drink, but *righteousness* & peace & joy in the Holy Ghost."[18] Yet if these remarks portray a Methodist committed to a traditional conception of righteousness as the main element in the Kingdom of God, they also suggest one who could not see the coming about of such a Kingdom without radical measures of social reform. What he had learnt in Kingston suggested that righteousness and an earthly Kingdom were far from being incompatible, just as reason and faith were entwined. But for his first twenty years and more, those before his Queen's experience, his conception of the essence of Christianity — particularly on the question of eschatology — had been that of orthodox Methodism.

It took the Kingston experience and its disturbing intellectual adjustments before Bland was able to confront the unexamined convictions of his first twenty years. Late in his life he noted that his career seemed to have fallen neatly into such twenty years stages. Of the second of these, he wrote: "Those twenty years to me were the first twenty years of my ministry begun in the devout and untroubled acceptance of traditional orthodoxy in regard to the message and methods of the Evangelical Churches and the slow creeping in in spite of honest and resolute opposition of what at the first were unwelcome and even sinful doubts."[19] Could it be that by the 1890's Bland had come to believe deep within that he was putting forward from the pulpit a conception of the Kingdom he had once accepted, still thought he ought to believe, but no longer did? Could it be that he had not yet quite summoned the courage to give full voice to the range of

radical social reforms necessary to bring about the earthly Kingdom of Watson and of Grant, a spiritual domain manifested in the secular and material reforms brought about by Christians intent upon a better life for all?

No definitive answer can yet be given to these questions, but it is likely that Bland's admission of spiritual turmoil in the 1890's was, if anything, understated. The fact is that his insistence on individual regeneration and a transcendent Kingdom in 1899 was antithetical to his experience at Queen's. Secondly, within a very few years Bland was to do a complete about face on these very theological matters. In 1903 he moved to Wesley College, Winnipeg, as Professor of Church History and New Testament Exegesis, thereby becoming for a few years a colleague of George Blewett. The complete change of environment, his reading of the works of British and American social reformers, his talks with Blewett, and the fact that life in the boom city of the west involved daily confrontation with the "social crisis" in its numerous aspects — each undoubtedly contributed to his complete "conversion" within a few years of his arrival. "The idea emphasized by Jesus," he told an overflow interdenominational audience in the Winnipeg City Hall in 1906, "was that of the kingdom, not of heaven but the kingdom of God on earth. Christianity was not a sort of immigration society to assist us from the hurly burly of this world to heaven; it was to bring the spirit of heaven to earth. . . . Christianity," he went on, "meant the triumph of public ownership. He believed in public ownership because it is an essential part of the kingdom of God on earth. It meant the substitution of co-operation for competition."[20]

The radicalization of Salem Bland's social views is well known. What must be noted is simply that the way had been cleared for him on the road to his Damascus. By the time he received his honorary degree from Queen's he had been introduced to the idealist's conception of the essence of Christianity — a religion shorn of traditional doctrine and based on an organic and progressive evolution of society. These assumptions pervaded Bland's writings in the new century. It was also a religion which necessarily had to meet the test of Reason; and Reason itself was seen as the manifestation of the religious consciousness in thought. In the third place, his had become a faith that separated the concerns of theology from those of ethics, and in so doing clearly subordinated the former to the latter. "Theology," Bland told the 1914 Methodist Conference, "is a very secondary consideration in the Christian life, and it has had too high a place in the Christian church from the beginning."[21]

Like Watson and Grant, Bland delighted in using dialectical methods to establish dazzling argumentative advantage, and complaints about the alleged "materialistic society" of the Laurier years furnished one such opportunity. We are told this is a materialistic age, he declared in his column in the 1918 *Grain Growers' Guide*; but it is in fact not materialistic enough. In words that directly echoed those of Principal Grant in the 1880's on the relation of religion to secular

life, Bland insisted that Christianity could no longer "be treated as a distinct realm or department of life.... It has no independent existence.... It is life itself." Christianity must always, to be vital, be manifested in concrete experience. "One hears sometimes," he went on, "the phrase Applied Christianity. It is only as it is materialized that it reveals itself." Hence, neither doctrines nor sacred ceremonies constitute part of true religious fellowship. That is "to be found in the processes of industry and commerce. Co-operation in commerce and industry is the real Holy Communion."[22]

Thus was the Hegelian dialectic used to a degree and with a confidence that could have been equalled in Canada only by Watson himself. "Let us not be afraid of materialism," Bland concluded in triumph. "We are safe if we materialized everything including our religion. Then the long continued and deadly divorce between the spiritual and the material will be brought to an end. Spirituality will be nowhere because it will be everywhere."[23]

The social thought of J. S. Woodsworth, perhaps Canada's best known social gospeller, was shaped — like Bland's — by influences as diverse as his reading lists; yet he, too, came under the influence of British idealism. Unsettled after an intellectually disturbing year at Victoria College in 1898, he was persuaded to study at Oxford. His faith already shaken by the forms of "modernism" taught at Victoria, Woodsworth concentrated at Oxford upon Christian ethics. He found himself even more disturbed with Canadian Methodism in its traditional form, however, after he had read philosophy with Edward Caird and religion with Andrew Fairbairn. While there, he was also in contact with George Blewett, to whom he was distantly related. At one point he puzzled over the fact that philosophers appeared to be forging a radical separation of ethics from Christian theology, and, in a letter home, noted that "Blewett, one day speaking of this phase of the work, laughingly described himself as a pagan." Indeed, Woodsworth added, "it is true we take no account of the Christian revelation...." By 1911, upon the publication of his study of urban problems, *My Neighbour*, Woodsworth had largely come to grips with the seemingly pagan implications of Blewett's message, and Blewett could write to him, upon receipt of his book: "You and Fred Stephenson and men like you and he, are the true light and heart of our church in its work for the country."[24]

In fact there were good reasons why Blewett should have congratulated Woodsworth, for the latter's new book fully accorded with Blewett's own social teachings. Blewett's *The Study of Nature and the Vision of God*, published four years before *My Neighbour*, had stressed philosophically what Woodsworth's new work stated in practical terms. "And the truth of the world," Blewett had concluded, "the truth both of ourselves and of the world, is God; God, and that 'far-off divine event' which is the purpose of God, are the meaning of the world. And this means that the citizenship to which we are called is a heavenly citizenship;

but it also means that that heavenly citizenship must first be fulfilled upon the earth, in the life in which our duties are those of the good neighbour, the honest citizen, the devoted churchman. The perfection of human life lies in being at one with God; but to that oneness with God men can come, not by departure from the world into eternal quietude, but only by flinging themselves into the labours and causes of the history in which God is realizing His eternal purpose. . . ."[25]

These final passages of Blewett's book might well have served as an epitaph to the rest of Woodsworth's life.

How close were the views of the idealists and the social gospellers to the "mainstream" of opinion in the major Protestant churches? It may be claimed by some that Watson and Blewett were, after all, merely academic philosophers, and that Bland and Woodsworth represented the vanguard rather than the mainstream of religious opinion on social questions. To an extent, of course, this claim is true. Yet even those not technically idealists or social gospellers gradually came to bear the marks of both. We might, by way of conclusion, examine briefly the thought of the man who was to lead Canadian Methodists into Church Union in 1925: S. D. Chown.

Elected General Superintendent in 1910, a position he held with Albert Carman until Carman's retirement in 1914, Chown exuded the new liberal and forward-looking spirit. What most strikes one about Chown's views by the second decade of the twentieth century is the complete substitution of sociological concerns for theological ones. His thought suggests in what peculiar terrains of Christian social thought a man could arrive who began his journey working from the inspiration of Canadian idealists. In 1914 Chown gave a lecture on "Socialism and the Social Teachings of Jesus," and commenced it by acknowledging his indebtedness to "Dr. Watson." "The Sermon on the Mount," he went on to say, "which is the very charter of Christianity and the constitution of the Kingdom Christianity came to realize, contemplates society as reorganized, inspired, and upheld by superficial brotherly love. The sayings of Christ therein contained are a picture in outline, and a prophecy of the perfect social state which is to be when Christianity comes into its own."[26]

For Chown, only the establishment of what he described as a "systematic sociology" would usher in the perfect social state. Only "a perfect sociology perfectly applied will result in the establishment of the Kingdom of God," he once stated in a lecture called "The Relation of Sociology to the Kingdom of Heaven." His was the eschatology of a man uncertain as to whether he should be a clergyman or a social scientist (but who saw no reason why he could not simultaneously be both). His lectures on sociology are excellent illustrations of a

certain stage in the transmutation of Christian moral philosophy of the nineteenth-century variety into a moralistic, yet essentially secular, study of social relationships. The law upon which this sociology must be based, he insisted, was "moral law," and the culture which arises "from a well directed study of sociology is not simply intellectual" but "partakes also of moral discipline. . . ."[27]

The code of conduct that was to give substance to this moral rigour was one centred in the *conduct* of Christ, not in his divinity or in the meaning of his blood sacrifice. "One of the most extraordinary signs of the times," noted Chown with obvious approval, "is that, while many of the doctrines which centre about Christ have to great multitudes almost lost their meaning, his personality and his social teaching have acquired an interest never before felt. This trend of events gives direction to the development of the science of theology to-day, and is giving immense impetus to the coming of the Kingdom." So it was, and Chown's own views helped channel Canadian protestantism along this direction. Lacking a systematic programme either in theology or in sociology (in fact Chown's sociology was anything but "systematic" in any meaningful sense), he had been left with a Christ who was, at least in part, "Hellenized" — a Christ who embodied in his conduct not only traditional Christian morality but also the standards informing the "sweetness and light" of Matthew Arnold's conception of culture. Why should the student of the ministry study sociology? asked Chown. "I should say, firstly, for the sake of culture. . . . A sociologist who is true to the ideals of his science is particularly inclined to resist the utilitarian and commercial spirit of the times. This is so because he stands for justice; for sweetness and light amongst men rather than for imposing material achievement."[28]

Here was another point at which speculative idealism and protestant theology met. Just as the British idealists had seen Kant through evolutionary and progressive Hegelian spectacles, so their vision of Christ was filtered through Hellenistic ones — for after all, Greek evolution marked a later and therefore a higher stage in the evolution of spiritual and intellectual consciousness than did the Judaic. Chown's conceptions of Christ and of Culture were similar to those of Arnold (or for that matter Vincent Massey), and they were also a direct legacy of an important element in British idealism: the classical ideal. Having helped strip essential doctrines of much of their traditional import and hence metaphysical authority, they substituted a code of right conduct, of citizenship, which presumed to be Christian but which — at least as Chown gave voice to it — could be reduced to the proposition that "The Golden Rule" was "the sum and substance of the sociology of Jesus."[29]

But was that quite enough to satisfy the spiritual needs and the social consciences of Christians adrift in a twentieth-century world that was not only evolutionary and much older than eighteenth-century cosmology admitted but which also gave rise to a bewildering array of alternatives to traditional religion itself?

Those who in 1925 formed the United Church of Canada — Methodists, Congregationalists, and most Presbyterians — apparently thought so, for no church leader more embodied the new ecumenical and forward-looking spirit than did the popular S. D. Chown. It is commonplace in Canadian religious historiography to observe that there was a singular absence of theological discussion during the debates on Church Union. Pressing problems in the West, it is said, created powerful forces for protestant union that made churchmen set aside their theological and doctrinal differences. Doubtless this was so, but if the influence of philosophical idealism upon protestant thought in Canada resembled that suggested here, there may not have been many theological questions the advocates of union would have deemed important enough to debate.

In 1925, as one of the consequences of the creation of the United Church of Canada, the venerable Methodist magazine, *The Christian Guardian*, passed out of existence. Its place was taken by another journal whose very title reflected the profound re-orientation of Anglo-Canadian social thought in the previous decades. The new magazine was called the *New Outlook*. Whereas the *Guardian* had been a kind of sentry in its protection of inherited tradition, accepted wisdom, and a closed Anglo-Canadian community, the *New Outlook* was more an advance scout in its orientation toward the contingencies made necessary by social change, shifts in thought, and communities in flux. A critical balance had been tipped.

NOTES

[1] (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 1979).

[2] The series is entitled "The Philosophy of Immanuel Kant; A Collection of eleven of the most important books on Kant's philosophy reprinted in 14 volumes." Selected by Lewis White Beck. The Watson volumes selected are: *Kant and His English Critics* (New York: Macmillan, 1881), and *The Philosophy of Kant Explained* (Glasgow: James Maclehose, 1908).

[3] John Watson, "The Relation of Philosophy to Science" (Kingston, 1872), p. 18. For social and political context of the transformation of Canada, see R. C. Brown and Ramsay Cook, *Canada 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed* (Toronto, 1974).

[4] For the influence of idealism on, for example, a Canadian imperialist and a Canadian poet, see: Terry Cook, "George R. Parkin and the Concept of Britannic Idealism," in *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 10 (1975); John Robert Sorfleet, "Transcendentalist, Mystic, Evolutionary Idealist; Bliss Carman, 1886-1894," in George Woodcock, ed., *Colony and Confederation* (Vancouver: Univ. of British Columbia Press, 1974).

[5] John Watson, "The Sadness and Joy of Knowledge," Part II, *Queen's Journal* (March 29, 1901), 260.

[6] The Editors, "Salutatory," *Queen's Quarterly*, 1 (July 1893), 1-2.

[7] John Watson, "The Middle Ages and the Reformation," ibid., pp. 6-11.

[8] Ibid., pp. 88-91.

[9] Albert Carman Papers, United Church Archives, Toronto, vol. 18, no. 123. Rev. C. T. Scott to Carman (Feb. 28, 1906).

[10] George John Blewett, *The Study of Nature and the Vision of God: With other Essays in Philosophy* (Toronto, 1907), p. viii.

[11] John Watson Papers, Queen's University Archives, Kingston. J. M. Grant to John Watson (Nov. 10, 1911); Watson to Grant (May 17, 1914).

[12] John Passmore, "Darwin's Impact on British Metaphysics," *Victorian Studies*, 3 (1959-60), 52-53.

[13] Watson Papers; Watson to Grant (May 17, 1914); Grant to Watson (June 7, 1914). See also Watson to Grant (March 13, 1917); Grant to Watson (March 16, 1917); Grant to Watson (April 16, 1916); Watson to Grant (April 22, 1916); Grant to Watson (March 7, 1917); Grant to Watson (April 6, 1918); Watson to Grant (April 10, 19, 1918). By 1918, Watson's patience had worn thin. His last letter to Grant was short: "Dear Mr. Grant, ... I don't think I care to say any more about Christian Science, which to my mind is based upon indefinite thinking."

[14] The scope of this paper precludes treatment of many individuals. Yet another, very much infected by the Queen's spirit of the 1880's and 1890's, was Alfred Fitzpatrick, the founder of Frontier College. Fitzpatrick had taken a B.A. there in 1889 and attended its Theological College from 1889 to 1892. During this time he became dedicated to the proposition that education and everyday life, thought and action, must not be separated; hence he sought throughout his life to make the sacred and the secular meet. G. M. Grant was the greatest influence on his life, and when he wrote a book (never published) entitled "Schools and Other Penitentiaries," he dedicated it to "the memory of George Monro Grant, Canada's Greatest Force and Personality in Education and Statesmanship. ..." Frontier College Papers, vol. 194, Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa.

[15] The Toronto *Daily Star* (June 24, 1930). See also Salem Bland, "Memories of Old Kingston," ibid. (July 30, Aug. 2, 4, 1938). Bland's notes from Watson's courses are in the Salem Bland Papers, vol. 9, no. 811, United Church Archives, Toronto.

[16] Quoted in Richard Allen, "Salem Bland and the Social Gospel in Canada," unpub. M.A. thesis (Univ. of Saskatchewan, 1961), p. 52.

[17] Salem Bland, "A Philosophy of Life" (Nov. 26, 1925), Salem Bland Papers, vol. 2, no. 158.

[18] Salem Bland, "The Kingdom of God realized only in Individual Regeneration" (Jan. 18, 1899), ibid., vol. 4, no. 356. Bland's early years are treated in detail in Richard Allen, "Salem Bland: The Young Preacher," *The Bulletin* of the Committee on Archives of the United Church of Canada, no. 26 (1977), 75-93.

[19] Salem Bland, "A Contribution to a Possible Sketch of My Life," n.d. Bland Papers, vol. 9, no. 726.

[20] Salem Bland, "The Place of the Kingdom of God in the Preaching of Today," unidentified newspaper clipping, Feb. 12, 1906, ibid., vol. 3, no. 235. See also Richard Allen, "Children of Prophecy: Wesley College Students in an Age of Reform," *Red River Valley Historian* (1974), pp. 15-20.

[21] See Salem Bland, "A Faith Rational But Not Rationalistic," sermon Oct. 22, 1921, Bland Papers, Vol. 6, no. 544; "The Religiousness of Reason," n.d., ibid., vol. 9, no. 810; "Pre-eminence of Christ and Theology. Lecture III" (May 30, 1914), ibid., vol. 3, no. 232.

[22] Salem Bland, "The Deeper Life — Not Materialistic Enough," *Grain Growers' Guide* (June 5, 1918). Bland's statement echoed the 1913 comment of a Presbyterian clergyman, who began a Presbyterian Assembly address on "The Messenger" by saying: "The task assigned to a Canadian preacher resembles nothing so much as the general managership of a big department store." Rev. G. B. Wilson, in *Pre-Assembly Congress; Addresses delivered at the Presbyterian Pre-Assembly Congress, Held in Massey Hall....* (Toronto, 1913), p. 32.

[23] Bland, "The Deeper Life."

[24] Quoted in K. W. McNaught, *A Prophet in Politics* (Toronto, 1963), 10, 14-16, 48n. See also William H. Brooks, "The Uniqueness of Western Canadian Methodism 1840-1925," *The Bulletin*, no. 26 (1977), 68-9, 73n; J. Warren Caldwell, "The Unification of Methodism in Canada, 1865-1884," *The Bulletin*, no. 19 (1967); William H. Magney, "The Methodist Church and The National Gospel," ibid., no. 20 (1968); Burkhard Kiesekamp, "Presbyterian and Methodist Divines: their Case for a national church in Canada, 1875-1900," *Studies in Religion*, 2 (1973).

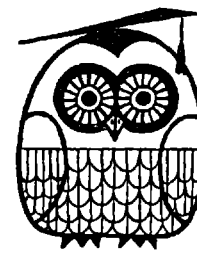
[25] George John Blewett, *The Study of Nature and the Vision of God* (Toronto 1907), p. 354. For a description of Woodsworth's view of the nature of religion by 1920 see Richard Allen, *The Social Passion* (Toronto, 1971), pp. 101-2. For a comprehensive summary of the origins and course of the social gospel movement in Canada, see George N. Emory, "The Origins of Canadian Methodist Involvement in the Social Gospel Movement 1890-1914," *The Bulletin*, no. 26 (1977), 104-19, or the full treatment in *The Social Passion*.

[26] S. D. Chown, "Socialism & The Social Teachings of Jesus, Vanc. Feb. 14, 1914," p. 6. S. D. Chown Papers, United Church Archives, Toronto, vol. 2, no. 58b.

[27] S. D. Chown, "Sociological Course. Lecture I. Importance of the Study of Sociology," pp. 1-2. Chown Papers, vol. 2, no. 50b.

[28] S. D. Chown, "Sociological Course. Lecture II. The Relation of Sociology to the Kingdom of Heaven," pp. 1-2. ibid., vol. 2, no. 51a; "Lecture I," 2.

[29] "Sociological Course. Lecture II," 12. For an examination of the classical ideal and its relationship to philosophical idealism, see S. E. D. Shortt, *The Search for an Ideal* (Toronto: Anansi, 1977), pp. 59-76. See also H. Richard Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture* (New York: 1956), pp. 1-115, for theological background and implications.



THE GARDEN

Patrick Lane

praise the idea
the disordered care
so that the stone

you have placed
for beauty continues
with a studied delight

as if a god
had dropped it.
arrange, arrange

plant within
that casual borders
your desire.

this is the web
and the ritual of
the web.

what discipline obtains
what way shall you stand
so that your eye observes

nothing? the sand
raked into a sea
and the sea

an illusion of sand.
this garden, sprung
from a desire

for order, remains
a scream. it wants
you to want the

storm. it prepares
for rage, the sudden
irrevocable flood.

THE THOUGHT OF GEORGE MONRO GRANT

Allan Smith

GEORGE MONRO GRANT, CLERGYMAN, educator, patriot, and controversialist, was one of the most active of the small group of intellectuals who, in the last years of the nineteenth century, strove to give direction and content to life in the new Canadian nation.[1] The result, embodied in a steady stream of books, articles, essays and lectures, was a vision of man, nationality, and the imperial future action in conformity with which, Grant firmly believed, would set Canadians on the path to greatness and salvation in the present and for generations to come. To examine the contours of that vision is, then, to consider a system of ideas which stood in dynamic relationship to a particular appreciation of what was happening in Canadian society, to a precisely defined assessment of the direction events in the world at large were taking, and to a certain understanding of the principles structuring the operations of the universe itself. Unless that point is grasped at the outset, the full meaning of what Grant tried to accomplish will remain unclear.

No small part of the precision and insistence with which Grant spelled out his views derived from his belief — rooted in his early Christian training, reinforced by his seven-year sojourn among the leading proponents of Scottish idealism,[2] and sharpened by his association with the distinguished Queen's philosopher John Watson[3] — that the nature of reality could be understood only by those who saw that the truth which really mattered lay far beyond the realm of the senses. Its beholders must for that very reason report what they had seen with force and exactitude, for in an age already too much inclined to disregard phenomena for whose existence no direct and tangible proof was available such things were to be spoken of with special care. Making clear how one acquired knowledge was a matter of particularly great importance, for only if that were firmly established could the claims of the century's ever more confident empiricists be viewed in the proper perspective. In spite of all the advances made by science God's truth could not, it was crucial to see, be fully understood by those who persisted in using nothing but its method. Beyond a certain point on the road to understanding — here a distinctly Kantian element entered Grant's thought — "nature's face is veiled," and once those who sought to uncover her secrets using the technique of science had reached that point, they could do no more than speak of an

"unknown and unknowable God." An altogether different approach was, in consequence, required if one wished to move into the realm of ultimate truth. Faith was a necessary element in the journey, and faith, as Grant put it, "cometh not of science. Faith is the vision of the unseen, faith assumes revelation."[4]

One could not, however, conclude from this — here was the other, equally important side of the proposition — that intellect had no role at all to play in the process by which man came to know God's truth. It was, indeed, only through a Christian ordering of man's mind and reason that the "nobler elements" of his nature could be brought into play, an essential step if he were to comprehend the Divine order in anything like its full range and subtlety. The church, the press, the school, and the college therefore had important responsibilities, for more than any other of society's agencies, they had the power to make men free. The results to be yielded by the exercise of that power might come slowly — Grant was under no illusions on that score — but "in the end" what he called "the educational method" was, he assured Canadians, bound to "prevail."[5]

A partisan of rigour in matters of schooling — he remained convinced throughout his life that study of the classics played an important role in training the mind[6] — neither Grant's enthusiasm for traditional methods nor his belief that scholarship and science could carry one only so far down the road to understanding blinded him to the relevance new departures in the world of learning might bear to the search for truth. In thus supporting such innovations in scholarship as textual criticism[7] and in opposing the hand of authority in matters of the intellect, he made it clear that, in his view, a refusal to accept change and development would militate against attainment of the very objectives it was supposed to help achieve. "How," as he put it, "can a Church expect to produce great divines if it muzzles the thinker and scholar?"[8] Rejecting the instruments — linguistic criticism, epigraphy, archaeology — which had done so much to amplify God's truth would, indeed, be tantamount to blasphemy, for were not these things gifts of the Creator Himself?[9] Even Darwin's work earned a positive response from Grant, for he found in it a demonstration of the mystery and strange purposefulness of God's ways. In thus recognizing, as one of his contemporaries observed, "no conflict between the teachings of true religion, in its broadest sense, and the discoveries of modern science,"[10] he gave clear evidence of his belief that all forms of inquiry had a place in the grand search for truth.

If education had a signal role to play in this fundamentally important enterprise, its part in the determination of secular affairs was, thought Grant, even more central. His belief that there was no real division between spirit and matter — "the ideal divorced from the actual," he once put it, "is a mere Chimera"[11] — led him to argue that even as improving the mind brought society's members closer to knowledge of God it would lead to a practical strengthening of the community. He therefore opposed anything that looked like a tax on knowledge,[12]

and made it clear that a major requirement for Canada's development was "properly-educated brains."[13] Cultivating the powers of the intellect on a broad scale was, indeed, a *sine qua non* of national survival. "Every country," he pointedly remarked, "must take its share in the common burden and give its contribution to the solution of these problems, old as the race, which appear in new forms of every age, or accept the position of a mere dependent upon others and sink into spiritual decrepitude or petrifaction."[14]

Grant's emphasis on the relevance education bore to the country's future never, of course, involved him in losing sight of its higher purposes — "universities," he wrote on one occasion, "represent the spiritual side of man"[15] — and he made it clear that education, even in the service of national development, was a serious matter which could be properly managed only if it concentrated first on those at the apex of the learning pyramid. "It is a sound maxim," he informed those who heard his inaugural address at Queen's, "that if you would improve the education of a country you must begin at the top."[16] The educational edifice had, in sum, to be shaped by men who realized that education was important, "not because of its money value, but because — if of the right kind — it develops the spirit in man, the spirit which values literature, science, art, in a word, all truth, for its own sake."[17]

Insistence upon the importance of spiritual development in its relation to national growth was, Grant thought, particularly vital, for in the absence of such development there could be no national existence worthy of the name. Only those who had grasped the fact that the foundations of reality were moral and ideal and were able to engage their fellow men at the same high level of discourse and comprehension could be trusted to give the national life the richness and form it required. "A nation to be great" — the point emerged with naturalness and inevitability from all that he wrote on the subject — "must have great thoughts; must be inspired with lofty ideals; must have men and women willing to work and wait and war 'for an idea'."[18] Or again, at the end of his life, "a nation is saved by ideas; inspiring and formative ideas."[19] The structuring of a mature and self-reliant polity thus required — it was an observation which appeared perhaps more frequently in Grant's work than any other — "not more millions either in men or money . . . but more of the old spirit in the men we have; not a long list of principles, but a clear insight into those that are fundamental."[20]

As a man who considered his own list of principles short and his insight clear, Grant thought himself well-fitted to discharge the important obligation of equipping his fellow Canadians with the knowledge they needed if they were to guide their actions properly. Capable of being succinctly stated — all things in God's universe were directly linked to Him, and to each other, by the indissoluble bonds of the spirit; there was no real division between matter and mind, for one was but

an aspect of the other; one could envision no genuine hierarchy of any sort among God's creatures, for each of them stood in the same relation to the Creator, and each had its own essential part to play in the shaping of His grand design[21] — the body of principle which made up that knowledge informed all of his writing. And in communicating awareness of it to his compatriots — here one gets a particularly clear view of the importance he attached to the preaching of the word — he intended far more than that they should simply assimilate its meaning; their grasp of its significance would be manifest in behaviour as well as thought, for — he believed — it was hardly possible to understand the principles in accordance with which God intended the world to be run without wishing to do one's part to insure that it would in fact be regulated by them. The faith Grant placed in his system's power to inspire right action was, then, one of his most telling characteristics. Nothing offers more eloquent testimony to his belief in the force of ideas, and nothing explains more clearly the importance he attached to specifying the proper principles of behaviour in all departments of human activity.

THE INSISTENCE ON THE EQUALITY of God's creatures which formed a central part of Grant's system had a particular relevance for his understanding of the principles which ought to govern human relations. One should, he believed, strive to prevent those relations from coming to rest on the assumption that men were irreducibly different. What appeared at first sight to be mankind's complicating and troublesome diversity was, in fact, no more than a veil behind which reposed a collection of beings each of whom had been created by God and all of whom were engaged in the same divinely inspired enterprise.

This was, Grant thought, a lesson his compatriots, open to immigration and exposed by geography and membership in the Empire to influences of a world-wide scope, were particularly fitted to absorb. Canadians, of all peoples, should be able to see "that the life of the world is one, that all men are brothers and that the service of humanity is the most acceptable form of religion to the Common Father."[22] The truth of the proposition that the elements composing reality had within themselves the stuff of a transcendent unity was, indeed, being forced on Canadians by what was happening at their very doorstep. The different strands of the Canadian experience, it was clear to all who troubled to look, were being inexorably knit together by the Canadians' emerging realization that what they had in common was of far more consequence than the elements by which they were divided. One had only to remember that "it takes a long time to build a national structure; and the greater the variety in the materials the longer the time needed, though as a compensation the more beautiful will the structure eventually be."[23]

Grant's relegation of diversity to the status of an element which would do no more than impart texture and spice to a national life whose components would otherwise be united in support of a common body of goals and principles gave him a conceptual tool of great utility. Retention of their culture by the French Canadians was not, it enabled him to assert, a threat to the nation's survival. Notwithstanding their attachment to their own ways they had in war and peace alike demonstrated a capacity to serve the higher unity.[24] The generous and accommodating principles encased in the Quebec Act thus remained the best guide to the handling of the French Canadians, for applying them insured, not division and strife, but co-operation in pursuit of the highest goals.[25] The lesson all of this taught was clear: "The supposition that national unity requires uniformity of language and race is an abstract conception scarcely worth refuting. . . . The highest form of national life does not depend on identity, but rather on differences that are transcended by common political interests and sentiments. . . ."[26]

The country's experience as a whole, Grant was convinced, more than confirmed the truth of this proposition. Far from impoverishing the national life, weakening its thrust towards unity, or interfering with the emergence of a national frame of reference, the existence of regional and provincial differences had enriched the nation. In the very act of confronting their dissimilarities, Canadians were being brought to see how fundamental were the possessions they had in common. And if Grant's own experience showed this process to be a reality — "I . . . have," he noted in the midst of the growing provincial rights agitation of the late 1880's, "learned to respect my fellow-countrymen and to sympathize with their Provincial life, and to see that it was not antagonistic but intended to be the handmaid to a true national life"[27] — he believed that Canadians in general were no less touched by it. Indeed, with Confederation and the opening of the West, a kind of moral transformation had taken place among them. They had developed a broader field of vision, become noticeably less provincial, and set themselves firmly on the path to nationhood. In these new and salutary circumstances, it was hardly surprising that "old religious differences shrivelled into insignificance, and old watchwords once thought sacred lost their meaning."[28]

As much of the foregoing implies, Grant's acceptance of diversity, in principle unlimited, was in practice subject to one overriding condition. Those whose attachment to their own ways was being tolerated must be in process of demonstrating that their reverence for their own culture and values was compatible with union with their fellows in support of the higher truth which bound all men together. He distinguished sharply between those who held the conviction that movement towards this goal was the direction in which man's destiny was carrying him and those who still laboured under the weight of their own narrow concerns. And if those in the second group could hardly be allowed to shape

events, it was equally plain that this responsibility must be seized by those in the first. Grant did not, accordingly, hesitate to suggest that, in some circumstances, movement towards the higher unity could best be encouraged by a careful curtailment of the activities of certain groups. In considering the vexed question of oriental immigration, he thus opposed legislation on the California model, not on the ground that it would work an injustice on a group which, like the French Canadians, had proved its capacity to unite with the majority in support of the higher truth, but because such legislation would represent a triumph for the small and mean in the Canadians' own outlook. Men with a properly developed sense of the whole had a duty to see that its interests were fully served, and in the circumstances created by the anti-oriental agitators, that meant reminding the collectivity that its most treasured beliefs and ideals would be endangered if it allowed itself to be swayed by the arguments of the exclusionists. "We cannot live," Grant forcefully reminded his compatriots, "where men are treated as anything less than men . . . the common weal is most promoted when the rights of the meanest are respected. . . ."[29]

Grant's decision to fight the battle on this piece of ground was of immense significance, for it demonstrated his willingness to intervene in the community's growth in order to be sure that it proceeded in a manner consistent with movement towards the kind of unity he favoured. Progress towards that important goal could not be left to chance. If necessary, steps must be taken to insure that those who would interfere with its achievement be prevented from having their way. Paradoxically, then, the building of the whole might involve restricting the activities of certain of its parts. In one set of circumstances such a proscription might simply mean — as it did in the case of the British Columbia exclusionists — a refusal to tolerate racist proposals. But in others — here the logic of Grant's position drew him on to quite another sort of ground — it could entail a much different result.

What that result might be emerged with particular force from the view he took of prairie settlement. Immigrants to the Canadian west must, he argued, set down their roots in soil that would grow a society of the proper sort. It was the job of those who oversaw that settlement to insure this happened. The surest way to guarantee that outcome was to import the institutional framework of the older provinces. The life of the prairies must replicate that of the East. Alien influences, in short, were to be carefully limited. "The people who go to the North-west from our older provinces," he argued, "should feel that they are going away neither from their own country nor their own Church. In the interest of patriotism and religion it is desirable that all the forces that mould the character of a people to high issues should be brought to bear upon the immigrants who are pouring into the North-west."[30] If a society of the kind he envisioned failed to emerge as a consequence of this procedure, Grant was prepared to go still further. Those

whose refusal to respond to the imperatives of their new situation was complicating the thrust towards the higher unity were, quite simply, to be turned away. Men of low character, whose only interest was in free land, were certainly to be viewed with suspicion — "Why," asked Grant, "should the country pay men to coax foreigners to accept from us free farms?"[31] — while the admission of those whose cultural and ethnic heritage made it doubtful that they could attune themselves to the nation's higher purposes ought surely to be curtailed. "Let our governments," he urged, "recall the agents who are paid to bring us any and every kind of immigrants. We have as many people of strange languages as we can digest. Our best settlers are our own children, and those who come from the south of their own accord . . . [along with] those who have suffered for conscience sake. They are sure to be good stock."[32]

For all his anxiety lest precipitate action be taken in the matter of British Columbia's Asians, Grant's overriding concern with creating conditions likely to foster the higher unity led him to reconsider his position even on that contentious issue. He remained, to be sure, unsympathetic to exclusion. It would complicate relations with China, be inconsistent with missionary work in that country, and, as always, constitute a denial of the Asians' basic humanity.[33] British Columbia's evolution as a harmonious community, and its effective integration into Canada and the Empire was, nonetheless, the primary consideration, and Grant's observation of affairs in the American south led him to believe that racial homogeneity would aid the achievement of those goals. While Canada ought not to act arbitrarily in the matter, it should seek an agreement with China by which, just as the Chinese limited the sojourn of foreigners there, so the Canadian government would be able to limit the stay of the Chinese in Canada. It was above all else imperative that the thrust towards unity be sustained and that it not lose its fundamental character. "We intend," Grant made clear, "British Columbia to be Canadian, and of the Caucasian, not the Mongolian type."[34]

The case of the French Canadians, too, came in for additional scrutiny at the end of the century. Here, however, Grant saw no need to alter his position. Even in the circumstances created by English Canada's resentment of the French Canadians' lack of enthusiasm for the imperial enterprise, he thought it enough to insist that the French speakers' loyalty and support would be kept in the future, as they had been secured in the past, by toleration of their language and culture. The French Canadians' defining peculiarities had, he insisted anew, long since been emptied of significance by their proprietors' acceptance of their duties in the Empire. Indeed, he argued, the degree to which French Canadians showed acceptance of the new imperialism was far more remarkable than the extent to which they opposed it.[35] In this situation the point, spelled out clearly enough in the past,[36] that toleration of their language and ways was not at all incompatible with the aim of insuring their assimilation to the truths that really counted could

be restated with special force. No harm, he therefore insisted once more, would be done the majority by its concession of French Canadian rights, while the French Canadians, assured again of its goodwill, would move the more readily to embrace its principles. It was, in fact, only in this way that the desired result could be obtained. "There," as Grant put it, "the *habitant* was, there he had been from the first, there he intended to remain; and the more generously his rights were recognized the sooner would fusion take place."[37]

The goal towards which all men must move was, then, acceptance of the proposition that they were bound together in common service to a set of transcendent truths. Those who accepted this broad vision could be left in possession of their own language, culture, and local loyalties, for they had seen that these things were not the end-all of existence. Those, on the other hand, who had not caught this vision were to be denied — so far as was possible — the opportunity to trivialize and demean the world with their small and narrow vision of the particular's importance. Certainly no other approach would work for Canada, for without this emphasis on the higher unity the nation would dissolve into a claque of squabbling rivals, each consumed by its own self-interest. Only by keeping firmly fixed in their mind's eye a vision of the higher truth could Canadians avoid this fate and in so doing build a nation capable of the great work for which it had been destined.

THERE WAS, GRANT HELD, A CLOSE RELATIONSHIP between awareness of one's association with all other men and one's sense of the principles which ought to govern action in the everyday world. This relationship was founded on the assumption that those principles, like the reality of association itself, derived — here Grant's idealism revealed its unmistakably Protestant character — from the fact that the spiritual dimension of man's being linked him directly with God. As he put it in 1894, the Protestant reformers had "discovered the individual and gave him his rightful place in the Church and in society . . . they taught that man as man entered into union with God by a spiritual act, and that every man who did so was a king, a priest, and a prophet."[38] The individual, thus exalted, was not, of course, free to think of himself as an isolated being, at liberty to go his own way; on the contrary his relationship with God at once linked him to all other men and defined his life in terms of duties he could not properly shirk. In giving him the potential to understand something of God's nature and plans for his universe, it in fact conferred on him the obligation to act in a manner consistent with that knowledge. He must, in particular, strive to live a life worthy in its morality and discipline of a being who was simultaneously linked to the Divine and able to comprehend something of its true nature.

Realizing what was best in himself thus became a personal duty and an obligation to God.

Throughout Grant's work the man who remained mindful of this sublime obligation won high praise.[39] Lives of this quality were not, of course, lived easily. Grant accordingly set much emphasis on the fact that the development of one's capacity to place himself in harmony with the divine order was owing to constant and ceaseless effort. As he put it near the end of his own struggle, "all life is a battle, but only in overcoming these is character formed and life made complete."[40] What this life-defining contest might yield was, Grant thought, particularly evident in the case of his fellow Nova Scotian Joseph Howe, for Howe had seen clearly that he who would be a truly successful man must learn restraint, self-discipline, and the secret of work. Perhaps, observed Grant, "the great lesson that Howe's earlier years teaches is the one so hard to learn, that there is no royal road to success. When a man wakes up some morning to find himself famous, we may be sure that he has earned the success by years of previous toil. . . ."[41]

Grant's insistence on the centrality of these truths was in part a reflection of his belief that, notwithstanding their importance, society as a whole was far from allowing itself to be guided by them. The speculators in the east who preyed like "a brood of barnacles and vultures" on the settlers clearing the land,[42] the factory owners who denied the just claims of their workers,[43] the tariff legislators who kept the farmers in thrall,[44] and "the insane greed of corporations and their callousness to the interests of the community"[45] alike offered proof that too many individuals were prepared to follow the low road of greed, immediate gain, and self-indulgence. It was, indeed, in this fact that the origins of society's problems lay: they were ultimately to be explained by the failure of the individual to act according to his best lights. While, then, Grant was at one with reformers in denouncing certain abuses in society — and in this he was far in advance of most of his colleagues who thought it no business of a clergyman to be involved in the wages and other questions — he was equally at odds with progressive opinion when it came to specifying a cure. Since abuses in society ultimately derived from a failure of Christian leadership, it followed that, once that failure was repaired, abuses would disappear. "Honest and capable leaders,"[46] men who understood that "true leadership consists not in yielding to the cries of the people, but in persuading, inducing, and enabling them towards effort in the right direction"[47] were what was required.

In emphasizing the results which could be expected to flow from the moral regeneration of individuals, Grant made a basic distinction between the outcome of the process he envisioned and the kind of consequences the reformers and radicals of his day expected to flow from their activities. This distinction, in its turn, rested on a quite different understanding of the nature of the individual's power. Where the reformers thought man's ability to understand his world gave

him the capability to intervene in its operations and change them at will in accordance with their rationally arrived at sense of how matters ought to operate, Grant considered that this same capacity would lead to the humbling realization that reality, complex and interdependent, was shaped by a host of forces of which man was only one. To be sure, he shared with some of the reformers the view that man was socially defined. "Only in society," as he put it, "is man understood, and only in society does he attain the perfection of his being."[48] This did not, however, mean that society was to be viewed as a mechanism to be endlessly rebuilt in the hope of altering its impact on the individuals it enclosed. It was instead to be seen as a complex, living organism, the production of a long history, possessed by its own spiritual character, an entity on whose being the action of a mere individual could have little impact. If he were to make effective use of what power he did have the individual must first realize this. Then he would begin to understand why the framework within which he existed could be altered only slowly, and why he should look to self-improvement rather than changes in his social environment as the source of ameliorative action. While government could doubtless do some of what was necessary — Grant did not hesitate to call for legislation when he thought it appropriate — in the last analysis reform could come only from a species of inner renewal manifesting itself in a kind of *noblesse oblige* on the part of society's leadership and in a sense of individual responsibility on the part of its members. Those who advocated only institutional and social change could, then, hope to touch no more than the externals of the problem. They would, in fact, distract attention from the real issue which, in his view, had to be conceived in far subtler terms. Socialism and anarchism could thus be pronounced "anti-Christian,"[49] with anything that looked like support for the idea that they would cure the ills of society being dismissed out of hand. Even the ideas of Henry George, at first — thanks to the tones of righteousness in which they were enunciated — in receipt of a rather more careful and positive scrutiny,[50] were finally rejected.[51] In Carl Berger's words, Grant's style of improvement remained throughout his career "the kind of reform which is addressed to the reformation of character as opposed to the redistribution of property."[52]

As individuals grew by taking positive action, so, Grant believed, national character was built when a people, having discerned the nature of its collective responsibilities, moved to meet them. But if the nature of the challenge was clear — the country, like the individuals of which it was composed, must with God's help overcome selfishness and materialism in order to attain its "great future"[53] — it seemed less obvious to Grant that the battle to accomplish this end had even been joined. This was, of course, partly owing to the fact that the Dominion, adrift in an historical backwater, had had little opportunity to display the stuff of which it was made. "Our national sentiment," as Grant explained it, "has never been put to the test."[54] There was, however, evidence that this unfortunate

situation was changing. The shifting world order, the evolution of Empire, and Canada's own growth were creating a new set of opportunities which seemed tailor-made for Canada. The way in which it met them would, indeed, determine whether or not it would exist as a nation worthy of the name: "we are," Grant warned his countrymen in 1887, "nearing that point in our history when we must assume the full responsibilities of nationhood, or abandon the experiment altogether."[55] By 1894, in Grant's view, that point had been reached. Of equal importance, the evolution of opinion in Canada was showing that Canadians had begun to realize that they as a people could achieve their destiny only by accepting the obligations that circumstance had placed on them. They must do their share in upholding the principles upon which their faith and civilization rested, and that, they were now seeing, meant nothing less than action, within the framework of the Empire, on the world stage. "The days of isolation," Grant enthused, "are over. Canada cannot hold aloof even if she would, and her young men are too virile to shun the needed strain and conflict if they could."[56]

What Grant viewed as Canada's increasingly prominent role in imperial affairs was, he thought, proof positive that the nation had come of age. At first inclined towards support for the Boers of South Africa in their struggle against Britain, he came to see the Laurier government's despatch of troops to their country as a step of key importance on Canada's march towards nationhood, for it demonstrated beyond doubt acceptance of the obligations and responsibilities of maturity. "The larger patriotism, which has now taken possession of Canadians, cannot," his contemplation of it led him to proclaim, "possibly vanish.... We are henceforth a nation...."[57] Continuing in this track would, indeed, allow Canada to challenge the power of her New World rival itself, for "we shall be ... equals [of the Americans] only when we share the burdens and responsibilities as well as the privileges and glory of the Empire."[58]

Grant's doctrine of responsibility thus arose directly out of his understanding of the manner in which nations and individuals alike formed part of a comprehensive whole. Only by bearing their share of the burden that whole had to carry could they contribute to its strength and integrity, and only by making such a contribution could they insure that their own lives were appropriately rich and full. Personal duty, public good, and service to God were linked in a splendid and all-encompassing construct whose true purposes could be served only by those who understood the universal significance of individual action and acted in a manner consistent with the demands that understanding made upon them.

NOTWITHSTANDING THE POWERFUL EMPHASIS he placed on its utility in the development of national character and strength, Grant's concern that Canada acknowledge its imperial obligations rested on more than

his belief that there was a relationship of decisive importance between fulfillment, growth, and the acceptance of responsibility. In shouldering its share of the imperial burden Canada would, he believed, be doing nothing less than demonstrating its fitness to act out the role assigned to it by the historical process. God, it was not to be doubted, revealed His plans for mankind in the dimension of time no less than the amplitude of space. To contemplate the flow of history was, in consequence, to consider yet another set of divine lessons for the edification of mankind. "We should," he therefore informed Canadians, "study the history of the past for our guidance in the present. History is indeed that revelation which, as Carlyle says, no one in or out of bedlam can question."[59]

The nature of the truth which would be revealed by this quasi-religious scrutinizing of the historical record was, Grant believed, clear: Britain, even a casual glance at the evolution of nations made obvious, had been created the first among the world's civilizations. Nowhere had institutions and culture combined over time to produce a more perfect mixture of the elements of true freedom. All that man required to live a fulfilled and godly existence was available to him there. As Grant put it, "Let the history of liberty and progress, of the development of human character in all its rightful issues, testify where liberty and authority have been more wisely blended than in the British Constitution."[60]

As the heirs and benefactors of this triumphant resolution of the central problem in the organization of man's affairs — here, for Grant, was the real lesson — Canadians were obliged to see that its integrity was maintained and its influence extended. The accomplishment of these goals must, in fact, become one of the major impulses informing their lives. They must take as their guiding sentiment "a faith that the British name and British institutions are worth making sacrifices for." Action in the future was to be governed by knowledge of what had happened in the past, and — Grant brought the point sharply into focus — "the chief glory of that past from the days of Alfred, the barons of Runnymede, Hampden, or Sydney, is the memory of ancestors who have willingly died for the good old cause of human freedom."[61] The Canadians' honouring of that memory could best be done by remaining faithful to the work these great men had sought to do, and that, it seemed clear, meant continuing their struggle. Canadians must, then, do in the present what these illustrious figures had done in the past. They must act to insure that the forces which had shaped so fruitful and glorious a tradition be allowed to work their will in the future. Any attempt to interfere with those forces was, indeed, to be vigorously resisted, for it would represent a denial of all that had gone before. Particularly to be eschewed was anything that would involve weakening the British tie. "We believe," as Grant told Canadians in the early 1870's, "that loyalty is a better guarantee of true growth than restlessness and rebellion [and] that building up is worthier work than pulling down."[62] Action

consistent with maintaining the integrity of the British and imperial past was therefore the only action permissible, for any other kind threatened to disrupt the measured pace of freedom's unfolding. The web of history had been delicately woven, and "every break in the continuity of its life is injurious."[63]

If Grant's insistence on maintaining history's even flow gave him a powerful argument in support of imperial consolidation, the refusal to accept disruptive change that was its obverse provided him with a weapon he used with no little effect in his continuing campaign against those — Goldwin Smith was the leading example — who were urging some form of Canadian-American union. Such proposals were unsound, he argued, not because they sought to associate the two countries,[64] but because they proposed to do it by violating the deliberate march of historical development. Smith's suggestion that union between Canada and the United States would do nothing more than duplicate the relationship between Scotland and England was of particularly dubious validity, for it overlooked the fact that Canada, unlike Scotland, would have to sunder a pre-existing association.[65] "We too," Grant was at pains to make clear, "hope for a reunion of the English-speaking race, but we seek it along historical and not theoretical lines. It must not begin with further disunion; and a preliminary sacrifice of the Queen, the Prince of Wales, the House of Lords, the Established Churches, India, and other trifling possessions ought not to be absolutely necessary."[66]

The proper course to follow was, then, plain. Only consolidation of the empire was consistent with the movement of history. Only "imperial federation" would place "the capstone on that structure of Canadian nationality which we have been working at so long." Canadians would as a consequence of such action not only find themselves getting "full citizenship" in the Empire, and occupying ground that would make them "peers and not the dependents of their fellow citizens in the British Islands."[67] They would be attaining the sublime state towards which everything in their experience from their most cherished traditions to their internal history on the North American continent had been impelling them.[68] In doing that, moreover — for Grant, a hardly less important point — they would be giving clear proof of their understanding that the imperatives created by the historical process could not be set aside. In thus demonstrating acceptance of the proposition — again a characteristically vigorous figure of speech — that "the nation cannot be pulled up by the roots,"[69] they would be making it clear that they saw, as he did, that no other line of action would give them a chance to carry their burden in the world, do so much to fulfill their individual and collective potential, or provide them with the opportunity to maintain the continuity of the historical process. They would, in sum, be showing their final acceptance of the fact that they had no option but to follow the course all things in their experience had set before them.

If the unfolding of the historical process was impelling Canada in a clear and unmistakable direction, so too, Grant believed, were the country's geographical circumstances. To be sure, its configuration in space presented certain problems. As a nation of sections next to a powerful and seductive neighbour, it had to take firm steps to insure that it neither fragmented nor got drawn into the arms of what lay to the south. Grant's willingness to talk of military installations as part of what was necessary to meet the second of these challenges was one measure of how seriously he viewed it,[70] but in the main he relied on the railway and immigration to do what was necessary. Canadians must make good their claim on "half a continent" by populating it, while the construction of a national communications system would at once knit the country together and make possible its resistance to American expansion.[71] To Smith's argument that all of this was an artificial and foredoomed attempt to set aside the dictates of nature Grant found a ready reply in the contention that much of human history depicted man's delimitation of the natural world by virtue of his intellect and technical prowess. "Man," he noted, "triumphs continually over geography or nature in any form."[72] Canadians, whatever Smith thought of the matter, were thus doing what their species had done since time immemorial. What was more, they were succeeding at it. "We have established," Grant felt able to argue by 1896, "an unequalled system of internal navigation from the Straits of Belle Isle into the heart of the continent, and we have added to that an unparalleled railway system . . . every part of our great Northern Confederacy has been linked together by steel as well as sentiment. . . ."[73]

In effectively ending any likelihood that the country would be absorbed by the United States, consolidation of its material base did not mean, Grant was anxious to point out, that Canada should insulate itself from involvement with the Republic. Its people must, of course, be watchful of their relations with that powerful state; but completely isolating themselves on the North American continent would be as much at variance with their national interest as it would be contrary to the dictates of geography.[74] The nation must, indeed, not only welcome contact with the United States, providing such contact was on the right terms; it must recognize the fact that it, too, was a community of the New World, heir to the abundance, resources, and regenerative powers of that fabulous place, and, in the end, even more likely than the United States to play a decisive role in the re-making of the world. Grant had, in fact, been struck from the moment of his first contact with "Greater Canada" by the immensity of its material wealth. Notwithstanding the contention in the pages of his *Ocean to Ocean* that "the destiny of a country depends not on its material resources . . . [but] on the character of its people,"[75] that record of his journey across the new dominion made clear his belief that Canada was a country of extraordinary potential.[76] Thanks

to what geography had conferred upon it, the country possessed resources sufficient to underpin limitless growth.[77]

If Grant's satisfaction in contemplating the physical endowments of the Dominion was obvious enough, he was no less struck by the opportunity the opening of a new and untouched world offered for the creation of a better human society. In a land uncontaminated by the vices of civilization, men of character, morality and determination would find it possible to create a community unparalleled in human history for its virtue and justice. Canada's settlers thus had every reason to hope that they would "found in the forests of the west a state in which there would be justice for all, fair reward for labour, a new home for freedom, freedom from grinding poverty, freedom from the galling chain of ancient feuds, mutual confidence and righteousness between man and man, flowing from trust in God."[78]

Canadians in fact occupied a uniquely privileged position in the scheme of things. Vitalized by the abundance and opportunity of the New World, yet mindful of all that their position as heirs of the British tradition could teach them, they enjoyed the best features of the Old and the New. "We have . . . not," noted Grant, "been obliged to sacrifice any of the inestimable treasures accumulated by our fathers, while at the same time we keep our minds and eyes open to receive new teaching from this new world where everything is possible to man."[79] Canada thus combined — in Grant's view the point could not be made strongly enough — "the self-control, reticence, and modesty begotten by conservative training . . . with that freedom from routine and readiness to experiment that belongs to a new country."[80]

For all that he allowed himself to be enraptured by geography's influence in giving Canada an unmistakable new world dimension, the country's location in space, Grant made equally clear, allowed it to be defined in other terms as well. Utilizing a line of argument being developed by the British geographer H. J. Mackinder, Grant took the view that Canada was delineated not only by its position on the North American continent but by its location between the two great oceans of the world. Seen from this perspective, the nation had a relevance that was truly global. It was, indeed, nothing less than "the natural keystone between the old world of northern Europe and the older world of China and Japan . . . the living link between Great Britain and the sunny lands under the Southern Cross . . . the bridge between East and West, and the bond that unites the three great self-governing parts of the British Empire."[81]

What, in short, its history demanded, its geography made possible. Equipped with every conceivable material advantage, possessing a land mass that linked it to all corners of the world, Canada could do no other than take up the work every element of its being and circumstances directed it to perform.

IN SPECIFYING THE NATURE OF THE ROLE Canada was foreordained to play, its geography and history did more, in Grant's view, than simply disclose what lay in the immediate future. The securing of a position of influence and power within the framework of the Empire was, of course, a vital short-term goal. Grant did not, however, consider its accomplishment an end in itself. The nation, positioned by its circumstances to serve the cause of British liberty and Christian truth, was destined for nothing less than duty on the most sublime field of action imaginable. In association with its imperial partners, it would serve as the successor of the Old Testament Hebrews, the agency which would bear witness to God's presence in the world. "We have," Grant accordingly told his countrymen, "a mission on earth as truly as ancient Israel had. . . ."[82]

What precisely that mission was, and how exactly it was to be fulfilled, could, Grant thought, be clearly specified. There was, in fact, an ineluctable logic about the whole process: the first stage — aiding in the consolidation of the Empire — was obvious enough. That accomplished, two further objectives would remain. Attaining the first of these would involve the country in exploiting its position as a community with roots on both sides of the Atlantic. It must use that position to bring Britain and the United States together. Notwithstanding the fact that it was occasionally a source of friction between the two powers, its place in their ultimate reconciliation was, in Grant's view, assured. For all that the eventual reunion of the two would owe to their common traditions and "high common ends,"[83] that momentous event would be materially aided by the intervention of Canada. His nation would, in fact, function as nothing less than "the link that shall unite the great mother and her greatest daughter, the United States of America."[84] So important was this task, and so central was the role Canada would play in accomplishing it, that there must be no mistaking the significance of either. "No greater boon" — Grant spelled the matter out in the clearest possible terms — "can be conferred on the race than the healing of [the] schism of [1776]. That is the work that Canada is appointed by its position and history to do. . . . We are to build up a North American Dominion, permeated with the principles of righteousness, worthy to be the living link, the permanent bond of union, between Britain and the United States."[85]

The forging of that link — the flow of Grant's argument hardly showed — was, in its turn, of inestimable importance, for it would make possible the gaining of the second grand objective. The union of the Anglo-Saxon race which would result from Canada's mediation between the two great nations to which it was bound would mean the creation of a force capable of establishing world hegemony. One could, in consequence, anticipate the day when the globe as a whole would be brought under the sway of Christian principle and Anglo-Saxon virtue. The solidarity of the race would, then, function as much more than a vehicle by

means of which Canada and Canadians, or even Anglo-Saxons generally, could achieve their own destiny. It would be an important stage in the process by which the fragmentation of mankind would be overcome. Under the auspices of this revitalized Anglo-Saxon influence the world's people would be bound together in a complex yet perfectly integrated whole at the same time that Christianity's unfolding truth came to permeate every fibre of their being.

Grant had no doubt that this grand vision, involving all the peoples of the world, was a pluralist one. Although it would be the Canadians and the British, and — once they had seen the light — the Americans who would take the initiative "in the glorious mission of establishing freedom, righteousness, and peace upon earth,"[86] his tolerance, humanity, and respect for what was good in other traditions led him to deal circumspectly with the precise weight Anglo-Saxon influence would have in the character of the new order that would be created by this action. The result of it, he suggested on more than one occasion, would be a kind of grand synthesis in which each individual would be united with his fellows in support of a common body of principle to the making of which all had contributed. "Our evolution," Grant told the World's Parliament of Religions in 1893, "has taught us that ideas belong to no one country, that they are the common property of mankind, and that we should borrow from every country that has found by experiment that they work well."[87] He wrote, too, of Tennyson's Parliament of Man, that great "Federation of the World" in which its people would come together and yet retain their own character and identity.[88] When all, however, was said and done his commitment to a world order which would combine elements from different traditions in a grand pluralistic whole was more apparent than real. In the end his tolerance functioned essentially as a tactical device, the effect of whose operation would be — as in the Canadian case — to insure final admission to the inner circle only of those who were prepared to assign their own culture and values an inferior place to those he himself espoused. His rhetoric left no doubt that the truth in support of which all men must ultimately unite would be a Christian truth, just as his Tennysonian frame of reference made it clear that the institutional complex in which this unity would find expression would be an Anglo-Saxon one.

Canada, "in the van of the world's battle," would thus come to play a central role in the process by which the peoples of the world, uplifted by their association with the Anglo-Saxons of the North Atlantic, would realize their potential for unity by accepting a destiny that was specifically linked to the religious experience of that Protestant civilization. Mankind's "common humanity," attaining fulfillment in "accomplishing its mission to establish the Kingdom of God upon earth," would define its being in the explicit and unambiguous language of evangelical Protestantism.[89] The vast edifice of universal peace and harmony, in whose construction Canada was to play so important a part, would finally come to rest, not

on a genuinely pluralist and synthetic foundation, but on a base provided by one civilization's view of what constituted man's purpose and destiny on earth. All men would indeed be bound together, but their unity would derive from their acceptance of a particular body of truth whose doctrines would by virtue of that acceptance vanquish all rivals.

GRANT'S SYSTEM OF IDEAS can best be understood as the construct of a man deeply concerned lest forces of change and innovation sweep away the values and the leadership he believed essential to a properly functioning Christian society. More, accordingly, is involved in understanding the genesis and character of that system than a simple application to its diagnosis of the proposition that ideas and interests are closely linked. Account must also be taken of the fact that concern to maintain and extend acceptance for one's world view will be particularly strong if one sees it, and the social arrangements it validates, being challenged by a rival set of conceptions. In the words of Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, "the appearance of an alternative symbolic universe poses a threat because its very existence demonstrates empirically that one's own universe is less than inevitable. . . . The confrontation of alternative symbolic universes implies a problem of power — which of the conflicting definitions of reality will be 'made to stick' in the society."[90] Grant, thanks to the emergence of the new and vastly more complex Canada created by industrialization, immigration, and the shrinking globe, found himself in the midst of just such a confrontation. Determined that the selfish particularisms of the new order and its representative men should not abridge the bright promise of a vital and expansive Christian community acting in fulfillment of a global mission, he sought to insure that it would be the definition of reality held by men who thought as he did that would be "made to stick" in Canadian society.

His anxiety to contain the new forces all around him never, however — and in this one can see the full measure of his intelligence and subtlety — led him to pursue the path of blind reaction. He believed the challenge the new realities represented could best be met by effecting their absorption into the very system they threatened to displace. It is, indeed, a measure of his belief in that system's resilience and flexibility that he thought its power would be augmented by the assimilation of elements which at first sight seemed to guarantee its destruction.

Yet the decision to attempt the accommodation of the new forces was not a purely tactical one. In Grant's Hegelian-influenced view, the Christian idealism it was his aim to promote was to be defined largely in terms of its extraordinary capaciousness. Doing one's duty to it would involve an approach to all the elements of which reality consisted, which, with a generosity borne of the confi-

dence that one understood the workings of the universe, would recognize the fact that each of them, no matter how fractious and contrary it seemed, had a role to play in the total scheme of things.

Fully effective assimilation of the new forces required, of course, more than a simple acceptance by Grant and those who saw the world as he did of a conceptualization of the universe which insisted that each of the elements in it belonged to the Kingdom of God and, whether they realized it or not, were contributing to that Kingdom's triumphant onward march. All of the human agents through which these forces operated had to be made conscious of this truth. Only then would a comprehensive spirit of co-operation with the acceptance of Christianity's imperatives replace the indifference and hostility to them which seemed so conspicuous as features of modern life. Here as well Grant's Christian idealism was of immense assistance. By inviting all men, no matter what character their activities possessed, to conceive of themselves as essentially moral beings linked to each other and to the divine by their common participation in a spiritual whole it in fact provided a near perfect vehicle for the attainment of this end. In insisting on the directness of each individual's link with God it simultaneously commended itself to him by exalting his importance and gave him an inducement to think in terms that transcended his immediate interests. And, in insisting that once he had accepted this larger view of himself he act in a manner consistent with the dignity and responsibility of a being who was linked to the divine, it provided a powerful argument in support of the contention that his behaviour should approximate the standards laid down by those who — like Grant — had caught the full vision of what this involved. Such men would thus, if all went as it should, be in a position to define the elements of good behaviour in the new circumstances as they had in the old.

Despite his appreciation of his creed's potential as an agency which, properly deployed, could blunt the force of the new realities, Grant was by no means persuaded that the values and behaviour it would serve to strengthen were in fact holding their own. The end of his life thus saw him disposed to argue that the forces against which he had fought throughout its length still maintained a global presence. "The nineteenth century," he sadly informed his readers, "is closing in moral gloom as dense as that which shrouded the closing decade of the eighteenth."[91] What was happening at home, moreover, made it clear that the enemies of Christian truth and honourable behaviour were maintaining themselves on the domestic front as well. "What threatens the life of Canada most seriously," he wrote after a lifetime's effort to root it out, " . . . [is] the uncleanness . . . the vulgar and insolent materialism of thought and life . . . [and the] aggressive commercialism which penetrates to the innermost courts of the sanctuary. . . . "[92]

Too much should not, however, be made of his disappointment at the failure of his world view to win a clear triumph over its adversaries. Far more central to

an understanding of his system, its character, and its place in nineteenth-century Canadian life is a sense of the prodigious effort he made on its behalf. In articulating it with such vigour and consistency he at once provided a measure of the extent to which he felt it threatened and made himself a leading spokesman for the values it contained. If, in sum, an examination of his thought sheds light on the way in which ideas may be related to shifting patterns of status and influence in society, it also provides opportunity for contact with a particularly forceful, clear, and comprehensive expression of an important strain in late nineteenth-century Canadian thought. In thus allowing a close look at a representative expression of that strain, in directing attention to the status of its proponents, and in making possible the construction of an argument suggesting how the two were linked, it does much to refine our grasp and extend our understanding of the elements defining the English Canadian phase of the great nineteenth-century struggle between liberal and conservative modes of thought. Its relevance is ultimately more than national, as Grant himself was much more than merely a patriot.

NOTES

[1] For an account of the Canadian formulation of some of the leading ideas of this period, see A. B. McKillop, "A Disciplined Intelligence: Intellectual Inquiry and the Moral Imperative in Anglo-Canadian Thought 1850-1890." Unpub. Ph.D. thesis, Queen's Univ., 1976. [Rev. & pub., McGill-Queens, 1979.] For an examination of some representative Canadian intellectuals active in the generation following, see S. E. D. Shortt, *The Search for an Ideal: Six Canadian Intellectuals and their Convictions in An Age of Transition 1890-1930* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1976). For the ideas of Canadian conservatism in the late nineteenth century, see Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism 1867-1914* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1970). The thought of Grant's most implacable opponent is summed up in Goldwin Smith, *Canada and the Canadian Question*, introduction by Carl Berger (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1971).

[2] "The Pulpit in Scotland As It Is, And As It Was Forty or Fifty Years Ago," *Queen's Quarterly*, 7 (Jan. 1900), 195.

[3] The Scottish born and educated Watson was an influential figure in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century idealist circles on both sides of the Atlantic. For an account of his life and ideas, see J. M. MacEachern, "John Watson," in R. C. Wallace, ed., *Some Great Men of Queen's* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1941), pp. 22-50; and W. E. McNeill, "John Watson," *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, Series III, 33 (1939), 159-61. McKillop considers Watson at some length. Watson's own views on the relationship between Christianity and Idealism are set out in his appropriately titled *Christianity and Idealism* (New York: Macmillan, 1896). For a general account of philosophical activity in Canada in this period, see John A. Irving, "The Development of Philosophy in Central Canada from 1850 to 1900," *Canadian Historical Review*, 31 (Sept. 1950), 252-87. T. A. Goudge, "A Century of Philosophy in English-Speaking Canada," *Dalhousie Review*, 47 (Winter 1967-68), 537-49, contains some material on Watson but is mainly concerned with the twentieth century. For a discussion

of idealist modes of thinking in terms of their relevance to the thought of men like Grant, see Terry Cook, "George R. Parkin and the Concept of Britannic Idealism," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 10 (Aug. 1975), esp. 22-31.

[4] Cited (no source given) in W. L. Grant and F. Hamilton, *Principal Grant* (Toronto: Morang, 1904), p. 74.

[5] "Current Events," *Queen's Quarterly*, 5 (April 1898), 332.

[6] "Castell Hopkins' Life of Mr. Gladstone," *Canadian Magazine*, 6 (Nov. 1895), 87.

[7] "The Pulpit in Scotland As It Is, and As It Was Forty or Fifty Years Ago," *Queen's Quarterly*, 7 (Jan. 1900), 202.

[8] "Presbyterian Union and Reformation Principles," *Queen's Quarterly*, 1 (Jan. 1894), 181.

[9] *Principal Grant*, p. 486.

[10] Author unknown, "Distinguished Canadians. The Rev. George Munro [sic] Grant, D.D.," *Canadian Methodist Magazine*, 18 (Oct. 1883), 293.

[11] "Hopkins' Life," p. 86.

[12] "Anti-National Features of the National Policy," *Canadian Magazine*, 1 (March 1893), 9-13.

[13] "The Jason of Algoma: An Account of the Wonderful Industrial Development in New Ontario," *Canadian Magazine*, 15 (Oct. 1900), 490.

[14] "The Religious Condition of Canada," *Queen's Quarterly*, 1 (April 1894), 320.

[15] "Current Events," *Queen's Quarterly*, 5 (Oct. 1897), 169.

[16] *Principal Grant's Inaugural Address Delivered at Queen's University, Kingston, on University Day* (Toronto: Grip, 1885), p. 11.

[17] "The University Question," *Queen's Quarterly*, 8 (Jan. 1901), 211.

[18] *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto: J. Campbell, 1873), pp. 347-48.

[19] "Thanksgiving and Retrospect," *Queen's Quarterly*, 9 (Jan. 1902), 232.

[20] "Our National Objects and Aims," in *Maple Leaves: Being the Papers Read Before the National Club of Toronto at the 'National Evenings' During the Winter 1890-1891* (Toronto: National Club, 1891), p. 20.

[21] "To [Grant]," recalled his biographers, "all the universe was God's universe; every truth was God's truth ... [spurning] the theory which cuts the world in two with a hatchet ... he believed that the universe was an organic whole belonging to the Almighty. ... " *Principal Grant*, pp. 77-78.

[22] "Response on Behalf of Canada to Address of Welcome, at the World's Parliament of Religions," *Queen's Quarterly*, 1 (Oct. 1893), 160. Sometimes Grant's exposure to other currents of thought flowing in the late nineteenth century led him to cast the same point in less mystical terms. Taking a leaf from the Spencerians' notebook, he noted in 1900 that that diversity might simply demonstrate the capaciousness of a complex yet fully integrated life-form. "The British Empire," as he puts it, "is a ... complicated and highly developed organism ... and can therefore include the most widely differing stages of political life." "Current Events," *Queen's Quarterly*, 8 (July 1900), 77. Occasionally, too, emphasis on the unity and coherence of experience yielded to an unambiguous pluralism. Grant's concern to see Queen's preserved as an independent institution led him to oppose the creation of a single agency of higher learning in Ontario, while the polyglot nature of Winnipeg society in the 1880's seemed to him an unmistakable sign of

its vitality and exuberance. See *Grant's Inaugural Address*, p. 10; "The University Question," p. 220; and "The Northwest: Manitoba" in G. M. Grant, ed., *Picturesque Canada: The Country As It Was And Is* (Toronto: Belden Bros., 1882), I, 288.

[23] "Current Events," *Queen's Quarterly*, 7 (Jan. 1900), 256.

[24] They might, he asserted, have "remained French in appearance and French to the core, yet [they] fought repeatedly and are ready to fight again side by side with the red-coats of Great Britain...." "Quebec: Historical Review," in *Picturesque Canada*, I, p. 2.

[25] "Review of William Kingford's History," *The Week*, 9 (Aug. 12, 1892), 587.

[26] "Canada and the Empire: A Rejoinder to Dr. Goldwin Smith," *Canadian Magazine*, 8 (Nov. 1896), 77.

[27] "Canada First," *Canadian Leaves* (New York: Napoleon Thompson, 1887), p. 264.

[28] "The Religious Condition of Canada," *Queen's Quarterly*, 1 (April 1894), 318.

[29] "British Columbia," in *Picturesque Canada*, II, p. 880.

[30] "Churches and Schools in the North-West," in John Macoun, ed., *Manitoba and the Great North-West* (Guelph: World, 1882), p. 528.

[31] "Current Affairs," *Queen's Quarterly*, 1 (Oct. 1893), 156.

[32] "Thanksgiving and Retrospect," *Queen's Quarterly*, 9 (Jan. 1902), 227.

[33] Berger, *Sense of Power*, p. 28.

[34] "Current Events," *Queen's Quarterly*, 4 (Oct. 1896), 159, 158.

[35] "Instead," Grant suggested at one point, "of wondering that French-speaking Canadians are not as enthusiastic in this [Boer] war as their English-speaking countrymen, the marvel is that their representative men have as a rule spoken so warmly on behalf of the Empire...." The attitude of the French Canadians, he argued at another, has, "on the whole," been "admirable." See "Current Events," (Jan. 1900), p. 256, and (April 1900), p. 333.

[36] Impatience with the French Canadians and their culture would, he had argued in 1891, irritate them, heighten their self-consciousness, and delay their accommodation with their fellow Canadians — results the more unfortunate at a time when it was clear that an essentially anglo-saxon nation based on Canada's existing stock and immigrants who would assimilate to English Canadian culture was taking shape. See "Review of G. Smith, *Canada and the Canadian Question*," *The Week*, 8 (May 15, 1891), 382.

[37] "Thanksgiving and Retrospect," p. 224.

[38] "Presbyterian Union and Reformation Principles," p. 181.

[39] Sometimes the type was exemplified by the Highland Scot who, isolated at Red River, had not forgotten his God; sometimes by the pioneer farmer engaged in the shaping of a British and Christian west; sometimes by the creative entrepreneur whose energies were directed towards enlarging society's bounty rather than personal gain; sometimes by the university students who, in working their way through college, "paddle their own canoes... [thanks to their] habits of industry, economy, and forethought..."; and sometimes by the ordinary Canadian who in his simple Christian life provided an example of honour and integrity as uplifting as it was modest. See "Churches and Schools in the Northwest," p.

524; "The North-West: Manitoba," 1, p. 293; "The Jason of Algoma: An Account of the Wonderful Industrial Development in New Ontario," *Canadian Magazine*, 15 (Oct. 1900), 483-94; "Anti-National Features," p. 12; and "Thanksgiving and Retrospect," p. 220.

[40] "Thanksgiving and Retrospect," p. 225.

[41] *Joseph Howe* (Halifax: A. & W. MacKinlay, 1904), p. 37. Grant's account of Howe's life was first published as a series of articles bearing the title "The Late Hon. Joseph Howe," in the *Canadian Monthly and National Review*, 7 (May 1875), 377-87; 7 (June 1875), 497-508; 8 (July 1875), 20-25; 8 (Aug. 1875), 115-22.

[42] "The North-West," 1, p. 293.

[43] "Current Events," *Queen's Quarterly*, 1 (July 1893), 67.

[44] "Current Events," *Queen's Quarterly*, 4 (April 1897), 318.

[45] "Current Events," *Queen's Quarterly*, 5 (Jan. 1898), 252.

[46] "Current Events," *Queen's Quarterly*, 2 (Oct. 1894), 182.

[47] "The Jason of Algoma," p. 491.

[48] "Presbyterian Union and Reformation Principles," p. 177.

[49] "Religious Condition of Canada," p. 319.

[50] *Sense of Power*, pp. 183-84.

[51] Ramsay Cook, "Henry George and the Poverty of Canadian Progress," Canadian Historical Association *Historical Papers*, 1977, pp. 150-51.

[52] *Sense of Power*, p. 185.

[53] *Ocean to Ocean*, p. 358.

[54] "Canada First," p. 252.

[55] Ibid., p. 251.

[56] "The Religious Condition of Canada," p. 320.

[57] "Introductory Chapter," in T. G. Marquis, *Canada's Sons on Kopje and Veldt: An Historical Account of the Canadian Contingents* (Toronto: Canadian Son's Pub. Co., 1900), p. 6.

[58] "Thanksgiving and Retrospect," p. 225.

[59] "Review of William Kingsford's History," p. 586.

[60] *Ocean to Ocean*, p. 368.

[61] "British Columbia," p. 880.

[62] *Ocean to Ocean*, p. 358.

[63] "Review of William Kingsford's History," p. 586. Grant's views on the nature of the historical process were sometimes cast in language which argued the existence of a parallel between man's activities through time and the character of growth and development in the natural world. "No living organism," he once wrote in support of his argument that Canada must move steadily towards national maturity within the framework of the British Empire, "can continue long in a state of arrested development . . . it must grow to its full stature or petrify." Such imagery was particularly useful in stressing the evolutionary and cumulative character he thought human affairs must have. "I do not look," it allowed him to

note at one point, "for any startling Constitutional change or any paper scheme for re-organizing the Empire. That is not the way of the British. They build after the fashion of the insects that construct coral reefs, atolls, and fair islands in the Southern seas. They do the duty of today, and that becomes precedent, and so 'freedom slowly broadens down,' based not on theories but on necessities." See *Imperial Federation: A Lecture Delivered in Victoria Hall, Winnipeg, on September 13th, 1889* (Winnipeg: Manitoba Free Press, 1890), p. 1, and "Introductory Chapter," in Marquis, p. 6.

[64] Grant did not share the extreme and negative views of the United States voiced by some of his compatriots. For an account of his feelings on the subject, see *Sense of Power*, p. 171. For the opinions of others see *Sense of Power*, pp. 153-76; and S. F. Wise and Robert Craig Brown, *Canada Views the United States: Nineteenth Century Political Attitudes* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1967).

[65] "Review of G. Smith," p. 381.

[66] "Current Events" (July 1893), p. 79.

[67] *Imperial Federation*, pp. 5, 4.

[68] Confederation itself, thought Grant, was to be viewed as part of the process. "Canada," he noted in 1895, "took a long step politically, in the direction of Imperial unity, when Confederation was affected. . . ." "Current Events," *Queen's Quarterly*, 2 (Oct. 1895), 157.

[69] *Ocean to Ocean*, p. 366.

[70] "Quebec: Historical Review," *Picturesque Canada*, I, p. 31.

[71] "Quebec," p. 31.

[72] "Review of G. Smith," p. 382.

[73] "Canada and the Empire," p. 76.

[74] Grant did not hesitate to identify the United States as Canada's "natural market," to suggest that "we desire to trade with everyone, and most of all with our neighbours," and to celebrate the fact that while "on this continent there are barbarous alien labour laws and hostile tariffs between kindred peoples . . . so far these do not extend to free interchanges of brain, heart, and capital." See "Canada First," p. 13; and "The Jason of Algoma," p. 494.

[75] P. 366.

[76] One reviewer, struck by just this feature of it, called it "a graphic account . . . of the magnificent material resources of the country." See the *Canadian Methodist Magazine*, 5 (May 1877), 477.

[77] Virtually all parts of the country, Grant argued, shared in this bounty. If what lay between Lake Huron and Red River was endowed with minerals "beyond conception," he was equally anxious to make it clear that "our western islands are rich in coal . . . and almost every variety of mineral weath, in lumber, fish, and soil, and blessed with one of the most delightful climates in the world." His view of the prairies' potential was expressed in particularly forceful terms. There, he wrote, was to be found "an immense tract of the finest land in the world. . . ." The fields of Red River, he noted in 1882, "have raised wheat continuously ever since" their first cultivation. Indeed, he announced the same year, the "vast region" of the west was "the true habitat of the wheat plant. Here it attains perfection." One could, in view of these circumstances, hardly doubt that the Northwest "bids fair to be the future granary of the world." See *Ocean to Ocean*, pp. 352-53; "Churches and Schools," p. 527; and "The North-West: Manitoba," p. 298.

[78] "Our National Objects and Aims," p. 34.

[79] "Response on Behalf of Canada," p. 159.

[80] "The Religious Condition of Canada," p. 321.

[81] "Responses on Behalf of Canada," pp. 159-60.

[82] "Current Events," *Queen's Quarterly*, 5 (July 1897), 85.

[83] "Current Events," *Queen's Quarterly*, 7 (July 1899), 80.

[84] "Canada First," p. 249.

[85] "Our National Objects and Aims," pp. 22, 26.

[86] "Current Events" (July 1897), p. 85.

[87] "Response on Behalf of Canada," pp. 159-60.

[88] "Current Events" (July 1893), p. 73.

[89] "Thanksgiving and Retrospect," pp. 232-33.

[90] *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (New York: Anchor, 1967), p. 109. This confrontation, at base one between the groups or classes that hold these ideas, may take a variety of forms. At its most obvious in the conflict between major systems of thought — conservatism, liberalism, socialism — in clearly class-conscious societies, it can also manifest itself in the ideological devices used by threatened groups in the course of their efforts to maintain their status and influence. The distinction drawn between landed wealth and wealth earned in trade by the defenders of a British aristocracy very much concerned to resist displacement by a class whose ascendancy was based on commerce and manufacturing is a well-known case in point. That distinction, and the special landed virtue to whose existence it was supposed to point, represented the making of a very clear set of claims on behalf of the aristocracy, "claims which," as F. M. L. Thompson points out, "it was scarcely necessary to formulate explicitly until the paramountcy of landed property became the subject of dispute." Even societies not normally thought of as characterized by a high degree of social conflict may exhibit tendencies of this kind. Historians of the United States, certainly, have uncovered a number of instances in which ideas professed by members of certain groups have been intimately related to the fact that those who hold those ideas felt their status, prestige, and power threatened by changes in the nature of their society and so sought to enforce dominance of their beliefs and values as a means of limiting the influence of those identified as the agents of this change. John Higham has, for example, suggested that the patterns of thought associated with American nativism may be best understood as phenomena arising out of the reality of "status rivalries" in American society. The importance of preserving "traditional" ideals and behaviour was emphasized not only by those of Protestant Anglo-Saxon stock who saw these values, and their own dominance, being threatened by European and Catholic immigrants but also by members of some immigrant groups, who, having begun to acquire status and position largely through their acceptance of these values, saw their position hardly less endangered by the newcomers than that occupied by those who had been in the country for generations. Historians of "genteel" culture in post-Civil War America have similarly suggested that the intensity with which its partisans held to their faith was a function of their concern to resist displacement by the new mass culture rooted in the vulgar civilization of the urban, industrial America they saw growing up all around them. "In the real world of cultural conflict," reports Stow Persons, "the status of the high culture of which the gentry were always the patrons and

practitioners has been found by many observers to [have been] precarious in the extreme." Finding themselves being shouldered aside, they sought to maintain their influence by a vigorous, if cultivated, insistence on the continuing relevance of their values. "The genteel authors . . . ," argues another historian of their thought and writing, "were significant because they were the architects of a culture that embodied conservatism in a threatening age." Partisans of reform, too, have been identified as no less status-conscious than their explicitly conservative compatriots. Support for abolitionism, argues David Donald, can be linked to the declining status of its advocates: "Descended from old and socially prominent Northeastern families, reared in a faith of aggressive piety and moral endeavor, educated for conservative leadership, these young men and women who reached maturity in the 1830's faced a strange and hostile world. Social and economic leadership was being transferred from the country to the city, from the farmer to the manufacturer, from the preacher to the corporation attorney. . . . Expecting to lead, these young people found no followers. They were an elite without a function, a displaced class in American society . . . their appeal for reform was a strident call for their own class to re-exert its former social dominance." Perhaps the most familiar attempt to use this construct in the clarification of an historical situation has been made in relation to the American Progressives. Their concern to contain, direct, and regulate the forces of big business, argues Richard Hofstadter in *The Age of Reform*, was a function of the fact that they as clergymen, academics, journalists, and lawyers felt that their position in American society was being undermined by the new elites created by America's emergence as a business civilization. Progressive opposition to those elites was thus rooted in a strong desire to limit the growth and influence of the new groups and so preserve that of the old. "Progressivism," contends Hofstadter, "was to a very considerable extent led by men who suffered from the events of their time not through a shrinkage in their means but through the changed pattern in the distribution of deference and power." The group of educators, clergymen, journalists, and intellectuals with whom Grant can be most closely associated had much in common with the men and women described by these commentators. Their rural or small town backgrounds, their Christian upbringing, their humane education, and their own involvement in the life of the mind left them badly equipped to respond in positive terms to the new urban and industrial society growing up around them. Their ideology was not, to be sure, the effete conflict-avoiding construct of the genteel tradition, nor did it always — as the case of Grant himself makes clear — manifest itself in an uncomplicated equivalent of American nativism. But if its content frequently differed, it was nonetheless shaped by a similar concern that old values be asserted in the face of change. Like other Canadians of his type and generation — George Denison, George Parkin, Stephen Leacock, Andrew MacPhail, J. A. Cooper, James Cappon, Archibald MacMechan, Maurice Hutton — Grant, deeply disturbed by what the emergence of the new civilization implied for the future of men like him and ideas like his, sought to maintain the influence of both by linking the survival of the good and the true to the dominance of men and principles cut from the same cloth as he was. See F. M. L. Thompson, *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Routledge, Kegan Paul, 1963), 4; John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism* 1860-1925 (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1955); John Higham, "Another Look at Nativism," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 44 (July 1958), 147-58; Stow Persons, *The Decline of American Gentility* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1973), vii; John Tomsich, *A Genteel Endeavor: American Culture and Politics in the Gilded Age* (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1971), 195; David Donald, *Lincoln Reconsidered: Essays*

on the Civil War Era (New York: Knopf, 1956), 33-34; Richard Hofstadter, "The Status Revolution and Progressive Leaders," in his *The Age of Reform* (New York: Vintage, 1961), 135; and, for a discussion of the lives and thought of some of Grant's associates and contemporaries, *The Sense of Power* and *The Search for an Ideal.*

[91] "Current Events," *Queen's Quarterly*, 8 (Jan. 1901), 234-35.

[92] "Thanksgiving and Retrospect," p. 231.

POSTSCRIPT

Daryl Hine

I wrote the world and its reply
Arrives in this white envelope,
Inevitably self-addressed
And stamped with its own worldliness,
Bleak season's greetings tendered by
A winter who could hope to cope
With coolly? Nothing but the best
Wishes of the wilderness.
Beyond this horizontal plain
Sealed by the incessant snow,
A table raised upon itself,
Immaculate of any stain,
Where distant stands of timber grow
Like bibelots upon a shelf:

Morning's lyrical plateau,
A desert by the afternoon,
The waste of time, with one oasis,
Comfortable evening,
Nocturnal bottomlands where flow
The frozen rivers of the moon
Through unilluminated places.
Eventually everything
Caught in earth's magnetic field,
Mountains, forests, valleys, seas,
With their obscure inhabitants
Sympathetically yield
To the rhythm that decrees
The patterns of diurnal dance.

Day and night and night and day
Sensually alternate
Like the pictures on a screen
That represents reality.
Tentatively twilight's grey,
Spectral, indeterminate
Status hesitates between
Brilliance and obscurity.
Day is masculine in most
Languages, night feminine;
As opposites they interact.
Twilight, as befits a ghost,
Seems neuter. Day and night begin
To differ in the entr'acte.

Like the climax of a piece
Divided into three or five
Acts and twice as many scenes,
Sunset falls a little flat.
The dénouements of dawn release
Whole landscapes which will not survive
Catastrophe that intervenes
Between this interval and that.
What is the primaeval plot?
The rise and fall of consciousness
Within a given period.
The unity of time is not
Another bit of business,
But an attribute of God.

Is that all it had to tell,
The world one thought so voluble
And interesting, is that all?
This formal, formulaic note
To Occupant, who cannot spell
The seemingly insoluble
Conundrum of the capital
Letter kindly nature wrote?
Illegible! how frequently
One hears the tiresome complaint.
But are the characters not fair
Despite their faint asymmetry,
Unmechanically quaint,
Indelible and plainly there?

HAROLD INNIS AND THE WRITING OF HISTORY

Graeme Patterson

IT IS GENERALLY AGREED that the early work of Harold Innis has had a considerable influence upon Canadian thought. Indeed, in arguing that a historiographical "Innis revolution" resulted from it, Ramsay Cook has asserted: "The necessary starting point for any clear understanding of contemporary English-Canadian historians is Harold Adams Innis."[1] No one, however, would argue that the late work of Innis — which while having interested the historian Marshall McLuhan, has generally been regarded as irrelevant to Canadian studies — has had any such influence. Yet, while contemporary historians of Canada may certainly be understood in terms of Innis, he (most notably in the last decade of his life) cannot fully be understood without some reference to them. The "late work" is more closely related to Canadian studies than is commonly supposed.

In his last years Innis studied ideas and material commodities both in relation to each other and in relation to the various media by which they were communicated. "A medium of communication," he wrote with respect to ideas, "has an important influence upon the dissemination of knowledge over space and time and it becomes necessary to study its characteristics in order to appraise its influence in its cultural setting."[2] Depending upon setting — whether cultural, geographic, economic or historic — he treated all media as possessing either a "bias of space" or a "bias of time," terms which were relative, not absolute. Thus rivers, canals, oceans, roads, railways and related media, which enabled central governments to extend control over territories Innis termed "empires," reflected a bias of space. Among media reflecting a bias of time were institutions with qualities which enabled them to endure over long periods of time, and with interests which were either localized or non-territorial. Here, for example, he had in mind the priesthoods of ancient Egypt, the satrapies of Persia, the provinces of Rome and the Christian church. Such institutions were sustained by power which might be related to regional interest or to monopoly control of some form of learning, such as literacy, or of some commodity, such as papyrus. Sometimes in their own interests these institutions served the central governments of empire; and sometimes for the same reason, they opposed them. And central governments,

in their interest in maintaining control over space, sometimes protected and used these institutions, and sometimes tried to limit or destroy them. But these relationships were shaped by control, or lack of control, of media of communication.

Quite apart from these institutions, material media had a formative influence upon their ideal content. Information mediated by clay tablets, for example, was limited in ways that did not obtain when it was mediated by newspapers. Beyond this, material media, according to Innis, had a formative influence upon concepts themselves, such as those of space and time, which were of peculiar interest to him.

Because of this interest in the ideal in relation to the material, Innis's late work also reflects an interest in idealist philosophers, like Plato and Kant, and in writers of universal history, like Hegel and Marx, who shared the same interest. But he cannot be said to have belonged to any of their schools. He differed from Hegel and Marx, for example, in that he regarded "progress" as a superstition of the mind and struggled against his own determinism. And while, like these other students of universal history, he was concerned with the way the universe was regarded by physicists, he was primarily interested in the modern, post-Einstein physics of relativity, rather than the mechanical, Newtonian physics of the nineteenth century. It was perhaps partly for this reason that he seems to have been uninterested in the epistemology of Kant, who taught that objects of experience invariably enter consciousness in the forms of space and time, intuitions prior to all forms of conceptual knowledge. He read with interest the classical sociologists — Durkheim, Weber and their followers — whose notions of form were influenced by the *Critique of Pure Reason*; but he was concerned with *changing* concepts, and he sought his epistemology elsewhere. "Space and time," he wrote (citing F. M. Cornford), "and also their space-time product, fall into their places as mere mental frameworks of our constitution."[3] Cornford, a classicist interested in the origin of the outmoded Euclidian concept of space, was quoting Sir Arthur Eddington, the astronomer and mathematician who held that the true foundation of natural philosophy must be epistemology. In this sort of way, Innis was interested in the changing spatial and temporal conceptual underpinnings of historical interpretation, which were also structures of the mind. Treating almost everything as media of communication, Innis included himself — who, he suggested, was biased with regard to time.

The world of the media was thus a place of complex dialectical oppositions. And in the modern world this dialectic, according to Innis, was hastening to a resolution of catastrophe. Technological innovation had upset a space-time balance in favour of space; flexible, holistic oral traditions had yielded to rigid, fragmenting written and mechanical traditions; unified learning had given way to specialized knowledge; and centralized authority threatened to overcome decentralized decision making. This bias of space, he contended, was reflected even in the present-minded, specialized concerns of contemporary scholarship.

This late work of Innis, it is argued, related to his early studies of the railways, waterways and related staple commodities which he viewed as having patterned the economic, social and political experience of Canada. But it also contradicted in many respects, a set of ideas known in Canadian history as the "Laurentian thesis," with which the name of Innis, along with that of Donald Creighton, is often associated.[4] And in many regards it was scarcely less contradictory of the points of view, modes of thought, and historical theories of other contemporary historians.

IN THE BEGINNING, particularly with respect to *The Fur Trade in Canada* (1930), the work of Innis coincided with the interests of other historians. There, in a concluding chapter, he treated fur in relation to other staple commodities — timber, wheat and flour — which succeeded it in the commerce of the St. Lawrence. But he also distinguished between these staples and the system, a distinction of form and content which distinguished his transportation theory from his staple theory. It was the former which related chiefly to the interest of Creighton, who by 1930 had become concerned with the commercial and political interests of Montreal merchants oriented to the St. Lawrence. While Creighton, like Innis, knew that the staple content of this river system was possessed of value, and that it shaped the economic, social and political life of communities dependent upon it, this interested him less than a centralized mercantile empire dependent upon a transportation system. "The Laurentian thesis," he later observed, "has its basis in the fact that the St. Lawrence is one great river system that leads from the Atlantic seaboard to the heart of the continent of North America,"[5] a statement which suggests a fundamental concern with space. Innis, however, was relatively more interested in commodities. He indicated, for example, the destructive effects of European trade goods upon Indian societies, a concern indicative of an interest in time. But he was slowly coming to think of both transportation systems and commodities as media of communication, an insight which would later interest Marshall McLuhan.[6] In the 1930's and 1940's, however, differences of interpretation between Innis and other historians were of no great consequence.

The problem emerged about 1950 with publication of *Empire and Communications*. Sometimes thought to mark the beginning of the "late work," this book was written one way by Innis and read in quite other ways by many baffled scholars. To Canadian historians it seemed mostly unrelated to their discipline and connected to the "early work" chiefly by way of his studies of the pulp and paper industry of the 1940's. In the introduction to *Empire and Communications*, however, Innis indicated that it was structurally related to *The Fur Trade in Canada* of 1930.

"It has seemed to me," he wrote,

> that the subject of communications offers possibilities in that it occupies a crucial position in the organization and administration of government and in turn of empires and of Western civilization.
>
> But I must confess at this point a bias which has led me to give particular attention to this subject. In studies of Canadian economic history, I have been influenced by a phenomenon strikingly evident in Canada . . . Briefly, North America is penetrated by three vast inlets from the Atlantic — the Mississippi, the St. Lawrence, and Hudson Bay, and the rivers of its drainage basin. . . .[7]

Thus it was waterways, not pulp and paper, which first led to communications studies; although Innis intended "to suggest that the changing character of the British Empire during the present century has been in part a result of the pulp and paper industry and its influence on public opinion. . . ."[8]

The early work of Innis has been closely identified with that of Creighton, whose view of history, concept of empire, and patterns of thought more generally, were strikingly different from those of Innis, whose modes of thought were less linearly sequential. Paper, as treated by Innis, for example, was *at once* a basic staple *and* a medium of communication. As such it seems to have unified some of his earlier thinking on the subject of staples and communications systems. Yet Creighton, in relating the early and late work perceived not a unification of interest but a shift of the same.

A shift of interest, he thought, had begun with the study of the Canadian pulp and paper industry. "But immediately beyond the manufacture of pulp and paper," he wrote, "lay the strange and different world of journalism and the newspaper; and obviously the main stage of its modern development . . . had taken place not in Canada but in Britain and the United States"; and behind the newspaper and the book, he continued, "were vestiges of earlier forms of communication. And behind the civilizations of Western Europe and America stretched a procession of older and vanished empires."[9] This was to impose a linear concept of history upon a mind that was notoriously not that. The world of journalism and newspapers was not imagined to be "strange and different" from that of pulp and paper by Innis; he thought of them as closely related and interdependent. Moreover, while chronological sequence was not absent from his later work, he did not visualize the civilizations he studied as merely stretching back in time in the form of a procession; for he was employing the techniques of the comparative historian. From Creighton's point of view, Innis's new interests must have seemed remote from Canadian history; and from this same vantage point it was almost impossible to see that he might have been applying and testing ideas derived from Canadian history, and yet relevant to it.

The idea that the late work was in an entirely new field of "communications," however, did not result from the thought of Creighton. Up until the publication

of *Empire and Communications* it was generally assumed that "transportation" *was* "communications." Indeed, some four years after the death of Innis, J. M. S. Careless referred to the early work of both Innis and Creighton as studies of "essentially great systems of continent wide communications."[10] Early reviewers of *Empire and Communications* would not allow the word to retain this meaning. " 'COMMUNICATIONS' in Professor Innis' title," observed V. Gordon Childe in the *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, "means not 'means of transport' — a rather hackneyed theme — but 'communication of ideas'."[11] And Arthur Maheux, in the *Canadian Historical Review*, reached a similar conclusion. Observing that the book's purpose was to suggest the significance of communication to modern civilization, to which end it analyzed a continual conflict between the oral tradition and the written word, he added: "Consequently the term 'communications' in this book does not mean such physical avenues of communications as roads and rivers, which have been considered by other writers as the chief sources of civilization."[12]

In view of the fact that Chapter One of the book deals with the river culture of the Nile, and Chapter Two with civilization in relation to the Tigris and Euphrates, Maheux reached an astonishing conclusion. The point to be noted is that either being ignorant of, or having forgotten, the context of the early work and Innis's own assertion of its continuing relevance, neither Maheux nor Childe could understand the text before them. Waterways and roads were central to the thesis of *Empire and Communication*. Being the means whereby other media of communication — clay tablets, papyrus rolls, newspapers, and such — were transmitted over space, they imposed patterns upon the *spatial* dissemination of ideas.

The meaning of the word "communications," however, was now beginning to shift; and with this shift there emerged a conviction that Innis had moved from the fields of economics and history into a new and essentially different field of "communications." This idea, coupled with the notion that Innis was an author of the Laurentian thesis, then began to inform historiographical thought. "If Innis was the first to present a documented study of the 'Laurentian thesis'," wrote Ramsay Cook, "Creighton first made it intelligible."[13] "Innis' most important work," he also observed, "was in the field of economic history. His later work in the nebulous field of communications may some day be judged his greatest achievement; but for historians of Canada his early studies . . . will always remain the most prominent monument in the Innis [historiographical] revolution."[14] The "field of communications," however, was not nebulous; it had become completely befogged.

In recent years some of this fog has lifted. Noting that as early as 1934 (which is to say long before the pulp and paper studies) Innis was "outlining the relationship between public opinion, politics and the mechanization of words in

newspapers and radio," Leslie A. Pal has concluded that "many of Innis's substantive ideas on communications were forming in the 1930's."[15] He saw no relationship, however, between these ideas and ideas related to transportation and staples, a parallel which has been partly perceived by Carl Berger. Innis, wrote the latter, "looked on technologies of communication in much the same way as he had looked on the staple. Technologies of communication — whether they be stone tablets, newspapers or radios — influenced societies, institutions and cultures in the same way that the exploitation of certain economic staples shaped them."[16]

But, in contrast to Pal, Berger did not regard *any* of the early work as being studies in communications. Because of this he thought he discerned "an inner logic in the development of Innis's thought from the economics of the staples trades to his communications studies."[17] No such linear development ever took place. And the mode of thought relating the early work to that which followed it was not *logical*; it was *analogical*, as Berger's own discussion of the treatment of staples and other media suggests.

Certainly it is analogy, and not logic or any other linear form of thinking, that relates *Empire and Communications* to the studies of transportation and staples which preceded it. "The Nile," began Innis, "with its irregularities of overflow, demanded a co-ordination of effort. The river created the black land which could only be exploited with a universally accepted discipline and a common good will of the inhabitants. The Nile acted as a principle of order and centralization, necessitated collective work, created solidarity, imposed organizations upon the people, and cemented them in society."[18] Reading this passage, Maheux and others had been unable to see that Innis was again studying a river system in relation to basic staple content. The basic staple here was silt, which structured life in ancient Egypt far more radically than had fur in New France or cod in Newfoundland. Innis did not treat this basic staple merely as content. The medium was the message; and the message here was mud.

Writing one year after the death of Innis, McLuhan had observed: "If one were asked to state briefly the basic change which occurred in the thought of Innis in his last decade it could be said that he shifted his attention from the trade-routes of the external world to the trade-routes of the mind."[19] There was truth in this simplification. Innis had indeed turned to consider different sorts of media, numbered among which was words. And words, like rivers — as in the instance of the word "communications" — may change their content. But he remained interested in the external world, particularly as it related to the ideological and material structures of empire. And it was here that his "late work" related most closely to that of other Canadian scholars.

For if during his lifetime these scholars tended to be bewildered by, or uninterested in, "communications theory," some shared his interest in written and un-

written traditions, at least insofar as they related to the British, American and Canadian constitutions; and many shared his concern for the changing forms of empire, at least insofar as they related to the British and Canadian empires. Indeed, in this latter regard, Canadian history was then concerned with little else. Yet if early critics of the "late work" tended to be blind to the context of the "early work," they were no less blind to this wider imperial context of which they, themselves, were a part.

DURING INNIS'S LIFETIME, the dominant, non-republican concepts of empire entertained in Canada were those of constitutional historians concerned to trace contemporary forms of government within the British empire from earlier forms. Taking many of their key ideas from unwritten conventions of parliamentary government and from explanations for the imperial breakdown that had attended the American revolution, these scholars were most markedly influenced by the political theory and rhetoric that had attended the mid-nineteenth century triumph of the Canadian "Baldwinite" reform movement, the leaders of which had derived many ideas from Irish Whigs, or "Volunteers" as they termed themselves, who had dominated a theoretically independent parliament existing in Dublin in the last two decades of the eighteenth century. As eighteenth-century mercantile forms of empire yielded to nineteenth-century pressures for *laissez-faire*, these Canadian reformers sought to apply their Whig ideas, a shifting complex of which became attached to their party slogan: "Responsible Government and the Voluntary Principle."[20] By the twentieth century the early Whig background had been lost sight of; but "responsible government," the idea of which was then thought to have originated in the 1820's and 30's, had come to be accepted as a concept of political science, and indeed of constitutional law. Thus in *Baldwin, Lafontaine, Hincks: Responsible Government*, which was published in 1907, Stephen Leacock observed that in his own day Robert Baldwin had frequently been derided as a "man of one idea." "Time has shown," he said, "that this one idea of Robert Baldwin, — the conception of responsible government, — has proved the cornerstone of the British imperial system."[21] The term "responsible government," however, remained imprecise; for while it signified the right of colonial legislatures to the practice of ministerial responsibility after the model of unwritten conventions prevailing at Westminster, it was also used to denote what was necessarily implied by this practice, namely complete colonial autonomy. And it was in this latter sense that "responsible government" was perceived to lie at the heart of the new association of sovereign states that was emerging from older imperial structures. Thus it became a matter of concern to imperially-oriented scholars to establish that this

form of autonomy was complementary to, rather than contradictory of, imperial unity.

It was within this context that Chester Martin published *Empire and Commonwealth: Studies in Governance and Self-Governance in Canada* in 1929. The development of the eighteenth-century empire into the modern commonwealth, Martin argued, was due to the achievement of "responsible government" which prevented the empire from being further shattered by the legislative structure of the old mercantile system. Martin, however, was less interested in this than in the continuity of political ideas and attitudes from the eighteenth century, which he took to be the very cement of empire. As William Kilbourn has put it: "He hearked back with 'a melancholy interest' and longing to the undivided North America of the mid-eighteenth century, when Benjamin Franklin called the British Empire the greatest political structure that human wisdom and freedom had ever yet erected, and dared to predict 'that the foundations of [its] future grandeur and stability . . . lie in America'."[22] This was a nostalgic view of empire; but the point to be noticed is that it was *idealist*.

To others the Commonwealth of Nations seemed little more than the ideological husk of an empire in the last stages of decline. Such was the view of Donald Creighton whose "Laurentian thesis" was informed by a concept of empire that was *materialist*. Empire, Creighton contended, was dependent upon mercantile systems, upon centralized governments and upon prescriptive statutes, rather than parliamentary traditions. Such was the "commercial empire of the St. Lawrence," an extension of which became the Dominion of Canada after 1867 but which first existed as an integral part of the British mercantile empire. Because of the struggle for "responsible government" within the colonies and the triumph of the free trade movement in Britain, the larger mercantile structure collapsed by the 1850's; but out of its wreckage emerged the expanded empire of the St. Lawrence known as the Dominion of Canada.[23]

Of critical importance to any understanding of Creighton is the fact that this new empire very closely resembled the old which, in most respects, served as its model. As envisaged in 1867, for example, provinces were to relate to the new federal government as colonies had once related to the imperial government at London. The rights to appoint and instruct lieutenant-governors to the provinces, to disallow provincial legislation, to make laws binding upon the provinces and so forth were given to the central government; and the imperial model was departed from only to strengthen that government. Thus representatives to the federal parliament were to be elected and appointed from the provinces, as they had not been from the colonies; the powers of provincial governments were specifically defined, as had never been the case with respect to colonial governments; and this whole federal structure was now entrenched in an imperial statute, the *British North America Act*. And, from an economic point of view,

this structure, like the old, was underpinned by a mercantile system, the so-called "National Policy" of 1878 which was really three inter-related policies of trans-continental railway building, settlement of the western hinterland tapped by this communications system, and a protective tariff policy calculated to unite that staple producing region with its eastern manufacturing metropolis. The Conservatives, observed Creighton with respect to these policies, "had found their answers to the riddle of national unity; and for the next half-dozen years they plunged into a wild career of economic and political nationalism."[24]

The basic structures of the old empire and the new dominion indeed had much in common; and everything Creighton has written may be viewed as a defence of these forms, or as counter-attacks upon their many enemies. Thus he assailed the *laissez-faire* doctrines of Adam Smith and the other classical economists, which relaxed the tariff structure of the old empire,[25] even as he assailed the legal doctrine of the justices of the privy council which loosened the language of the written Canadian constitution to very nearly the same effect.[26]

Thus Creighton wrote as much from within a tradition as did Martin; for if the latter hearkened back to the Whig tradition of "Baldwinite" reform, the former did the same with regard to a Tory tradition of those loyal to a concept of the old united empire. In conflict with each other since the eighteenth century, these two traditions had also been in conflict with a third which derived its ideology and conceptual models from the American republic that emerged from the imperial breakdown that so concerned the other two. Essentially oral, all three traditions structured political attitudes, interpretations of past history, and one's understanding of contemporary actuality. The resilience of these traditions to fundamental change, and to contradictory or incompatible evidence of a written nature, is illustrated by *Foundations of Canadian Nationhood*, which was published by Chester Martin in 1955 after he had considered the "Laurentian thesis." In this last major work, as Kilbourn has observed, Martin "went so far as to dismiss economic factors such as 'western oil, Quebec iron, the St. Lawrence Seaway, prolific industrial expansion' as 'the more specious aspects of nationhood'."[27]

THESE CONFLICTING TRADITIONS, with their varying concepts of empire, afford a context against which *Empire and Communications* and other late work may be usefully understood. Innis differed from the Whig school of Martin in that he regarded "the struggle for responsible government" as "essentially a struggle for jobs for the native born,"[28] and more especially by not treating economic factors as specious aspects of either empire or "nationhood." But because of his mistrust of written constitutions, and because of a related regard

for the principles of *laissez-faire*, he seems to have been more fundamentally opposed to the Tory tradition of Creighton.

The economist W. T. Easterbrook once remarked that Innis "remained throughout [his career] a disciple of Adam Smith and no name appears more frequently in his observations on economics past and present."[29] Like Smith, Innis was hostile to monopolies of power; but, beyond this, he was opposed to the means whereby such power was entrenched and structures of government made resistant to change that necessarily attended shifts in the balance of political power. It was not statutory prescription, he contended, but the flexible traditions of the common law that enabled the British constitution to adapt itself to such change in the nineteenth century;[30] and it was in like fashion that he reflected upon the federal structure of Canada. "The British North America Act," he wrote, "had produced its own group of idolators and much has been done to interpret the views and sayings of the fathers of confederation in a substantial body of patristic literature. But though interpretations of decisions of the Privy Council have been subjected to intensive study and complaints have been made about their inconsistency, inconsistencies have implied flexibility and have offset the dangers of rigidity characteristic of written constitutions."[31] Canada, he thought, was dangerously centralized. "Freedom in Canada," he wrote, "rests on the tenuous support of the Privy Council and on continued struggle between provinces and the Dominion. . . . The lack of unity which has preserved Canadian unity threatens to disappear."[32] Views of this sort were completely contradictory of the constitutional theory that informed the "Laurentian thesis."

Yet the materialist-idealist conflict which we have noticed with regard to the traditions of Creighton and Martin, informed also the imperial theory of Innis. Just as he had once perceived that the shift in the material culture of Indian societies occasioned by the fur trade had destroyed those societies, so too he thought that a shift of the material culture of Europe occasioned by the industrial revolution, and the ideas this generated, constituted a threat to civilization and the empires which sustained it. It was here that he departed both from Adam Smith and from basic assumptions that sustained Creighton's concept of empire. "An interest in material goods," he wrote, "which characterized the Scottish people, represented notably in Adam Smith, has been followed by an attitude described by Samuel Butler: 'All progress is based upon a universal innate desire on the part of every organism to live beyond its income.' The concern with specialization and excess, making for more and better mousetraps, precluded the possibility of understanding a preceding civilization concerned with balance and proportion."[33]

Certainly it precluded a possibility of understanding Innis whose concern for balance and proportion was at odds with what he took to be an undue materialist bias in both historical explanation and its social context. Here he stood with J. M. Keynes who, asserting "that he belonged to the first generation to throw

hedonism out the window and to escape from the Benthamite tradition," had contended that the calculus of interest was "the worm which has been gnawing at the insides of modern civilization and is responsible for its present moral decay."

It was this escape from the Benthamite calculus, based on an overvaluation of the economic criterion, according to Keynes, which had "served to protect the whole lot of us from the final *reductio ad absurdum* of Benthamism known as Marxism."[34]

But Innis was not altogether opposed to Marx. Indeed, in defending what he termed "the living tradition, which is peculiar to the oral as against the mechanized tradition," he once remarked, "Much of this will smack of Marxian interpretation but I have tried to use the Marxian interpretation to interpret Marx. There has been no systematic pushing of the Marxist conclusion to its ultimate limit, and in pushing it to its limit, showing its limitations."[35] Yet in many ways the late work seems to have been an attempt at just that. It was Marx, not Innis, after all, who first taught that the fundamental and determining factor in all societies was the mode of economic production, that all important changes in the culture of a period were ultimately to be explained in terms of changes in the economic substructure. What Innis had to say about the effects of staple production in staple-producing societies was in no way contradictory of this doctrine and, in all probability, owed much to it. But in his late work he seems to have pushed this doctrine toward its limits by treating such inter-related media of communications as language, writing and printing, not only as technologies which disrupted and transformed societies at an economic level, but also as media which, by a process of mental conditioning, altered the human psyche by imposing literal mindedness and linear patterns of thought. Linear concepts of time, and related linear concepts of historical development, Innis suggested, were a product of this technological conditioning.

Innis might have pushed this Marxist doctrine yet further by proposing that what one technology had accomplished, new or other technologies might yet serve to undo or alter. But he never did; that was the work of McLuhan. Instead he insisted that written and oral traditions had to be held *in balance*. This was one of the least impressive aspects of the late work in that it boiled down to a proposal for a sort of stasis in a world in which all things were subject to change.

I have suggested that the late work may be usefully understood if referred back to its matrix, to that land of crumbling empires and of scrambled signals that was Canada. And I have suggested also that it be referred to the more immediate matrix of the mind that generated it, to a mind reflected by literary style. What Innis wrote was never drafted with the rigid precision of a written constitution; nor did it always conform to the more flexible standards of standard scholarly reporting. Indeed some of the late work has suggested to Carl Berger "a mind caught up in a kind of intellectual cyclone where everything impinged all at once

and from all directions, and where there seemed to be no place for stability and contemplation."[36] The mind of Innis might thus appear to have been simply distracted. But it is fair to remember that he had come to regard normative literary forms as so many fetters of the mind. And it must also be remembered that events and ideas do impinge all at once and from all directions in living reality as they do not, and can not, in written prose of a logical and sequentially ordered nature. It is most probably for this reason that the stylistic peculiarities of Innis bear some resemblance to the "McLuhanese" employed by the leading interpreter of the late work. Thus it well may be that these cyclonic passages reflect the steady contemplation of an unstable reality by a powerful mind breaking the mechanical shackles that constrained it.

In this latter regard the work of both Innis and McLuhan may yet have important effects upon the writing of history. Writing, Innis observed, "implied a decline in the power of expression and the creation of grooves which determined the channels of thought of readers and later writers."[37] Understood in terms of itself, and not judged by way of preconceived thought patterns, the prose of Innis and McLuhan might well serve to jolt Canadian historical thought from the historiographical grooves to which it has been long habituated.

NOTES

[1] Ramsay Cook, "La Survivance English-Canadian Style," *The Maple Leaf Forever* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1971), p. 144.

[2] H. A. Innis, "The Bias of Communication," *The Bias of Communication* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1951), p. 33.

[3] H. A. Innis, "The Problem of Space," *The Bias of Communication*, p. 92; F. M. Cornford, "The Invention of Space," *Essays in Honour of Gilbert Murray* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1926).

[4] Cook, *op. cit.*

[5] D. G. Creighton, "The Decline and Fall of the Empire of the St. Lawrence," *Towards the Discovery of Canada* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1972), p. 160.

[6] McLuhan treats commodities as media in *Understanding Media: The Extension of Man* (New York: Signet, 1962).

[7] H. A. Innis, *Empire and Communications*, rev. ed. (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1972), p. 5.

[8] Ibid., p. 6.

[9] D. G. Creighton, *Harold Adams Innis: Portrait of a Scholar* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1957), p. 112.

[10] J. M. S. Careless, "Frontierism, Metropolitanism and Canadian History," *Canadian Historical Review*, 25 (1954), 14.

[11] *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, 17 (1951), 98.

[12] *Canadian Historical Review*, 31 (1950).

[13] Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

[14] Ibid., p. 144.

[15] Leslie A. Pal, "Scholarship and the Later Innis," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 12 (1977), 42.

[16] Carl Berger, *The Writing of Canadian History: Aspects of English-Canadian Historical Writing* (Toronto: Oxford, 1976), p. 188.

[17] Ibid.

[18] *Empire and Communications*, p. 12.

[19] Marshall McLuhan, "The Later Innis," *Queen's Quarterly*, 60 (1953), 385.

[20] G. H. Patterson, "Whiggery, Nationality and the Upper Canadian Reform Tradition," *Canadian Historical Review*, 56 (1975); "An Enduring Canadian Myth: Responsible Government and the Family Compact," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 12 (1977).

[21] Stephen Leacock, *Baldwin, Lafontaine, Hincks, Responsible Government* (Toronto: Morang, 1907), p. ix.

[22] W. M. Kilbourn, "The Writing of Canadian History," in C. F. Klinck, ed., *Literary History of Canada* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1965), p. 499.

[23] D. G. Creighton, *The Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1937); *Dominion of the North* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1944).

[24] *Dominion of the North*, p. 346.

[25] Ibid., pp. 223-24; "The Victorians and the Empire," *Towards the Discovery of Canada.*

[26] *Dominion of the North*, pp. 378-80; pp. 466-67.

[27] W. M. Kilbourn, *op. cit.*, p. 500.

[28] H. A. Innis, "Great Britain, the United States and Canada," *Changing Concepts of Time* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1952), pp. 115-16.

[29] W. T. Easterbrook, "Innis and Economics," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, 19 (1953), 291.

[30] H. A. Innis, "Roman Law and the British Empire," *Changing Concepts of Time*, p. 49.

[31] "Great Britain, the United States and Canada," p. 120.

[32] H. A. Innis, "Political Economy in the Modern State," *Political Economy in the Modern State* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1946), pp. 132-33.

[33] H. A. Innis, "Industrialism and Cultural Values," *The Bias of Communication*, pp. 139-40.

[34] H. A. Innis, "A Plea for Time," *The Bias of Communication*, pp. 79-80.

[35] H. A. Innis, "A Critical Review," ibid., p. 190.

[36] Carl Berger, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

[37] H. A. Innis, "Minerva's Owl," *The Bias of Communication*, p. 11.

THE SERVANTS OF CLIO

Notes on Creighton & Groulx

George Woodcock

IT WAS NOT WITHOUT REASON that the ancients placed history under the patronage of the muses. For the great works of the servants of Clio belong as much to the realm of literary art as they do to the realm of science. There is, I suggest, an inevitability in this situation. For history, while its details can indeed be assembled with all the patience of a laboratory worker, can only be conceived in its entirety through an act of the imagination and can only be brought to plausible life through the resources of the literary craft. Indeed, there is a common realm where history and other forms of literature, such as drama and fiction, come together, and essentially it is only a different way of using the imagination to arrange the past that distinguishes Thucydides and Gibbon from, say, the Aeschylus of *The Persians* or the Shakespeare of *Henry V*. All of them deal with history; all of them mingle fact and conjecture in memorable forms whose appeal goes beyond a mere interest in the detail of events to an inspired apprehension of the shape of the past. This, of course, is why research can disprove what a great historian may say in terms of factual detail, and yet leave a work like *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* unassailed as a literary masterpiece, as a triumph of tragic vision. It is also why a historian like Spengler can be positively perverse in his selection and interpretation of facts and yet produce a vision so compelling and so fitting for its time that no degree of criticism can dispel the powerful and gloomy achievement of *The Decline of the West*, or greatly reduce its influence.

The great historians are important in literary terms not only for the lasting appeal of their major works, which continue to irradiate the imaginations of generations of readers, but also for the extent to which they contribute to the wider pattern of literature, not only by providing writers directly with dominant themes, but perhaps even more importantly by crystallizing collective myths, the myths of nations and the myths of movements. The Tory and the Whig view of English history were essentially mythical in character, and they were given form respectively by Clarendon and by Macaulay, to whom we owe respectively much of our sense of the English past as tradition and the same past as progress.

Gibbon's great panorama of the trajectory of Roman greatness helped, as did Vico's historical writings, to create a myth of cyclicity in the growth and decay of civilizations which has not only been echoed in varying ways by later historians like Spengler and Toynbee, but profoundly affects the way western man observes the life processes of his own institutions and may indeed help to produce the phenomena of cyclic decline because he expects and tends therefore to promote them.

Historians, in other words, not only present history. To a considerable degree, they make it, especially when their visions of past and present affect our hopes and even our sense of what is practicable in the future. As Edmund Wilson showed so ably in *To The Finland Station*, what actually happened on the European continent in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was greatly affected by historical generalizations of Vico and Michelet which found their way into political action, filtered through the writings of Karl Marx and the actions of Lenin and his associates and predecessors.

In every culture that is conscious of itself as a living, and therefore growing or declining entity, there are historians who play the kind of role I have been describing, and who work beside the more strictly academic gatherers and arrangers of facts. They are the controversial historians whose interpretations are often assailed, but whose grand co-ordinating visions help to shape the way a people or a period will regard itself by giving it a plausible past. The younger cultures produce such historians as freely as the older ones; indeed, their emergence, like the emergence of literary criticism, is one of the signs that a culture is moving into the kind of mature self-consciousness that recognizes the need for conceptual forms, for a vision in which land and people, place and past, can be given recognizable shape in a myth that both explains and inspires. Frederick Jackson Turner's presentation of the concept of the frontier as a dominant influence on the evolution of American society and the American collective persona is one of the best-known examples from the New World. Although the American frontier culture — in so far as it ever existed — is burning out in the last wilderness of Alaska, Turner's theory, filtered through other historians and through journalistic representations of the past, continues to influence the way Americans see themselves and their society; it is partly responsible for the irritable defence of one's own mental and physical living place that makes American society so markedly more violent than Canadian.

Historians who are active in the creation of theories that develop into national — or even in the case of Spengler and Toynbee international — myths, are often accused of dealing cavalierly with the facts, of being dominated by preconception and — sometimes — by prejudice. Such accusations have often been brought — and not without justification — against the two Canadian historians, Donald Creighton and the late Lionel Groulx, who are the subjects of these notes. Yet it

can be argued that in the special way they handle factuality, such historians are presenting their own kind of actuality: the actuality of the self-images — collective and individual — by which a people act and which ultimately affect and modify the mundane facts of their existence.

Here, I suggest, a two-way process operates — a process which is a specialized version of Wilde's famous axiom about life imitating art. The mythologist-historian extracts from the past a chart of dominant trends — physical as well as psychological, intellectual as well as technological — and from this chart he detects an emergent current that projects itself into the future, so that he is not only telling us what we have been, but also foretelling what we may potentially be, and it is this quasi-prophetic element that most sharply distinguishes such a historian from others — Creighton, for example, from W. L. Morton among Canadian historians. And in so far as his charting of the course from past to future affects the thoughts and actions of people — as the chartings by both Creighton and Groulx to varying extents have done — he becomes a self-fulfilling prophet, and life imitates history in what — significantly — is its most artistic form.

DONALD CREIGHTON AND LIONEL GROULX share a great deal as well as their inclination to write history in a way that changes the present and affects the future through a myth-making interpretation of the past. Both have offered nationalist interpretations of the past, Creighton glorifying the transcontinental conception of the original Dominion-builders and Groulx glorifying the conception of Québec as a nation destined to defend Catholic values and verities.

Both are frankly partisan in their approaches, advocating, as a result of their historical analyses, specific courses of action. Groulx argued persistently that in order to survive, French Canadians must sustain their Catholic culture and also their racial purity; the dilution of the race even through marriage with English-speaking Catholics could — as he suggested in his novel, *L'Appel de la Race* — be fatal to Québecois integrity and the purity of the apostolic mission. Creighton, on the other hand, has argued — perhaps never more strongly than in a *Maclean's* article entitled "No More Concessions" (June 27, 1977) — that French Canadian particularism has prevented the Canadian nation from developing to maturity through "a successful determination to prevent Canada from becoming a nation and to perpetuate its colonial status," and on the basis of such arguments has advocated that in the last resort English Canada can survive without Québec while Québec without English Canada will rot in "a stagnant economic backwater of independence."

Both writers have created their characteristic myths. Creighton's is that of the commercial empire of the St. Lawrence which dominated the development of New France and which, before it expired in the mid-nineteenth century, had projected into the vast hinterland of the *pays d'en haut* the lines of trade and communication and eventually settlement and immigration which ensured that a trans-continental nation would emerge out of the divided colonies of British North America and sustain a different political and cultural existence — less individualist, more collectivist and traditional — from that of the American republic south of the border. Groulx's myth was that of a Catholic nation with an inspirational mission in the American continent, sustaining itself against vastly superior cultural odds to fulfil its splendid spiritual destiny.

In developing these myths each of the two historians had his predecessor, his intellectual guru. Creighton's master was H. A. Innis, especially the Innis of *The Fur Trade in Canada*, which contained the essential germ out of which — with Innis's encouragement — Creighton built the scenario of his first book, *The Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence.* Creighton differed from Innis's other celebrated disciple — Marshall McLuhan — in that he put the master's tortuously expressed ideas into eloquent prose; McLuhan, unfortunately, inherited the obscurities of the Innis style, and used his master's insights, unlike Creighton, to construct a continental and even a cosmopolitan rather than a national vision. Groulx developed, though with a more sharply ultramontanist Catholicism and a more abrasive consciousness of race, a theme of *survivance* that had already been given eloquent exposition in François-Xavier Garneau's pioneer narrative of the formation and the continuance of French Canada (written in response to Durham's notorious assertion that the *canadiens* had neither history nor culture), *Histoire du Canada depuis sa découverte jusqu'à nos jours*, published in the 1840's. Stressing even more strongly than Garneau the continuity of Québecois culture, and introducing the theme of a constant struggle against a relentless pressure from English Canada, Groulx extends and elaborates the early historian's task of national justification in works like *La Naissance d'un race* (1919), *Notre maître le passé* (1924-44) and *Histoire du Canada française depuis la découverte* (1950-52).

Myths demand heroes, and both Creighton and Groulx found heroes fitting their requirements. Groulx chose, as the paladin in his dream of the Canadian past, the seventeenth-century soldier, Dollard des Ormeaux, who in 1660 led a forlorn hope of sixteen Frenchmen against the Iroquois and died defending an improvised fort at the Long Sault. Other Québecois historians, notably Gustave Lanctot, challenged the authenticity of Groulx's account of the incident in *Si Dollard revient* (1919), in which he sought to establish Dollard as a model of courageous resistance for contemporary Québecois, but he continued defending his position in later books, like *Le Dossier de Dollard* (1932) and as late as 1960

in *Dollard, est-il un mythe?* In fact, whatever the actual truth of his portrait of Dollard, Groulx's intent made his presentation a myth, as deliberately shaped as those Plato advocated for the achievement of a political end, in Groulx's case the raising of the spirit of resistance to what he saw as a deliberate English effort to stifle Québecois Catholic culture. In *Paroles à des étudiants* (1941) he actually called on students to pray for the coming of a great leader, as noble and dedicated as the Dollard he portrayed, who in the twentieth century would inspire the Québecois to fulfil the historic and apostolic destiny of their race.

Creighton chose a less obviously chivalric champion in Sir John A. Macdonald, and in his two massive volumes of biography, *The Young Politician* (1952) and *The Old Chieftain* (1955), he completed the first important study of the most interesting political personality Canada has yet produced. It is a book that demonstrates the degree of Creighton's literary artistry, for he shows his recognition that biography is a quite different craft from national history, and achieves that true balance between subject and background, between the private and the public, which is so difficult to sustain in a political biography. Yet he never attains, or even attempts, a total objectivity. His sympathies are openly and honestly expressed, and the other figures in the story are in one way or another diminished, so that Macdonald stands out in high relief, as a figure symbolic of the development of Canada, in which he played so active and central a part, and hence as a figure of mythic proportions, embodying on a grand scale the virtues and frailties of his people, forming his nation with a wayward intuitive wisdom, and in the end, at his death, becoming identified, in the last words of *The Old Chieftain*, with the land itself:

> Beyond the dock lay the harbour and the islands which marked the end of the lowest of the Great Lakes; and beyond the islands the St. Lawrence River began its long journey to the sea.

The mythic and the heroic are intimately associated with the tragic, and the vision of Donald Creighton at the end of his career, like that of Lionel Groulx in his final years, has been darkened with a deep pessimism about the achievement of the glorious destiny as an independent nation that he once conceived, under the inspiration of its geographical vastness, for his country. And each of the two historians has discovered his particular tragic flaw in his nation's history to account for the disaster he sees impending. Groulx, who once declared that "entre beaucoup de façons d'aimer sa patrie, la meilleure, la plus féconde pour la patrie elle-même, c'est de l'aimer dans ses intérêts eternels, sa mission providentielle," lived long enough to see the rise in national consciousness which he so passionately desired take on a secular form and to realize that the young, who had once supported him, were now mocking his views on the necessary link between being a Québecois and being a devout Catholic of the ultramontanist

persuasion. The disenchantment which permeates Groulx's late book, *Chemins de l'avenir* (1960), is paralleled in Creighton's most recent historical work, *The Forked Road* (1976), an account of the Canadian years from 1939 to 1957, in which he sees the vast promise of Confederation negated or at least imperilled by the supine continentalism of the Liberals, by the inroads of provincialism, and by the consistent betrayal of the ideal of united Canada by a succession of French Canadian leaders.

As a final parallel between Creighton and Groulx, before I turn to their essential differences, there is the fact that both of them have had the urge to overstep the frontiers between literary genres, and have attempted — Groulx the more successfully — to express their convictions through highly tendentious works of fiction. Groulx published his two novels under a nom-de-plume, Alonié de Lestres, which he may have adopted because of doubts about the reception that would be given to the first of these books, *L'appel de la race*. The book is in fact as naively racist as its title suggests. The hero, Jules de Lantagnac, comes to believe in "les affinités profondes de la race française et du catholicisme. C'est pourquoi, sans doute, on la dit la race de l'universel." His belief is reinforced by experience, since he marries an English convert to Catholicism, and goes to live in an Anglo-saxon environment where, despite his wife's acceptance of his own religion, he finds himself "effroyablement pénétré par les infiltrations protestantes." Eventually the family breaks up, and Jules, with two of his children, returns to his roots, while his wife and the other two remain with the English. Beyond the failure of Lantagnac's marriage there looms, in Groulx's mind, the larger failure of Confederation, of the marriage of the two principal Canadian races. And as a murky under-current there runs through the novel the sinister suggestion that antagonisms between nationalities and races are not only inevitable but necessary. Groulx's second novel, *Au cap Blomidon*, sustains its nationalist theme with much less passion and animosity than *L'appel de la race*; it is a rather simple story of an Acadian who works as hired man on a farm that once belonged to his family but is now owned by English-speakers; eventually he manages to buy back the land, and in this way symbolizes the repossession by the French Canadians of their material and spiritual heritage, the repossession for which Groulx all his lifetime longed.

Donald Creighton's novel, *Takeover* (1978), is a lighter work than either of Groulx's, written with deliberate melodrama and a touch of tongue-in-cheek gaiety. It is the story of the attempt by Americans to take over an old-established Canadian distillery. An aged lady, Aunt Cecilia, is the only member of the family to resist the sale, which all the others in various ways see as being to their

advantage; she is murdered by a desperate grand-niece. At the last moment Hugh Stuart, the main shareholder, feels he cannot carry on with the negotiations in view of the dead woman's wishes, and the novel ends on an ambiguous note. "But the past reached out and clutched him, and held him fast." One is left to wonder whether this message of mental and moral enslavement to dead tradition is all that Creighton's nationalism has in the end to offer. Or is this curious, gloomy, yet cynically amusing little fiction a measure of the extent to which Creighton now considers his old vision of Canada a lost cause, a measure of his sense of the myth ending — like so many myths of great adventures — in the triumph of negation?

Perhaps one sees the faults of both Creighton and Groulx most clearly in their novels because fiction is not their craft, and they are not so adept as other novelists in concealing the theme within the structure of the narrative. Too much is left for the characters to state, rather than for action to suggest and language to evoke. But essentially the qualities that spoil *L'appel de la race* and *Takeover* as credible fiction are the same as those that distinguish Creighton and Groulx, as historians, from other historians who are more closely dominated by factual rather than psychological actuality.

Both of them in fact begin from a vision that has a subjective reality outside history rather than an objective reality within history. In Creighton's case, the dominant vision is spatial even more than temporal; perhaps only Francis Parkman among North American historians conveyed so intensely the grandeur of the land, and there are times, particularly in *The Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence*, when one feels one is reading a splendid and constantly changing map of a vast and sparsely peopled land rather than a narrative of events in time.

In the case of Groulx, the dominant subjective vision is that of the nation which is a manifestation of the church militant, uniting the dead and the living with its ranks as it advances on its divinely conferred mission. In an oration delivered at the very beginning of his career, when he was barely nineteen, Groulx declared to an audience of students:

> Messieurs, vous êtes catholiques, vous êtes catholiques, vous êtes français: c'est-à-dire: lutteurs et chevaliers. Comme tous vos ainés dont la glorieuse phalange est aujourd'hui devant vous, un jour vous irez vous aligner comme soldats aux frontières de la société. Soldat, il faut l'être, il faut l'être à notre age.

He never changed his view; Jeanne d'Arc was always one of his most beloved saints.

Inevitably, there are profound divergences between the visions of Creighton and Groulx, quite apart from the fact that Creighton's is secular (only the occasional orotundity of utterance betraying a youth of listening to Methodist ser-

mons) and Groulx's is unalterably religious. Perhaps the most important of these differences is that while Creighton's vision is expansive, Groulx's is defensive.

Creighton originally conceived Canada in grandiose terms, as an empire of the north; no longer a part of the British Empire, it seemed destined to follow its own imperial destiny which could be fulfilled within the confines of its own vast territory, without the need even to consider colonizing other lands. Having celebrated that destiny in *The Empire of the St. Lawrence*, in *Dominion of the North*, in the two volumes of his life of Macdonald, Creighton in the end saw it aborted by the surrender to continentalism, and hence to the rival American imperialism, on the part of successive Liberal governments, particularly under the malign direction of William Lyon Mackenzie King, who in Creighton's myth became the villain balancing the heroic Macdonald. What Macdonald built, King destroyed.

Groulx's vision, on the other hand, is anti-imperial, and not merely in the political sense. He did not envision the conquest — by commerce and settlement — of vast territories, as Creighton did. His Quebec remained enclosed within its traditional frontiers, and gained its significance and its sanctity from its role as one of those lesser nations which Groulx called "des peuples martyrs"; their virtue lay in a lack of the opportunity for material corruption, and they were destined to live as examples on a higher moral and spiritual level to the more prosperous and powerful nations, the great powers. Canada might conceivably — Laurier in an exalted moment had foreseen it — attain in the twentieth century to great power status; no degree of imagination could confer such a demoralizing possibility on Québec. And, since imperial expansion did not enter into the destiny of French Canada, it must conserve and defend its spiritual power, its moral testimony.

CONSIDERED IN TEMPORAL rather than in spatial terms, Groulx's vision is regressive, whereas Creighton's is progressive. Groulx always leads us to the desired future via the past. He originated a battle cry when he declared: "Nous avons à choisir ou de redevenir maîtres chez nous ou de nous resigner à jamais aux destinées d'un peuple de serfs," and the operative word in the sentence I have just quoted is surely "redevenir" — to "become again." What Groulx in fact sought was to recreate in Québec a Catholic community such as existed before the Conquest of 1760, but purged of its historic faults and prepared to apply a Christian discipline to material progress so that the evils of modern industrial societies would be mitigated on the shores of the St. Lawrence.

To define Creighton's vision as "progressive" may seem out-of-place in view of his strictures on the progressivism which he sees as one of the characteristics

shared by the English Whig historians and the Canadian Liberal historians, whom he despises to a man. As he defines it, in the Whig-Liberal view,

> the course of historical change could obviously be nothing but the onward march of progress; and thus the task of the historian was not merely to explain and account for the present, but also to justify and vindicate it historically. Everything in the past which had the appearance of an origin, anticipation or promise of some valued feature of contemporary society was emphasized by the Whig historians; and everything that seemed incongruous in the eyes of the twentieth century or incompatible with its standards and values was treated briefly or criticized or explained away.

In the same Introduction to *Towards the Discovery of Canada* (1972) in which the above passage occurs, Creighton goes on to point out what he considers the basic flaw in the Canadian Liberal view of history — a view he describes as "almost a complete inversion of my own."

> In their eyes, Canada's fundamental purpose was not survival in North America but emancipation from Europe. The winning of responsible government and what used to be called "Dominion status" — the achievement of compete autonomy inside the British Empire-Commonwealth — seemed to them by far the most important theme in Canadian history. They concentrated on constitutional history and the changing nature of the imperial connection; they neglected military history and relations with the United States. Gradually Canada's long armed struggle for existence in a continent dominated by the United States receded into the dim, forgotten past; and Canadian-American "good neighbourhood" along "the four thousand miles of undefended frontier" was accepted as the natural condition of peaceful North America. Somehow Liberal historians managed to ignore or forget the fact that Great Britain had more often than not taken the initiative in the growth of responsible government and that, at the time of Confederation, she might have been readily persuaded to grant Canada independence. Instead they had converted the achievement of self-government into a long, acrimonious struggle in which every concession had been extorted by eager Canadians from an unwilling and obstinate Motherland.

Clearly what Creighton is rejecting is the idea that progress is inevitable, of which the corollary is the complacent belief that the present is always better than the past. Clearly, to Creighton, a present in which Canada's economic and cultural life has largely been colonized by American interests and influences is worse than a past in which Canada's links were strong with the European world and helped to sustain a distinctive British North American civilization. On the other hand, Creighton's vision of Canada is itself distinctly progressive, in the sense that he sees a steady movement to encompass the land, to subject it first to commerce and then to settlement, and also a steady movement from the condition of a divided pattern of colonial provinces to a Dominion that could have been a Kingdom, might have been an empire, and can only survive as a strong nation state. The principal difference between Creighton's progressivisim and

that of the Whig-Liberal historians is that he does not see progress as inevitable. It is not there to be accepted; it must be willed and shaped by a dominating vision.

But the dominating vision extends to the past as well as the present and future and, as in all mythological history, tends to shape the past in terms of the desirable present. This explains what one can only describe as a major distortion in Creighton's view of Canadian history: that he treats Confederation as if its intent were not Confederation. More than any other Canadian historian, Creighton has fostered the fallacy that the Fathers of Confederation did not intend to create a genuine federalism, but a strong central government to which the provinces would be everlastingly subordinate. To strengthen his argument, he claimed that Confederation was not a compact between the colonies of British North America, but an arrangement imposed by the imperial government. All this flies in the face of actuality. Macdonald and some of his associates undoubtedly desired a strong central government, but not all the Maritimers did; for them the whole virtue of Confederation lay in the guarantee that local rights and interests would be protected and not subordinated, while the British North America Act was framed to suit the agreed wishes of the provinces and, far from being imposed by the imperial power, was passed as a formality by an indifferent Mother of Parliaments, hardly more than a bare quorum being present.

Creighton's strong adherence to governmental centralism has not only affected his view of Canadian political history since Confederation, but has also distorted his presentation of Canadian historical figures. Thus the two great wars become glorious occasions, with the waste of lives conveniently minimized, because they were times when the central government became strong and the provinces were truly subordinated. And in Creighton's gallery of historical portraits, quite apart from his celebrated inflation of Macdonald and equally celebrated deflation of Mackenzie King, we have such interesting contrasts as his portraits of R. B. Bennett and Oliver Mowat. Bennett, we are told, with a plethora of approving adjectives, "was a tall, robust man, vigorous, vital, dynamic, with an instinct for command, a monopolizing capacity for work, and an annihilating talent for political attack." Mowat is dismissed as "a short, round, physically negligible man, who had a lively sense of his own importance and a lusty urge towards domination." Note how the very same quality changes from "an instinct for command" in the case of the Tory centralist Bennett to "a lusty urge towards domination" in the case of the passionate defender of provincial rights, Mowat.

Like myth, prejudice makes readable history, and there is no doubt that both Creighton and Groulx have owed a great deal of their influence to the fact that their judgments are so often intemperate, their passions strong, their visions powerful enough to sweep us, at least temporarily, into the state of mind in which inconvenient facts are ignored and grand designs become acceptable even if they

do not necessarily follow the actual passage of events. This may explain why, even when actual history has diverged from the ideal patterns they made for it, even when they themselves have seen myth turning into tragedy (with the rise of a self-conscious but secular Québec in Groulx's case and the reality of American domination in Creighton's case), we cannot dismiss such historians as without influence.

They helped to shape the mental climate of their time, and in this sense their works acted as catalysts, even if the results were not what they had intended. It is impossible to detach events in Québec over the past twenty years from the sense of unique nationhood implanted by Groulx's treatment of history over a writing life of more than sixty years. And Creighton's influence on non-academic historians like Pierre Berton, on philosophic nationalists like George Grant, on poets like Lee and Purdy, on novelists like MacLennan and Atwood, has been as immense as it is incalculable in precise terms, providing them with a great imaginative structure of Canadian geo-history within which their individual visions of the land and its fate could take shape. The very faults that academic historians have found in the work of Creighton and Groulx have tended to make them more faithful servants of Clio, the muse of history as art and as myth.

THE QUESTION, IS IT?

Alfred G. Bailey

We the People
of the great North American
societal provenience
await with hope
the hazard of high endeavour
with a good deal of uncertainty,
not to say misgiving.
Especially when we recall
that James Abbott McNeill Whistler,
to whom so many were in the habit of deferring
in the declining decades of the last century,
said that art happens,
and how could we tell
whether it would happen to us?

"Some of you folks,"
pronounced the learned sociologist,
speaking, at this year's annual
meeting of the Society,
with all the assurance
of an Egyptian soothsayer
at the court of Rameses the Second,
"may find yourselves
in the way of attaining the maximum."
All of us, say the nihilists
who go to the taverns
to practice their wit on the waiters
and proclaim in voices, artificially loud,
their voluble contraries.
The question arises, therefore,
whether the dogmatism of the nihilists
is or is not preferable to the persistent
ambiguities of the learned academics.
If enlightenment could not be found
in having recourse to the habits of the ant
and the beetle,
or even in the voluminous monographs
of the celebrated anthropologist, Claude Lévi-Strauss,
then one might take what comfort one could
from the contemplation of Raphael
copying the works of his mentors with the
frenzy
of a divinity in the act of making himself
visible.
Well, you know, you know, you know,
no matter what age you were born in,
nor how carefully instructed in the
principles of the dialectics,
simple recognition, even belated,
of the inadequacies of the biological analogy,
might start cogitations
that it would not be well to abandon,
(let us say)
for a trip to the woods in Spring
to admire the skill of the trailing arbutus
in decanting its fragrance.

FRYE IN PLACE

Francis Sparshott

INVITED TO CONSIDER THE PLACE of Northrop Frye in Canadian intellectual history, one is dumbfounded. Canadian *what*? The lesson that cries to mostly deaf ears from Creighton's *Empire of the Saint Lawrence* is that Canada was not until very lately a civilized nation at all, its literate orders being represented by a gaggle of drunken or teetotal traders. Klinck's history of Canadian literature likewise shows that we have had little to learn from each other. Again, essays in the history of Canadian philosophy have as yet brought to light, in addition to changing fashions in imports, only one native tradition (a tradition after which some of us still hanker), that of the tweedy or seedy exponent of this or that European line whose presence adds tone to the tea-parties or hospital boards of provincial capitals. It is not that Canada is a "new" or "young" country, appellations that Frye among others has mocked. It is rather that the topsoil is thin. One year you clear the brush, one year you raise a crop, one year the stone shows through, next year the tax sale. "Where is here?" is the question in which Frye has definitively posed the predicament of orientation in the home of the blackfly.[1] Frye's literary theorizing, as we will see, has given a sort of answer. But the shallowness of the soil remains unnerving.

The significance of Frye in literary studies in the English-speaking world is plain enough. Briefly, he redeemed critical theory from the neglect earned for it by the philosophical imbecility of the "new criticism," a movement made possible by a determined refusal to consider its own presuppositions. Of course the new critics had no monopoly: there had been the Chicago Aristotelians, adept at packaging things so that they would not rattle; René Wellek, who had learned from history everything except that a theory has to mean something; the astringent humanism or prissy sentimentalism of F. R. Leavis; and many more. But criticism in their practice had evidently not been a discipline. What Frye provided was an approach to literary studies that insisted on first principles. Even those who thought him a wrong-headed corrupter of consciousness had either to provide alternative principles or stand convicted of intellectual frivolity. For the decade after his *Anatomy* appeared in 1957 it was not unreasonable to see in him

the one indispensable figure in literary studies in the English-speaking world. In the last decade, he has been eclipsed by this or that form of structuralism. But he should not have been. He anticipated what is most crucial in those movements: the insistence that literary works are preceded by myths or codes that shape their meanings, and the realization that an author has only limited freedom because his medium (Derrida's *writing*) imposes meanings on which he can only perform variations and with which he must co-operate. But Frye adds what Barthes, for one, misses: a vision of literature as itself one code (or code of codes), a system of understanding. In effect, Frye thinks of literature as writing that has a certain fixed place in culture, and in relation to this or that set of features of which all other kinds of formal discourse must be defined. For lack of such articulation almost all Frye's predecessors and contemporaries seem by comparison naive or silly. This strategic superiority, together with the *odium theologicum* aroused by the associated tactics, is one of the things that has made Frye a target of widespread and intense hostility.

In the context of Canadian culture generally, the primary significance of Frye is that he is, without doubt or qualification, a world figure.[2] There are not many. Mordecai Richler coined the phrase "world-famous all across Canada" to pick out that uneasy hankering for centrality to which denizens of peripheral nations may succumb. As one reads the memoirs of Pelham Edgar (a figure, and a text, crucial for Frigiologists),[3] one is struck by his obtrusive modesty: it never occurs to Edgar that his own thought and work should take an equal place with that of British or American scholars of comparable gifts and attainments. This complacent assumption of inferiority, that those who make the intellectual running are necessarily elsewhere (so that, for instance, a Canadian university professor is primarily a teacher, because the research is already being done somewhere more central), an assumption that has amused or infuriated immigrant savants for a century, cannot survive a few Fryes who will calmly assume, and make the world agree, that where they sit *is* the head of the table.[4] It matters to all of us that Frye has taken it for granted that Victoria College, Toronto, is a quite natural place for a world figure to be.

Frye's more specific significance within the world of Canadian letters has taken two forms. Directly, his annual surveys of Canadian poetry from 1950 to 1959 set a standard of interpretive insight, pithy judgment, and impartial responsibility that according to some observers established a new level for poetry reviewing in a country where self-indulgent incompetence has been the rule for reviewers;[5] and his "Conclusion" to Klinck's *History* did what could be done in a masterly overview to establish for our literature a synthetic identity.[6] Less directly, by the example of his mythopoeic insight and by his insistence on the inner coherence of literatures he provided a younger generation of critics (Jones, Atwood) with the inspiration to trace new patterns in the national heritage, and encouraged some

poets (Reaney, Macpherson, Atwood again) to speak with a firmer voice by staking definite claims in what he helped them to see as a total imaginative world.[7]

One must not forget that Frye has played an energetic public part in the life of his country, in work for the *Canadian Forum* and the suitably short-lived *Here and Now* (where he was an early celebrator of the still underestimated genius of David Milne), in shadowy bodies like the CRTC and the Canada Council, and in the CCF,[8] as well as serving his own College not only as teacher but as Principal (for seven years) and now as Chancellor of Victoria University. What came of all that I really cannot say. Some of his causes seem to have been lost (such as the highly-structured undergraduate course in the humanities),[9] others for all I know may have been won; but public affairs and administration are infected with a transience that afflicts all alike. Meanwhile, whatever failed did not fail for want of him: his practical commitments have been continuous and surprisingly extensive, and Canada's most eminent humanist stands as an intransigent reminder that by liberal things we shall be judged.

Professionally, Frye has been an educator at least as much as a writer, and his writing has been without exception didactic, an adjunct to and part of his teaching activity.[10] In the university context, his ideal has been conspicuously British rather than American, the emphasis not on the Ph.D. but on the intensive undergraduate course such as he himself experienced in the Scottish-based University of Toronto:[11] a strict schooling of the imagination, as opposed to vocational training for pedants on the one hand and a cafeteria for the curious on the other.[12] This strong orientation is strangely at odds with his career as international figure and theorist, which has been unmistakably American: it is in the MLA and the American graduate schools that the theorist in Frye has shone most brightly. To the British he has seemed an oddity, almost a joke if one could laugh off such power and intelligence.

The theoretical stance of the *Anatomy of Criticism* is of a piece with its author's educational beliefs, and corresponds to the longstanding and legendary polarity at Toronto between A. S. P. Woodhouse and Frye, between University College and Victoria College.[13] On the one hand, the honing of scholarship and the academic imperialism of the graduate school; on the other, the cultivation of culture and missionary enterprise.[14] Pelham Edgar, that exemplary figure, was Professor of French as well as of English; and Robins and Pratt, the other leading figures of the Victoria College English Department as Frye first knew it, were both men in whom scholarship was contained in a larger life of the mind. Frye will have been taken on at Victoria, not so much as an expert in this or that, but as a contributor to a civilizing enterprise.[15] Strangely, one might have thought, for such a shy mandarin, Frye at a Couchiching Conference was in his element.[16]

Millar MacLure has discerned in Frye the Methodist circuit rider, carrying the gospel to the people.[17] The image is exact. There is a literal truth to it too. Some

of the sentences from *Fearful Symmetry*, his first and seminal book, come from the time when he was a missionary in Saskatchewan, with the Keynes one-volume Blake in one saddlebag — and, one would like to think, a Bible in the other, to keep the balance true.[18] One must not overlook in Frye the ordained minister of the United Church, "on permanent leave from the Maritime Conference." Not only is the preacher's tone virtually omnipresent,[19] but his expositions of literary theory have a way of culminating at the "anagogic" level in an imperfectly argued apotheosis in which the imaginative universe turns out to be somehow contained in the body of a God-Man. The transition to this figure, perhaps more Swedenborgian than orthodoxly Christian, is seldom clear and sometimes quite bewildering,[20] but it is obviously central to the impulse of his writing. But that is not to say that literature yields its autonomy to theology. The religious atmosphere is that of American protestantism of the thirties, in which a generalized earnestness replaces doctrine and faith. Religion is reduced to literature — though "reduced" is not a word Frye would permit. Frye's thought in this area is deeply equivocal, a fact that comes out sharply in his insistence on the Bible, which he thinks everyone should learn when very young: on the one hand, the overt reason for this insistence is partly that European literature takes its mythic form thence, but above all that the Good Book actually presents a uniquely complete and all-embracing myth of mankind from Creation to Apocalyse, taking in everything else on the way;[21] on the other hand, this claim of universality is surely one that no one would think of making for whom the Bible was not already a uniquely sacred book.[22]

FRYE HAS CLAIMED THAT HE HAS ALWAYS WRITTEN from a Canadian centre.[23] But he has also said that one's trafficking with literary masterworks should not reflect any local standpoint.[24] The terms of reference and allusion in his general writings on literature are in fact for the most part not Canadian but generically North American, and often quite specifically United States.[25] — an unmistakable tone that may have contributed to that extraordinary hostility with which he is regarded by many self-styled patriots who have neither illuminated nor worked for their country a tenth as much as he.[26]

Where is Frye's Canadian centre? Where is *his* "here"? His Canada is essentially Sherbrooke, Moncton, Toronto — that is, pan-eastern. It is the land of the U. E. L. "Historically," says Frye, "a Canadian is an American who rejects the Revolution."[27] It is a Canada from which West and North are emotionally absent. Though he is intellectually aware of (and able to capture in brilliant phrases) the radical diversity of Canadian situations,[28] the Canada that is real for him represents a very specific view and approach. It is what happens if you go

up the St. Lawrence and turn right.[29] At the centre of this experience lies the pilgrimage from Moncton to Toronto.[30] Another Maritimer who has made this passage has told me of an old myth in which a South Ontario cultural heartland figures as a kind of Shangri-La, and for all I know he could be right. Victoria College has proved to be, in a peculiar way, the end of the line for Frye, the pot of ice-cream at the end of the rainbow. Pelham Edgar remarked that Frye "will be a difficult man to hold, but I can also say that it will take an immensely powerful tug to dislodge him";[31] and he has certainly been one of these scholars, like Kant in Koenigsberg, whose removal from one particular spot would seem like a violation of the natural order.

The "lonely time growing up" in Moncton is significant, too.[32] For all its potatoes, New Brunswick is agriculturally rather low-keyed, and Frye's persistent image of tamed earth is neither farm nor vineyard, but garden. He writes always as a townsman through and through, and is almost unique among major Canadian writers as showing no sense of *land*. It is odd that this should be so, since his theory of literary form stresses the cycle of the seasons; but what that cycle has meant to so many of the writers he considers, by way of changing relations to the earth, seems to touch no chord in him. The lack gives his writing, for all its stylish suppleness, its gaiety and wit, its humane seriousness, a certain strange deadness at the centre.

Frye's career starts, so the legend tells, with his discovery of Blake in the public library at Moncton — "Of all places!" says one commentator. No comment could be less apposite. Frye's theory is based on the truth that you can read Blake in Moncton just as well as you can read him anywhere else. Every writer inhabits and writes for two worlds: the imaginative world in which everyone shares, and the practical world of the "myths of concern" that are soon forgotten.[33] For every reader at every time, says Frye, the world of literature has a centre, which is the book he is reading at the time. From which one may infer that if one is reading Blake in Moncton, the centre of the imaginative world is Moncton. Frye is dead right about this, and the point is crucial. In another mood one feels like muttering that he is dead wrong, that imaginative worlds fall away and leave us united with the author in the humanity of his loves and fears, but these are doubtless anti-literary moods. The world of literature is envisaged, not asserted, "a body of hypothetical thought and action": the temptation to attribute to an author a concern with the "anxieties of the age" that his work reflects, and to take account of those anxieties in one's criticism, is to be resisted as drawing one away from the author's work to the commonplaces of his age.[34] To a lad marooned in Moncton factuality may be a bore at best, but he can entertain hypotheses as well as any. As for the Public Library — well, libraries are where books are, especially if you are raised in a small town and a not-too-bookish home. And Frye's Canada, like that of the rest of nature's good CCF-ers, is the land that Herschel Hardin has

described so well[35] — the land par excellence of public and semi-public institutions, a land whose literary emblem the Public Library might fitly be.

In 1956, a neophyte teacher at Victoria College concerned with aesthetics, I sought and was generously given permission to sit in on Frye's graduate seminar. In addition to the intellectual quality of the discourse, which was of overpowering richness and intimidating brilliance, and the content, which included much that was soon to appear as the *Anatomy of Criticism*, I carried away two powerful impressions. One was that Frye never once touched on any book he had announced (and asked us to consult) as the basis for that day's class, but always broached some unheralded topic. The other was that none of the students present were able to challenge Frye's ideas or to ask searching questions. To a student, they were mesmerized and buffaloed. The result was that his most basic principles were unprobed. Nobody knew (and most of us did not know that we did not know) what exactly was going on. It has in fact always been a striking fact about Frye's thought, and one that has often been remarked on, that a combination of intense sophistication with passionate reticence and evasive irony has somehow prevented any close examination of his theoretical claims. What, exactly, one used to ask, did his theory amount to? Was he describing literature as such, or anatomizing a specifically Greco-Christian complex of literary traditions, or what? If his "archetypes" were purely literary how did they come by their Jungian name and no less Jungian air? If the cycles were literary phenomenology, why did Spengler's name keep turning up? Gradually we have come to realize that it is Frye's position, and presumably was so all along,[36] that the writers whose work he drew on, though they might have believed themselves to be historians, anthropologists, and psychologists, were really anatomists of the imagination, literary critics of an impure and unselfconscious sort. But it remains true that the precise and copious detail and the reiterated schematisms of Frye's theoretical expositions generate a disconcertingly floating and detached nexus of ideas and images.[37] Frye's students are not the only questioners who have not known how to get him to come clean. His repy to his critics in the Krieger volume, especially to Wimsatt's penetrating challenge, are a case in point.[38] With frankness, humility and generosity of mind, Frye turns all questions aside with a smart remark. Nothing is clarified by his response, and he gives no ground. In this he is like many another genius, who has no interest in explaining anything he had decided to leave unexplained in the first place and may be unwilling even to ask himself a question that goes counter to the natural flow of his energies.

Frye, then, is a builder, not a debater; and not a participant in any continuing discussion of what literature is.[39] But there is also a clear sense in which he is not a theorist at all. Like Blake, who in a way remains his model, and from whom the perplexed reader of *Fearful Symmetry* seeks in vain to disentangle him, he is a visionary and allegorist. He sees these patterns and relationships, and describes

what he sees, as it were a wheel in the middle of a wheel, so high that it is dreadful. And in each new work he sees afresh: what he sees again he will say again, in the same words if necessary, but in any case what he says now will be what he sees now. What he does is not repeat or elaborate or refine a theory in work after work, but spontaneously bring a growing repertoire of patterns and relations to the perception of successive works. The unity of literature, on which he insists, reflects in his practice the fitful reliability of the light shed by the schematisms his preferred thought-patterns endlessly generate. "I don't know *why* it should help," James Reaney once remarked to me of one of Frye's more recondite assignments of genre, "but it does." From which we may infer that the assistance, though solid and real, does not quite take whatever the form of an explanation may be.

Whether "theories" is quite the best word for them or not, Frye has given two separate accounts of what literature is. The earlier and more famous account is anchored in Blake, Spengler and Frazer (the latter names recur obsessively in his occasional writings of the early fifties); the later account is not. The two accounts are partly complementary, the earlier serving as a special case of the later; but in some respects they are in direct conflict. According to the earlier account, literature as a whole (the word "total" recurs like a hiccup throughout the *Anatomy of Criticism*) is a single imaginative order, as it were a single great work of which particular writings are parts that could not have existed without it and cannot be understood without reference to it.[40] In the last resort, that is why a critic's value judgment is otiose: all the critic can do is elucidate the work's actual place within literature, and acknowledge the part the work actually can and does play in the imaginative lives of its readers. To suppose that a critic's summary opinion can make that part substantially greater or less is merely silly.[41] What the one great work that is literature does is present to the imagination a total order incorporating the unchanging forms and conditions of human life, the range of possibilities for aspiration and dread, the limits of social order and anomia, of incorporation and exclusion, all held together within the seasonal cycle of growth and decay in the wider context of an eternal order in which all else is fixed; the presentation being at the same time a deployment of the resources possible to human discourse. The imaginative order itself is fixed and starkly simple. What are endlessly complex are the ways in which these simplicities can be exemplified and veiled. Whether the actual world is really like this imaginative order or any part of it is beside the point, if indeed the question has any meaning. The point is that our imaginations are humane insofar as they live easily in this order, in which it is the prime function of liberal education to acclimatize us — so that the English Department is the central (and perhaps the only necessary) department in a true university.

The later theory is very different in tone: it is a theory, not of literature, but of literatures. On this later account, in any society many folk tales are current. From among these, a mythology "crystallizes in the centre" of the culture,[42] articulating

the shape of its imaginative concerns. What the literature of the culture does is elaborate this central mythology and relate more and more areas of experience to it, slowly building up an imaginative world in which one can live and be at home — that ever-present Eden from which we can be expelled only by eating that forbidden fruit, the knowledge of fact and fable. What makes this a change rather than a mere generalization of the earlier theory is that the specific forms of such a mythology are not fixed by any literary necessity but only (if by anything) by natural or psychological causes with which literary scholarship as such has nothing to do. This really entails the rejection of the old claim that unless literature has a single determinate structure it cannot be an object of scientific study.[43] Fortunately, the claim was wild, and the new pluralism affords just as firm a base for criticism: what makes a science possible is not the pre-established unity of its subject but the functional coherence of its methods. In practice, one might think, new pluralism and monism come to the same thing. Literature for us must be the "western" literature that embraces all our forefathers read and defines the imaginative world that is the proper home of our civilization. But doubts may creep in. How are cultures and their literatures individuated? Did Homer and Isaiah really crystallize out of a single body of folklore into a single mythology? In what does the singleness consist? To most of us it may not matter (though jealous classicists wondering why his colleagues in English are teaching Sophocles may have sour thoughts[44]), but for Frye, still apparently committed to the all-inclusiveness of the Bible and to the view that each literary work is what it is only by its relation to a determinate totality, the question might pose difficulties.

However that may be, Frye's vision is deeply conservative: to educate the imagination is not to free it for ever new possibilities, but to equip it with unchanging forms to which new actualities can be referred and reduced. Freedom is commensurate with knowledge,[45] and knowledge is of what already exists. Nothing could be more mistaken than to suppose that Frye's relegation of all extra-literary concerns to the periphery of literary studies makes him a formalist. On the contrary, the practice of referring every work to total literature is designed to give the student the freedom of an imaginative standpoint from which a critique of life and society will be, as it was for Blake, inevitable.[46] Frye's own talent as a social critic is immense. In perceptiveness and in generosity of mind, *The Modern Century* excels many works in its genre that are far better known. And it is the fruit of a literary imagination: a mind free to examine the actual because it is entrenched in the possible, that knows where here is because it has walked up and down in the hypothetical elsewhere.

NOTES

[1] Northrop Frye, *The Bush Garden* (Toronto: Anansi, 1971), p. 221 — from his "Conclusion" to Carl F. Klinck's *Literary History of Canada.*

[2] See among others Desmond Pacey in Klinck, ed., *Literary History of Canada*, Second Ed. (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1976), III, 25.

[3] Pelham Edgar, *Across My Path* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1952). I do not know who coined the word "Frigian" to mean "pertaining to Northrop Frye"; more than one contributor to Klinck uses it.

[4] Frye's assumption of centrality may be contrasted with E. T. Salmon's remark, in introducing a set of lectures by Frye, that it is "cause for pride in his native country" that the lecturer should have been made the subject of a volume published by the Columbia University Press (Northrop Frye, *The Modern Century* [Toronto: Oxford, 1967], p. 8. The underlying thought is the same as Pacey's (note 2), but the reference to the New York publisher strikes an odd note.

[5] Malcolm Ross cites George Woodcock to this effect in Klinck's *History*, III, p. 160, though Lauriat Lane elsewhere in the volume demurs. The reviews in question formed part of "Letters in Canada" in the *University of Toronto Quarterly*. The impartiality is perhaps not unqualified: whereas in 1955 Frye detects a polarity in Canadian poetry between the formal and the representational, the latter being "sophisticated and civilized" and the former "primitive, oracular, close to the riddle and the spell," in 1957 (with reference to Jay Macpherson) what seems to be the same polarity has become one between the amateurish and the professional, and the tone has become rather strident. Towards the genuinely amateurish Frye remains gentle, forbearing to tear them for their bad verses.

[6] A single phrase, "garrison mentality" (*Bush Garden*, p. 225), made a new perspective part of our permanent view of ourselves. Frye is unlike many of his colleagues in holding that "The constructs of the imagination tell us things about human life that we don't get in any other way. That's why it's important for Canadians to pay particular attention to Canadian literature, even when the imported brands are better seasoned" (Northrop Frye, *The Educated Imagination* [Toronto: Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 1963], p. 53).

[7] In an interview in *The Strand* (March 1, 1978, p. 9) Frye says "There is no such thing as a Frye school of poetry.... I don't think a critic directly influences poetry, that's not his job. If it is his job, he's a very dangerous influence." But it has seemed to some that there is a school which, if it is not a Frye school of poetry, will do until a Frye school comes along. See Robert D. Denham, ed., *Northrop Frye on Culture and Literature* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1978), p. 55 and note 65 with references. The issue is a very sensitive one.

[8] Not perhaps the NDP (of which for all I know Frye may be a loyal adherent); all is changed, changed utterly, a terrible banality is born. The humane innocence of the old party was such as to make Frye one of nature's CCF-ers, which he would have been even if his allegiances had made him (what some idiot once called him) "a Liberal Party guru."

[9] Frye takes every opportunity to lament or denounce the University of Toronto's scrapping of its Honours Courses. Perhaps only a battle, not a war, was lost on this issue.

[10] I do not mean to suggest by this that Frye's books are teaching aids. Frye is a didactic writer, but above all a writer. His preface to his *Anatomy of Criticism* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1957), viii, says that the book "forced itself on" him, and in a recent interview he says "My work and my writing does have to come first. There's no arguing on that, because I don't run it — it runs me. Everything else has to get out of the way" (*Vic Report*, 7, 2, Winter 1978-79, 6).

[11] Compare his veiled remarks on the Ph.D. in his *Spiritus Mundi* (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1976), pp. 3-8.

[12] In the *Strand* interview (see note 7), p. 7, Frye makes the subtle and profound observation that the weakness of the undergraduate Honours Course in an Ontario context was that it required too much maturity in the student "because it was founded on the principle that wherever you are is the centre of all knowledge." We shall see that this is a very Frigian principle; that it might be the underlying principle of such an education as Frye has in mind is something that might not have occurred to one.

[13] A University College graduate from those days told me recently that she and her contemporaries were puzzled by the superior excellence her Department claimed for itself. The basis of this claim was never explained; so far as they could see, there were good scholars and good teachers (as well as bad ones) on both teams. The prolonged and intricate batrachomyomachia of the colleges at Toronto awaits its Homer.

[14] "Without the possibility of criticism as a structure of knowledge, culture, and society with it, would be forever condemned to a morbid antagonism between the supercilious refined and the resentful unrefined" (Northrop Frye, *The Well-Tempered Critic* [Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1963], p. 136).

[15] Something of the tone of the Department under Edgar may be gathered from Kathleen Coburn's account of how she was recruited, in her *In Pursuit of Coleridge* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1977). The tone is of a very laid-back "Come over and join us."

[16] It used to be told that, when some speaker from the floor had claimed authority for her philistine views because she was herself a graduate from a university Arts course, Frye retorted: "Madam, if you are a graduate of an Arts programme, *we have failed.*" Can that really be true? We all believed it at the time.

[17] See Klinck's *History*, II, 61. The evangelical impulse in Frye is also discussed by Geoffrey Hartman (in Murray Krieger, ed., *Northrop Frye in Modern Criticism* [New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1966], 112-14), and is avowed by Frye himself (see *Spiritus Mundi*, p. 18).

[18] See Pelham Edgar, *Across My Path*, p. 86.

[19] To me personally, this tone becomes downright oppressive when Frye is discussing writers whose intentions are theological, notably Milton in *The Return of Eden* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1965) and especially Eliot in *T. S. Eliot* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1963), which strikes me as the closest Frye has come to a pot-boiler. But literary judgment and personal anxieties easily become confused in these matters.

[20] Perhaps the most egregious of these sudden transfigurations comes at the very end of his Address as 1978 recipient of the Royal Bank Award. In the circulated text the transition, though abrupt, is intelligible; but an audience replete with chicken and oratory felt positively *aufgehoben.* On reflection, since the *thou art that* is supposed to be the "intersection of the timeless with time," the abruptness and brevity are appropriate.

[21] See for instance *The Educated Imagination*, p. 46.

[22] Note that this makes the underlying mythology of our literature very specifically Christian. Since many of our finest and most powerful writers are Jewish by tradition if not also by faith, Frye must hold either that their personal and literary

orientations must be at odds, or that their work belongs to an alternative tradition (of the existence of which he has given no hint), or that in their work the common literary mythology takes a special turn.

[23] *Bush Garden*, p. i.

[24] In his "Introduction" to Pelham Edgar's *Across My Path*, p. xi.

[25] Most of Frye's works, when not responsive to specifically Canadian occasions, have been published abroad, with first Princeton and then Indiana as the preferred houses.

[26] That Frye as a critic "can hardly be described as a Canadian summing up Canadian experience" is remarked by Geoffrey Hartman in Krieger's *Northrop Frye in Modern Criticism*, p. 109.

[27] *Bush Garden*, p. 14.

[28] For example, *By Liberal Things* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1959), p. 5.

[29] In his "Introduction" to the second edition of E. J. Pratt's *Collected Poems* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1958), p. xxviii, Frye speaks of Canada as "a shambling, awkward, absurd country, groping and thrusting its way through incredible distances into the west and north." But unless one started in Montreal the direct way to the north might be through Hudson Bay, and the way to Vancouver was up the coast.

[30] Frye's personal pilgrimage is legendary. In the version in the *Vic Report* interview, the young Frye has the highest standing in English in his high school, and is rewarded with a scholarship to the local business college, where he becomes an expert typist so that he is sent to Toronto to enter a competition for speed typing (which he wins), and while in Toronto (still only seventeen) he becomes an undergraduate at Victoria College (so that he can study English again). As in all good legends, there is a strong hint of the miraculous here, and a certain shimmering of the outline of truth. But it is true that of all Frye's gifts his prowess at the typewriter is the one for which he is most sincerely envied by his colleagues.

[31] *Across My Path*, p. 84.

[32] *Strand* interview, p. 5.

[33] See *The Well-Tempered Critic*, p. 149.

[34] See *A Natural Perspective* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1965), p. 41.

[35] Herschel Hardin, *A Nation Unaware* (Vancouver: J. J. Douglas, 1974). In the third lecture of *The Modern Century*, Frye contrasts the CBC with its commercial rivals in terms that surely owe more to ideology than to experience.

[36] I say "presumably," because the late J. A. Irving used to claim that he had witnessed the very moment when Frye discovered that this was the line he had to take on Frazer — and, by implication, on Spengler and the rest. Frye and Edmund S. Carpenter, with others, were taking part in a panel discussion of mythology in general and J. G. Frazer in particular. Frye, prepared to expound Frazer as revealing the universality of certain patterns of myth and ritual, was horrified to hear Carpenter, an anthropologist by trade, revealing the poverty of Frazer's methods and the unreliability of his results. Shock and panic (so Irving's story used to go) pursued themselves across Frye's features, to be followed by relief and the well-known grin of triumph as Frye realized that what would not pass muster as anthropology would do very well as the shape of the literary imagination. The rest is history.

Readers not acquainted with the late J. A. Irving should note that the relationship between his anecdotes and the facts was sometimes one of a peculiar subtlety.

[37] In the reading room of the Pratt Library hangs a portrait of Frye seated among the clouds ("magic realism"?). Frye comments on this picture (*Strand* interview, p. 9) that "There are jokes about Frye having no visible means of support." I have several times heard Frye make similar remarks about how people associate the portrayal with the free-floating nature of Frye's ideas; but I have never heard anyone actually make the association, except when quoting Frye himself.

[38] It must in fairness be said that most of the critiques in *Northrop Frye in Modern Criticism* are trivial, or irrelevant, or mistaken. In general, I know of no criticism of Frye's general position that is at once well-informed, seriously critical, and directly concerned with the heart of Frye's position. It is not only his students who have been mesmerized and buffaloed.

[39] Most references to Frye's work, when not expositions by disciples, take the form of general encomium and disparagement. Considering his reputation, it is surprising how seldom other scholars cite his opinions on specific points, either to agree or to disagree. On general aesthetic theory he has made almost no impression at all.

[40] This view of literature, though singular, is not unique to Frye: René Wellek (*History of Modern Criticism*, II, 345, n. 6) finds it first in Friedrich Schlegel's *Lessings Geist.*

[41] Perhaps the most incisive statement of this position is that in Denham, p. 148 — a book review of 1959; the best-known is certainly that in the "Polemical Introduction" to the *Anatomy of Criticism.* Frye's position has often been attacked, but his opponents face a dilemma which can be crudely stated as follows: if value judgments are subjective they contribute nothing to knowledge, if they are objective they add nothing to the facts they recognize. Either way, value judgments as such can add nothing to knowledge. In *The Stubborn Structure* (London: Methuen, 1970), pp. 66-73, Frye goes much further and denounces value judgments as anti-intellectual.

[42] *The Critical Path* (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1971), 35.

[43] *Anatomy of Criticism*, 16-17. It is a three-step argument. First, every science must be a self-contained and "totally intelligible body of knowledge," possessed of "total coherence." Second, "criticism cannot be a systematic study unless there is a quality in literature which enables it to be so." Third, this quality lies in literature not being "a piled aggregate of works" but "an order of words," this order being postulated rather than demonstrated because its demonstration would be the completion of literary study. The implied model of a science here seems to be that of a formal system; but the completeness of a formal system has nothing to do with its applicability. The implied epistemology is, in fact, obscure. Perhaps Frye is taking "science" in Hegelian fashion (as in fact the coincidence of the completion of a science with the exhaustion of the potential development of its subject-matter suggests); but one hardly sees how the Hegelian theory of knowledge can be divorced from dialectical development, which is something quite alien to Frye's patterns of thought.

[44] In 1969, Frye became Chairman of the University of Toronto's new Programme in "Comparative Literature" — a venture to which many of his colleagues in Departments of Languages and Literatures were and are bitterly opposed and for which they profess contempt.

[45] "I know of no conception of freedom that means anything at all except the promise held out at the end of a learning process" (*By Liberal Things*, p. 18).

[46] *Abeunt studia in mores,* Victoria College's official motto, catches this facet of Frye's thought and attitude as precisely as "The truth shall make you free," which is carved over its front door, captures the facet recorded in note 45. There ought to be a third term in this series, which would be the target of one of Frye's devastating ironies; I am sure he has thought of it already, but I don't know what it would be.

TWO SERMONS

Ralph Gustafson

I.

SERMON FOR OFF-DAYS, A RATHER BAREBONE ONE

Not only compassion but concern.
Compassion, a gift, or implication
Heartfeltly free, the body
Run over on the blacktop,
None of the cars stopping
Having to get home for the TV news
Of the body on the blacktop;
The kerosene soaked Buddhist
Setting himself alight on page 6.
Time is short, the centres of power
Are not available. Concern
Can't stand it, the spider she lifted
From the inside window sill on the scoop
Of the flap of the envelope catching the drop
On his web, placing him safely outside
To build another; that girl
Running with napalm on her.
Grace of God!
Give me a walk in the winter wind.
Her, balancing love.

GEORGE WOODCOCK

Voyager of Liberty

Dennis Duffy

How does a critic make sense of another writer and critic who remains at once unsystematic and significant? Even stating that blazons forth the limitations of my own way of viewing the nature of intellectual consciousness. No, I am not reiterating the familiar romantic dichotomy between Apollo and Dionysus, nor even insinuating a denim-clad, oracular conviction that insight wins hands-down over outlook. What I am attempting to display appear to be the rigidities inherent in the entire academic enterprise of codification, taxonomy, and paradigmatic arrangement of ideas. For the reader privileged to wander through the extensive *oeuvre* of George Woodcock quickly senses a central concern with freedom, individuality and even eccentricity and waywardness that courses through that canon. This goes quite beyond a fascination with *bizarrerie*; it serves instead as the inevitable and glowing consequence of a figure who stands out not only as a libertarian in philosophy and outlook, but also as one in actual practice. His work, therefore, not only discusses libertarian thinkers and doers, but figures forth a libertarian sensibility, one capable of ranging over widely-disparate persons, places and things because that very ranging lies at the core of the man's beliefs.

A familiar instance of the sort of contradiction Woodcock escapes lies in the celebrated quip that Carlyle's life of Cromwell proclaims the virtues of silence in fourteen volumes. Doctrinaire invitations to a looser sex life, shrill polemics on the benefits of peace, programmed guidebooks to the odyssean lifestyle offer similar examples of contradictory discourse on our current bookshelves. Woodcock's choice of subjects — anarchism, Hellenism in India, literary figures, the native peoples of our west coast, to name a few — follows the lines of his interests. He has written some of the best travel literature of our time;[1] let this serve to illustrate his wider selection of subjects. His non-travel books are themselves products of intellectual pilgrimages, of an effort to penetrate to a region one may have only heard of, or visited once during a stopover. They may also — as in the superb biography of Gabriel Dumont, which fuses Woodcock's lifelong libertarian beliefs and practices with his more recent investigations of the Canadian fact — appear as the place one has been headed toward for a number of years. Person

and mind both have voyaged on strange seas, bringing back to us news from elsewhere, even that ultimately inaccessible elsewhere that is our past.

The reader used to systems must force himself to grasp the inner coherence that pulls together the achievement of George Woodcock, and not envision his non-systematic canon as a series of lengthy *aperçus*. His work is best perceived as lines radiating from a single dot on a map, linking a number of seemingly disparate locations into a network deriving its strength from its very flexibility, its tentacular virtue enabling it to grasp firmly the multifoliate detail that eludes rigid systems.

Literary folk recall the emblematic Jamesian figure (in the Introduction to James's own *The Ambassadors*) of a series of lamps arrayed in a circle, each successively illuminating the object in the centre. In Woodcock's case, simply rebuild the doughnut by turning it inside out: his sensibility serves as a lantern, illuminating the objects around the periphery, tying them together — like the candle held up to George Eliot's pier-glass — into a series of unsuspected relationships. Thus for example the unlettered Dumont, the ideologist Proudhon and the potlatching Indians of the West Coast reveal their unsuspected affinities in their common indifference to the mere accumulations of material objects. Many further instances of this integrative result of reading Woodcock could be listed. Their importance, in so brief a treatment of his work as the present one, lies in this: any reader of Woodcock will find his imagination, powers of sympathy and ability to grasp the other, strengthened in ways that no immersion into a system ever can.

What a benefit this has proven to Canada's intellectual life! Just as Margaret Laurence's African works teach us by their very presence that our own experience remains part of a larger continuum of human experience, so does Woodcock's achievement demonstrate that the most enthralling prospect a Canadian nationalist can provide is one that looks outward. The strength, for example, of *Canada and the Canadians* lies in its grasp of the larger histories and world movements that shape our own doings. Canadians, of course, do well to be wary of "internationalist" outlooks that do little more than bleach away our own cultural peculiarities and dilemmas in an effort to blend them more easily into a patchwork of cultural preoccupations that turns our own space into nowhere. "International" has so often degenerated into a synonym for "continental" or "imperial" (*outward-looking* becoming a rationalization for blanking out our own inwardness) that we can too easily forget the light that springs from beyond the easternmost shore and sets well beyond our own western one. Again, I recall the biography of Gabriel Dumont: its sure feel for the realities of non-technological, libertarian societies, whose mechanisms for social control emphasize the personal at the expense of the codified-legal, strengthens its treatment of the society its subject embodied in a way that no mastery of the conventional histories of the Canadian West could have. The historian of the Doukhobors supplied the tools

that granted a fineness of execution to the chronicles of the Metis. In a culture where high school students in Ontario are now presented with the history of Canada before acquiring any grasp of the European imperial struggles which our beaver and codfish industries, our Jesuits and our voyageurs, found their place in, the network of candles Woodcock has set about our borders becomes invaluable through its very rarity.

This outward-looking quality places Woodcock within the sort of cultural movement represented by such diverse works as Scott Symons's *Heritage* and Hugh Hood's *A New Athens*. Both works strive movingly to present to us the extent to which our own culture is not some parochial aberration functioning according to its own autonomous and disconnected drives, but a unique development of a Judaeo-Christian, Western, world-imperial structure, one of whose final waves crashed so deafeningly upon these shores. Symons and Hood call attention to the historical continuum from which we sprang. Woodcock places before us by juxtaposition and implication a continuum of affinities and interests marking the linkages between our own culture and those elsewhere. The implicit and subtle nature of the project makes it all the more worthy of praise in a culture swept by both parochialism and polemic.

Whatever the price paid for them in self-contempt and self-sacrifice, the old Imperial ties gave us that sense of belonging to a process global in its reach, cosmic in its moral importance, and universal in its strivings. The political and material underpinnings of that feeling have long since vanished. If there remains any hope for Canada's recovery of a sense of historic purpose, it lies now in the direction of Woodcock's rejection of politics (as described in his essay of 1944). That is, the Canadian people's surest pathway to a distinct selfhood lies in their attempts to build community within the dying husk of the Canadian national state. One need not agree with this vision of Woodcock's to grant its nobility and to discover that the wide-ranging nature of his cultural achievement offers a paradigm for creative and energizing dispersal from a centre.

THE FACT THAT THE CENTRE CANNOT HOLD appears as a commonplace now rather than as the anguished revelation which Yeats brought us sixty years ago. In a time when all systems appear destroyed, when the West lurches from crisis to crisis, its rhetoric of urgency and despair inflating as rapidly as its currency, when the coinage of the marketplace and the currency of intellectual discourse suffer alike from Gresham's Law, has any thinker the right to abjure a system? Does not every man's duty require him to search for a unified structure of meaning and to preach it from the housetops to a world gripped by an energy crisis intellectual as well as material in nature? Does not Woodcock's

diversified portfolio represent the grandest efflorescence of bourgeois individualism rather than a model for collective investment of scarce resources?

The very term "libertarian" — rather than "anarchist," it offers the best single word description of Woodcock's bias — has taken on an edgy ambiguity. It has come to be almost a code-word for identifying the proponents of the individual's divine right — under Capitalism — to exclude himself from every social obligation impeding the pursuit of profit. "Laissez-faire" having grown too laden with noisome connotations for employment in discourse designed to counsel the doubtful, "libertarian" conveys that convincing ring of righteousness. Liberty remains — in these days of pro-abortionists and health-food freaks — a stronger catchword than motherhood and apple pie.

Yet the misappropriation of a term ought not to kill its use among persons of goodwill, and liberty remains Woodcock's abiding concern. Hence his fascination with the eccentric and the offbeat, from Aphra Behn to Henry Walter Bates, as well as his expert treatment of anarchist theorists and practitioners. Anarchism offers, after all, a more exacting and ennobling model of a free person's behaviour than does the liberal model, in that — hence its resemblance to classical conservatism — it places the individual's freedom within a rich communal context of obligation and responsibility that renders his choice more deliberate and exemplary. Of course, as Woodcock shows repeatedly in his work on the Doukhobors, conformity to peer pressure stands as the direct threat to anarchistic ideals of freedom. Yet, that danger faced, where else can one locate a polity in which people possess the opportunity for freedom's most glorious exercise: a person's free choosing of the laws he determines to live by?

Recall then Woodcock's range of subjects. How many of them deal with those forgotten by history (and not offering, therefore, sure-fire prospects for popularity)! And within these various subjects, how level-headed and honest Woodcock remains in his evaluation, refraining from any emphasis on the sensational, standing back from the kind of search-and-destroy criticism that will attract an audience out for blood. Here is the possessor of sufficient sensibility, industry and imagination to have set himself up as the literary dictator of Anglophone Canada. Instead, he founds a journal that irritates every would-be-Torquemada of our national culture, and that attempts to include within its pages literary criticism speaking more passionately and expansively than the standard academic fare. This is why a reader of Woodcock *in extenso* comes to sense the presence of a spirit behind the text, and to note with gratitude the tact and understanding with which it engages with personalities as diverse as those of George Orwell and Thomas Merton. Another way of expressing this is to recall the many moments in Woodcock's works when he notes his presence at some ordinarily off-limits-to-outsiders experience to which his subjects have welcomed him. The reader can easily pass this over, so common a circumstance does it become.

That, surely, tells us something about a linkage between text and experience, between book and life, arguing that an openness and chameleon-like capacity for empathy abides as the foundation of intellectual virtues of free enquiry and delicacy of comprehension that mark the books.

The refusal to systematize, therefore, endures as Woodcock's most engaging system of belief. It offers to a reader a liberating sense of a free spirit seeking no more than to understand — and by that very understanding establish the bedrock for any meaningful improvement in — the life surrounding it.

Even to mention this, however, is to delineate a strength of Woodcock's writing that looms as an enemy to its survival. For he stands nakedly, an historicist and empiricist, within a culture whose strongest analysts remain paradoxically mythicists at their utmost core.

A little explanation is needed here. Surely everyone would agree that among the giants of our literary culture, so far as discursive, non-imaginative literature is concerned, stand such figures as George Grant, Marshall McLuhan and Northrop Frye. Others could be added to this list (notably Donald Creighton), but the trinity I have selected will serve to make my point as I examine each in turn.

A finer pen than mine has discussed the mythological paradigm of temptation and fall that lies behind the best-known work of George Grant.[2] To note this figure's occurrence in Grant's work no more denigrates his work than it does that of the most fabular and metaphoric of philosophers, Plato. The fact remains that *Lament For A Nation* acquires its peculiar resonance through its sense of a more gracious, continuous and integrated Canada whose passing is symbolized in the defeat of John Diefenbaker. This mythic figure contains a garden (British North America), a tempter (the lure of modernity as embodied in the fashionably intelligent of Central Canada), and the hero from Prince Albert whose fall involved a heartbreak and repudiation greater in extent than the tragedy of one individual. Frequently in Grant's writing, the abstraction of "modernity" appears as a looming Spenserian monster, a dirigible-sized emblem enfolding within itself a host of philosophic questions and preoccupations.

Let me repeat that to note such presences is not to downplay the coherence and sincerity of the philosophic contexts in which they appear. For overriding the writings of Grant and of McLuhan as well stands a context including such literary titans as Ruskin and T. S. Eliot, with their vision of a sea-change having overtaken ourselves and the universe since that period we term the Renaissance.[3] As pervasive remains our sense of ourselves and our predicament as unique; so widespread our reliance upon the trinitarian division (and Joachim of Flora gave us a capital-T version of that as well) of the world into ancient — medieval — modern, that we accept as a given the unique nature of the final phase. When an ultimately Christian (in origin) pattern of progress lands atop that division, a

period of cultural despair can then take that same process and reverse its moral import into a sequence of decline rather than of regeneration. The habit of thought remains the same, whether one finds Gutenberg or Milton as the principal representative of the split. Grant and McLuhan therefore offer to their readers not only a theory, a system granting some sort of patterning and explanation to the experience of a cruel century, but one resting ultimately upon the familiar mythic pattern of the fall. To the quality of their rational analysis is added the compelling satisfactions of sensuous, mythical discourse.

That Northrop Frye offers his readers a system proclaims but a commonplace, though even the many critics lambasting that system have not always noted its affinities with the tetragrammatic system of William Blake. Perhaps they have neglected to do so because the statement appears so obvious (my own readers will agree that here stands a barrier I have never balked at), but surely any reader can note a certain affinity between the powers assigned Blake's Four Zoas and the fourfold literary divisions thronging the pages of the *Anatomy of Criticism*. Detailed explication ought to be avoided here; suffice it to note that even readers failing to share what would appear to be Frye's profound satisfaction with consoling, fourfold symmetry can acknowledge the hold that successful displays of numerology have on most of us.

These are deeply Romantic intellectual leaders. They depict not a world bathed in the gentle glow of eighteenth-century Hellenism, but a dark forest illuminated by blinding shafts of interpretive insight, a wood rocking perpetually to the thunderous denunciations of criticism and controversy. Like Shakesperean wizards, clutching their staves of power — Grant's talismanic usage of "modernity," McLuhan's gaily oracular phrases, Frye's anatomy of literature with scriptures as backbone, Milton as head and Blake as guts — they offer to their readers a key to experience, a specific way of seeing as well as a progress of picturesque sights. They are not, any of them, ill-at-ease with the parabolic and the epigrammatic.

Placed against these roaring Wagnerian tempests, Woodcock's gentle, Mozartean strains fail to batter the reader's sensibility into perpetual remembrance. Yet, while I esteem highly the three thinkers I have mentioned, and grant them their niche in any Canadian pantheon, the fact remains that Woodcock — less memorable stylistically, without a single work of dazzling brilliance, often foregoing the devastating comment that would earn him the ringside audience — adds to our literary and cultural life a dimension we would sorely miss, however little we may acknowledge it. Yes, in reading Woodcock's sweet reasonableness about George Orwell I find myself longing for the sheer, engrossing bloody-mindedness its subject was able to bring to bear on nearly any subject he chose, yet where can be found a better book on Orwell as both writer and man? If Mordecai Richler gives the name of Woodcock to a gentle, reasonable idiot in one of his novels, the reader might rather more enjoy a smashing riposte than the humble admission of

human frailty Woodcock makes to the insult, yet hasn't our little, bristly republic of letters a sufficiency of street-brawlers?[4]

One of Woodcock's signal contributions to our literature, his widely-reprinted essay on MacLennan's novels,[5] locates in them the pattern of the Odyssean adventure. Perhaps the piece is as autobiographical as critical, in that the figure of the home-seeking hero seems not all that remote from Woodcock's lifelong concern with the values of community and with the attempts of men and women over the ages to build a nobler and more decent world. The parallel need not be pushed to the point of absurdity for us to recognize the many strange and wondrous places that get touched upon in Woodcock's writings, from Evangelical hymns to the clipped elegance of the Hong Kong racecourse.[6] For the reader taking that voyage, the ports of call never cease to intrigue, and the captain remains ever free.

NOTES

[1] See especially his *Incas and Other Men: Travels in the Andes* (London: Faber & Faber, 1959) and *Faces of India* (London: Faber & Faber, 1964).

[2] R. D. MacDonald, "The Persuasiveness of Grant's Lament for a Nation," *Studies in Canadian Literature*, 2 (Summer 1972), 245-46.

[3] See my *Marshall McLuhan* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1969), 20-21, 27.

[4] "[A]nd if our name happens to be shared by one of those [monstrous, satiric] figures (as mine is) we ask ourselves whether there is more in common than a name." "Richler's Wheel of Exile," in Woodcock's *The Rejection of Politics and Other Essays* (Toronto: New Press, 1972), p. 144.

[5] See "A Nation's Odyssey: the Novels of Hugh MacLennan" (1961), rpt. in *Odysseus Ever Returning* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1970), pp. 12-23.

[6] *The British in the Far East* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1969); "The English Hymn," in Woodcock's *The Writer and Politics* (London: Porcupine Press, 1948), pp. 207-26.

THE BRONZE DOORS AT PISA

Ralph Gustafson

Taller than two monks, the bronze doors at Pisa,
In one oblong the angel of the Lord on Jesus' sepulchre
Swinging his feet. Hammerwork
Sophisticate with innocence
More in love with heaven than chapels of rococo
Florid with space.
Lord, deliver us!
Anonymity, simpleness and faith.

GEORGE GRANT

Language, Nation, The Silence of God

Eli Mandel

MY MOST VIVID RECOLLECTION OF FIRST HEARING about George Grant's political philosophy and his views of modernism is a lecture by Dennis Lee. Like most of my colleagues, I had some sense in the early 1970's that Grant was, if not a deeply admired, a much respected philosopher, an intellectual of considerable force, the author of at least two books that went some way toward redefining the terms by which Canada was to be understood and the conditions of contemporary life that called for a re-definition. But at the same time, like most of my colleagues, I was aware too of what seemed to me a certain crankiness in Grant's style and thought that made his best work painful and uneasy reading. A recent tribute to Grant "as Canada's foremost political philosopher" qualifies its position oddly by remarking that "one cannot but think that George Grant has become important without becoming influential" and that "Instead of reading his own works and participating in his relentless ethical quest, men of Grant's own generation have been content to make him a fellow of the Royal Society."[1] Some such qualification or unease may have been in my mind as Lee began to lecture to a large freshman class in a Humanities course on "Canadian Culture" about Grant's *Lament for a Nation* and *Technology and Empire.* Two strong, conflicting emotions possessed me during the lecture: one, embarrassment at Lee's obviously painful struggle to articulate a deeply-felt but somehow complicated series of arguments; another, something akin to awe at the degree of conviction in his view that Grant's moral position was somehow absolutely and fundamentally right. The effect of the lecture was quite extraordinary in its odd mixing of obscure and hidden emotions with feelings as immediately authentic as testimony or religious witness. It was only later, when in fact I read Lee's brilliant "Cadence, Country, Silence,"[2] that I understood what it was I was hearing that day or why it should have had the effect on me — and I dare say on the class — that it did. Later too I began to understand the reason for the class's fascination with a writer who by all usual standards should have proved repellent to them.

Writing of Grant's political and social thought in his essay "Loyalism, Technology, and Canada's Fate,"[3] Ramsay Cook begins by pointing to two unresolved

paradoxes which underly Grant's work: one is the combining of political polemic and political philosophy in *Lament for a Nation*,[4] perhaps a confusion rather than a paradox; the other is the development in Grant's thought of two ideas, both part of "an extremely important Canadian tradition," one "the moral unity of the English-speaking world," the other "a desire for full Canadian status."[5] The paradox, at least in its second and more fully formed version, develops out of both Grant's special view of the philosopher's role and his account or, rather more accurately, his interpretation of Canadian history; but given the history of his intellectual development, it has its meaning as well in his sense of how it is possible at all to speak of God in history, when it is necessary, and what sorts of reticence are called for. His work, in other words, calls at the very least for a theory of language, a political theory, and religious witness.

Those philosophers and theologians who attempt to write of his "thought in process," the development of his ideas and argument, begin with some apology about the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of finding points of view from which to approach Grant's work: "Because all Grant's ideas are inter-related, it is almost impossible to divide his thought into four categories, and the very nature of conversation precludes such simple categorization."[6] Having said so much, the writers proceed to present Grant from four points of view, "Canadian Politics," "Intellectual Background," "Theology and History," and "Philosophy." There is a certain symmetry and even inevitability in the pattern, as suggested by the roughly similar divisions indicated in the poet Dennis Lee's account, "Cadence, Country, Silence," and the historian Ramsay Cook's version, "Loyalism, Technology, and Canada's Fate." Grant's major argument, changing as it develops, revolves about the same polarities throughout: history and eternity; time and revelation; progress and transcendence; mastery and excellence; ancient and modern. Part of his complexity and even cranky obscurity stems from his willingness to shift the level of the argument without necessarily altering his vocabulary to adapt to the apparent demands of, say, polemics as opposed to theory; part from his unexamined assumption that vocabularies hold at all levels. The extent that it is not possible to speak of "Christ" and "the second person of the trinity" interchangeably does not seem to have concerned Grant. The point of beginning therefore seems appropriately the question of language, if not indeed theory of language.

GRANT "DOES NOT ENGAGE in merely intellectual exercises," observes Barry Cooper (citing Lawrence Lampert's "The Uses of Philosophy in George Grant," *Queen's Quarterly*, 81 [1974], 495), and consequently his "is philosophy in a sense that would exclude it from most philosophy journals."[7] On

the one hand, as Cooper observes, Grant goes out of his way to avoid identifying his work as philosophy, saying *Lament for a Nation* is "not based on philosophy but on tradition" while *Technology and Empire* does "not presume to be philosophy" but is "written out of the study of history of political philosophy."[8] That is to say, it is not philosophy as we now think of that study, nor as we once thought of it, though it would aspire to the latter not the former. If it concerns itself with thought and reason, it has to do with the question of the good, with the idea of nobility, excellence, with truth, not linguistic philosophy or logical analysis. Equally, then, Grant would say "his work is essentially a practical affair," "addressed to specific questions of policy," though it hopes to transcend "the occasions that inspired [it]."[9] Not abstruse, but about "practical, common, lived experience" and therefore the real concern of real men, not the cynical interests of the learned and esoteric. It is with intent that Grant distinguishes "the condition common to the majority of men" and the concerns of "the clever" in *Lament for a Nation*. Philosophy, in its outcome, is addressed to the one; mere journalism to the other.

But though the noblest ideals of thought and imagination are thus addressed and genuine illumination may be sought, a question arises, a disturbing prospect presents itself. It is one thing to dismiss as beyond the concern of the majority of men the interests of the linguistic philosophers, say Moore or Russell and the whole of the gigantic enterprise which is *Principia Mathematica* and post-idealist thought. It is quite another not to address oneself at all to the questions of Wittgenstein or to find mere cynicism and cleverness in Russell. The closing passages of the *Tractatus*, George Steiner reminds us in *Language and Silence*, are among the most austere, the noblest, the most courageous in the language of philosophy. To put them aside is to open a way not to the best utterance, or that worthy of all men, but mere confusion. The questions raised by Grant's political theory may very well prove to be questions of language, terminology, not attitude. What, for example, is the meaning of "universal" in "universal homogenous state"? What is the significance of speaking of "Christian man" as "the finest flower of all western civilization has produced"? To what sorts of irony are we invited to address ourselves in rhetoric of this sort? "The vast majority of Canadians are a product of western civilization and live entirely within the forms and assumptions of that enterprise."[10] Consider the intent and the possibilities one might attend to in the use of a word like "entirely" in a sentence of such heavy import. Or in this version of contemporary art, what sort of critical precision is being given to the adjectives: "Even the *surest* accounts of our technomania — the *sperm-filled* visions of Burroughs — are themselves spoken from the shallowness they would describe."[11]

There are two large issues in Grant's argument here, not small weaknesses of diction or flavour in style. One has to do with the political subject Ramsay Cook

raises when he speaks of one of the two main ideas in the development of Grant's thought, "the moral unity of the English-speaking world." The other has to do with Grant's view of what has been called post-modern art, a view related to his argument about the nature and significance of technology in contemporary society and hence his view of the nationalist state, the Canada of his imagination. Both have to do with linguistic as well as ethical concerns.

As a moral philosopher, Grant naturally assumes the position that the English-speaking British world of the nineteenth century offers a point of departure for his account of the nature of Canadian society, its history and development, and its present character as a defeated country. I say "naturally" since, as Ramsay Cook reminds us, there are historical and family reasons to account for Grant's position, though the historical justification offered by Cook, I think, should have been open to rather more rigorous criticism than Cook offers.

The tradition from which Grant derives his argument of the morality of the English-speaking world is, of course, the loyalist tradition in Canada. Its family roots lie in the work and thought of both his grandfathers, Principal G. M. Grant and Sir George Parkin, both as Ramsay Cook indicates "prominent British-Canadian intellectuals in the late nineteenth century . . . moral philosophers and theologians . . . leading imperial federationists" and both as well are particularly "liberal Christians who identified the progress of mankind with the preservation and spread of Anglo-Saxon civilization."[12] Grant's identification with the imperialist, loyalist tradition is established early in his writing, and while because of his family background and history, it comes as no surprise, it early commits him to a series of difficult contradictions and tensions. The moral bias of his thought is to be expected and remains a constant, but the question of mankind's progress becomes a vexed one as he increasingly sees it identified with technological advance, a problem that occupies him more and more as he turns to the question of the nature of technological society. The British character of Canadian society derives, Grant argues, from its rejection of the American revolution, its consequent conservatism and "emphasis on social order in contrast to the extreme individualism of the United States" and its Commonwealth connection.[13] Yet the American roots of Canadianism remain potent and indeed irritating to the Canadian loyalist in particular. A puzzling tension in Grant's thought makes itself apparent here. *Home* itself, a key word in Lee's account of Grant's influence on poetic possibilities, is an ambiguous place and therefore in the end indefinable for Canadians: it is at once America (lost place), Britain (twice lost), and Canada (undefined). The paradoxes here we will explore later.

The moral defence of the imperial connection is, in Grant, the usual, that is to say the traditional and historical defence, but that is not without its vexations. In 1945 in a pamphlet entitled *Canada Must Choose: The Empire Yes or No?* Grant wrote,

> We cannot judge the British Commonwealth from our petty interests alone (however well these are satisfied) but on the highest criteria of political morality. For today in the modern world, with it more than with any other political institution, lies the hope of Christian man, of ethical man, of man the reasonable moral being who stands before God and history. One can indeed say that ethical man, reasonable man, is a last remaining fragment of the dark ages, and that the new man is one ruled by Marxian economics or Freudian sex — mankind, in fact, who is brutal and unreasonable, unethical and material, who is ruthlessly dominated by his appetites. Then we can disavow the British Commonwealth. But if we believe in Christian man, the finest flower of all western civilization has produced, then there can be no doubt that our chief hope in the survival of such values is the survival of the British Commonwealth. Canada has a vital responsibility. Canada must choose.[14]

It is difficult to believe the writer of those lines could have read Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* or that the word "colonial" could have had any meaning to him, other than the institutional context that enables him to speak of political morality in the terms he does. In the context of Canadian history, of course, some sense can be made of this argument, as Cook tries to do. But when the writer extends the argument to include the history of the middle ages and the development of modernism in the work of Marx and Freud, it becomes difficult, if not impossible, to understand the kind of "morality" involved. It is perhaps no accident that the only means open to Grant in his discussion of political philosophy is, finally, then, an attack on the institution of "empire," and that if the British could be subsumed to a nostalgic past, the American empire could become the focal point of contemporary evil. "A central aspect of the fate of being a Canadian," he has said, "is that our very existing has at all times been bound up with the interplay of various world empires."[15]

To turn from the political and moral questions in Grant's thought to aesthetic ones may seem an evasive and peripheral move, but indeed the ways into his thought at times are as apparently labyrinthine as the arguments themselves. Grant is not an aesthetic philosopher, any more than a linguistic one. His position is everywhere moral and ethical. But in part, as Dennis Lee's "Cadence, Country, Silence" makes clear and the later *Savage Fields* even more evident, Grant's account of modernism not only says a good deal about his view of modern culture, it suggests key links between technology, society, and culture, and because these in his argument are linked equally with both language and politics, the topic turns out after all to bear heavily on some of his major concerns. To a certain degree, some of his angularity of argument and style has to do with the oblique way he chooses to find his way into his most passionately held convictions. So it is that Dennis Lee finds his way to an account of his own poetics by means of Grant's politics, and then from that to an odd and deeply moving world-view that opens out to the perspective from which to offer a critique of contemporary barbarism

under the guise of defending its brilliance and courage. Lee is of course profoundly sympathetic to what can be called Grant's eschatological methodism, though *he* would never call it that and something in the one character echoes in the other. *Civil Elegies* is the poetics of Grant's political lament; *Savage Fields* the critical ground of *Technology and Empire*. We shall have reason to develop this point later.

Interestingly, it is in the midst of a discussion of the so-called fact-value distinction, the closest Grant comes to an analysis of contemporary language and its implications, that he allows himself his most revealing critique of modernism in art. There is, as always in Grant, a kind of sombre grandeur in his attack, but that should not conceal the real nature of his argument.

> The languages of historicism and values which were brought to North America to be servants of the most advanced liberalism and pluralism, now turn their corrosive power on our only indigenous roots — the substance of that practical liberalism itself. The corrosions of nihilism occur in all parts of the community. Moreover, because our roots have been solely practical, this nihilism shares in that shallowness. The old individualism of capitalism, the frontier and Protestantism, becomes the demanded right to one's idiosyncratic wants taken as outside any obligation to the community which provides them. Buoyed by the restless needs of affluence, our art becomes hectic in its experiments with style and violence. Even the surest accounts of our technomania — the sperm-filled visions of Buroughs — are themselves spoken from the shallowness they would describe. Madness itself can only be deep when it comes forth from a society which holds its opposite. Nihilism which has no tradition of contemplation to beat against cannot be the occasion for the amazed reappearance of the "What for? Whither? and What then?" The tragedy for the young is that when they are forced by its excesses to leave the practical tradition, what other depth is present to them in which they can find substance? The enormous reliance on and expectation from indigenous music is a sign of craving for substance, and of how thin is the earth where we would find it. When the cthonic has been driven back into itself by the conquests of our environment, it can only manifest itself beautifully in sexuality, although at the same time casting too great a weight upon that isolated sexuality.[16]

There is nothing new here, unless it is the tone. The same apocalyptic rumblings had been heard, in a variety of ways, from 1945 on. Mailer's "White Negro," Levin's "What *Was* Modern," Barth's "The Language of Exhaustion," Sontag's "The Aesthetic of Silence," Steiner's *Language and Silence* all develop from different perspectives accounts of modernism as the extremity of an aesthetic and cultural dilemma intensified by a virtually psychotic social condition. All, it is worth noting, go far beyond the crudely worked-out limitations of Grant's account of the problem in "the languages of historicism and values" and several even suggest there develops in the direction and character of contemporary modernism, quite unlike anything implied in Grant's account, a paradoxical resolution to the very barbarism it entails in its "nihilism."

> "What is the nature of an experimental action? It is simply an action the outcome of which is not foreseen. It is therefore very useful if one has decided that sounds are to come into their own, rather than being exploited to express sentiments or ideas of order." "Sound comes into its own. What does that mean? For one thing it means that noises are useful to new music as so-called musical tones, for the simple reason that they are sounds. This decision alters the view of history. . . ."[17]

John Cage's bold re-thinking of sound as musical value is not unlike Sontag's re-thinking of silence as poetic value. Both offer possibilities closed off by Grant's ethical stance about sentiment and ideas of order. No depth from shallowness. No substance from thinness. But yet the world does not end. Nor does it close off precisely where Grant would have it closed. Perhaps the analysis of language could have been carried further than it seemed necessary to him. And indeed the same reservation might be offered to Grant's account of nationalism and technology, the political analysis to which he resorts when the cultural after all proves inadequate.

TECHNOLOGY, IN FACT, RECEIVES a far more careful account in Grant than does language. He has read with extreme care those modern thinkers who have given thought to the subject, Ellul and Strauss in particular. Ellul's definition of technology or technique is the one adopted by Grant, probably because of its comprehensiveness and its clear implication: "Technique is ourselves."

"By technology I mean," Grant writes citing Ellul's definition from *The Technological Society* (London, 1965, p. xxxiii), "the totality of methods rationally arrived at and having absolute efficiency (for a given stage of development) in every field of human activity."[18] The definition, as Grant indicates in his preface, is "implied throughout 'In defense of North America' " and elsewhere, notably in "The University Curriculum" where it is given and in "Tyranny and Wisdom," all important essays in *Technology and Empire.* A curious addition to the initial defining sentence is given in "The University Curriculum" where to the question of rationally arrived at methodology two other motives, and very odd ones indeed, are added: one is *belief* and the other purpose: "the improvement of the race."[19] "The dynamism of technology," Grant tells us, "has gradually become the dominant purpose in western civilization because the most influential men in that civilization have believed for the last centuries that the mastery of chance was the chief means of improving the race."[20]

The kinds of question one might be tempted to raise in talking about Grant's account of an apparently inevitable process moving to a given kind of society

differ strikingly if one looks only at an account of "methods rationally arrived at and having absolute efficiency" rather than if one considers "what the most influential men have believed" especially to the end of "the chief means of improving the race." About that last subject men have believed very odd things indeed, some of which appear in Grant's own argument.

In "Tyranny and Wisdom" Grant "attempts to introduce what is for me the most important controversy in contemporary political philosophy," presumably what Strauss and Kojive have written about, "whether the universal and homogenous state is the best social order"[21] — in other words, about the controversy between the ancient and the moderns on the "battle of books." Much of *Technology and Empire* is an account of the inevitability of the "universal and homogenous state," an aspect of that controversy, and Grant's own account of *Lament for a Nation* summarized in "Canadian Fate and Imperialism" tells us the degree to which the earlier book addressed itself to the same questions:

> A couple of years ago I wrote a book about the dissolution of Canadian sovereignty. These days when psychologizing is the chief method for neutralizing disagreeable opinions, my psyche was interpreted as a harking back in nostalgia to the British Empire and old fashioned Canada. This was the explanation of why I did not think that the general tendencies of modern society were liable to produce human excellence. In this era when the homogenizing power of technology is almost unlimited, I do regret the disappearance of indigenous traditions, including my own. It is true that no particularism can adequately incarnate the good. But is it not also true that only through some particular roots, however partial, can human beings first grasp What is good . . . ? What I said in that book was that the belief that human excellence is promoted by the homogenizing and universalizing power of technology is the dominant doctrine of modern liberalism, and that the doctrine must undermine all particularisms and that English-speaking Canada as a particular is wide open to that doctrine.[22]

The subtlety and power of Grant's argument has been fully evident in the degree to which it spoke to Canadian nationalists and through the sixties gave vivid force to their views. Lee's defence of an ironic Canadian poetic voice may be only the best example, particularly in his expression of the means by which the Canadian writer must learn to speak of *our* loss and deprivation. Yet at the same time the vivid and curiously ironic defence of particularities is shot through with a thoroughly unpleasant distrust of the very rootedness that Grant ostensibly defends, "the juice of [those] roots which for most men sustain their partaking in a more universal good," while contemporary history itself renders his account of a raceless and classless society, the universal and homogenous state, as meaningless as the history of the empires whose potency he "defends."

At the heart of Grant's argument is his assumption of "universality" in technology and "contemporary" civilization: "Like all civilizations the West is based on a great religion — the religion of progress. This is the belief that the conquest

of human and non-human nature will give existence meaning. Western civilization is now universal so that this religion is nearly everywhere dominant."[23] Aside from the curious qualification in "nearly everywhere," one notes the confident language of Western dominance is now qualified (in technological as well as other terms) by such matters as the so-called energy crisis and new ecological assumptions about the paradoxical effects of technological development. It is no longer as easy as it was in the 1960's to believe, with respect to Africa and Asia and South America, that "non-western nations have taken on western means, both technological and ideological, as the only way to preserve themselves against the West."

Curiously, at the very moment Grant speaks of a "raceless and classless" state, nationalist and regional particularities manifest themselves in ways presumably rendered ineffective by the barren positivist cultures he writes of. The definition of Canada, in its historical roots, appears now, for example, less a matter of the tension between English-Canadian nationalism and American continentalism than of the federal-provincial or centralist-regionalist polarities. In fact, the terms in which it is possible to speak of cultural identity and political structure in Canada have been significantly altered from those which Grant would apply to the ones Professor Frye offered at about the same time that *Technology and Empire* appeared. In 1971, in the preface to *The Bush Garden*, Frye developed an argument very like Ramsay Cook's in *The Maple Leaf Forever*. Cook depends on a distinction between nation-state and nationalist state, Frye on a distinction between "the political sense of unity and the imaginative sense of locality," a tension which, Frye says, "is the essence of whatever the word 'Canadian' means." Historically, at least, the regional-national tension makes more sense now than the loyalism of Grant.

In the final analysis, Grant's account of nationalism and imperialism is vitiated by an odd kind of inflexibility in thought which makes for intense drama but less possibility than one might have hoped for from so profound a thinker. There are harsh judgments of men in this work, unyielding and uncharitable. Consider Grant's comment on the question of whether "later arrivals from Europe have so placed their stamp on North America as to have changed in essence what could come from that primal." What "later" means soon becomes clear: "... the obvious facts about the power of Catholicism in our politics, or the influence of Jews in communications and intellectual life, or the unexpected power for continuance shown by ethnic communities, mean only that recent traditions have coloured the central current of the American dream."[25] Whatever this means, it is clear "North America" means the United States, not Canada, for "Catholics" does not include the kind of French-Canadian politician of whom Hugh MacLennan has written at length, nor does "Jews" in "communications and intellectual life" allude to Innis, McLuhan, and Frye. The remark, in short, is not

worthy of serious intellectual discourse. Elsewhere, too, Grant remarks that comedy is an art he has not mastered, evident surely from the bad joke that follows: "As for pluralism, differences in the technological state are able to exist only in private activities: how we eat; how we mate; how we practise ceremonies. Some like pizza; some like steaks; some like girls; some like boys; some like synagogue; some like the mass. But we all do it in churches, motels, restaurants indistinguishable from the Atlantic to the Pacific."[26]

And in the end, too, one becomes aware of other kinds of inflexibility in Grant. For all his talk of particularities, he does not accept the possibility of rootedness, not in North America, for he says we are not "autocthonous," of the earth. Yet if a man is not of the earth, where is he from? What is his place? At the other extreme, there is what Grant speaks of as "our only indigenous roots — the substance of . . . practical liberalism itself." The difficulty becomes apparent: thought is rooted, imperial; feeling is not. And out of that paradox of rootless emotion and indigenous thought grows the whole web of ideas in which, as Grant would have it, modern man is entrapped. "The pure will to technology . . . gives sole content to [the] creating [of the world]."[27]

No version of Grant's thought, of course, is complete if it does not take into account not only that which is said in his major works but equally that which is not said. He is one of those rare writers, indeed "spirits" may be the best word, whose work finally presents itself through a series of reticences and silences. That which is not said because it proves to be that which cannot be said. It is this irony, if that is the right word, which adds resonance to his work and which gives it its peculiar modernity. For the most part, but not solely, the silence has to do with God. In *George Grant in Process* there is a "conversation" during which he addresses himself to some of the questions that can be raised. He does give an account of his conversion, his acceptance of God, during World War II and he puts the point in these terms, describing the experience of conversion:

> Obviously, there is much to think about in such experiences. All the Freudian and Marxian questions (indeed, most: the Nietzschian questions) can be asked. But I have never finally doubted the truth of that experience since that moment thirty-six years ago. If I try to put it into words, I would say it was the recognition that I am not my own. In more academic terms, if modern liberalism is the affirmation that our essence is our freedom, then this experience was the denial of that definition, before the fact that we are not our own.[28]

This, one recognizes, is the essential George Grant: his hatred of modernism and its liberal definition of the self as its own freedom; the powerful resistance to

technology and its attempt to rationalize the means of mastery of both the external world and the human being, man himself; the extension of his loyalist ambivalence about America and its dream of the self as free and self-assertive; the American Empire as the embodiment of modern liberalism and technology, and the Canadian surrender to that self-indulgent southern dominance. "We are not our own." One recognizes, in that, the definition not only of "conservatism" but also of the lost Canada he laments. Its definition is deprivation and the dignity by which one learns to live with that loss.

It is in the same "conversation" that Grant's revealing words about Simone Weil appear. He responds to the comment that "she's a mystic," said with some implication of lack of academic respectability.

> That was much later, after her early life in the proletarian movement in France and in the Spanish war. She was taught by a very able Kantian, and then at the end of her short life understood Plato. She had an immediate and direct encounter with the second person of the Trinity. I take her writings as combining the staggering clarity of her French education with divine inspiration. I take them as perhaps occasionally mistaken in detail, and as sometimes beyond me, but as the great teaching concerning the eternal in this era.[29]

Perhaps the only way to account for the extraordinary lapse in rhetorical tact in this comment, notably in the comment on "an immediate and direct encounter with the second person of the Trinity" is to suggest a painful embarrassment in Grant's version of the subject. This is the subject about which he can say nothing, "great teaching concerning the eternal." If any writing would have made sense here, or elsewhere in Grant, it would be that which drew directly and immediately on the gospel. But that he will not do. For one thing, as David and Edwin Heaven suggest in their article on Grant and Weil, the better way is not articulated in Grant's work.[30] His task is conceived negatively as "The destruction of inadequate sources of hope," and only in a veiled way points toward affirmation.[31] In part, because of the great distance he feels between himself and "the great thinkers and saints"; in part, because even to write as he does of his task as a philosopher is not necessarily to have thought the good and certainly not to have loved the good. Once, as David and Edwin Heaven remind us, he summarized his position on this question, and in doing so raised with the kind of rigour one has come to expect of him, the intolerable question he must live with, the intolerable answer he must sustain, and the wisdom with which he is able to do so:

> Nevertheless, those who cannot live as if time were history are called, beyond remembering, to desiring and thinking. But this is to say very little. For myself, as probably for most others, remembering only occasionally can pass over into thinking and loving what is good. It is for the great thinkers and the saints to do more.[32]

Even to have said this much is to have gained a difficult way. Beyond that, George Grant does not propose to go.

NOTES

[1] Larry Schmidt, "Introduction" to *George Grant in Process: Essays and Conversations* (Toronto: Anansi, 1978), p. ix.

[2] Dennis Lee, "Cadence, Country, Silence: Writing in Colonial Space," *Boundary* 2, 3, no. 1 (Fall 1974), 151-68.

[3] Ramsay Cook, "Loyalism, Technology, and Canada's Fate," *The Maple Leaf Forever* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1977), 45-67.

[4] Ibid., p. 48.

[5] Ibid., p. 49.

[6] Larry Schmidt (ed.), *George Grant in Process*. See esp. "Part V. A Grant Bibliography" by Frank K. Flinn. The bibliography lists some 50 items which Flinn divides into three groups concerned with major phases of Grant's thought: 1) "The Time of Chastened Hope"; 2) "An Era of Retractions"; and 3) "The Face of Moloch"; that is, an early period of liberalism; a second phase of changes developed in Grant's account of modernity; and a third which with *Time as History* examines the dynamic willing of modernism.

[7] Barry Cooper, "*A imperio vsgus ad imperium:* The Political Thought of George Grant," *George Grant in Process*, p. 22. "In a rather similar way, the study which still uses the name of 'philosophy', has made itself into a particular science, with its own particular rigors, concerned with the analysis of language, methods, and thought." George Grant, *Technology and Empire* (Toronto: Anansi, 1969), 125.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid., p. 23.

[10] *Technology and Empire*, p. 64.

[11] Ibid., p. 39. My italics.

[12] "Loyalism, Technology and Canada's Fate," p. 49.

[13] Ibid., p. 51.

[14] Cited in Cook, p. 52. See also Carl Berger, "The True North Strong and Free," *Nationalism in Canada*, ed. Peter Russell (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1966), 3-25.

[15] *Technology and Empire*, "Canadian Fate and Imperialism," p. 63.

[16] George Grant, "In Defense of North America," *Technology and Empire*, pp. 39-40. It is worth comparing here Grant's remarks on the "present" state of the humanities in the university in "The University Curriculum," pp. 126-27, an equally controversial passage because of its narrowly conceived version of science and the language of objectivity.

[17] John Cage, "History of Experimental Music in the United States," *Silence* (London: Calder and Boyers, 1968), pp. 68-69.

[18] "The University Curriculum," *Technology and Empire*, p. 113.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid.

[21] "Tyranny and Wisdom," *Technology and Empire*, p. 81.

[22] "Canadian Fate and Imperialism," *Technology and Empire*, pp. 68-69.

[23] Ibid., p. 77.

[24] Northrop Frye, "Preface," *The Bush Garden* (Toronto: Anansi, 1971), p. iii.

[25] "In Defense of North America," p. 26.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid., pp. 39-40.

[28] George Grant, "Conversation: Intellectual Background," *George Grant in Process*, p. 63.

[29] Ibid., pp. 65-66.

[30] Edwin B. Heaven and David R. Heaven, "Some Influences of Simone Weil on George Grant's Silence," *George Grant in Process*, p. 68.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid., p. 69. On the question of the "homelessness" of modern man, it is instructive to compare the views of particularity, rootedness, and "ancestors" in, say, Grant and Margaret Atwood. If there are no North American gods in Grant's world, they do appear in the shamanistic wilderness of Atwood.

TWO SERMONS

Ralph Gustafson

2.

SERMON ON ACCUMULATION, A BRIEF ONE

Growth, not accretion. Quantity
Is the fever of the times, the gross
Product, accumulations swamp
The mind, God and Gallup, Pericles
And Marx, may the noisy podium
Find distinction. Number nothing
Except by the heart. Who falls in love
With people? The earthworm for his antics,
Dolphins for their song, each
For love, ears stopped to the sum
The mythy sirens prove, Odysseus
On his periplum ten years home
To true Penelope who spun.
Learned scholars doubt if Adam could add.

E. K. BROWN (1905-1951)

The Critic and His Writings

David Staines

"A CRITIC," E. K. BROWN WROTE, "is a sensitive reader who can explain his responses and evaluations."[1] In a critical career that lasted scarcely twenty-two years, he illustrated his own definition as he studied the literature of Canada, the United States, and Europe with exemplary discernment and intelligence.

Though Brown was not a theoretical critic, he did pause to define his method:

> The criticism of poetry as of any art must first interpret. If in the exercise of his interpretative function a critic writes chiefly of what is genuine in a poem, what is notable, what is *there*, rather than of what is spurious, what is negligible, what is not there, his doing so need not mean that he is abandoning another of his functions, the making of judgments. Careful interpretation, conducted with insight and a measure of sympathy, must precede judgment, and in writing of recent or contemporary poets it is much wiser to make sure that one's interpretation is adequate than to press on to judgment. The history of criticism is strewn with examples of how the slighting of the critic's interpretative function has led to false and absurd judgments.[2]

Later he elaborated his own practice:

> There is a third kind of study, to which I hope these lectures may belong. Isolating a single element or group of elements in the novel, and considering it in unreal separation from all the other elements with which it actually fuses, is artificial, but so is all criticism. The artificiality is justified if when one turns back from the criticism to the novels these appear more intelligible and more delightful. That is the test. You need a great many lamps, some of them very powerful, to find your way through the labyrinth of a great novel. I offer what is perhaps only a candle, and I hope it may not go out.[3]

For Brown literary criticism is interpretation and judgment, response and evaluation; criticism makes art "more intelligible and more delightful" to the reader.

Though I have outlined elsewhere Brown's life and education, it seems desirable to offer a brief account here.[4] Edward Killoran Brown graduated from University College in the University of Toronto in 1926 with his bachelor's degree and the Governor-General's Medal in Modern Languages. On a Massey Fellow-

ship he travelled to the University of Paris where he received his *Diplôme d'études supérieures* in 1927, the *Elève titulaire de l'Ecole de Hautes Etudes* in 1928, and the *Docteur-ès-Lettres* in 1935; he wrote his major thesis in French, "Edith Wharton, étude critique," and his minor thesis in English, "Studies in the Text of Matthew Arnold's Prose." He returned to University College in 1929 to become an Instructor in the Department of English; in 1931 he became an Assistant Professor. With the exception of two years, 1935-1937, which he spent at the University of Manitoba as the youngest chairman of an English department in Canada, he taught at University College until 1941, when he assumed the chairmanship of the English department at Cornell University. In the following year he took a six-months' leave of absence to serve on the wartime staff of Prime Minister Mackenzie King. In 1944 he left Cornell to become Professor of English at the University of Chicago, a position he held until his untimely death from cancer in 1951.

The thesis on Edith Wharton illustrates Brown's primary field of study, the novel, as well as his interest in American Literature. During his years on the staff of University College he was advocating the teaching of American literature in Canadian universities, and his article, "The Neglect of American Literature," chided his countrymen for their ignorance of the literature of their southern neighbour. The minor thesis on Arnold reflects Brown's interest in Victorian literature. He published two critical volumes on Arnold and wrote introductions for two volumes of his essays; he also edited a major anthology of Victorian verse.

Relinquishing none of his interest in his chosen fields of the novel and Victorian literature, Brown devoted much of his critical attention to the developing world of Canadian literature and the relatively unpopulated world of Canadian criticism. The year after he returned from Paris he accepted an appointment as Associate Editor of the *Canadian Forum*, a position he held for three years. His first published article appeared there, and in the thirties alone he contributed more than fifty articles and reviews to the *Canadian Forum*. At the same time he worked on behalf of the *University of Toronto Quarterly*, which first appeared in 1931. He served as its Associate Editor for a decade, from 1932 to 1941, and he was largely responsible for the creation of an annual survey of Canadian Letters which began there in 1936. For Brown, who wrote the first fifteen yearly assessments of Canadian poetry, the survey had a singular importance:

> A recognition that in Canada we stand in need of a more effective criticism has led the editors of the *University of Toronto Quarterly* to publish an annual survey of Canadian literature. For three years now in *Letters in Canada*, to which we devote the greater part of our April issue, we have sought to supply a comprehensive survey of what is written in this country: in the course of time we hope that this undertaking may have a modest share in the diffusion of interest in Canadian literature, in the raising of aesthetic and intellectual standards in Can-

ada, and in the discovery of writers who might otherwise pass, for a time at least, neglected or misunderstood.[5]

To his study of Canadian literature Brown brought his knowledge of English, French, and American literatures. In one of his earliest essays, he accounted for the virtue of Arnold's *Essays in Criticism*: "Aside from their charming formal qualities, their urbanity, their lucidity, their sure but graceful structure, the collection is significant as a bridge thrown across the Channel. With it, Matthew Arnold opened to the island philistines new vistas of continental literature and culture."[6] Like Arnold, Brown refused to isolate his country's literature. In his Canadian criticism he applied the same standards he used in his study of other literatures, and he placed Canadian literature in an international context. As Northrop Frye has commented,

> E. K. Brown was the first critic to bring Canadian literature into its proper context. Before him, the main question asked was "Is there a Canadian literature?" After him, the question was rather "What is Canadian literature like?" He started out with an interest in contemporary literature which in his generation marked a quite unusual originality, and he worked at first mainly on American authors, including Edith Wharton and Willa Cather. Thus, when he came to Canadian literature, he was able to see it, not simply as a local product growing in the surrounding woods like a hepatica, but as a literary development within, first, its North American context, and, secondly, in its international context. He was aware of the British and colonial affinities of earlier Canadian literature, but did not exaggerate their importance as earlier critics had tended to do.[7]

In 1950 Brown delivered the Alexander Lectures at the University of Toronto. Called upon to thank the speaker for the series, E. J. Pratt paid tribute to a man he had known and respected for nearly thirty years:

> He has shown a double capacity — of probing into the recesses of literary cupboards and of following current affairs. I know that he has visited museums but mainly to make sure that the mummies had left in life something worthy of record for the future. I know, too, that he has visited press galleries, but to make certain that what was said or written had, or should have had, a basis of growth in the past. The former type of interest and capacity brilliantly preserved his scholarship and his sanity; the latter saved him from dilettantism.
>
> And as a concluding remark I should like to say that there was a perfect accord between his own taste and the selection of his subjects for this series ["Rhythm in the Novel"]. He has changed his postal address many times in his career. Here is the division of the last 27 years — 4 years as a student in this university, 3 years in Paris, back to the University of Toronto as a teacher for 6 years, 2 years in the University of Manitoba, 4 years again in Toronto, 3 in Cornell, then 6 in Chicago, and in-between-whiles he had the habit of interweaving, through those itineraries, summer visits at wayside inns such as Columbia, and the Universities of New York and Minnesota. Now he is back this week in Toronto. That diversity of place and interest, that progression, (shall we say in the flesh?) accompanied by an intel-

lectual pilgrimage which brought him as far as India, proceeded with a rhythm of repetition and variation, seen less in life than in fiction. And perhaps the best way I can express this appreciation of his lectures is to say that amongst all of his concrete and picturesque examples with which he has reinforced his theme, the finest illustration of the expanding symbol is himself.[8]

In June 1951, the Royal Society of Canada presented posthumously the Lorne Pierce Medal in Canadian Letters to Edward Killoran Brown. In his citation A. S. P. Woodhouse spoke with sympathetic objectivity of his friend and former colleague at University College:

Such, in brief, was the career of a Canadian who won for himself a secure place in the international world of literary scholarship, with his books on Edith Wharton and Matthew Arnold, his admirable introductions to Arnold's prose and to Victorian verse, and his various articles and reviews: to which we must add his most mature critical work, *Rhythm in the Novel*, published just before his death, and the almost completed official life of Willa Cather, shortly to be published by Knopf. It is proper that these works should take precedence in setting forth his claim to the Lorne Pierce medal: first, because it was his own principle that Canadian writing must submit to an international, and not to a merely local, judgment, and that it must rise to an international standard of interest and of excellence; and, secondly, because it was in these wider fields of study that he secured the training, the insight and the perspective which gave his writing on Canadian literature its peculiar value and authority. That writing is perhaps the most impressive achievement of its kind yet to appear. Besides his edition of Lampman, it includes his memoir (now in the press) of Duncan Campbell Scott (whom he knew and admired, and who may perhaps be reckoned the last of the moulding influences upon his mind), secondly, his book *On Canadian Poetry*, with its definitive chapter on the conditions of authorship in Canada, its account of the development of Canadian poetry (the most illuminating yet written), and its critical estimate of three major figures; and, finally, the fifteen annual surveys which furnish by far the best account available of poetry in Canada during the past decade and a half. Such scholarship and criticism are of incalculable value to Canadian letters, in themselves, and as an example.

Mr. President, this is the achievement of but half a life-time. But it is enough.[9]

The bibliography of E. K. Brown's critical writings attests to the breadth of his knowledge, the rigour of his critical standards, and the sensitivity of his responses and evaluations. In compiling the bibliography, I have not included second editions, revisions, or reprints unless they have substantial changes. For each "Causerie," a short, informal piece of criticism Brown contributed to the *Winnipeg Free Press* on an irregular basis for nearly four years, I have appended in brackets a brief description of its content; an asterisk after the description []* indicates that the causerie was printed in the collection, *Causeries*, published by the *Winnipeg Free Press*.[10] The following abbreviations are used: *AL*: *American Literature*; *CanB*: *Canadian Bookman*; *CanF*: *Canadian Forum*; *CE*: *College English*; *DalR*: *Dalhousie Review*; *MLN*: *Modern Language Notes*; *MP*: *Modern*

Philology; *QQ*: *Queen's Quarterly*; *SatN*: *Saturday Night*; *SatRL*: *Saturday Review of Literature*; *SR*: *Sewanee Review*; *UTQ*: *University of Toronto Quarterly*; *VaQR*: *Virginia Quarterly Review*; *WFP*: *Winnipeg Free Press*; *YaleR*: *Yale Review*.

NOTES

[1] "Causerie," *WFP* (Jan. 13, 1951), 17. Rpt. in E. K. Brown, *Responses and Evaluations: Essays on Canada*, ed. and with an intro. by David Staines (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1977), 313.

[2] "Letters in Canada: Poetry," *UTQ*, 18 (April 1949), 255. Rpt. in *Responses and Evaluations*, 274.

[3] *Rhythm in the Novel* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1950), 7.

[4] *Responses and Evaluations*, vii-xvi. See also Leon Edel's Foreword to E. K. Brown, *Willa Cather: A Critical Biography* (New York: Knopf, 1953), xvii-xxiv.

[5] "The Contemporary Situation in Canadian Literature," *Canadian Literature Today* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1938), 16.

[6] "The Critic as Xenophobe," *SR*, 38 (July-September 1930), 301.

[7] *Responses and Evaluations*, xiii-xiv.

[8] Pratt Manuscripts, Box 9, number 71, Victoria College Library, Univ. of Toronto.

[9] From the estate of Mrs. E. K. Brown.

[10] *Causeries*, Winnipeg Free Press Pamphlet No. 35 (June 1951), consists of twenty causeries out of a total of, according to the Introduction, thirty-eight that Brown wrote. My research, however, reveals that Brown wrote forty-eight causeries. He once remarked to a friend that, had he not been so completely educated, he would have been strongly attracted to journalism.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1929

"The Abbé Groulx: Particularist." *CanF*, 10 (Oct. 1929), 19-20.

"The Goncourt Award." Rev. of *A Man Scans His Past* by M. Constantin-Weyer. *CanF*, 10 (Nov. 1929), 58-59.

1930

"The Fifteenth Century." Rev. of *Science and Thought in the Fifteenth Century* by Lynn Thorndike. *CanF*, 10 (Feb. 1930), 180.

"Canon Chartier, Patriot." *SatN*, 45 (March 15, 1930), 29.

"Wise Music." Rev. of *Collected Poems* by Edwin Arlington Robinson. *CanF*, 10 (May 1930), 296-97.

Rev. of *Orphan of Eternity* by Carl Heinrich. *CanF*, 10 (June 1930), 341.

"Shall We Adopt the French Doctorate?" *CanF*, 10 (July 1930), 363-64.

"The Critic of Xenophobe." *SR*, 38 (July-Sept. 1930), 301-09.

"A Frenchman on Humanism." Rev. of *Le Mouvement humaniste aux Etats-Unis* by Louis J.-A. Mercier. *SR*, 38 (July-Sept. 1930), 376-77.

"T. S. Eliot: Poet and Critic." *CanF*, 10 (Sept. 1930), 448.

"American Expatriates." Rev. of *Portrait of the Artist as American* by Matthew Josephson. *CanF*, 10 (Sept. 1930), 449.

"The Claims of French-Canadian Poetry." *QQ*, 37 (Autumn 1930), 724-31.

Rev. of *Unpublished Letters from the Collection of John Wild*, ed. R. N. Carew Hunt. *CanF*, 11 (Dec. 1930) 115.

1931

"Novels and Novelists." Rev. of *Five Masters* by Joseph Wood Krutch and *Four Contemporary Novelists* by Wilbur L. Cross. *CanF*, 11 (Jan. 1931), 150.

Rev. of *Old Pastures* by Padraic Colum. *CanF*, 11 (Jan. 1931), 155.

Rev. of *The Art of Dying*, ed. Francis Birrell and F. L. Lucas. *CanF*, 11 (Jan. 1931), 156.

"Fine Asperity." Rev. of *Certain People* by Edith Wharton. *CanF*, 11 (Feb. 1931), 184-85.

Rev. of *A Martyr's Folly* by M. Constantin-Weyer. *CanF*, 11 (Feb. 1931), 192.

"Hawthorne, Melville and 'Ethan Brand'." *AL*, 3 (March 1931), 72-74.

"Essays in Literature." Rev. of *The Eighteen-Eighties*, ed. Walter De La Mare. *CanF*, 11 (April 1931), 266-67.

Rev. of *Pages of English Prose, 1390-1930*, sel. by Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch. *CanF*, 11 (April 1931), 274.

"A French Critic on Keats." *SR*, 39 (April-June 1931), 240-48.

"The Taylorian Lectures." Rev. of *Studies in European Literature: The Taylorian Lectures. CanF*, 11 (May 1931), 306-07.

Rev. of *Grand Hotel* by Vicki Baum. *CanF*, 11 (May 1931), 316.

Rev. of *I Americans* by Salvador de Madariaga. *CanF*, 11 (May 1931), 316.

"The Question of Romantic Egoism: Blake." *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, Series 3, vol. 25, (May 1931), Section 2, 99-107.

"Hearn: A New Life." Rev. of *Blue Ghost: A Study of Lafcadio Hearn* by Jean Temple. *CanF*, 11 (June 1931), 345-46.

Rev. of *Chaucer* by John Masefield and *The Creation of Character in Literature* by John Galsworthy. *CanF*, 11 (Aug. 1931), 434.

"The Whiteoaks Saga." *CanF*, 12 (Oct. 1931), 23.

Rev. of *The Letters of John Keats*, ed. Maurice Buxton Forman, and *Studies in Keats* by J. Middleton Murry. *CanF*, 12 (Nov. 1931), 72.

"The Neglect of American Literature." *SatN*, 47 (Nov. 21, 1931), 2-3.

"Three Literary Studies." Rev. of *Charles Reade* by Malcolm Edwin, *A Consideration of Thackeray* by George Saintsbury, and *J. Fenimore Cooper, Critic of His Times* by R. E. Spiller. *CanF*, 12 (Dec. 1931), 109-10.

Rev. of *Poets and Playwrights* by E. E. Stoll. *CanF*, 12 (Dec. 1931), 114-15.

"The French Reputation of Matthew Arnold." *Studies in English* by Members of University College, Toronto. Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1931, 224-54.

1932

"The Dostoevsky Myth." Rev. of *Dostoevsky* by E. H. Carr. *CanF*, 12 (Jan. 1932), 145-46.

Rev. of *Philosophies of Beauty*, sel. and ed. by E. F. Carritt. *CanF*, 12 (Jan. 1932), 155.

"An Opinionated Logician." Rev. of *The Human Parrot and Other Essays* by Montgomery Belgion. *SatN*, 47 (Feb. 13, 1932), 8-9.

"Cabell on Cabell." Rev. of *Three Restless Heads* by Branch Cabell. *SatN*, 47 (March 26, 1932), 8.

"A Sexless Literature." Rev. of *Expression in America* by Ludwig Lewisohn. *SatN*, 47 (April 9, 1932), Spring Lit. Supp., 3, 14.

Rev. of *A Letter to Madam Blanchard* by E. M. Forster, *A Letter to A Sister* by Rosamond Lehmann, and *A Letter to W. B. Yeats* by L. A. G. Strong. *CanF*, 12 (April 1932), 274.

"Matthew Arnold and the Elizabethans." *UTQ*, 1 (April 1932), 333-51.

"The Undramatic Genius of James." Rev. of *Henry James: Les Années Dramatiques* and *The Prefaces of Henry James* by Leon Edel. *CanF*, 12 (May 1932), 304-05.

Rev. of *Wanderings* by Arthur Symons. *CanF*, 12 (June 1932), 352.

"Forgotten, Far-Off Things." Rev. of *On Being Creative and Other Essays* by Irving Babbitt. *CanF*, 12 (July 1932), 390.

Rev. of *Limits and Renewals* by Rudyard Kipling. *CanF*, 12 (July 1932), 394.

"A Decorous Rebel." Rev. of *The Life of Emerson* by Van Wyck Brooks. *SatN*, 47 (Aug. 20, 1932), 6.

"Henri Bourassa." *CanF*, 12 (Aug. 1932), 423-24.

"Headlong Intuition." Rev. of *Carlyle* by Emery Neff. *CanF*, 12 (Sept. 1932), 466-67.

"The Man from Missouri." Rev. of *Mark Twain's America* by Bernard De Voto. *SatN*, 47 (Oct. 8, 1932), Autumn Lit. Supp., 2, 8.

"The Mid-Victorians." Rev. of *The Eighteen-Sixties*, ed. by John Drinkwater. *CanF*, 13 (Oct. 1932), 27-28.

"Heretic and Prophet." Rev. of *Samuel Butler: A Mid-Victorian Modern* by Clara Gruening Stillman. *SatN*, 48 (Nov. 12, 1932), 8.

"Blood and Irony." Rev. of *The Sheltered Life* by Ellen Glasgow. *CanF*, 13 (Nov. 1932), 64-65.

"A Frenchified George Eliot." Rev. of *The Life of George Eliot* by Emilie and Georges Romieu. *SatN*, 48 (Dec. 3, 1932), Christmas Lit. Supp., 8-9.

Cazamian, Louis. *Carlyle*. Trans. by E. K. Brown. New York: Macmillan, 1932. ix + 289 pp.

1933

"Another Swinburne." Rev. of *Swinburne: A Literary Biography* by Georges Lafourcade. *CanF*, 13 (Jan. 1933), 145.

Review of *The Soul of America* by Arthur Hobson Quinn and *American Literature and Culture* by Grant C. Knight. *CanF*, 13 (Jan. 1933), 156.

"George Moore: In Memoriam." *CanF*, 13 (March 1933), 220-21.

"A Tract for the Times." Rev. of *Ann Vickers* by Sinclair Lewis. *CanF*, 13 (March 1933), 230.

"Some Literary Lives." Rev. of *The Memoirs of Sir Robert Sibbald*, ed. Paget Hett, *The Brontës and Other Essays* by G. F. Bradby, *Maria Jane Jewsbury: Occasional Papers* with a memoir by Eric Gillett, *A.B.* by Pauline Smith, and *Reminiscences of D. H. Lawrence* by J. Middleton Murry. *SatN*, 48 (April 8, 1933), Spring Lit. Supp., 8.

"Arnold the Young Man." Rev. of *Letters by Matthew Arnold to Arthur Hugh Clough*, ed. by Howard Foster Lowry. *CanF*, 13 (April 1933), 270-71.

Review of *Frank Norris* by Franklin Walker. *CanF*, 13 (May 1933), 318.

"Servants of the Poets." Rev. of *The English Muse* by Oliver Elton and *Crabbe* and *Rossetti* (Poets in Brief), chosen by F. L. Lucas. *CanF*, 13 (June 1933), 349-50.

"Leader or Sheep?" Rev. of *The Lost Leader: A Study of Wordsworth* by Hugh l'Anson Fausset. *SatN*, 48 (July 15, 1933), 7.

"Victorian Rebels." Rev. of *John Ruskin* by R. H. Wilenski and *Poor Splendid Wings: The Rossettis and Their Circle* by Frances Winwar. *SatN*, 48 (Oct. 14, 1933), Autumn Lit. Supp., 3, 12.

"The Craft of Fiction." Rev. of *The Art of the Novel* by Pelham Edgar. *SatN*, 49 (Nov. 18, 1933), 5.

"Chatterbox of Genius." Rev. of *Samuel Pepys: The Man in the Making* by Arthur Bryant. *SatN*, 49 (Dec. 16, 1933), 8.

"The Age of Titian." Rev. of *The Man of the Renaissance* by Ralph Roeder. *SatN*, 49 (Dec. 30, 1933), 8.

"The Immediate Present in Canadian Literature." *SR*, 41 (Oct.-Dec. 1933), 430-42.

"Edith Wharton." *The Art of the Novel* by Pelham Edgar. Toronto: Macmillan, 1933, pp. 196-205.

"Another Johnson." Rev. of *Samuel Johnson* by Hugh Kingsmill. *SatN*, 49 (March 10, 1934), 8.

"The Sister." Rev. of *Dorothy Wordsworth* by Ernest de Selincourt. *SatN*, 49 (March 31, 1934), 8.

"Poetic Form." Review of *Keats' Craftsmanship* by M. R. Ridley. *CanF*, 14 (March 1934), 230-31.

Rev. of *A Bibliography of the Writings of Edith Wharton* by Lavinia Davis. *AL*, 5 (March 1934), 288-90.

"E. M. Forster and the Contemplative Novel." *UTQ*, 3 (April 1934), 349-61.

"The National Idea in American Criticism." *DalH*, 14 (July 1934), 133-47.
"Magazines and Public." Rev. of *Victorian Wallflowers* by Malcolm Elwin. *SatN*, 49 (Oct. 20, 1934), Autumn Lit. Supp., 1, 13.
"In Tragic Life." Rev. of *Edgar Allan Poe: A Critical Biography* by Dame Una Pope-Hennessey. *SatN*, 50 (Dec. 8, 1934), Christmas Lit. Supp., 4, 9.

1935

Review of *William Crary Brownell: An Anthology of His Writings together with Biographical Notes and Impressions of the Later Years* by Gertrude Hall Brownell. *AL*, 6 (Jan. 1935), 223-24.
"The Scholar Gipsy: An Interpretation." *Revue Anglo-américaine*, 12 (Feb. 1935), 219-25.
"A Christian Humanist: Thornton Wilder." *UTQ*, 4 (Apr. 1935), 356-70.
Rev. of *A Backward Glance* by Edith Wharton. *AL*, 6 (May 1935), 474-75.
Edith Wharton, étude critique. Paris: E. Droz, 1935. 348 pp.
Studies in the Text of Matthew Arnold's Prose Works. Paris: E. Droz, 1935. ii + 139 pp.

1936

"Letters in Canada: Poetry." *UTQ*, 5 (April 1936), 362-67.
"Willa Cather and the West." *UTQ*, 5 (July 1936), 544-66.
"On Academic Freedom." *DalH*, 16 (July 1936), 216-27.
"Nineteenth-Century Thought: Two Views." Rev. of *Movements of Thought in the Nineteenth Century* by George H. Mead and *The Concept of Nature in Nineteenth Century English Poetry* by Joseph Warren Beach. *UTQ*, 6 (Oct. 1936), 141-47.
Representative Essays of Matthew Arnold. Ed. with an Intro. by E. K. Brown. Toronto: Macmillan, 1936, xlii + 240 pp.

1937

"Swinburne: A Centenary Estimate." *UTQ*, 6 (Jan. 1937), 215-35.
Rev. of *Le Roman social en Angleterre (1830-1850)* by Louis Cazamian. *Etudes Anglaises*, 1 (March 1937), 153-55.
"Letters in Canada: Poetry." *UTQ*, 6 (April 1937), 340-47.
"New England: The Recent Past." Rev. of *The Flowering of New England* by Van Wyck Brooks. *UTQ*, 7 (Oct. 1937), 126-31.
Rev. of *Le Canada: puissance internationale* by André Siegfried. *Etudes Anglaises*, 1 (Nov. 1937), 554-56.
"First of Canadian Poets." Rev. of *The Fable of the Goats* by E. J. Pratt. *CanF*, 17 (Dec. 1937), 321-22.

1938

"Edith Wharton." *Etudes Anglaises*, 2 (Jan.-March 1938), 16-26.
"Prim and Proper." Rev. of *Ladies and Gentlemen in Victorian Fiction* by E. M. Delafield. *CanF*, 17 (March 1938), 430.
"Letters in Canada: Poetry." *UTQ*, 7 (April 1938), 340-48.
Rev. of *Edna St. Vincent Millay and Her Times* by Elizabeth Atkins. *AL*, 9 (May 1938), 484-85.
"A Woman's Picture of Keats." Rev. of *Adonais: A Life of Keats* by Dorothy Hewlett. *CanB*, 20 (June-July 1938), 30.
Rev. of *Towards the Twentieth Century* by H. V. Routh. *MP*, 36 (Aug. 1938), 93-95.
"Mr. Eliot and Some Enemies." *UTQ*, 8 (Oct. 1938), 69-84.
"Miss de la Roche's Second Family." Rev. of *Growth of a Man* by Mazo de la Roche. *CanB*, 20 (Oct.-Nov. 1938), 40-41.
"Assault upon Walt Whitman." Rev. of *Walt Whitman's Pose* by Esther Shephard. *CanB*, 20 (Oct.-Nov. 1938), 65-66.
"The Contemporary Situation in Canadian Literature." *Canadian Literature Today* (a series of broadcasts sponsored by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation). Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1938, pp. 9-16.

"Heroic Painter." Rev. of *Benjamin Franklin* by Carl Van Doren. *CanB*, 20 (Dec.-Jan. 1938-1939), 31.

1939

"The Coast Opposite Humanity." *CanF*, 18 (Jan. 1939), 309-10.
"Books versus Radio and Movies." Rev. of *In Defence of Letters* by Georges Duhamel. *CanB*, 20 (Feb.-March 1939), 53-54.
"Whitman's Socialism." Rev. of *Whitman* by Newton Arvin. *CanF*, 19 (April 1939), 26.
"Letters in Canada: Poetry." *UTQ*, 8 (April 1939), 293-301.
"Robinson Jeffers: The Tower Beyond Tragedy." *Manitoba Arts Review*, 1 (Spring 1939), 4-17.
"Portrait of a Sensible Man." Rev. of *Matthew Arnold* by Lionel Trilling. *CanF*, 19 (June 1939), 95.
"Anti-Victorian." Rev. of *Old Gods Falling* by Malcolm Elwin. *CanF*, 19 (Sept. 1939), 195-96.
Rev. of *Carlyle et la pensée latine* by Alan Carey Taylor. *Romanic Review*, 30 (Oct. 1939), 308-09.
"New Light on Lionel Johnson." Rev. of *Lionel Johnson (1867-1920) poète et critique* by Arthur W. Patrick. *UTQ*, 9 (Oct. 1939), 120-21.

1940

"Matthew Arnold and the Eighteenth Century." *UTQ*, 9 (Jan. 1940), 202-13.
"An Unhappy Optimist." Rev. of *Lord Macaulay, Victorian Liberal* by Richmond Croom Beatty. *CanF*, 19 (Feb. 1940), 363-64.
"Mr. Pound's Conversations." Rev. of *Polite Essays* by Ezra Pound. *CanF*, 20 (April 1940), 24.
"Letters in Canada: Poetry." *UTQ*, 9 (April 1940), 283-89.
Rev. of *Il Pensiero Religioso ed Estetico di Walter Pater* by F. Olivero. *MP*, 37 (May 1940), 437-38.
"Newest in Novels." Rev. of *The Voyage* by Charles Morgan. *CanF*, 20 (Dec. 1940), 288-89.

1941

Review of *Kulturkritik und Literaturbetrachtung in Amerika* by Viktor Lange and Hermann Boeschenstein. *AL*, 12 (Jan. 1941), 268.
"Thomas Wolfe: Realist and Symbolist." *UTQ*, 10 (Jan. 1941), 153-66.
"Letters in Canada: Poetry." *UTQ*, 10 (April 1941), 283-92.
"The Development of Poetry in Canada, 1880-1940." *Poetry* (Chicago), 58 (April 1941), 34-47.
"Duncan Campbell Scott: An Individual Poet." *Manitoba Arts Review*, 2 (Spring 1941), 51-54.
Rev. of *As For Me and My House* by Sinclair Ross. *CanF*, 21 (July 1941), 124-25.
"Canadian Nature Poetry." *Think*, 7 (Sept. 1941), 54, 93.
"The Method of Edmund Wilson." *UTQ*, 11 (Oct. 1941), 105-11.

1942

"Humane Scholarship in the Humanities." Rev. of *Literary Scholarship: Its Aims and Methods* by Norman Foerster, John C. McGalliard, René Wellek, Austin Warren and Wilbur L. Schramm. *UTQ*, 11 (Jan. 1942), 217-25.
Rev. of *George Eliot and John Chapman* by Gordon S. Haight. *MP*, 39 (Feb. 1942), 330-32.
"Letters in Canada: Poetry." *UTQ*, 11 (April 1942), 288-97.
Victorian Poetry. Ed. with an Intro. and Notes. New York: Nelson, 1942. xiv + 912 pp.

1943

"Mackenzie King of Canada." *Harper's Magazine*, 186 (Jan. 1943), 192-200.
"Letters in Canada: Poetry." *UTQ*, 12 (April 1943), 305-14.
At the Long Sault and Other New Poems by Archibald Lampman. Intro. by E. K. Brown. Toronto: Ryerson, 1943. xxix + 45 pp.
On Canadian Poetry. Toronto: Ryerson, 1943. viii + 157 pp.

1944

"To the North: A Wall Against Canadian Poetry." *SatRL*, 27 (April 29, 1944), 9-11.
"Letters in Canada: Poetry." *UTQ*, 13 (April 1944), 306-16.
"A. J. M. Smith and the Poetry of Pride." *Manitoba Arts Review*, 3 (Spring 1944), 30-32.
"Recent Poetry from Canada." Rev. of *Still Life and Other Verse* by E. J. Pratt and *A Little Anthology of Canadian Poets*, ed. by Ralph Gustafson. *Voices*, 117 (Spring 1944), 44-46.
Rev. of *The Book of Canadian Poetry*, ed. by A. J. M. Smith. *AL*, 15 (May 1944), 439-42.
"Two Canadian Poets: A Lecture by Archibald Lampman (ed. from ms. with preface and notes)." *UTQ*, 13 (July 1944), 406-23.
"The Revival of E. M. Forster." *YaleR*, 33 (Summer 1944), 668-81.
"Our Neglect of Our Literature." *Civil Service Review*, 17 (Sept. 1944), 306-09. Rpt. as "The Neglect of Our Literature" in *Canadians All* (Autumn 1944), 28, 62, and as "The Neglect of Canadian Literature" in *Echoes*, 176 (Autumn 1944), 12, 48.
"Satirical Verse." Rev. of *The Hitleriad* by A. M. Klein. *Poetry* (Chicago), 65 (Oct. 1944), 54-56.
On Canadian Poetry. 2nd ed., rev. and enl. Toronto: Ryerson, 1944. ix + 172 pp.

1945

Review of *The Humanities After the War*, ed. Norman Foerster. *Philosophical Review*, 54 (Jan. 1945), 75-76.
"Pratt's Collected Work." Rev. of *Collected Poems* by E. J. Pratt. *UTQ*, 14 (Jan. 1945), 211-13.
"English Studies in the Postwar World." *CE*, 6 (April 1945), 380-91.
"Letters in Canada: Poetry." *UTQ*, 14 (April 1945), 261-67.
"The Fiction of Henry James." Rev. of *Henry James: Stories of Writers and Artists*, ed. F. O. Matthiesen, and *The Great Short Novels of Henry James*, ed. Philip Rahv. *YaleR*, 34 (Spring 1945), 536-39.
"James and Conrad." *YaleR*, 35 (Winter 1945), 265-85.

1946

"Letters in Canada: Poetry." *UTQ*, 15 (April 1946), 269-80.
"The Epilogue to Mr. de la Mare's Poetry." *Poetry* (Chicago), 68 (May 1946), 90-96.
"L'Age d'or de notre poésie." *Gants du Ciel*, 11 (Spring 1946), 7-17.
"The Character and Poetry of Keats, by Archibald Lampman, ed. from ms. with prefatory note." *UTQ*, 15 (July 1946), 356-72.
"Kipling and the Modern Reader." Rev. of *Rudyard Kipling* by Hilton Brown. *YaleR*, 35 (Summer 1946), 740-42.
"Two Formulas for Fiction: Henry James and H. G. Wells." *CE*, 8 (Oct. 1946), 7-17.
"Homage to Willa Cather." *YaleR*, 36 (Autumn 1946), 77-92.
"Scholarship for Canada." Rev. of *Scholarship for Canada: The Function of Graduate Studies* by John Bartlet Brebner. *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, 12 (Nov. 1946), 521-24.
Père Goriot and *Eugénie Grandet*. (*Père Goriot* trans. by E. K. Brown). Intro. by E. K. Brown. New York: Random House, 1946. xiii + 496 pp.

1947

"Recent Poetry in Canada." Rev. of *Now is Time* by Earle Birney, *The Blossoming Time* by John Coulter, *East of the City* by Louis Dudek, and *When We Are Young* by Raymond Souster. *Poetry* (Chicago), 69 (March 1947), 349-53.
"Letters in Canada: Poetry." *UTQ*, 16 (April 1947), 246-54.
"Now, Take Ontario." *Maclean's Magazine* (June 15, 1947), 12, 30-32.
"Thackeray and Trollope." Rev. of *The Showman of Vanity Fair* by Lionel Stevenson and *Trollope: A Commentary* by Michael Sadleir. *YaleR*, 36 (Summer 1947), 753-55.

"Causerie." *WFP* (Sept. 27, 1947), p. 17, cols. 4, 5, 6. [A Fine Novel of the West]*

"Causerie." *WFP* (Oct. 25, 1947), p. 17, cols. 6, 7, 8. [A Masterpiece of Icy Contempt]*

Rev. of *Selected Poems of Archibald Lampman*, chosen and ed. with a memoir by Duncan Campbell Scott. *CanF*, 27 (Oct. 1947), 165.

"Modern Literature: Two Surveys." Rev. of *Forces in Modern British Literature, 1885-1946* by W. Y. Tindall and *The Novel and the World's Dilemma* by E. B. Burgun. *VaQR*, 23 (Autumn 1947), 631-36.

"Lubbock Book on Wharton." Rev. of *Portrait of Edith Wharton* by Percy Lubbock. *Chicago Daily News* (Dec. 3, 1947), p. 14, col. 5.

"Causerie." *WFP* (Dec. 20, 1947), p. 17, cols. 6, 7, 8. [Literary Revival of George Eliot]*

"In Memoriam: Duncan Campbell Scott." *WFP* (Dec. 29, 1947), p. 11, cols. 4, 5, 6.

Four Essays on Life and Letters by Matthew Arnold. Ed. with an intro. and notes. New York: Crofts Classics, 1947. ix + 118 pp.

1948

"Causerie." *WFP* (Feb. 7, 1948), p. 17, cols. 5, 6, 7. [The Second-Hand Book Store]*

"Causerie." *WFP* (Feb. 28, 1948), p. 19, cols. 6, 7, 8. [Ten Best Canadian Books]

"Causerie." *WFP* (April 3, 1948), p. 21, cols. 6, 7, 8. [Mazo de La Roche's *Jalna*]

"Causerie." *WFP* (April 24, 1948), p. 19, cols. 4, 5, 6. [Lean Years for the Novel]*

"Letters in Canada: Poetry." *UTQ*, 17 (April 1948), 257-65.

"Henry James." Rev. of *The Notebooks of Henry James*, ed. F. O. Matthiesen and Kenneth B. Murdock, and *The James Family* by F. O. Matthiesen. *YaleR*, 37 (Spring 1948), 530-33.

"David Copperfield." *YaleR*, 37 (Spring 1948), 651-66.

"Causerie." *WFP* (May 15, 1948), p. 19, col. 8. [The Classic by E. M. Forster]*

"A New Canadian Poet." Rev. of *The Wounded Prince* by Douglas Le Pan. *WFP* (May 22, 1948), p. 13, cols. 1, 2.

"Causerie." *WFP* (July 3, 1948), p. 15, cols. 7, 8. [The Novel Anyone Could Write]*

"Lack of Interpretive Power Harms Book." Rev. of *Leading Canadian Poets* by W. P. Percival. *WFP* (July 17, 1948), p. 10, cols. 1, 2.

"Causerie." *WFP* (July 24, 1948), p. 15, cols. 7, 8. [The Country of the Pointed Firs]*

"Causerie." *WFP* (Aug. 7, 1948), p. 15, cols. 7, 8. [A Pioneer Historian of Canada]*

"Evelyn Waugh: The Supreme Satirist." Rev. of *The Loved One* by Evelyn Waugh. *WFP* (Aug. 21, 1948), p. 10, cols. 3, 4, 5, 6.

"Causerie." *WFP* (Aug. 21, 1948), p. 15, cols. 7, 8. [The revival of interest in Henry James]

"A Novel of Mediaeval France and the Crusades." Rev. of *The World is Not Enough* by Zoe Oldenbourg. *WFP* (Aug. 12, 1948), p. 12, cols. 1, 2, 3.

"Causerie." *WFP* (Aug. 28, 1948), p. 21, cols. 6, 7, 8. [Frederick Philip Grove: In Memoriam]

"Causerie." *WFP* (Sept. 25, 1948), p. 19, cols. 6, 7, 8. [*Howard's End*]

"Fact and Fiction." Rev. of *One Clear Call* by Upton Sinclair. *WFP* (Oct. 9, 1948), p. 9, cols. 1, 2.

"Encouraging Advances — And A Dangerous Gap." *WFP* (Oct. 30, 1948), p. 12, cols. 3, 4.

"Causerie." *WFP* (Oct. 30, 1948), p. 19, cols. 7, 8. [Naming trains]

"A Novel About Toronto University." Rev. of *The Varsity Story* by Morley Callaghan. *WFP* (Nov. 6, 1948), p. 10, cols. 3, 4, 5, 6.

"Army and Democracy." Rev. of *The Crusaders* by Stefan Heym. *WFP* (Nov. 13, 1948), p. 10, cols. 1, 2.

"Causerie." *WFP* (Nov. 13, 1948), p. 19, cols. 6, 7, 8. [Edward Augustus Freeman]

"Vivid Tale of Exploration." Rev. of *The Shining Mountains* by Dale Van Every. *WFP* (Nov. 20, 1948), p. 9, cols. 3, 4, 5, 6.

"Survey and Weapon." Rev. of *The Book of Canadian Poetry*, ed. A. J. M. Smith. *SatRL*, 31 (Nov. 27, 1948), 26.

"Causerie." *WFP* (Dec. 4, 1948), p. 17, cols. 7, 8. [The "Immortal Memory"]*

"A Thomas Mann Novel of Music and Morals." Rev. of *Dr. Faustus* by Thomas Mann. *WFP* (Dec. 18, 1948), p. 8, cols. 3, 4, 5, 6.

Matthew Arnold — A Study in Conflict. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1948. xiv + 224 pp.

"Arnold, Matthew" (2: 400-401). "The Brontës" (4: 243-245), "Meredith, George" (13: 455). *The American Peoples Encyclopedia.* Chicago: Spencer Press, 1948.

1949

"Causerie." *WFP* (Jan. 1, 1949), p. 15, cols. 6, 7, 8. [English Men-of-Letters series]

"Causerie." *WFP* (Jan. 22, 1949), p. 17, cols. 7, 8. [The Achievement of Morley Callaghan]*

Rev. of *Portrait of Edith Wharton* by Percy Lubbock. *AL*, 20 (Jan. 1949), 231-32.

"Causerie." *WFP* (Feb. 5, 1949), p. 17, cols. 6, 7, 8. [Lampman's Literary Executor]*

"Archibald Lampman 1861-1899: What We Lost." *SatN*, 64 (Feb. 8, 1949), 15.

"A Novelist Indicts the New Deal." Rev. of *The Grand Design* by John Dos Passos. *WFP* (Feb. 19, 1949), p. 8, cols. 3, 4, 5.

"Causerie." *WFP* (March 12, 1949), p. 21, cols. 6, 7, 8. [William Barnes]

"Causerie." *WFP* (March 26, 1949), p. 17, cols. 6, 7, 8. [Browning's essay on Chatterton]

"Causerie." *WFP* (April 23, 1949), p. 17, cols. 6, 7, 8. [In the Land of Oz]*

"Letters in Canada: Poetry." *UTQ*, 18 (April 1949), 254-63.

"Causerie." *WFP* (May 7, 1949), p. 19, cols. 7, 8. [The Asides of the Novelist]*

"Causerie." *WFP* (May 14, 1949), p. 21, cols. 7, 8. [Julian Bell: Essays, Poems, Letters]

"Embattled Teachers: A Novel of Protest." Rev. of *Lucifer with a Book* by J. H. Burns. *WFP* (May 28, 1949), p. 12, cols. 3, 4, 5, 6.

"Causerie." *WFP* (June 11, 1949), p. 19, cols. 7, 8. [On Poetry and Death]*

"Causerie." *WFP* (July 2, 1949), p. 17, cols. 7, 8. [Sherwood Anderson and Stephen Leacock]

"Myth and Snow." Rev. of *The Track of the Cat* by Walter Van Tilburg Clark. *WFP* (July 16, 1949), p. 10, cols. 1, 2.

"The Mind and Art of Virginia Woolf." Rev. of *Virginia Woolf: A Commentary* by Bernard Blackstone. *WFP* (July 23, 1949), p. 10, cols. 3, 4, 5, 6.

"Novel of Wit and Implication." Rev. of *Two Worlds and Their Ways* by Ivy Compton-Burnett. *WFP* (Aug. 13, 1949), p. 12, cols. 1, 2.

"Causerie." *WFP* (Aug. 13, 1949), p. 19, cols. 7, 8. [R. W. Chapman on Jane Austen]

"Prairie Poems by a Winnipeg Poet." Rev. of *Scrub Oak* by Thomas Saunders. *WFP* (Aug. 27, 1949), p. 11, cols. 3, 4, 5.

Rev. of *Matthew Arnold: A Study* by E. K. Chambers. *MP*, 47 (Aug. 1949), 67-69.

"Causerie." *WFP* (Sept. 3, 1949), p. 17, cols. 6, 7, 8. [Teaching literature]

"Hardy's Novels." Rev. of *Thomas Hardy: The Novels and Stories* by Albert J. Guerard. *WFP* (Oct. 1, 1949), p. 12, cols. 5, 6.

"Causerie." *WFP* (Oct. 15, 1949), p. 21, cols. 7, 8. [An unpoetic age]

"Canadian Literature." *WFP* (Oct. 29, 1949), p. 12, cols. 3, 4, 5, 6.

"English Critics on English Novelists." Rev. of *Trained For Genius: The Life and Writing of Ford Madox Ford* by Douglas Goldring, *Dickens: His Character, Comedy, and Career* by Hesketh Pearson, and *Virginia Woolf: A Commentary* by Bernard Blackstone. *VaQR*, 25 (Autumn 1949), 611-14.

"A Novel of Class and Sex." Rev. of *A Rage to Live* by John O'Hara. *WFP* (Nov. 19, 1949), p. 12, cols. 3, 4, 5, 6.

"Causerie." *WFP* (Nov. 19, 1949), p. 19, cols. 6, 7, 8. [Publishing poetry]
"Growing Poetry and Arrested Verse." Rev. of *The Canticle of the Rose: Selected Poems 1920-1947* by Edith Sitwell and *Songs of a Sunlover* by Robert Service. *WFP* (Dec. 3, 1949), p. 10, cols. 4, 5, 6.
"Causerie." *WFP* (Dec. 17, 1949), p. 21, cols. 7, 8. [Appreciating poetry]

1950

"A Novel of Beauty and Suggestion." Rev. of *Loving* by Henry Green. *WFP* (Jan. 7, 1950), p. 10, cols. 4, 5, 6.
"Causerie." *WFP* (Jan. 28, 1950), p. 19, cols. 7, 8. [Prose and poetry — the distinction]
"Causerie." *WFP* (Feb. 25, 1950), cols. 7, 8. [The diminishing importance of Byron]
Rev. of *Matthew Arnold, poète* by Louis Bonnerot. *MP*, 47 (Feb. 1950), 211-14.
"Causerie." *WFP* (March 18, 1950), p. 19, cols. 7, 8. [Ernest Hemingway's *Across the River*]
"Causerie." *WFP* (April 1, 1950), p. 11, cols. 7, 8. [Byron and marriage]
"Causerie." *WFP* (April 22, 1950), p. 21, cols. 7, 8. [The courts in Winchester, Virginia]
"Letters in Canada: Poetry." *UTQ*, 19 (April 1950), 259-64.
"Pater's Appreciations: A Bibliographical Note." *MLN*, 65 (April 1950), 247-49.
"Causerie." *WFP* (May 20, 1950), p. 17, cols. 7, 8. [Sir Walter Scott]
"Causerie." *WFP* (June 24, 1950), p. 21, cols. 7, 8. [Duncan Campbell Scott's *Via Borealis*]
"Middle Way Countries." Rev. of *The United States and Scandinavia* by Franklin D. Scott. *WFP* (July 29, 1950), p. 12, cols. 1, 2.
"Causerie." *WFP* (Aug. 5, 1950), p. 15, cols. 6, 7, 8. [Duncan Campbell Scott on Keats]*
"Causerie." *WFP* (Aug. 12, 1950), p. 25, cols. 7, 8. [The centenary of Balzac's death]
"A Novelist's Essays on Life and Letters." Rev. of *Collected Impressions* by Elizabeth Bowen. *WFP* (Aug. 26, 1950), p. 23, cols. 3, 4, 5, 6.
"Two Studies of Fiction." Rev. of *The House of Fiction* by Allen Tate and Caroline Gordon and *The World of Fiction* by Bernard DeVoto. *VaQR*, 26 (Summer 1950), 469-72.
"Satirist of Old New York." Rev. of *An Edith Wharton Treasury*, ed. Arthur Hobson Quinn. *WFP* (Sept. 9, 1950), p. 12, cols. 7, 8.
"Causerie." *WFP* (Sept. 16, 1950), p. 21, cols. 6, 7, 8. [The Blackbird and the Nightingale]*
"Balzac: The Enlightening Past." *SatRL*, 33 (Oct. 21, 1950), 21, 45.
"Causerie." *WFP* (Oct. 21, 1950), p. 21, cols. 6, 7, 8. [*Biographia Literaria*]
"Causerie." *WFP* (Nov. 25, 1950), p. 19, cols. 7, 8. [A reading by T. S. Eliot]
Rev. of *The Poetical Works of Matthew Arnold*, ed. C. B. Tinker and H. F. Lowry. *MP*, 48 (Nov. 1950), 140.
Rev. of *Tennyson Sixty Years After* by Paull F. Baum. *MLN*, 65 (Nov. 1950), 500.
"Willa Cather: The Benjamin D. Hitz Collection." *Newberry Library Bulletin*, 2nd Series, 5 (Dec. 1950), 158-60.
Rhythm in the Novel. Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1950. xiii + 118 pp.
Dickens, Charles. *David Copperfield.* Ed. with an Intro. New York: Random House, 1950. xviii + 923 pp.
"Canadian literature in English" (3: 33-34), "Carman, William Bliss" (3: 121), "Haliburton, Thomas Chandler" (6: 697), "Lampman, Archibald" (8: 316), "Leacock, Stephen Butler" (8: 417), "Pratt, Edwin John (11: 161), "Roberts, Sir Charles George Douglas" (11: 730-31), "Scott, Duncan Campbell" (12: 330-31). *Chambers's Encyclopaedia.* London: George Newnes, 1950.

1951

"Causerie." *WFP* (Jan. 13, 1951), p. 17, cols. 7, 8. [Is A Canadian Critic Possible?]*

"Causerie." *WFP* (Feb. 10, 1951), p. 17, cols. 7, 8. [Willa Cather's *Tommy the Unsentimental*]
"Causerie." *WFP* (March 10, 1951), p. 21, cols. 7, 8. [The Oxford Professorship of Poetry]
"Causerie." *WFP* (March 24, 1951), p. 21, cols. 7, 8. [Aubert de Gaspé]
"A Poet's Letters." Rev. of *New Letters of Robert Browning*, ed. W. C. DeVane and K. L. Knickerbocker. *YaleR*, 40 (Spring 1951), 548-50.
"The First Person Singular in 'Caliban Upon Setebos'." *MLN*, 66 (June 1951), 392-95.
Causeries. Winnipeg Free Press Pamphlet No. 35. Winnipeg, June 1951.
Duncan Campbell Scott: Selected Poems. Ed. with a Memoir. Toronto: Ryerson, 1951. xlii + 176 pp.
"Brontë sisters" (99-100), "Tennyson, Alfred" (655), "Wordsworth, William" (726). *Nelson's Encyclopaedia*. New York: T. Nelson, 1951.

1953

"Willa Cather's Canada." *UTQ*, 22 (Jan. 1953), 184-96.
Willa Cather: A Critical Biography. New York: Knopf, 1953. xxiv + 351 pp.

books in review

FRYE, FREUD & THEORY

ROBERT D. DENHAM, *Northrop Frye and Critical Method.* Pennsylvania State University Press, $12.75.

WHEN I FIRST SET OUT to read and review Robert Denham's book on Northrop Frye, I thought of myself as an inhabitant of an enemy camp — or at least, as an outsider at the feast of mode, archetype, myth, and study of the Bible as mythology in kindergarten, which I associated with Frye and his disciples. But I was brought up short by a return of the repressed memory that I myself had actually made use of Frye's theory of comedy, as outlined in the First Essay of *Anatomy of Criticism,* in an article of mine published in 1969. This fact has two interesting, and in a way counter, significances: in spite of my resistance to Frye's approach, I had been influenced by his work; but on the other hand, in the same paragraph in which I had cited Frye's work, I had also referred to Ludwig Jekels' 1926 psychoanalytic essay, "On the Psychology of Comedy," which puts forward essentially the same argument as Frye's with different terminology.

Indeed, one of the most surprising things to emerge from Denham's survey of Frye is the extent to which it reveals Frye's debt to Freud — surprising, because of the well known essay by Frederick C. Crews, "Anaesthetic Criticism," which attacks Frye for avoiding the immediate experience of literature in favor of a vaguely Jungian myth-criticism. Denham rightly questions the relevance of most of Crews' complaints on the ground that Frye is simply looking at literature from a broader perspective; yet Denham never really answers the objection that Frye is too narrow and restrictive in his insistence that literature must always be looked at in terms of other literature. And in fact that rule does not accurately describe Frye's practice, because as soon as one looks at themes and structural patterns in terms of generality and comparison, one is implicitly moving outside of literature into the realm of human behaviour, even if one refuses to call it that. And thus, Frye's generalizations about New Comedy, in which a younger group of characters are "blocked" by those of earlier generations, but ultimately overcome their absurd elders, amount to something very like Freud's theory of the oedipus complex, as applied by Jekels to comedy. In the area of applied criticism, Frye's essay on Dickens (1968), though it seems to operate within the framework of abstractions about literature, and makes use of Frye's own theory of comedy, is in fact replete with insights — scattered throughout like raisins in a good plum pudding — which resemble those arrived at previously or subsequently (and at greater length) by critics whose basic assumptions are psychoanalytic. In this essay and elsewhere, Frye assumes the existence of unconscious and universal determinants of behaviour, without ever stating the assumption quite that way.

The essay on Dickens (which Denham does not discuss) also is typical of Frye's approach, whether he is discussing broad theoretical questions or limiting himself to one author, in that its argument is non-linear, and in containing more than a few factual errors, probably the result of having been written from a memory rather than immediate consultation of the works discussed. As exasperating as are these and other habits of Frye's — such as using familiar words in totally unfamiliar ways ("tropical" to mean "figurative"), and using the same

word in three or more different ways — I much prefer reading Frye to reading Denham, something that the latter would probably not take as an insult. *Northrop Frye and Critical Method* is misleadingly titled, for it does not place Frye clearly within the context of modern literary theory but rather, except for the seventh and last chapter, is largely an exposition and defense of Frye's own method. Fully half the book is devoted to *Anatomy of Criticism*, one chapter to each of Frye's Essays, and in part this exposition is carried out by the inclusion of twenty-three charts and diagrams, with titles such as "Fictional modes," "The phases of symbolism," "Cyclical and dialectical patterns of the four *mythoi*," and "The genetic differentiae." It is possible to get some sense of what Frye is all about from this book alone, but I suspect that it would be extremely difficult reading for someone unfamiliar with the *Anatomy*. For those with prior knowledge of Frye's work, the diagrams and discussion can be very useful, as they are more systematically presented than the arguments in the *Anatomy* itself. At the same time, this systematic exposition makes it easy to spot the frequent arbitrariness and willful symmetry of Frye's theories.

The best case Denham makes for Frye is that his work makes it possible for readers to see the relations among literary works in new ways. Yet he is notably uncritical and unanalytical in regard to the problematic points in Frye's work. On a specific level, for example, he simply lists Frye's examples of the fifteen forms of prose fiction, including *Little Dorrit* along with *The Way of All Flesh* and Jane Austen's works under the "Novel," which in Frye's terminology refers to works in which realistic characters exist in a "stable society" (*Anatomy of Criticism*, Fourth Essay); and yet *Little Dorrit*, on the basis of Frye's later essay on Dickens, would seem to have

strong characteristics of both "Romance" and "Anatomy."

A more fundamental question is the nature of Frye's concepts of archetypal imagery and anagogic symbolism. In regard to the first, Denham simply accepts Frye's disavowal of a belief in Jung's Collective Unconscious, although — as Crews has pointed out — Frye's entire system depends upon some such assumption. And in regard to the second, while Denham admits that Frye's discussion of anagogic vision approaches "the limits of intelligibility," and that Frye, despite his rejection of value-judgments in criticism, makes a "heavily value-laden" statement about this highest form of literary experience, Denham backs off from any attempt to analyze what Frye is really saying. He retreats to a defense of the "prior assumption" of the "existence of a total order among *all* literary works," and skirts around the problems of ineffability and the substitution of literary for religious experience.

It seems particularly ironic that Denham defends Frye's beatific and rapturous description of anagogy on the ground that "the first and most obvious basis for Frye's position is his own literary experience, the feeling he has of being at the centre of significance when in the presence of the greatest works of literature," given the emphasis Denham places elsewhere on Frye's insistence on the absolute disjunction between experience and knowledge. One can be sympathetic with Frye's unwillingness to trace the nature of his literary experience to his own life experience; but ultimately, one may feel that he is having it both ways, in insisting on the "scientific" quality of his theories, and at the same time reserving the actual basis of the most important (and most Blakean) part of his vision of literature in the realm of the ineffable. Surely Crews, despite his polemical selectivity, is correct in seeing a strong element of evasion of literary experience in Frye's theoretical work. Denham makes little attempt to consider the political and ideological bases of Frye's work, accepting instead Frye's characterization of himself as a romantic and a revolutionary. Most disturbing of all, the lack of consistency and the implications of Frye's use of the word "myth" to characterize social attitudes— as in the "myth of concern" and "myth of freedom" — are simply not questioned. Although Frye believes myths to be "true" in some ultimate sense, the fact that "myth" can also mean "an untrue story" would once again seem to allow him to have things both ways. (It is this, I think, that most enrages Crews.)

The most interesting chapter in Denham's book is the last, in which he finally tries to evaluate, rather than simply defend, Frye's theoretical work. The first question taken up is Frye's claim to a "scientific" status for criticism. Making use of Thomas Kuhn's work on scientific paradigms and revolutions, Denham shows that Frye's concept of science as depending upon an actual order in nature, analogous to the order he finds in literature, is naive, and that his theories are not, according to Karl Popper's criteria, falsifiable, and thus are neither provable nor disprovable. But Denham then proceeds to outline a criterion of falsifiability, based on R. S. Crane's notion of the intention of a poem: one reasons back from the effect "demanded" by a poem, to its status within Frye's system. Given the recent work of Iser, Bleich, and Holland on the variability of literary response, this proposal seems naive in the extreme. But evidently Denham does not intend it seriously, since he quickly moves to the conclusion that it would be more "fruitful" to abandon "all talk of scientific and empirical confirmation," and to recognize that Frye's theory is ultimately a "metaphysical" one.

After some pages on Frye's termino-

logical inconsistency (or richness — depending on how you look at it) and his methods of argument (via "arbitrary assertion" and linked series of analogies), Denham concludes that the real values of Frye's work lie in its aesthetic excellence, and its vision of art as standing at the centre of man's universe. Although I find the complex structures of the *Anatomy* less fascinating than do Denham and others, I have to acknowledge that Frye's speculations have helped us to see the broader patterns of literature more clearly, and have provided many new starting points for literary interpretation. But there is a host of important questions upon which Denham does not even touch. What, for example, are the implications of Frye's vision of a "complete, classless" society, and of his proposal that a uniform body of literature, beginning with biblical and classical mythology, be taught in the schools? Although his vision of the possibilities of art is a noble one, the utopia he envisions (insofar as it is discernible) is strangely arid and monolithic, even authoritarian. And this brings us to a central fact about Frye, his relation to Blake. It is one of the greatest deficiencies of Denham's book that it does not deal at length with Frye's work on Blake. To come to some concrete understanding of Frye's utopian vision, one would have to look closely at how Frye reads Blake, and how his vision converges with his understanding (which is not the only one possible) of Blake's apocalyptic vision.

Unfortunately, Denham seems to be unaware of the critical implications of treating all of Blake's work as one work (which is, as Denham does see, related to Frye's tendency to see all of literature as one), and he does not even mention an important attack on Frye's approach to Blake, E. D. Hirsch, Jr.'s book, *Innocence and Experience*. Whether Hirsch's particular readings of Blake are correct

I cannot say, but the issue he raises is crucial to an evaluation of Frye: Hirsch argues that Frye's approach is radically unhistorical and distorting, for Blake lived and wrote in historical time, and changed his attitudes and poetic methods partly under the pressure of external events, such as the French Revolution and his own arrest for sedition. Hirsch also, in a footnote to *Validity in Interpretation,* questions Frye's system of literary classification, saying that "the patterns abstracted from interpreted texts cannot legitimately be reimposed upon the texts as a deeper and higher meaning. . . . Such a reimposed pattern could be nothing but a selective, abstract meaning whose importance belongs to some theory about man." The issues of historicity, authorial intention, and reader response are lurking behind Denham's book, and because they are never dealt with directly, *Northrop Frye and Critical Method* never really confronts the question of the place of Frye's work in relation to the ongoing debates that increasingly engage literary theorists today.

MICHAEL STEIG

MORAL PRESENCE

GILLES DORION, *Presence de Paul Bourget au Canada.* Les Presses de l'Université Laval, $12.00.

IN 1893, AS PART of a North American tour, the popular French writer Paul Bourget visited Canada, making brief stops at Montreal, Ottawa, and Quebec City. Bourget (1852-1935) was a prolific belletrist, critic, poet, dramatist, and novelist who, in his earlier works, took the stance of a sceptic, interested himself in psychological analysis, and touched on the naturalism of Zola. His first novels — *Un crime d'amour* (1886) for example — investigated moral and philosophical problems and generally depicted cosmopolitan settings, high society, kept women, passionate affairs and melodramatic situations. But gradually Bourget shifted to a conservative position. His most widely read novel, *Le Disciple* (1889), raised the question of the responsibility of the writer by describing an impressionable young man who brings tragedy upon himself and others by too literally applying the concepts of an atheist philosopher. Objecting to the term *roman à thèse,* Bourget referred to his novels as *romans à idées* because he attempted to give even characters whose ideas he felt were destructive a fair hearing; *Le Disciple* unfolds mainly through the viewpoint of the philosopher, Adrien Sixte. By 1902, Bourget was a monarchist, a staunch Catholic, a traditionalist, and an advocate of the sanctity of marriage.

In this scholarly study, Gilles Dorion minutely examines the presence of Bourget in Quebec — his physical presence for nineteen days in 1893 and his literary presence from 1884 to the present. Bourget's "presence" in Quebec has always been a contradictory one; even after his "conversion" he was not welcomed into the deeply conservative fold of Quebec. How could he be when he had not denounced his early "pornographic" novels!

In the Quebec of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, fiction was considered frivolous and corrupting; only highly moral and didactic novels that properly disseminated religious ideas were acceptable. Bourget's novels, although moralistic, were far too realistic to please the Church-dominated arbiters of literary taste. Described as a *malfaiteur littéraire,* he was to be strictly avoided by women and children. Thomas Chapais, one of the most reactionary critics, wrote: "Une jeune fille qui se nourrit de Paul Bourget est à nos yeux un phénomène de perversité et de stupidité." Needless to say his novels were read avidly.

In 1898, in the *Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque paroissale de Notre-Dame et du Cercle Ville-Marie*, certain books had to be specially requested from the librarian who had the right to refuse to comply. Five books of Bourget — but none of his novels! — were on this list.

When Bourget visited Quebec, the journals and newspapers which were the focal point for literary discussion were torn between pleasure at the arrival of a famous French writer and severe disapprobation of his work. A rancorous and petty debate ensued that was concerned more with moral than literary questions. Upon his return to France, Bourget published an account of his trip, entitled *Outre-Mer*, but omitted any mention of his sojourn in Quebec. Quebec was insulted and indignant. However, when Sylva Clapin, a Boston editor, unethically published his own *Sensations de Nouvelle-France* as a sequel to *Outre-Mer*, Quebeckers were, once again, outraged. In his book, Clapin (and Dorion, who has had access to Bourget's diary, claims the two men's views are similar) describes the domination and superiority of the English, denounces the Quebec education system, and decries the repressive clerical influence on the schools and on all realms of Quebec life. His warning, though prophetic, fell on hostile ears and the whole "l'Affaire Clapin" stirred up a storm in the journals, newspapers and "cercles" of the day.

In his "avant-propos," Dorion insists that a study such as Bourget's presence is a vital aspect of the elaboration of the history of ideas in Quebec. By discussing the influence and reception of French writers and the literary relations between Quebec and France, scholars can explore the moral and ideological climate of the past. I wholeheartedly agree with the need for this kind of scholarship and wish that English-Canadian literary critics would also pursue detailed analyses of a period, its ideas, its culture, its literature instead of relying upon intuition and generalizations derived second hand. Dorion's research, his appendices, bibliography, and index are further testament to the meticulous scholarship that has been emerging from Quebec presses in this last decade.

However, Dorion's book is clearly for the specialist, a source book to be culled for future dissertations. For his discussion of Bourget's reputation in Quebec, his contested visit, and the critical attitudes to his work, Dorion has combed newspapers, journals, theses, critical essays, and eighteen French-Canadian novels. His chapters are essentially composed of quotations and extracts with occasional synthesizing remarks. This makes for heavy reading and a plague of footnotes. There is also little space left for any analysis of the precise nature of technical and ideological borrowings from Bourget. But if one has the patience to plough through the data, one is left with no doubts whatsoever as to the painfully conservative and oppressive rigidity of the intellectual climate of Quebec's recent past.

KATHY MEZEI

TRIBUTE TO BARKER

Familiar Colloquy: Essays Presented to Arthur Edward Barker, ed. Patricia Bruckmann. Oberon, $17.50.

THIS OUTSTANDING COLLECTION of heretofore unpublished essays is an eloquent tribute to a remarkable Canadian scholar and teacher. Arthur Barker, now officially in retirement as Professor of Renaissance English literature at the University of Western Ontario, has had a long and illustrious career spanning more than forty years, during which time — spent chiefly at Toronto and Illinois — he taught, advised, or influenced many students, some of whom have joined here to celebrate their teacher in a way that does credit to all.

The fifteen essays in the volume are distinguished by their thoughtfulness, balance, careful research, attention to detail, and graceful presentation, the qualities that Arthur Barker himself most esteems and practices, just as if these several articles were meant to be uniformly written in the style of "familiar colloquy," a phrase adapted from Robynson's translation of a line from More's *Utopia*, where good conversation occurs "emonge fryndes in famylier communication." The image is reminiscent, as Patricia Bruckmann reminds us, "of a good seminar, with its principles of openness and equal time"; and we have the impression as we read through the essays she has edited for this volume of a good seminar opening before us. Only the seminar leader's voice is silent, yet the strength of his presence is often deferred to and his views regularly examined. One envies Professor Barker his good fortune in having such an articulate "seminar," which includes on this occasion Alistair Fox, Milton Wilson, Hugh Maclean, Sr. Geraldine Thompson, Lindsay Mann, David Hoeniger, Patricia Vicari, Camille Slights, A. E. Malloch, William Blissett, Douglas Chambers, Hugh MacCallum, Diane McColley, George Falle, and Dr. Bruckmann herself, whose essay on the *Utopia* opens the book.

Unlike the contributions to most "Festschriften," which are nearly always uneven in quality and frequently unreadable, the essays that make up this volume are of a consistently high standard. All treat of some aspect of the English Renaissance, from More to Milton (and Dryden), corresponding to Arthur Barker's own special interests. Some essays, like Sr. Geraldine's discussion of the variety of styles within Donne's sermons, or Lindsay Mann's study of Donne's literary view of the body and soul, are hardly "original," but they are resolutely sensible and intelligent, and they serve to help readers of good will keep their balance in the midst of a world full of vertiginous literary criticism.

Particularly striking are the critical essays about Milton, especially by Douglas Chambers who, in his "Darkness Visible," deftly relates the fascination of seventeenth-century painters with chiaroscuro to Milton's own visual imagination and imagery, notably in the opening of Book III of *Paradise Lost*. Diane McColley also is cogent in her " 'Daughter of God and Man'," for she lucidly shows how Eve is subordinate to Adam without being inferior — a paradox which disturbs many modern readers. Several essays are fascinating for their special research: David Hoeniger writes on Kondrad Gesner (1516-65), a remarkable Swiss botanist who deserves to be better known to English students, particularly in the history of science. Patricia Vicari interprets Robert Burton's horoscope in Renaissance terms, according to the design that Burton left (he directed his horoscope to be affixed on a tablet next to his tombstone), and she writes with detailed and enthusiastic elegance. This is certainly an essay that will form

a standard part of the literature on one of England's most compelling eccentrics and satirists. And as well, A. E. Malloch describes in a way that can hardly be bettered the extraordinary doctrine called in English *equivocation*, by pointing out its Continental antecedents and analogues: intention may be all, and so long as one holds the suitable mental reservation, actual lying is never possible.

With these brief mentions of only a few of the articles — it is not possible to describe them more fully here or to notice now the virtues of the others — some idea may be gathered of this unusually interesting collection. What needs further pointing out is the spirit that lies behind it. Many of the authors of these essays are already well known academic figures in English Renaissance studies, and others are likely to become increasingly so; almost all have been closely associated with Arthur Barker and through him in some way with the University of Toronto. Evidently, people, time, and place have come together in a fortunate conjunction.

The English Renaissance embraces within only about a century most of our greatest writers, from More and Hooker to Spenser and Shakespeare, Donne, Milton, and Dryden. Their study has always formed the staple part of curricula in English departments everywhere, and we may hope their basic importance will continue to be understood. The short-sighted fascination of so many contemporary students to look at their own time and literature as if no other exists must lead to shallow and uninformed observation; but such dangerous pitfalls may be avoided where a "familiar colloquy" can take place. Most of the contributors to this present conversation are Canadian scholars who are concentrating their energies in the Renaissance area, and who are thus continuing a tradition well established in our major universities. Perhaps the late A. S. P. Woodhouse was a principal figure (or even animating genius) of this remarkable flowering of Renaissance studies in Canada; for as the *éminence* of the University of Toronto for years, many prominent Canadian teachers and critics may have been affected by his strong influence: Douglas Bush, J. Max Patrick (both originally of Toronto), the late Roy Daniells, Northrop Frye, Malcolm Ross, and Arthur Barker himself. Many more names might be added to this roll of gifted persons who have studied or who work (or who have done both) in Canada, initially or principally centring their interest in the Renaissance. Surely no other country can claim in proportion to its numbers so many and so distinguished a group of specialists and critics in this most crucial and complex area of the English Renaissance. They apparently have been happy among friends in familiar communication, by helping to interpret and describe one part of Canada's heritage, even from sea to sea.

P. G. STANWOOD

INNIS AS FRIEND

DONALD CREIGHTON, *Harold Adams Innis: Portrait of a Scholar*. University of Toronto Press, second ed., $4.95.

1977 MARKED THE TWENTY-FIFTH anniversary of the death of Harold Adams Innis and, appropriately, a number of tributes to his great work were arranged. Among them were an Innis conference at Simon Fraser University, an issue of the *Journal of Canadian Studies* (Winter 1977, vol. 12, no. 5) devoted to Innis studies, and the reissue of Professor Creighton's little tribute which first appeared in 1956.

This book remains the most attractive introduction to the man Innis. It contains many features common to Professor Creighton's other works: a fine sense of craftsmanship; a sweeping, compelling style; a strong sense of the interaction of "character and circumstance." Innis was shaped by his boyhood in rural Ontario, by the farm and the local schools, by his strict Baptist upbringing and his close family ties. A restless, independent-minded lad, he rejected the clerical mold designed for him, and through devotion to studies and sheer determination forged his own individual way, as he would do throughout his life. He even joined the army during World War I partly to escape the pressures calling him to the ministry; he was wounded, invalided home, and thus enabled to continue his studies at Chicago, where his life-long passion for economics and economic history began to flower. He chose a Canadian topic for his dissertation, the history of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Appointed to the faculty of the University of Toronto, he rapidly mastered the scarcely developed field of Canadian economic history, and over the next two decades became its greatest practitioner. No subsequent scholar has approached the range and scope of the seminal works which began to appear with increasing rapidity. With his books on the fur trade, cod fisheries and mining industry, Innis contributed significantly to both Canadian and international understanding of staple trades and theories of staple economies.

At the same time his fertile mind was constantly exploring beyond his established field: book reviews, articles, public lectures all became forums for his unceasingly probing mind and his astonishing intuitive leaps of logic. Much was unpolished, even outrageous, but always stimulating. The last decade of his life was occupied in prodigious reading on a vast topic: the relationship between communication and society throughout history. Had cancer not taken him prematurely, it was probably in this area that he would have made his most lasting contribution. The lectures and papers he did leave still constitute a deep mine of ideas on the subject, ideas which in turn heavily influenced the thought of the young Marshall McLuhan.

Professor Creighton's portrait of Innis will not correspond with the perceptions of those who remember Innis as a prickly, distantly aloof personality, a lecturer whose flights of thought were utterly beyond the earthbound grasp of his undergraduates. Despite Creighton's efforts to display the warm side of Innis as a concerned, affectionate family man, the reader will remain unconvinced on the basis of the limited evidence in the book. Not only was the man difficult; so were his scholarly works. His writing, Creighton charitably observes, was "difficult, highly condensed, extremely elliptical, and not infrequently obscure." The result is that few have penetrated the dense jungle of Innis' thought, and arguably none have entirely mastered it (including Robin Neill's 1972 effort, *A New Theory of Value*). The present volume

was not intended to meet that need, though it was, as Professor Creighton points out in the preface of the new edition, originally anticipated that it would be part of a larger work in which other scholars would attempt to confront Innis's writings more fully. That project unfortunately failed.

This book, then, must be appreciated on its own modest terms. It is a tribute to the memory of a friend and scholar, not a critical study. Nevertheless, it is fair to point out that Professor Creighton emphasizes those aspects of Innis's work which most attracted him and influenced his own great work as an historian. Innis's nationalism and anti-Americanism become much more dominant themes in Creighton's book than they appear to be in most of Innis's own work. Innis's willingness to let his conclusions be shaped by documents and facts while rejecting or suspiciously regarding established theories and models delights the historian. It was, after all, Innis who flew in the face of the received wisdom of the 1920's when his researches led him to conclude that Canada was a nation because of geography, not in spite of it. In one sense Professor Creighton's own later work was a vast elaboration of this theme. Needless to say, Creighton pays scant attention to those aspects of Innis's work which have attracted a wide spectrum of devotees, from Marxians to communications theorists. Like them, he has found what he wanted in Innis; but what he found may lie closer to the essence of Innis than anyone else has yet come.

D. J. HALL

LANDFARING: SASKATCHEWAN, FEBRUARY 1978

Tom Wayman

We took a concession road
due south from Bradwell
onto the prairie. Ernie at the wheel of the van
headed down the hard frozen gravel
swept clear of snow by the wind.

Around us, in the bright cold
the crests and troughs of that sea
flowed to every horizon.
Ripples and eddies swirled
on the backs of the long swells
that rolled out to the distant islands of tree-trunks —
stark groves rising from the ocean.

With the noon sun in our eyes, we drove,
lifting and falling. Every few kilometers,
a farm to port or starboard:
outbuildings drifted with the snow
and a cleared road in to the house and barn
between white embankments.
Once Ernie slowed
and swung sharply ninety degrees
onto a correction line. We ran west for a moment,
then again, south.

For fifty kilometers
in the beginning of the afternoon
we cut through that sea
till we picked up the freeway at Kenaston,
turning onto it like an amphibious craft
reaching solid ground at last.
But this wasn't earth, more like a causeway
built across an ocean: even here
we were only centimeters from the water
lapping against the shoulders of the road
and extending far back to the sky — the deep sea,
the restless sea, its white sparkles of spray
shining in the air over the pavement
of Number Eleven, as we steered for Regina and land.

opinions and notes

R. M. BUCKE

IT IS TEMPTING TO BEGIN a note on Richard Maurice Bucke (1837-1902)[1] with some cliché or other about strangely neglected literary figures. A glance at a recently published bibliography on Bucke, however, suggests that such a beginning would hardly be justifiable. Bucke's most famous work, *Cosmic Consciousness*, has been continuously in print since it first appeared in 1901, and since 1902 there have been ten books, sixty-five articles, and five graduate theses wholly or partially concerned with him.[2] Articles on Bucke have been published in journals as diverse as the *Canadian Theosophist*, the *Canadian Medical Association Journal*, the *Dalhousie Review*, *Ontario History*, and the *Walt Whitman Review*. Theses on Bucke have been presented to departments of Religion, History, and English, and the subjects of books in which he figures range from East Indian religious thought to the history of medicine in Ontario. The list of international literary, artistic, and philosophical figures who have acknowledged Bucke's influence on them includes William James, P. D. Ouspensky, the English mystic Edward Carpenter, the Gothic novelist Algernon Blackwood, Aldous Huxley, and Henry Miller.

All this multi-disciplinary attention reflects the extraordinary diversity of Bucke's life and career. Born in England and brought to Canada as an infant, he was privately educated at his father's parsonage near London, Canada West (Ontario), and subsequently at McGill Medical School. After post-graduate study in England he established himself as a psychiatrist (or "alienist," in the terminology of the time), first in Hamilton and subsequently at London, Ontario, where he served as Director of the Asylum for the Insane until his death. A tireless and prolific author, he published dozens of articles on psychiatric therapy, literature, and philosophy, as well as three books, *Man's Moral Nature* (1879), *Walt Whitman* (1883), and *Cosmic Consciousness*. Having developed a passionate devotion to the writings of Whitman in the 1860's, he eventually met the poet, and became one of Whitman's literary executors as well as the author of an approved biography.

But most of the varied accomplishments of Bucke have been well documented and evaluated. One aspect of Bucke's life and career which rather paradoxically has not been examined in detail, however, is his specific relevance to Canadian society and culture. In this note, I propose to suggest some of the ways in which Bucke absorbed and expressed various physical and intellectual influences from his national environment.

Bucke himself offers little encouragement to the commentator seeking to establish his "Canadianness." As might be expected of a devotee of Walt Whitman, Bucke was an admirer of American society and culture, which he saw in terms roughly comparable to Whitman's poetic visions, as embodying an ideal of unity and perfectibility on interacting individual and universal levels. More specifically, his political and social beliefs reflected what might be called a form of world federalism, tinged with familiar nineteenth-century assumptions about racial superiority. "I look to see," he wrote his friend Charles Nathan Elliot in 1900, "the English speaking peoples practically joined in a world spreading confederacy — dominating the globe — playing the part of Lord Paramount."[3] Unlike many of his contemporaries in

the late nineteenth-century Canadian literary scene, he had no sympathy with the imperialist movement, as is clearly indicated by one of his few written comments on Canadian politics, a public letter criticizing the role of the governor-general in Canadian affairs.[4] Further, he seems to have had little interest in contemporary Canadian literature. His library, most of it still preserved at the University of Western Ontario, contains only two or three Canadian books, and nowhere in his voluminous correspondence are there any references to Canadian literature, or letters to or from Canadian writers. His taste in literature, like his politics, was international: his favourite authors, besides Whitman, included Shakespeare, Tennyson, Matthew Arnold, Francis Bacon, and other classic figures, as well as various writers on religious, mystical, and occult subjects.

Indeed, Bucke appears to have deliberately cultivated an indifference to things Canadian, as has often been done before and since by intellectual or artistic aspirants in this country who insist on their loyalty to an international community of thought and creativity. But no more than any other human being could Bucke escape the influence of his environment. As a psychiatrist who subscribed to certain physiological theories of personality, furthermore, he must have acknowledged the importance of environment to the formation of character. In any case, his commitment to his country and to the region of his childhood is unequivocally reflected in his decision, after a youthful interlude of adventure on the American western frontier and a period of study in England, to live all his life in southwestern Ontario.

When Walt Whitman came to visit Bucke at London in the summer of 1880, the Canadian conducted his visitor with all the enthusiasm of a proud host on the standard tourist journey of the day, down the St. Lawrence to Montreal, Quebec, and the Saguenay region. From the latter outpost Whitman wrote a descriptive article for the London *Advertiser* to which Bucke contributed a "description of the Saguenay by a Canadian friend" and a Whitmanesque poem, "The Saguenay." The description is heavily spiced with the clichés of romanticism, with particular reliance on infernal and death imagery:

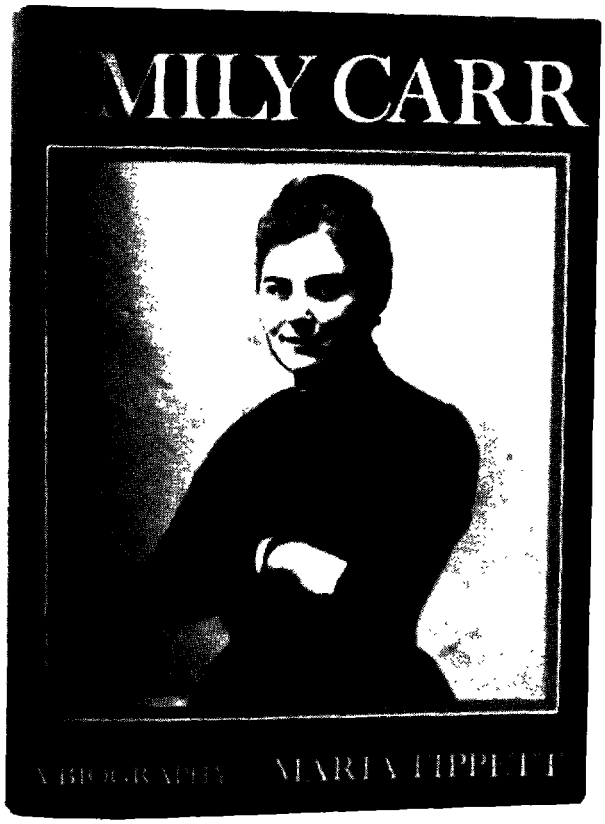
> In these places the aspect of the river is terrible. The still, black surface of the water unenlivened by any movement, for no stream is visible in its dead monotony, the lofty shores covered with lifeless trees, no signs of life either vegetable or animal, as far as the eye can reach either in the water, in the air, or on the land, except only these lifeless trees whose ghastly trunks and withered limbs show where a stunted life has once been — these make a picture which Dante could have put into his Hell — a fit companion picture for even its horrors. Over these lifeless hills and this lifeless river the spirit of a king damned for inordinate ambition might find its fitting and terrible doom if compelled there to reign alone forever.

The poem, with rather careless disregard for consistency, transforms the river from a lifeless thing or a damned spirit into a stately and ominous giant bestirring itself:

> There where the vast and vehement tides
> of the mighty St. Lawrence
> Broaden and deepen, onward and outward
> toward the infinite sea,
> Out of its rocky and mountainous solitudes,
> Swarthy and slow, descending, stopping,
> receding, with stealthy step, issues the
> Saguenay.[5]

Images of infernos, blasted corpses, doomed and solitary monarchs, and peripatetic Titans may be romantic clichés, but a case could be made — indeed, has been made many times — that such images of dark and ominous sublimity have a particular appeal to the Canadian imagination. One thinks of the figures of ruined or isolated grandeur in Archibald

OXFORD



EMILY CARR
A Biography

Maria Tippett

Maria Tippett has studied Emily Carr's unpublished journals, letters and books, interviewed countless friends and acquaintances and travelled to all the places she visited or lived, in order to write this searching, richly detailed biography of Emily Carr. It recounts a life that was led with little regard for the conventions of time and place, the tensions that resulted, the effort that Emily put into developing her skills as a painter, the intrepid journeys, the emotional friendships, the despair and euphoria that accompanied her work — all providing engrossing material for a life-size portrait that is enlivened by the inimitable comments of Emily herself. Emily Carr is a towering subject — her life is filled with interest from childhood to old age — and Maria Tippett has done full justice to it.

9 1/2 x 6 1/4 352 pp., with 10 colour reproductions and 100 black and white illustrations Cloth $16.95

Lampman's poetry, such as the "tall slim priests of storm" in "In October" or the "dark and strange agony" of the city in "Night of Storm," or the terrible idol-like figure at the climax of "The City of the End of Things." Similarly, Sir Charles G. D. Roberts' "Solitary Woodsman" haunts a landscape in autumnal decline, and Wilfred Campbell's lake region is suffused with the hush of impending desolation and death.

But with the possible exception of Lampman, English-Canadian poets of the post-Confederation period were not inclined to rest in tragic or desolate conceptions of life, but tended to emphasize the cyclical or compensatory aspects of nature and human experience. Autumn and winter are succeeded by spring; isolation and despair are counteracted by reconciliation and faith. In this respect, poets like Bliss Carman, Roberts, and Campbell revealed their affinities with the idealism of Ralph Waldo Emerson and New England transcendentalism. In a similar way, through his devotion to the poetic vision of Whitman, Bucke balanced his recognition of the dark, mysterious and monstrous principles in nature with a faith in the ultimate unity and benevolence of creation. This faith is not immediately apparent in a fugitive newspaper piece like his note and poem on the Saguenay, but it forms the substance of his most substantial literary efforts, the books *Man's Moral Nature* and the more ambitious *Cosmic Consciousness*. In both these works Bucke was essentially concerned with the thorough cultivation of human mental and spiritual faculties in order to ensure the harmonious interaction between man and his physical environment. In the last half of the nineteenth century, science and literature were becoming increasingly infused with a sense of despair as man contemplated his existence in a cold and alien world of matter. Like many other thinkers and writers of his time, above all like his idol Whitman, Bucke was anxious to bridge the constantly widening gap between the materialistic conception of man propagated by the natural sciences and modern technology, and the various humanistic traditions which emphasize the subjective, spiritual, and imaginative dimensions of experience. Like Whitman, Emerson, and most thinkers who can be related to the tradition of nineteenth-century idealism, Bucke was an ameliorative evolutionist who believed that the material world and human consciousness were constantly developing through progressively superior stages toward ultimate perfection. This process of evolution was to culminate according to Bucke in the emergence of a newer and higher type of human being, of which Walt Whitman and other eminent sages and poets from various periods of history could be seen as prophetic representatives.

Bucke's philosophical system can scarcely be described as distinctively Canadian, however significant one might consider the influence of the northern wilderness in the formulation of the author's ideas on the grandeur and mystery of nature. But it does appear that metaphysical systems such as that expounded in *Cosmic Consciousness* held a particular appeal for reflective Canadians in the late nineteenth century. In his Conclusion to the *Literary History of Canada* Northrop Frye argues that "the mystique of Canadianism" in the late nineteenth century was characterized by an intellectual tendency stressing "world-views . . . of a theosophical or transcendentalist cast," in relation to which he specifically mentions Bucke, along with Sir Charles G. D. Roberts and Bliss Carman.[6]

It can be argued further that the kind of philosophical synthesis expounded by Bucke continued to appeal to the Canadian imagination well into the twentieth century, long after American realistic and

post-realistic artistic movements had become dominated by abstractionist modes of perception. A recent comparative study of Bucke and Lawren Harris draws a persuasive analogy between Bucke's emphasis on man's sense of his own immortality and the painter's stress on the unity of terror and sublimity in the northern landscape.[7] Among other Canadian creative figures who might be profitably compared with Bucke is Frederick Philip Grove, whose *A Search for America* is particularly reminiscent of Bucke's tendency to move outward from the North American landscape towards an ideal reconciliation of nature and spirit. Grove, like Bucke, was heavily influenced by early nineteenth-century American literature, and especially in his early works like *A Search for America* and *Over Prairie Trails* he looks for a sense of unity and optimism in the face of hostile images of nature.

A more general analogy could also be drawn between Bucke and Grove as men and artists. Both were haunted by grandiose images of nature and the human spirit, and both struggled with mixed success to give literary form to their visions. Grove's vast but structurally and dramatically clumsy fictions with their larger than life heroes are generally reminiscent of Bucke's encyclopedic compendium *Cosmic Consciousness*, with its collection of representative men and women who embody the author's faith in the potential of the human spirit. Both writers, finally, like so many Canadian artists, suffered relative neglect in their time, but have subsequently attracted to themselves a profuse and diffuse group of commentators who recognize something elementally if indefinably Canadian in their writings. Perhaps Bucke with his peripheral and idiosyncratic relevance to Canadian literature is an incongruous choice as a representative national man of letters. But perhaps incongruity is after all one of the main features of this country's literary and intellectual traditions, in which case Richard Maurice Bucke is as likely a figure as any to represent the Canadian imaginative experience.

NOTES

1 I wish to acknowledge the advice and assistance of Michael Ballin in the preparation of this article.

2 Mary Ann Jameson, ed., *Richard Maurice Bucke: A Catalogue Based upon the Collection of the University of Western Ontario Libraries* (London, 1978).

3 RMB to Charles Nathan Elliot, August 18, 1900, Bucke Collection, UWO.

4 RMB, Letter to the Editor, *Saturday Night*, June 5, 1897.

5 "Letter from Walt Whitman," *London Advertiser*, August 26, 1880.

6 Frye, Conclusion to *Literary History of Canada*, ed. Carl F. Klinck et al. (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1965), 832.

7 Brian Lauder, "Two Radicals: Richard Maurice Bucke and Lawren Harris," *Dalhousie Review*, 61, no. 2 (Summer 1976), 307-18.

JAMES DOYLE

CANADA FIRST & RED RIVER, 1868-70

AMONG THE MANY SINS OF OMISSION committed by the recent CBC Television production of *Riel* was the complete lack of any reference to the small group of five or six men who perhaps did more than any others to provoke the Red River Insurrection of 1869-70 in the first place and then, a few months later, by public incitement and other means, forced a harassed government to send out the punitive expedition under Colonel Garnet Wolseley. Perhaps one should not expect a two-part popular series to be any more than the melodramatic travesty of history that it was (Professors Stanley and Morton, among others, may have

been fascinated by the depiction of Thomas Scott jumping in and out of the bed of Mrs. John Schultz or of his attempt on Riel's life). But when we are informed that the presentation of the drama is to be accompanied by the distribution of "kits" and complementary material to schools across the country — what the media call "hype" — there may be cause for concern among historians and educators in general. Ironically, the true story of the whole episode is really more fascinating than the proffered fiction.

How the small group of men met, how they planned and, indeed, plotted, how they formed the original nucleus of the Canada First Party has been related by at least three historians in the past decade. D. R. Farrell and D. P. Gagan have published articles on the subject and C. C. Berger devotes a chapter to the group in his study of Canadian imperialism.[1] But none of them gives more than passing attention to the Party's role in Red River; Berger, referring to my own book on Charles Mair, implies, indeed, that this aspect was not part of his theme. But in the spring of 1868, while unrest was daily becoming more intense in the tiny settlement, two thousand miles away in Ottawa, Charles Mair, George Denison, Henry Morgan, William Foster and Robert Haliburton were engaged in discussions that not only, indirectly at least, would help to turn that unrest into armed insurrection but also would influence the political future of Canada.

In brief, Mair, the aspiring young poet from Lanark, was in Ottawa to see his *Dreamland* (appropriate title) go to press. Through his friend, Morgan, a civil servant, he met the other three. They were all men of varied abilities; all, except Haliburton, were under thirty. Foster, perhaps the most intellectual, was a Toronto barrister who had published articles on politics and would soon write *Canada First*, the party's manifesto. Denison, the most militant of the Toronto tory family, was also a lawyer but was in Ottawa trying to convince Georges Cartier that he should be the Adjutant General of the regular cavalry. Haliburton, son of the famous judge, was there promoting Nova Scotian and his own coal-mining interests, but had become a close associate of D'Arcy McGee. McGee, indeed, had discussed some of Haliburton's views in the House of Commons the night he was assassinated. Morgan was becoming important in the office of the Secretary of State, Isaac Buchanan, and had already published two books and numerous articles. But all their writings and speeches reflect the fact that they saw themselves as angry young men with a vision, a vision that they felt had not yet captured the mind and hearts of enough Canadians. Confederation, they maintained, had been an arbitrary joining of vastly separate elements, a rational agreement based upon highly practical demands. What was still needed was an emotional response, a national sentiment, a proud awareness of a Canadian identity. Denison certainly, and probably to varying degrees, the others, regretted that Confederation had not been forged by a war of independence, a common cause to cement together the various rational determinations that Confederation in reality was.

The group was not alone, of course. Much of their inspiration came from D'Arcy McGee's speeches and his editorials in the *New Era*. Several literary periodicals of the time also took up the cry. But McGee was silenced by an assassin's bullet and the periodicals, as A. R. M. Lower has delightfully paraphrased Hotspur, "Could call for the spirit of nationalism to come out of the vasty deep of English Canada, but when called, come it would not."[2] So Denison, Mair and company, calling themselves at this

time "the Corner Room" after the place in which they met in Morgan's quarters at the Revere Hotel, considered themselves largely responsible for the task they felt had to be done if Canada were to grow, even, in fact, to live. The apparent inability of the government to determine a national policy, the unenlightened indifference of England, the annexation rumblings to the south, led them, they claimed, to make "a solemn pledge to each other that we would do all we could to advance the interests of our native land; that we would put our country first before all personal, or political or party considerations; that we would change our policy affiliations as often as the true interests of Canada required it."[3]

Most important as a first step on behalf of these "true interests," said Mair, was the destruction of the main cause of disunity. "Provincialism ... was rampant," he wrote, "and the very name 'Canadian' was a reproach on both coasts." So the group was to search for every opportunity "to speak and write it down" and to substitute "for its narrow spirit a Canadian sentiment through the operation of which only could we hope to become a nation."[4] Also, he insisted, was the necessity "to inculcate imperialism as our true destiny." But imperialism "meant expense, and vague perils besides, which 'nobody' could define"; it was, therefore, "not to be thought of, unless by men of foresight, and it wasn't."[5] Other aims reflect the individuals who proposed them. Denison, the colonel of militia, insisted that colonialism would remain as long as Canadians were prevented from attaining the higher ranks held by British officers in Canada (the personal bias is most obvious here). Haliburton, at that time a lawyer-business man, was concerned with a tariff policy more advantageous to Canada. Foster, perhaps the most disinterested, saw the group as "an intellectual movement, as the revolt of educated and thoughtful men against the inanity ... of what was offered to them as political discussion," and also as "a direct product, in some measure, of that higher culture which the universities and colleges of our land are steadily promoting."[6] Nationhood was to mean a quickened intellectual activity, achievements in Canadian cultural life — in science, music, art and letters. Morgan had only recently written that "now more than at any other time ought the literary life of the New Dominion develop itself unitedly. It becomes every patriotic subject who claims allegiance to this our new northern nation to extend a fostering care to the native plant, to guard it tenderly, to support and assist it by the warmest countenance and encouragement,"[7] thus echoing the urgings of the Reverend E. H. Dewart in his notable introduction to *Selections from Canadian Poets* of 1864.

But even at this early period in its formation, Canada First reveals the weaknesses that would later lead to its downfall. "The Corner Room" decided not to work openly in the sense of advertising themselves or of proclaiming themselves a new party; "to have vaunted our opinions in the teeth of the bitter acrimonies of the time would have wrecked us at the start," said Mair. Instead, they were to carry out their designs with as little publicity as possible "until manifest occasion came" and then "strike and strike hard."[8] "Our opinions," however, become dubious when seen in the light of the personal limitations of the members of the group. Most of them (Haliburton appears as the notable exception) were drawn on the one hand by what still amounted to a colonial attachment to Britain and on the other by a growing nationalistic attachment to Canada. And the colonial attachment, of course, was revealed in "Upper-Canadian" terms. Denison seems to be completely unaware

of the contradiction, explicit in comments such as the following, in an early letter to Mair:

> we Kanucks should resent any assumption of superiority [by England] at once... I never felt so proud of Canada as when I was in England and France.... In France I used to tell them, "Je suis Canadien — de Haut Canada," to which they would reply, "Oui, oui! Colonie Anglais."[9]

For Denison is really pointing up the most self-destructive weakness of Canada First. While decrying provincialism it was itself provincial, even parochial. Culturally it was militantly anti-Ultramontane and anti-French. Socially its members represented the "respectable," even, as in Denison's case, the upper class. And with the exception of Haliburton again, they were all from Ontario; Foster and Denison, the two main organizers, were both from Toronto, the focal point of English Canadianism.

The cloak of secrecy they at first felt obliged to assume stimulates further questions. Did the group really believe that undercover plots and intrigues followed, when "manifest occasion came," by sudden decisive action, was conducive to national unity? Or was the cloak, partially at least, merely one more indication of the romanticism so characteristic of these youthful visionaries? All of them were to give an impression that they received an almost melodramatic thrill from engaging in intrigue and subterfuge. At times too they give evidence of both group and individual paranoia, by which they regard themselves as the only true patriots but are unappreciated as such. Certainly the correspondence of Denison, Mair and Morgan abounds with instances of wounded sensibilities, of unattained preferments and of aggressively critical denouncements of their "enemies." And certainly it is safe to assume that these men did not appreciate more than superficially the possible repercussions of their meetings at Morgan's. They were not together long enough, indeed, either to discuss thoroughly their programme or to evaluate the mettle of each other — and the consequences were soon to appear in tangible form.

No one would suggest that Canada First caused the events that occurred at the Red River settlement in 1869-70. But it certainly contributed much to precipitate them and eventually to make them, ironically, a divisive influence upon the future of Canada. In the first instance the story is primarily that of Mair. How, within a few months of meeting Denison and company in Ottawa, he got on the trail to Fort Garry is a theme worthy of that writer he himself most esteemed, Sir Walter Scott,[10] but it is relevant here only to relate that by October 1868, he had an ostensible appointment from William McDougall, Minister of Public Works, as paymaster to a government road party proceeding to the tiny western settlement. Most significant is the interpretation of the appointment by his Canada First associates. "At once we saw the opportunity," said Denison, "of doing some good work towards helping on the acquisition of the territory."[11] And Foster arranged with George Brown of the Toronto *Globe* that Mair should write first-hand accounts of affairs in the settlement, advocating the western expansionist policy that Brown, McDougall and Canada First all had in common.

Mair's letters to the *Globe*, his social conduct at Red River, his association with John Schultz and the "Canadian" party, his activities with the road gang (the TV drama called him "Maier") are now well documented. The resentment and unrest he caused were metamorphosed by race and culture, however, to an equivalent approval on the part of his friends and fellow Ontarians. Commented the *Globe* of June 11, 1869: "We hope to see a new Upper Canada in the North-

West Territory — a new Upper Canada in its well-regulated society and government — in its education, morality and religion." Wrote Denison, after reading Mair's early reports: "Together we the Men of the North (as Haliburton says) will be able to teach the Yankees that we will be as our ancestors always have been, the dominant race."[12] But such commentary reflects no conception of the increasingly tense situation in the Northwest that Mair and others like him were generating.

The insurrection that followed stimulated Canada First to what it always afterwards considered its greatest achievement. Mair had been purposely sent to Red River to express the group's message of the necessity for an expanding and unified Dominion, but even Denison had hardly envisaged a bloody little rebellion from which Mair and Schultz (now also a member of Canada First) would barely escape with their lives. And the group's reaction to this turn of events only serves to illuminate, even more perhaps than does Mair's conduct in the West, the way in which their brand of nationalism was strongly qualified. Their Upper-Canadian provincialism, their aggressive sense of superiority, their self-indulgent concern for their own unrecognized merit, their inclination towards the melodramatic — all are reflected in the action they took almost immediately after the return of Mair to Ontario.

Their most urgent concern was the sending of a military force to restore order in Red River and to avenge what they insisted were grave injustices, even murder, perpetrated against loyal Canadians. No longer was there a necessity for working secretly; this was the moment "to strike and strike hard." Denison organized a committee that, as he proudly reported, proceeded "to arouse the indignation of the people, and foment a public opinion."[13] Foster wrote a series of articles marked by patriotic fervour and indignation and published as editorials in the *Daily Telegraph*; he even induced George Kingsmill, the editor, to print the paper with "turned rules" as "a mark of respect to the memory of the murdered Scott."[14] On the evening of April 6, 1870, a thousand people met the refugees at the station; at least five thousand tried to get into the St. Lawrence Hall to hear them and the Mayor was forced to move the meeting to the City Hall square. And there Mair, Schultz and others appealed effectively to the crowd's anti-French, anti-Roman Catholic prejudices — Mair declaiming at the end "Death to the murderers and tyrants of Fort Garry!"[15]

Of the original five members of Canada First, all but Morgan (who was sensitive about his position as a civil servant) worked incessantly to make a hesitant government take immediate steps on behalf of "the people of Canada." Leaving Foster to continue his articles, Mair, Denison and Schultz set out to see Sir John A. Macdonald, having had sympathizers organize demonstrations at Cobourg, Belleville, Prescott and other places on the way to Ottawa. There, however, they were less effective. When it came to in-fighting, the impetuous Denison was no match for Sir John A. and eventually Canada First had to hold off in desperate frustration while Father Richtot and Alfred Scott, Riel's Provisional Government emissaries, were accepted as legal representatives from the West.

There now remained the most important question of all — that of sending a military expedition to Fort Garry. To Canada First this was not only a matter of revenge or of the safety of "loyalists" still at Red River, but also of a possible move by the United States at a time when both the Canadian and Imperial governments seemed incapable of resolute action. To Mair and Denison in

particular, *métis*, Fenians, French Canadians, and Yankees were generally tarred with the same disloyal brush and only a show of force could save Canada. And the outcry they both helped to generate in Ontario was placing the government in an increasingly difficult position. The *métis* had the support of Quebec, and the "loyalists" that of Ontario. Ottawa had to satisfy both and at the same time keep a wary eye upon the United States.

In its desperation the government found a clever compromise. By the Manitoba Act the rights of the *métis* were to be recognized when a new province was created on July 15, 1870. At the same time a combined force of British regulars from Quebec and Canadian militia from Ontario was to be despatched to Red River, both as an appeasement to Ontario and as a warning to the United States. A. G. Archibald of Nova Scotia, the new Lieutenant Governor, would assume office in August, probably just before the arrival of Colonel Wolseley and his troops; until then Riel was to continue his Provisional Government.

But in this delicate balancing of olive branch and sword the suspicious Canada Firsters immediately believed that they recognized deception. It was all very well to show the sword, but once at Red River Wolseley should make use of it; otherwise Archibald would establish his civil government and Riel and his murderers would escape their rightful punishment. Canada First, indeed, did not believe that the government really intended the expedition to reach Fort Garry; it was sure that Riel would be granted an amnesty and Wolseley recalled, Ottawa the while maintaining that troops were no longer necessary at Red River. How this bent for blood became mingled with patriotic concern for Canada's future in the Northwest is well illustrated in the final melodramatic episode in Canada First's campaign for national unity and sentiment.

Haliburton, who until now had taken little part in the excitement over Red River, about July 18 happened to be in Niagara Falls on his way to New York and England. Upon learning that Sir John Young, the Governor General, was at the Clifton House, he decided to stop over "and see him about an important point that had apparently not been thought of, viz., the danger that the French laws of Quebec would be introduced into the North-West,"[16] but when he discovered that the vice-regal party had moved to a smaller, more sequestered hotel, he "felt convinced that there must have been something at the bottom of this odd move." The following morning Haliburton found Young, and "carefully veiling" his suspicions by casual conversation, was startled to hear Young remark that he expected Sir Georges Cartier, Bishop Taché and Governor Archibald to arrive almost momentarily. At once, said Haliburton, "the whole truth flashed upon me — 'His visitors will be on their way through the United States to Fort Garry, to head off Colonel Wolseley with an amnesty. The place of meeting is a safe one for them, as in a minute or two they can skip over to the United States and be out of reach of the people of Canada'." He immediately communicated to Schultz that "mischief is afloat" and urged him "to notify the Twelve Apostles at Toronto (the leaders of the Canada First party) to be ready to strike a blow" the moment they confirmed his belief.

The consequences in Toronto, whether activated by an actual confirmation or not, were almost immediate. Denison communicated to Wolseley, urging him to press on, and Ontario officers in the forces were exhorted that if Wolseley's regulars should be recalled they should "take their boats and possessions and go on at all hazards."[17] When it was learned

that Cartier and Taché were to pass through Toronto on their way to meet Young at Niagara, Denison informed the Deputy Adjutant General that a hostile demonstration of "loyalists" would be held, that any ceremonial reception would result in the armoury being taken "and that we would have ten men to his one, and if anyone in Toronto wanted to fight it out, we were ready to fight it out on the streets." Cartier and Taché avoided Toronto, but on July 22 an immense public rally was held in the city to protest against any possibility of the government's recalling the expedition and of Archibald's travelling via the United States. "Shall our Queen's Representative go a thousand miles through a foreign country to demean himself to a thief and a murderer?" "Men of Ontario! Shall Scott's blood cry in vain for vengeance?" — such, according to Denison, were the cries of the outraged Toronto loyalists.[18] And, also according to Denison and his fellow Canada Firsters, Young did not dare to send Archibald through to the United States — although historians (W. L. Morton, for example) are dubious about this point. Certainly, however, on the morning of August 24, 1870, nine days before Archibald, Wolseley and his troops reached Fort Garry, Riel had fled; and the revenge-thirsty, particularly the Ontario militia, had to be satisfied with several days of drunkenness and the abuse of *métis* and French Canadians alike.

But Canada First, although deeply disappointed by Riel's escape, hailed the "capture" of Fort Garry as a victory. And in its appraisal of the whole affair is again to be found a mingling of incongruities, a *mélange* of sense and nonsense. Haliburton, for example, maintained that if he had not acted promptly that day in Niagara Falls, "the future of half a continent would have been mortgaged; Colonel Wolseley would have been made a laughing stock, and might never have won his peerage; while a race war might have grown out of these questions, compared with which, that in South Africa would now seem a trifle." Sir John Young, he added, would not even have ascended to the peers as Lord Lisgar.[19] Denison and Mair maintained that but for the expedition the Northwest would not have been opened up for generations; worse, it might well have been absorbed by the United States. Mair was explicit on this latter aspect: "When the Union Jack replaced the Fenian flag," he wrote, the country was saved from being "swarmed over by Fenian and American desperadoes."[20] Hamilton Fish, the American Secretary of State, he charged, was part of "the most dangerous plot since 1837 to destroy British connection and Canadian autonomy," and "to further which a considerable sum had been placed in American hands in Winnipeg."[21] Without the expedition, "the country would have been lost, just as Oregon and Washington were lost."[22] Even Mair evidently never discovered that James W. Taylor, later to become American Consul in Winnipeg and described by Mair as "that estimable old friend of Canada and myself," was one of the most active agents for annexation during the insurrection.

The despatching of the Wolseley expedition undoubtedly created and increased national antipathies, and a government more beleaguered than that of Canada at the time could hardly be imagined. But the quite monumental journey of the troops became a concrete indication to the United States that Britain really was supporting Canada in her expansion westward; as Donald Creighton affirms, Secretary Fish reluctantly had to conclude that "there was little prospect of getting half a continent for the *Alabama* claims."[23] History may concede, therefore, that Canada First, in its naive, clumsy, often unthinking way, by its role in assuring that troops be sent, went far

to repair the breach that its own precipitancy had helped to cause. The tragedy lies in the fact that the expedition should ever have been necessary — or that another would be necessary fifteen years later. For although both served their purposes, they could not redeem the losses that were inflicted upon the cause of national unity and upon human life itself.

Canada First did not live long after its finest hour. As the movement grew in numbers it felt the need of a more definite organization but was reluctant to present itself as a political party; therefore the North-West Emigration Aid Society was established, not only to further the cause of western settlement but also to make publicity releases and to organize meetings. Mair became Manitoba representative and his correspondence with Denison reflects the society's early success in encouraging large numbers of settlers to head for Red River and points west. Denison embarked on a lecture tour extolling "the Duty of Canadians to Canada" (a title changed in Halifax, according to Denison, because of "anti-Canadianism," to "the Duty of our Young Men to the State"), always consistent in his theme of the two-fold necessity of a greater national spirit and of the British connection. Haliburton lectured too, but his "Men of the North" ideology began to disturb the others, not so much by its decidedly racist emphasis as by its implied recommendation for Canadian independence. Foster published his highly rhetorical "Canada First: or Our New Nationality" in 1871 and in 1874 founded the *Nation*, a weekly journal "thoroughly national and independent of party and of all interests opposed to the broadest patriotism."[24] He also helped to found the National Club in Toronto and joined with Goldwin Smith, recently arrived from Oxford by way of Cornell, in writing articles and editorials for the *Nation* and for the *Canadian Monthly*, the latter being almost an unofficial party organ for the group.

But one of Mair's published commentaries of this time will again point to the cross-purposes and contradictions inherent in the group. In the *Canadian Monthly*, Mair extolled Canada as "the hope of the despairing poor of the world ..., the haunt of the Indian, the bison, the antelope, waiting with majestic patience for... the schools, the churches, the Christian faith and love of freedom of the coming men."[25] The possibly opposing connotations of "the despairing poor of the world" and "the Christian faith," the cliché of the "majestic patience" of the Indian, are made explicit by Mair's comments in later years. "If we are to be a country it must be made so by Canadians of all races," he wrote Denison. But, "if others had seen eye to eye with us, the machinations of the H.B. Co. and Quebec would have been defeated and we should have had millions of our own people... instead of being submerged by foreigners." And throughout are to be seen references to "semi-barbarous hordes" of immigrants and the "inundation of alien races with wild socialistic opinions and bizarre religions."[26]

Goldwin Smith had been welcomed enthusiastically by Canada First; his statement of their aims — "to cultivate Canadian patriotism, to raise Canada above the rank of a mere dependency, and to give her the first place in Canadian hearts"[27] — could not have been more apt. But the group's confidence, indeed, could not have been more misplaced. Under Smith's influence, the movement entered the political arena as a party, and under attack by Liberals and Tories, its divisions became apparent. Smith showed his true colours as an advocate of independence, even of continental union, and even Edward Blake's brief joining the party could not halt the

ensuing disintegration. By the end of 1875 Canada First had perished, eventually suffocated, probably by, as much as anything, the ashes of the kind of fire that had begun to glow first in that "Corner Room" in 1868.

NOTES

1 "The Canada First Movement and Canadian Political Thought," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 4 (Nov. 1969), 16-26; "The Relevance of Canada First," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 5 (Nov. 1970), 36-44; *The Sense of Power* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1920), 49-77.

2 *Canadians in the Making* (Toronto: Longmans, Green, 1958), 294.

3 George T. Denison, *The Struggle for Imperial Unity* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1909), 11.

4 Queen's University Library, Mair Papers, MS., "Article for *Free Press*," *ca.* 1905.

5 Ibid., Mair to R. G. MacBeth (March 19, 1923).

6 *Canada First: A Memorial of the Late William A. Foster, Q.C.* (Toronto: Hunter, Rose, 1890), 77.

7 *Bibliotheca Canadensis* (Ottawa: Desbarats, 1867), viii.

8 Mair Papers, Mair to MacBeth (March 19, 1923).

9 Mair Papers (Dec. 20, 1868).

10 See my *Charles Mair: Literary Nationalist* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1965), 52 ff., and "Poets and Politics: Charles Mair at Red River," *Canadian Literature*, No. 17 (Summer 1963), 6-21.

11 *The Struggle for Imperial Unity*, pp. 13-14.

12 Mair Papers (March 10, 1869).

13 *The Struggle for Imperial Unity*, p. 22.

14 Ibid.

15 Toronto *Leader* (April 7, 1870).

16 The quotations relevant to this episode are from "How a Cabinet Secret Leaked out and the Result," privately printed by Haliburton in 1899 and now in the Mair Papers. Denison quoted the article in full in an obituary of Haliburton, published in the *Canadian Magazine*, 17 (May 1901), 126-30.

17 *The Struggle for Imperial Unity*, p. 37.

18 Ibid.

19 "How a Cabinet Secret Leaked out."

20 Mair Papers, Mair to J. B. Allen (Nov. 23, 1923).

21 Ibid., Mair to R. G. MacBeth (March 19, 1923).

22 Ibid., Mair to Allen.

23 *Dominion of the North* (Toronto: MacMillan, 1957), 319.

24 Goldwin Smith, intro. to *Canada First: A Memorial*, p. 10.

25 8 (July and August 1873), 2-8 and 156-64.

26 Public Archives of Canada, Denison Papers (Aug. 13, 1889; Aug. 10, 1903; and Good Friday, 1902 respectively).

27 *Canada First: A Memorial*, p. 3.

NORMAN SHRIVE

LA SOCIETE ROYALE DU CANADA

L'HOMME MODERNE AIME BEACOUP NIER. Il se plaît aussi par bonheur à retourner aux sources et à cultiver les rétrospectives. Conscient de l'accélération de l'histoire, du télescopage des générations et de la fuite éperdue du temps, dont il éprouve un sentiment aigu, il prend un vif plaisir à se pencher sur son passé, même le plus récent, et sur le quotidien éphémère, voire à le cerner de près avant qu'il ne lui échappe à jamais. Or, les Canadiens, surtout ceux pour qui la devise "Je me souviens" n'est pas une vaine expression, sont de plus en plus nombreux à partager ce courant de notre époque. Et pourtant il n'y a rien de bien vieux au Canada, si ce n'est la géologie et la topographie du pays; en fait, le Nouveau-Monde qu'ils habitent est loin d'être aussi lourd d'histoire que le Vieux-Monde. Néanmoins, les Canadiens se plaisent aujourd'hui à parler, par exemple, du Vieux Québec et du Vieux Montréal, comme ils s'ingénient à rebâtir Louisbourg, la Place royale de Louis XIV et Fort William, à faire revivre sur l'écran l'épopée de nos "voyageurs" ou celle de la construction de la voie ferrée reliant l'Atlantique au Pacifique. Ils profitent

même du moindre anniversaire pour faire le point, dresser un bilan, prendre la mesure de leur taille et proclamer leur identité culturelle. Ainsi la Société royale du Canada elle-même, qui comptera cent ans d'âge en 1982, est-elle sensible à ce retour au passé, puisqu'elle a déjà commencé des travaux d'approche, non seulement pour célébrer dignement son premier centenaire mais aussi pour mesurer l'impact de sa contribution à la vie intellectuelle du pays.

Pour ma part, je me suis penché sur un aspect particulier du passé de la Société royale du Canada. Mon propos est de vouloir répondre, dans cet essai, à une question que je me suis souvent posée et qui rejoint, j'en suis sûr, celle de mes confrères: quel a été l'apport de l'Académie des Lettres et des Sciences humaines à la Société royale dans le domaine des humanités et des sciences sociales? Qu'a-t-elle contribué à cet égard au pays, de 1882 à nos jours? Sans doute est-il plus facile et plus rapide de poser la question que d'y répondre, comme il est plus aisé et plus courant de dire du mal d'une Académie, sans la connaître de l'intérieur, que d'y poser sa candidature et d'y être élu par ses confrères. C'est que le sujet est complexe et immense, car il couvre l'activité intellectuelle d'une Académie, presque centenaire, dont l'influence est loin de sauter aux yeux.

Retenons, au départ, qu'il s'agit ici uniquement de l'Académie des Lettres et des Sciences humaines à la Société royale, c'est-à-dire des mémoires ou des travaux soumis par les membres francophones de cette Académie; il ne saurait être question à cette place ni de l'Academy of Humanities and Social Sciences ni de l'Academy of Science, car la Société royale comprend ces trois Académies. Je m'en tiendrai donc exclusivement à l'Académie dont nous faisons partie, laissant à mes confrères anglophones la tâche de parler des Académies qui les concernent directement.

Il convient aussi de préciser, avant d'entrer dans le vif du sujet, les principaux traits caractéristiques de l'Académie des Lettres et des Sciences humaines. Ses membres forment un groupe homogène; la plupart sont originaires du Québec où ils habitent; quelques-uns appartiennent à l'Acadie, à l'Ontario et à l'Ouest canadien. Non contents de tenir chaque printemps une assemblée générale dans le campus d'une université du pays, ils procèdent régulièrement, depuis 1944, à une présentation publique de leurs nouveaux confrères; celle-ci a lieu deux ou trois fois par année, tantôt à Montréal ou à Québec, tantôt à Ottawa ou à Moncton, parfois à Trois-Rivières ou à Sherbrooke, par exception dans l'Ouest. Les discours des récipiendaires et de leurs parrains, sans oublier les allocutions de circonstances prononcées par le président de l'Académie, sont publiés fidèlement chaque année sur les presses de l'Imprimerie du Bien Public, à Trois-Rivières. Ils forment aujourd'hui une collection de 33 volumes. Le 33e, paru à l'automne de 1978, comporte 190 pages, le 34e sera presque aussi volumineux. L'Académie des Lettres et des Sciences humaines est la seule à faire pareille présentation publique et pareille publication annuelle.

Ce qui la distingue aussi des deux autres Académies, c'est la grande variété des disciplines qui y sont représentées. Loin d'être la chasse gardée d'érudits universitaires, comme on se plaît trop souvent à l'affirmer à tort, on y voit figurer dans ses rangs des écrivains d'imagination: auteurs dramatiques, poètes, romanciers, hommes et femmes, des journalistes, des acteurs, des philosophes, des diplomates, des éducateurs, des technocrates, des administrateurs, voire des gens d'affaires, des archivistes et des bibliothécaires, qui ont écrit et publient des ouvrages de qualité. L'Académie com-

prend cette année (1979) 111 membres, tous élus au scrutin secret.

Outre l'assemblée annuelle printanière au cours de laquelle les membres peuvent lire des communications et des mémoires, outre les séances publiques de présentation de nouveaux confrères tenues chaque année en différentes villes, l'Académie organise depuis trois ans des réunions régionales, permettant ainsi à tous de se rencontrer, de discuter des questions d'intérêt commun et de participer même à des débats instructifs. Je m'en voudrais de ne point mentionner aussi les 28 *Studia Varia* et les 20 *Symposia*, dont la collection complète compte aujourd'hui 48 volumes. En voici quelques titres: *Présence de demain* (1957), *Aux sources du présent* (1960), *Les universités canadiennes d'aujourd-hui* (1961), *L'enseignement supérieur dans un Canada en évolution* (1966), *Structures sociales du Canada français* (1966), *La recherche au Canada français* (1968), *Le Canada français d'aujourd'hui* (1970), *Le Rapport Parent, dix ans après* (1975), *Les facettes de l'identité amérindienne* (1976). *Les Studia Varia* sont ordinairement le fruit de Colloques. Il y a aussi les colloques proprement dits; la Société en a tenu 20 depuis 1970, la plupart sur des sujets scientifiques. La distinction n'est pas toujours très nette entre *Studia Varia* et *Symposia*. Retenons que les *Studia Varia* remontent à 1956 tandis que les *Symposia* datent de 1970.

Quoiqu'il en soit, on le voit par ce qui précède, l'activité de l'Académie des Lettres et des Sciences humaines ne se limite pas à la publication annuelle des mémoires présentés à l'assemblée printanière de la Société. Elle comprend aussi la publication de *Présentation* depuis 1944, des *Studia Varia* depuis 1956 et des *Symposia* depuis 1970. Ajoutons, pour être complet, l'attribution annuelle de Bourses de la Société royale, de prix et de médailles, comme la médaille P. J. O. Chauveau et la médaille Innis-Gérin. On aurait mauvaise grâce d'oublier aussi que la Société royale du Canada, fondée en 1882, à un moment où les revues et les sociétés savantes étaient encore presque inexistantes au pays, a été et est restée l'*Alma Mater*, la mère nourricière, la pépinière de créations de toutes sortes, telles que le Conseil de recherche en Humanités, Le Conseil de recherche en Sciences sociales, le Conseil des Arts du Canada, la Bibliothèque nationale, etc. Que d'enquêtes n'a-t-elle pas aussi appuyées sur les archives et les manuscrits, les bibliothèques et l'héritage du passé, les humanités et les sciences sociales! Que d'Académies et d'Associations, de revues et de sociétés n'a-t-elle pas fondées, parrainées ou patronnées, souvent même maintenues par plus d'un membre de l'Académie des Lettres et des Sciences humaines! C'est surtout depuis 1950 et 1955 qu'on assiste à une véritable floraison de revues et de sociétés, à la création desquelles notre Académie est loin d'être restée indifférente. Reste à écrire un chapitre inconnu de notre histoire culturelle, qui est celui de la contribution de nombreux membres de notre Académie à la création et au développement de revues et de sociétés d'histoire et de géographie, de droit et de philosophie, d'économique, d'ethnographie et de sociologie, de folklore, de linguistique et de littérature, d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art, d'antiquité classique et de langues modernes, de patrologie et d'études de la Renaissance. Même l'Académie canadienne-française et l'Académie des Sciences morales et politiques n'auraient jamais vu le jour sans la Société royale du Canada. Celle-ci joue aussi un rôle important au plan international, par exemple, à l'UNESCO, à l'Union Académique Internationale (UAI), au Conseil international de philosophie et de sciences humaines (CIPSH) et à la Fédération internationale des études classiques

(FIEC). Elle a même contribué plus que tout autre organisme culturel canadien à la création récente, en février 1979, du Centro Academico Canadese, à Rome, qui deviendra un jour la 21e Académie de la Ville Eternelle.

En bref, l'apport individuel et collectif de l'Académie des Lettres et des Sciences humaines est loin d'être négligeable. Cela dit en guise d'introduction, je vais maintenant aborder les trois points suivants: 1. *Les mémoires.* 2. *Les Studia Varia.* 3. *Les volumes de Présentation.*

Mémoires

C'est avec une régularité que les *Mémoires* paraissent chaque année depuis 1882. Ils constituent aujourd'hui une série imposante de 96 volumes, mesurant 25c chacun, massifs et solides, reliés et souvent ornés d'illustrations. Ils sont répartis en quatre séries: la première et la deuxième comprennent chacune 12 volumes de 1882 à 1894, puis de 1895 à 1906 respectivement; la troisième comporte 56 volumes, de 1907 à 1962; la quatrième, formée de 16 volumes, va de 1963 à 1978. Pour les avoir feuilletés et parcourus attentivement moi-même, je sais de certitude qu'ils renferment une riche documentation qui ne peut laisser indifférents les chercheurs et les spécialistes de la géographie et de l'histoire, de la linguistique et de la littérature, de la philosophie et de la sociologie, de l'ethnographie et du folklore, du droit et de l'éducation. Le lecteur y trouvera, à sa grande surprise, bon nombre d'études qui n'auraient jamais pu paraître dans une revue, le Canada ne possédant guère avant 1920 de revues spécialisées qui auraient été heureuses de les publier; les Alfred Vallette y étaient encore presque inexistants. Etaient aussi rares avant 1920 les éditeurs qui, tels les limiers, recherchaient les oeuvres pour les publier à leurs risques et périls. Les Albert Lévesque n'étaient certes pas nombreux au pays avant la première Grande Guerre. Aussi n'est-il pas étonnant de voir, par exemple, Léon Gérin, Benjamin Sulte, Ivanhoë Caron, E. Z. Massicotte, le juge L. A. Prudhomme et Marius Barbeau profiter à l'envi de la généreuse hospitalité de la Société royale pour y publier leurs études particulières; c'est même en France que Léon Gérin, ancien président de la Société royale, finira par se trouver un éditeur.

Tels quels, les *Mémoires* de l'Académie des lettres et des sciences humaines forment à l'heure présente un total de 830; je les ai comptés moi-même un à un, de 1882 à 1978 inclusivement. Une anthologie de cette vaste production vient de paraître en réimpression à la maison Kraus-Thomson de New York, à qui notre Académie est très reconnaissante pour ce beau geste gratuit; cette même maison nous demande de vouloir bien préparer une Anthologie des Colloques tenus depuis 1970. Les *Mémoires* constituent le témoignage éclectique de groupes humains importants dans la cité; ils forment la chrestomathie de plusieurs générations de travailleurs intellectuels et traduisent les réactions de nombre d'esprits éveillés en face des problèmes de l'heure.

Ci qui frappe aussi tout lecteur attentif, c'est que les *Mémoires* sont loin de porter exclusivement sur le Canada et sur l'histoire du Canada. Contrairement à ce que pense d'ordinaire même le public cultivé, il est question également de l'Antiquité classique, du Moyen Age et de la Renaissance, de droit et de philosophie, de pays étrangers et de littératures étrangères. Ainsi, pour me limiter à la littérature française, le lecteur pourra y lire des articles sur Bossuet et Théophraste Renaudot, Beaumarchais et Louis Bertrand de La Tour, Diderot, Ernest Hello et J. F. G. Réaumur, Hugo et Lamartine, Stendhal, Flaubert et Barbey d'Aurevilly. Et cela concerne uniquement les *Mé-*

moires parus entre 1882 et 1942. On aurait donc tort de croire que les *Mémoires* portent uniquement sur le Canada; la Société royale a beau avoir son siège social à Ottawa, ses membres ont beau oeuvrer au pays, ils n'écrivent pas tous sur le Canada. Cependant, les spécialistes des études canadiennes forment, comme il se doit, un fort pourcentage des auteurs de *Mémoires*; les sujets canadiens y sont sans doute plus nombreux que les autres.

L'Académie des Lettres et des sciences humaines est bien connue pour son malthusianisme. De 1882 à 1952, elle n'a jamais compris plus de 40 membres; en 1952, elle en comptait 43, en 1972, 83, et le nombre de ses membres s'élève à 111 en 1979. Sans vouloir vous marteler le cerveau de statistiques, souffrez que je vous dise quelles furent les plus riches années de production de *Mémoires*: 16 en 1885, 1938 et 1939; 15 en 1937, 1945 et 1973; 14 en 1884 et 1915; 13 en 1942 et 1963; 12 en 1926, 1928, 1932, 1944 et 1969; 11 en 1887, 1927, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1941, 1943, 1948, 1971 et 1978. Les membres de notre Académie ont publié en moyenne neuf *Mémoires* par année de 1882 à nos jours.

Pour faciliter la compréhension du sujet, j'ai divisé les 830 mémoires en deux blocs; le premier, allant de 1882 à 1942, comprend 520 mémoires en 60 ans; le second, allant de 1943 à 1978, comporte 310 mémoires en 36 ans. En 1908, la Société royale confiait à l'un de ses Pères fondateurs, Benjamin Sulte, la tâche de dresser un index général de tous les travaux parus de 1882 à 1906. Non seulement Benjamin Sulte s'acquitta de sa mission avec compétence et célérité, mais il publia aussi, de 1882 à sa mort en 1923, 43 Mémoires, soit 38 en français et 5 en anglais. Unique record dans les annales de la Société royale. Francis Audet en présenta 20, Marius Barbeau et Ivanhoé Caron en présentèrent 17 chacun, l'abbé Henri-Raymond Casgrain, Gustave Gosselin et Napoléon Legendre en publièrent 16 chacun, Louis H. Frechette et Victor Morin 15 chacun, l'abbé Elie J. Auclair, Mgr Emile Chartier et E. Z. Massicotte 14 respectivement, Léon Gérin 13, Albert Ferland et Mgr Olivier Maurault 11, N. F. Dionne, Mgr Amédée Gosselin et Rodolphe Lemieux 10 chacun. Ajoutons que 178 poèmes furent lus et commentés en de nombreuses séances, entre 1882 et 1942, par les poètes eux-mêmes et leurs confrères. Sans doute la poésie y était-elle en honneur. En revanche, à l'exception de ceux de Maurice Hébert, on ne relève guère de poèmes dans le second bloc de *Mémoires*, de 1943 à 1978. Autre temps, autres moeurs.

Les *Mémoires* de 1882 à 1942 comprennent un bon nombre de monographies consacrées, par exemple, à des seigneurs et à leurs seigneuries, à des paroisses, à des personnages de premier plan ou à des gens moins connus; j'en ai relevé une centaine. Mais il est des thèmes favoris sur lesquels on me permettra d'insister. Que d'études — 90 exactement — sur les Indiens (hurons, algonquins, iroquois et autres)! Les auteurs y analysent la langue, les traités, les coutumes, les légendes et les moeurs. Voici le nombre que l'on consacre aux sujets suivants: le Canada (52); Québec (32), Montréal (20), Trois Rivières (4); les guerres et les révolutions (22); l'éducation (22); la littérature canadienne (21); la France et les Français du Canada (21); la langue et la littérature françaises (19); la sociologie (16); l'histoire et les historiens (16); la religion et la culture 14 respectivement; Jacques-Cartier (12); les Etats-Unis (12); l'industrie (11); l'Acadie (11); la bibliographie (10); la musique, la peinture et la sculpture (10); la colonisation (9) et le Nord-Ouest (9); l'artisanat (8); et 7 travaux sont consacrés à chacun des sujets suivants: Champlain, Economie, Ethnogra-

phie, Forts militaires, Philosophie, Politique et Théâtre. Quant au folklore, à la traite des fourrures, et aux Pères Récolets, ces trois thèmes ont fait chacun l'objet de 6 communications. Notons, en passant, de rares essais sur le bilinguisme et le régionalisme, les archives et les bibliothèques. Et dire que l'Académie des lettres et des Sciences humaines n'a jamais compté chaque année dans ses rangs plus de 40 membres actifs, de 1882 à 1942! Que dis-je? C'est seulement en 1952 qu'elle en comprendra 43 et depuis lors elle a presque triplé cet effectif puisque nous sommes 111 aujourd'hui.

De 1943 à 1978 inclusivement, les membres de notre Académie ont composé et publié 310 mémoires en 36 ans. Ces derniers sont loin de porter seulement sur le Canada; il y est question aussi de l'Angleterre et des Etats-Unis, de la Grèce et du Mexique. Le récit de voyage ayant été élevé à la dignité d'un genre littéraire, les communications sur ce thème ne font point défaut. Sophocle, Denys d'Halicarnasse et Plutarque, Guillaume Budé, Montaigne et Sir Philip Sidney, Racine et Beaumarchais, Voltaire et Mirabeau, Alfred de Vigny et l'historien Arnold Toynbee: tels sont les écrivains de l'Antiquité, de la Renaissance et de l'époque moderne qui ont fait l'objet d'études particulières. D'autre part, il n'est guère question de l'Acadie, de la petite histoire et de folklore dans les *Mémoires* de 1943 à 1978. Les auteurs y ont traité de préférence surtout les thèmes suivants: l'éducation (27), les monographies (19), la littérature (17), la géographie (16), le nationalisme (13), le Nord et le Nord-ouest canadien (11), les Etats-Unis (11), la généalogie (9), la technique et la technologie (7), l'artisanat (6), l'histoire et les historiens (6), les humanités (6), les beaux-arts (5), le dualisme linguistique et religieux (5), la sociologie (5). On ne m'en voudra pas de relever aussi à cette place les noms des membres de notre Académie qui ont présenté le plus grand nombre de travaux entre 1943 et 1978: Jean Bruchési, Pierre Daviault et Léon Lortie chacun 5; Jean-Charles Bonenfant et Gérard Morisset, Léopold Houle et Arthur Maheux, chacun 6; Charles-Marie Boissonnault et Donatien Frémont chacun 7; Jean-Marie Gauvreau, Gustave Lanctot et Guy Sylvestre chacun 8; Gérard Parizeau et J. J. Lefebvre chacun 9; Benoit Brouillette (10); Mgr Olivier Maurault (11); L. Ph. Audet (19); Maurice Lebel (21).

Tout lecteur attentif des *Mémoires* ne peut s'empêcher de remarquer l'extraordinaire variété des sujets qui y sont abordés par leurs auteurs. Cela est vrai tout particulièrement de la période 1943-1978, au cours de laquelle les thèmes les plus hétéroclites qui soient font l'objet d'une communication. Aussi est-il impossible de procéder à cet égard à un classement systématique, faute de pouvoir y discerner un lien, une ligne de force, un centre d'intérêt, un fil conducteur. On dirait des *Mélanges*, des *Varia*. Reste à dresser la table onomastique et analytique des travaux de notre Académie parus entre 1943 et 1978. Peut-être contribuerait-elle à faire ressortir de façon plus limpide la contribution des membres à l'activité de notre Académie. Pour ma part, ce survol ne vise qu'à déblayer le terrain et à frayer la voie. D'autant plus qu'il n'existe pas encore d'index général de la Société, de 1882 à nos jours.

Nos successeurs ne manqueront certes pas de créer un jour un comité de spécialistes chevronnés pour dresser un bilan ou exprimer des jugements de valeur sur cette énorme production. Dans l'attente de cet heureux événement, contentons-nous de dire, sans crainte de contradiction, que la sagesse même de Salomon ne pourrait se prononcer comme il convient sur la qualité des *Mémoires*. Ne vaut-il pas mieux laisser ce travail d'évaluation aux chercheurs et aux curieux, aux histo-

riens et aux sourciers qui, je le sais de certitude, consultent nos *Memoires* dans les bibliothèques? Libre à eux d'en tirer le meilleur patri et d'en séparer le bon grain de l'ivraie. N'empêche que mon aperçu, si rapide soit-il, reste un point de départ en vue de recherches plus profondes que celles que j'ai menées moi-même. D'ailleurs, c'est ainsi que je conçois mon rapport.

Il va sans dire, mais encore vaut-il mieux le dire, que, depuis 1943-1944, la présentation de nouveaux confrères en séance publique et la publication de travaux consécutive à cette cérémonie, nous privent chaque printemps de mémoires à la réunion annuelle de la Société royale; fait bien connu, bon nombre de membres élus depuis 1944, se contentent de prononcer leur discours de circonstance et ne présentent pas de mémoires. Ils n'en continuent pas moins pour autant, il est vrai, d'écrire et de publier dans leur propre discipline. Quel dommage qu'ils ne viennent pas, toutefois, nous lire de temps en temps une communication de leur cru! Les mémoires ont leur raison d'être pour une Académie, comme les articles pour une revue.

Ce qui contribue aussi à la réduction du nombre des mémoires, c'est la création, surtout depuis 1950-1955, d'un bon nombre de revues spécialisées. Nous assisterions même de nos jours, pour employer un mot à la mode en certains organismes culturels d'Etat, à une "prolifération" de revues, comme à une "prolifération" de sociétés savantes; d'aucun trouvent le terme inexact ou péjoratif; ce qu'il y a de sûr, c'est que les revues et les sociétés se sont multipliées à un rythme effarant, surtout depuis une vingtaine d'années, et ne sont pas toutes de haut niveau. De sorte que beaucoup de membres de notre Académie se désintéressent des réunions annuelles et préfèrent écrire dans les revues de leur spécialité, comme si la composition de mémoires à l'intention de confrères et de lecteurs éventuels et la rédaction d'articles de revue pouvaient s'exclure ou être incompatibles. En tout cas on pourra essayer de faire avaler cette couleuvre à d'autres que moi. Tout travailleur intellectuel vraiment digne de ce nom peut fort bien composer à la fois des mémoires et des articles de revue: il n'a que faire d'une distinction aussi creuse que sophistique. Cela dit, il ne reste pas moins vrai que la création récente de revues de qualité, ce dont nous nous réjouissons les premiers, n'est pas sans avoir d'impact sur la production annuelle des mémoires à la Société royale.

Mais, pour qui sait prendre du champ pour voir l'ensemble et rester confiant en l'esprit créateur de l'homme, il sera toujours agréable et loisible de publier des travaux dans une Académie qui comptera bientôt un siècle d'existence et qui, à ma connaissance du moins, est loin d'être moribonde. Le *Journal des Savants* (1665) paraît toujours, et pour cause. En revanche, qui sait la longévité moyenne des Revues? Si quelques-unes ont la vie dure et continuent à paraître bon an mal an, un grand nombre vivotent longtemps avant de mourir. Tandis que les mémoires d'une Académie ont chance de durer. Encore plus peut-être que les *Studia Varia*, dont il va maintenant être question et qui sont une autre forme de mémoires.

Studia Varia

La Société royale du Canada a publié régulièrement jusqu'ici, de 1956 à nos jours, une série de 48 *Studia Varia* et de *Symposia*, consacrés à un thème précis. C'est l'Academy of Science qui en a fait paraître le plus grand nombre. La plupart des volumes sont si appréciés qu'ils sont aujourd'hui hors commerce. Aussi est-ce surtout dans les rayons de bibliothèques qu'on a chance de les trouver au complet. Que ces études particulières soient le fruit d'un colloque ou non, im-

porte peu; ce qui compte, c'est de les savoir groupées sous un titre unique. Les trois Académies à la Société royale comptent des *Studia Varia* à leur crédit respectif.

Il n'est pas rare de voir l'un des nôtres collaborer en anglais ou en français à un volume de l'Academy of Science ou de l'Academy of Humanities and Social Sciences. Je tiens à souligner le fait en passant, il me paraît d'autant plus important que le contraire n'existe pas; je n'ai relevé en 96 ans que deux mémoires d'anglophones à l'Academie des Lettres et des Sciences humaines. Ainsi le volume I des *Studia Varia* compared quatre essais dus à la plume de Pierre Daviault, "Français et anglais du Canada," de Jacques Rousseau, "L'Indien de la forêt boréale, élément de formation écologique," de Jean-Charles Falardeau, "L'importance des Langues secondes et les sciences de l'homme," et de Pierre Dansereau, "Language, Communication and Culture." Mais, laissant de côté les volumes préparés et publiés par l'Academy of Science et l'Academy of Humanities and Social Sciences, je veux seulement faire ressortir l'apport de l'Académie des Lettres et des Sciences humaines à la composition et à la publication des *Studia Varia* et des *Symposia* rédigés en français. Voici les titres des six volumes qui ont paru jusqu'ici: *Aux sources du présent* (1960), *Structures sociales du Canada français* (1966), *Visages de la civilisation au Canada français* (1970), *Le Canada français d'aujourd'hui* (1970), *La recherche au Canada français* (1960), *Le Rapport Parent, dix ans après* (1975).

Voilà autant de sujets qui traitent de problèmes de l'heure et révèlent du même coup la participation de notre Académie à la vie courante; loin de s'isoler dans sa tour d'ivoire, elle sait aborder les affaires culturelles et sociales du jour et apporter ainsi une contribution collective au progrès du pays.

Le Rapport Parent a fait couler tant d'encre et de salive depuis sa parution et son implantation dans le système scolaire du Québec qu'on serait mal venu de songer à y apporter du nouveau. Vaste et complexe est le sujet abordé dans *La recherche au Canada français.* Aussi n'est-il pas surprenant qu'il pèche par omission. Sans doute le survol des dix collaborateurs ne manque-t-il pas de substance. Mais on peut regretter l'absence d'aperçus ou de notes, par exemple, sur l'Antiquité: archéologie, histoire, littérature, philosophie, sur le Moyen Age et la Renaissance, sur le folklore et la géographie, l'histoire de l'art, la littérature française et la littérature comparée, voire l'édition de textes, la linguistique et la traduction littéraire. Or, au Canada français, on a poursuivi beaucoup de recherches et publié bon nombre de volumes en ces divers domaines depuis un quart de siècle; les recherches et les publications en cours ne manquent pas non plus à l'heure présente en ces différents domaines. On ne doit jamais dissocier recherche et publication.

Le volume consacré aux *Sources du présent* (de 1910 à 1935) renferme des essais tout à fait remarquables sur l'enseignement, l'histoire du Canada, la littérature, le théâtre, les débuts de l'ère scientifique, la vie politique et les problèmes d'entente. Léon Lortie y a contribué deux articles, dont l'un, écrit en anglais, a pour titre "The English contribution to Quebec's cultural life." *Les Structures sociales du Canada français* comportent des études de base au point de vue scolaire et social, juridique et religieux, économique et politique, qui ont beau avoir sensiblement évolué depuis l'avènement de la révolution, appelée tranquille par antiphrase, ne conservent pas moins encore beaucoup d'intérêt pour l'historien des idées et des institutions.

Je tiens *Visages de la civilisation au Canada français, Le Canada français*

aujourd'hui, Le Rapport Parent, dix ans après pour les trois *Studia Varia* les plus étoffés et les mieux présentés. Que de sujets instructifs et pratiques n'y développe-t-on pas, par exemple, sur notre littérature, l'histoire du Canada et nos historiens, le journalisme, la radio et la télévision, l'artisanat, les arts plastiques et les beaux arts, sur le financement et la réforme de l'éducation, les sciences pures et appliquées, les sciences de l'homme, la langue et les lettres, sur l'évolution politique, les perspectives économiques et la situation économique! Tous ces divers sujets forment une excellente introduction à notre culture et à notre civilisation. Ecrits par des spécialistes cultivés, ils visent beaucoup plus à rendre les lecteurs conscients de l'existence des problèmes qu'à vouloir y apporter des solutions immédiates; ils décrivent avec acuité un état présent de la situation sans se leurrer sur les points faibles. Ils restent des essais encore fort valables, qui méritent d'être lus et étudiés. A l'instar des autres *Studia Varia,* ils constituent une contribution dynamique et pénétrante à la vie intellectuelle du pays au plan des humanités et des sciences sociales.

A ces *Studia Varia,* je m'en voudrais de ne point ajouter, pour donner un aperçu aussi complet et exact que possible de notre activité, les colloques de notre Académie qui ont paru dans les mémoires, comme ceux qui ont porté sur *La technologie au service de l'homme* (1969), sur *L'influence de l'hiver* (1970), *La langue française et la littérature canadienne d'imagination* (1960), *Les arts et les lettres* (1962), *L'enseignement de la philosophie* (1963), ou *Vues sur notre temps* (1971). L'Académie des Lettres et des Sciences humaines, l'Academy of Humanities and Social Sciences ont tenu aussi des réunions conjointes sur des sujets tels que: *Les établissements français à l'ouest du lac Supérieur* (1954), *Le Nord-Ouest canadien* (1959), *Responsabilités des universités canadiennes* (1960), *Population* (1961), *Le jargon scientifique* (1962), *Reflets de l'enseignement de la philosophie sur notre civilisation* (1963), *La conférence de Charlottetown* (1964), *L'enseignement supérieur au Canada: tendances et orientations* (1965), *Le Saint-Laurent* (1966). Enfin les trois Académies à la Société royale ont tenu des colloques qui ont paru sous forme de *Studia Varia* et auxquels ont contribué bon nombre de nos membres, comme dans *Présence de demain* (1958), *L'évolution: la science et la doctrine* (1959), *Les universités canadiennes d'aujourd'hui* (1961), *La population canadienne et la population du Grand Nord* (1962) *et Les Pionniers de la science canadienne* (1966).

Présentation

L'activité de notre Académie ne s'est pas arrêtée aux *Mémoires,* aux *Studia Varia* et aux *Colloques.* Elle s'est portée aussi sur la présentation de ses nouveaux membres au grand public. En effet, depuis 35 ans, soit de 1943 à 1978, elle publie bon an mal an un volume intitulé *Présentation,* où figurent les discours des récipiendaires et de leurs parrains. Dans la série complète le lecteur trouvera 123 travaux de longueur inégale: biographies, essais, études, mémoires, souvenirs. Le droit, l'économique, l'éducation, l'ethnologie, la géographie, l'histoire, la langue et la littérature, la philosophie et la culture, les sciences sociales, le théâtre et la musique y occupent une place de choix; l'artisanat et le journalisme n'y sont pas non plus négligés.

Le point de vue est à la fois régionaliste et canadien; on n'y entend aucune voix de déraciné, encore moins d'émigré de l'intérieur. Tous les orateurs s'expriment alors à coeur ouvert, en toute liberté, avec autant de courage et de franchise que de compétence et de spontanéité. On a l'impression, à les lire,

qu'ils éprouvent le vif plaisir de dire tout haut ce qu'ils pensent. Tel est l'un des mérites, et non des moindres, de la collection des volumes de *Présentation*; on croirait y lire des auteurs, on y entend des hommes et des femmes penser tout haut comme des explorateurs polaires. La seule mention de quelques titres, choisis entre une foule d'autres, suffit à faire ressortir l'actualité et le sérieux des thèmes abordés.

En voici quelques-uns, d'ordre littéraire, qui n'ont rien perdu de leur intérêt: 1. Le régionalisme littéraire dans le roman. 2. Notre carence d'écrivains naturalistes. 3. Evolution de notre littérature; écueil à éviter. 4. Quelques problèmes du romancier canadien-français. 5. De la valeur de toute oeuvre littéraire. 6. La critique: métier exigeant. 7. Deux aspects du métier d'écrivain. 8. Le milieu physique dans notre roman. 9. Marcel Proust et la critique des créateurs. 10. La jeune poésie. 11. La grandeur de la poésie et ses devoirs. 12. La problème de l'originalité chez un écrivain de la Renaissance: Pontus de Tyard. 13. L'iconoclastie en poésie. 14. Comment je suis devenu écrivain. 15. Emile Nelligan et Baudelaire. 16. La fonction de critique littéraire est-elle créatrice? 17. La diplomatie et la littérature.

Le moment est tout indiqué pour relever à cette place quatre essais sur le théâtre respectivement intitulés: 1. L'espoir de notre théâtre. 2. L'aventure théâtrale. 3. Homme de théâtre et créateur. 4. Le théâtre comme façon de vivre. Il va sans dire que les questions de langue et de survivance, de culture et d'éducation sont aussi souvent traités par les récipiendaires. Le droit, la géographie, l'histoire, les sciences sociales sont autant de disciplines en faveur. Voici une belle gerbe de thèmes, qui suffisent à montrer que même des Académiciens ont les pieds sur la terre: 1. Nécessité d'organiser la recherche économique. 2. Le rôle de l'Etat dans la planification économique. 3. Evolution de la pensée économique: la révolution Keynesienne. 4. Pour une politique de stabilisation régionale. 5. Le Saint-Laurent, berceau d'une civilisation. 6. Evolution de la pensée sociale au Canada français: Etienne Parent, Léon Gérin, Errol Bouchette, Edouard Montpetit. 7. Aspects sociologiques de la révolution scolaire. 8. La doctrine sociale de l'Eglise. 9. Introduction aux sciences sociales. 10. L'implantation des sciences sociales à l'Université. 11. L'ethnologie du Canada français. Un projet à réaliser. 12. Réflexions sur les sciences sociales d'hier et d'aujourd-hui. 13. Le système scolaire et les transformations sociales. 14. Avènement universitaire des sciences sociales. 15. L'Université dans la société industrielle avancée. 16. La Petite Histoire. 17. Le sens de l'histoire. 18. De la distance en histoire. 19. Comment je conçois l'histoire. 20. La fonction de l'archiviste: une vocation. 21. Démographie. 22. Le registre de population: laboratoire contesté du démographe. 23. Le choix des juges. 24. Le professeur de droit et le juge. 25. Le rôle du praticien dans l'élaboration des règles de droit. 26. Formation d'un droit canadien. 27. L'avenir constitutionnel du Québec. 28. Le développement de la culture générale du droit. 29. Interprétation des structures du mécanisme judiciaire. 30. L'approfondissement de la formule fédérale de gouvernement. 31. La culture et l'Etat.

On le voit par ce qui précède, cette sèche nomenclature, si aride puisse-t-elle paraître de prime abord, fait ressortir la contribution non négligeable de notre Académie à la vie intellectuelle du pays. Et je n'ai encore rien dit de la géographie, de la linguistique, du journalisme, de la philosophie, voire de la musique et de la recherche, dont les essais mériteraient aussi d'être montés en épingle au même titre que ceux que je viens de relever. Il y aurait lieu également de

s'appesantir sur les points de vue développés par les parrains dans leur présentation des récipiendaires. Mais je laisse cette tâche à l'historien des idées, des courants d'opinions et de pensées, au chercheur littéraire et sociologique, qui auraient tout intérêt à dépouiller à cet égard les 33 volumes de *Présentation* parus jusqu'ici. Ils y trouveraient, outre une mine de renseignements d'ordre biographique, bibliographique et historique, une pléthore de points de vue, de critiques et de suggestions, d'aperçus et de mises au point. Ce travail d'analyse reste à faire. Ils ne perdraient certes pas leur temps à le mener à terme, pas plus que les auteurs des exposés ne l'ont perdu à écrire et à publier leurs travaux personnels.

Le marquis de Lorne, en fondant la Société royale du Canada en 1882, a voulu inciter les Canadiens à travailler au progrès de leur pays dans les arts, les lettres et les sciences par la poursuite de recherches en profondeur et par la publication de travaux de qualité. Les membres de l'Académie des lettres et des sciences humaines éprouvent un vif sentiment de fidélité à l'idéal poursuivi par le fondateur de leur Société; ils ont préparé et composé des *Mémoires* et des *Studia Varia*, ils ont organisé des colloques et tenu des réunions; ils ont même osé, depuis 1944, présenter chaque année leurs nouveaux confrères dans une séance académique à laquelle plusieurs centaines de personnes sont invitées et publier intégralement sous forme de volume les allocutions et les discours de circonstance. Non contents de se réunir chaque printemps dans le campus d'une université canadienne pour y lire des communications, échanger des propos et former des projets, ils poursuivent des recherches personnelles, publient des études et écrivent des livres qui font honneur tout ensemble à la Société à laquelle ils sont fiers d'appartenir, comme ils sont fiers du pays dont ils font partie. Ils sont tous conscients d'apporter une pierre, si modeste soit-elle, à l'avancement des humanités et des sciences sociales.

MAURICE LEBEL

ED. NOTE: Roy Daniells, at his death, was preparing a parallel essay on the Royal Society's English language contributions to Canadian intellectual history. *Canadian Literature* hopes sometime to publish a fuller commentary.

TECUMSEH PRESS PAPERBACKS

ON THOMAS CHANDLER HALIBURTON: SELECTED CRITICISM
Edited and with an introduction by Richard A. Davies
ISBN 0-919662-66-8 281 pp. 1979 $7.95

THE OLD JUDGE OR LIFE IN A COLONY, Thomas Chandler Haliburton
Edited and with an introduction and notes by M. G. Parks
ISBN 0-919662-69-2 358 pp. 1978 $4.95

MAVIS GALLANT: NARRATIVE PATTERNS AND DEVICES, Grazia Merler
ISBN 0-919662-67-6 85 pp. 1979 $2.95

SARA JEANNETTE DUNCAN: SELECTED JOURNALISM, Edited by
Thomas E. Tausky
ISBN 0-919662-55-2 125 pp. 1979 $2.95

SELECTED ESSAYS AND CRITICISM, Louis Dudek
ISBN 0-919662-60-9 380 pp. 1978 $6.95

TWENTIETH-CENTURY ESSAYS ON CONFEDERATION LITERATURE
Selected and with an Introduction by Lorraine McMullen
ISBN 0-919662-61-7 151 pp. 1977 $3.95

ON CANADIAN POETRY, E. K. Brown
ISBN 0-919662-50-1 178 pp. 1974 $3.25

NARRATIVE VERSE SATIRE IN MARITIME CANADA 1779-1814
Edited and with an Introduction by Thomas B. Vincent
ISBN 0-919662-64-1 214 pp. 1978 $2.95

TECUMSEH: FACT AND FICTION IN EARLY RECORDS
Edited and with an Introduction by Carl F. Klinck
ISBN 0-919662-56-0 246 pp. 1978 $4.95

WILLIAM WILFRED CAMPBELL: SELECTED POETRY
ISBN 0-919662-57-9 60 pp. 1976 $1.95

WILFRED CAMPBELL: A STUDY IN LATE PROVINCIAL VICTORIANISM,
Carl F. Klinck
ISBN 0-919662-58-7 289 pp. 1977 $5.95

LYRICS OF EARTH, Archibald Lampman
Edited and with an Introduction by D. M. R. Bentley
ISBN 0-919662-62-5 64 pp. 1978 $2.50

SELECTED PROSE OF ARCHIBALD LAMPMAN
Edited and with an Introduction by Barrie Davies
ISBN 0-919662-54-4 135 pp. 1975 $5.95

NORLAND ECHOES AND OTHER POEMS AND LYRICS, Charles Sangster
Edited and with an Introduction by Frank M. Tierney
ISBN 0-919662-59-5 123 pp. 1976 $3.95

ANGEL GUEST AND OTHER POEMS AND LYRICS, Charles Sangster
Edited and with an Introduction by Frank M. Tierney
ISBN 0-919662-63-3 90 pp. 1978 $2.95

CHARLES G. D. ROBERTS AND THE INFLUENCE OF HIS TIMES,
James Cappon
ISBN 0-919662-53-6 58 pp. 1975 $2.75

SELECTED POETRY OF DUNCAN CAMPBELL SCOTT, Edited by
Glenn Clever
ISBN 0-919662-52-8 129 pp. 1974 $3.95

DUNCAN CAMPBELL SCOTT: A BOOK OF CRITICISM, Edited by
Stan Dragland
ISBN 0-919662-51-X 205 pp. 1974 $5.50

THE TECUMSEH PRESS LTD.
8 Mohawk Crescent, Ottawa, Canada K2H 7G6