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Editorial

New Work on Early Canadian Literature

Janice Fiamengo and Thomas Hodd

This special issue springs from the editors' shared passion for early Canadian literature in English and our awareness of how much bibliographical, historical, and critical research remains to be done in the field. It would be wrong, of course, to argue that our early literature has been ignored or neglected—far from it. As a field of study, however, it remains an uneven and tantalizingly patchwork affair, not unlike the maps of early Canada that enticed the explorers and adventurers who set out to be the eyes of the Hudson's Bay or North West fur-trading companies.

From the period of the nationalist renaissance in Canadian studies—usually traced to such influential surveys as Margaret Atwood's *Survival* (1972) and John Moss' *Patterns of Isolation* (1974)—early Canadian texts served as touchstones for critics' synthesizing generalizations. We might think, for example, of the iconic power Atwood attributed to the "markedly double-minded" (61) Susanna Moodie, who stands in for every flummoxed immigrant unable to accommodate Old World preconceptions to flea-ridden reality. We might also remember the emphasis, in studies by Moss and Margot Northey, on the psychosexual patterns in John Richardson's *Wacousta* (1832), with its gothic attitudes to wilderness, Native people, and cultural survival in the New World. During the post-Centennial period of identity-defining surveys, critics often looked to colonial and Confederation writers as our literary cartographers, those who mapped the often-jagged psychic territory that continued to shape our literary culture.

No less a critic than Northop Frye was confident that the contours of modern Canada in the late 1960s had been largely prefigured in its nineteenth-century manifestations: the psychological "garrison mentality," recoil from the land, awareness of the fragility of human order, and preference for polemic and practical treatises over poetry. Many other critics, while not necessarily agreeing with Frye's assumptions or systematizing tendencies, also located in pre-twentieth-century literature the preoccupations and modes of seeing that endured in the country. In 1969, Dorothy Livesay identified the documentary as a particularly Canadian genre, part of a centuries-old English Canadian tradition. Beginning in the 1980s, D.M.R. Bentley, in his monumental work on early long poems (*The Gay[Grey Moose* and *Mimic Fires*, to mention only two) and on the Confederation poets (*The Confederation Group*), has argued that from the first, our poetry embodied the attempt to make Canadian places home, to take imaginative possession of unfamiliar geographies. Susan Glickman looked back to the colonial period for early expressions of the picturesque and sublime imaginaries that would endure through the twentieth century. Gerald Lynch found in the satirical wit and conservative humanism of Thomas McCulloch and Thomas Haliburton a still-vital model for a distinctive tradition of English Canadian humour ("Canadian Comedy"). These critics' arguments suggest the extent to which our earliest writers and literary modes cast a long shadow into the present.

Much of the vigour and impetus behind investigations of early Canadian literature since the nationalist 1970s came from the conviction that totalizing narratives about literary history were partial and exclusionary, failing to take into account the stories and styles of writers who wrote outside of the mainstream of Canadian culture. The earliest and most vibrant strand of such oppositional research was feminist in emphasis, as is reflected in the title of editor Lorraine McMullen's *Re(dis)covering Our Foremothers* (1990), a volume that both capitalized on the groundswell of feminist scholarship in the 1980s and encouraged further recovery work in the following two decades. Scholarship by Kym Bird, Helen Buss, Gwendolyn Davies (*Studies*), Misao Dean (*Practising*), Cecily Devereux (*Growing*), Carole Gerson (*Canadian*), Faye Hammill, and Michael Peterman, to name only a few, has recovered and complicated the textual record of literary foremothers, and an extensive body of criticism now exists on their poetry, prose fiction, dramatic texts, life writing, and creative journalism. Indeed, the recovery has been so enthusiastic and dedicated that a case might be made that male writers have been correspondingly neglected. Where are the multiple

studies of Ralph Connor, William Kirby, or James De Mille—all popular and critically acclaimed in their day, now almost entirely neglected—or indeed of the many male pioneers, travellers, journalists, social reformers, and religious writers who left substantial records? Despite the magisterial contributions of Bentley as well as of Steven Artelle, Thomas Hodd, Gerald Lynch (*Stephen*), and Tracy Ware, many of the major and minor male authors of the nineteenth century have received relatively little attention in the past twenty years. Such authors are now ripe for their own recovery.

But this trope of recovery—with its implications of appreciative rescue and resuscitation—was complicated and even confounded by the rise and dominance, in the 1990s, of postcolonial criticism, with its emphasis on the saturation of all cultural expression by the violence of the colonizing effort; this perspective was given forceful expression in Edward Said's *Culture and Imperialism* (1993), which found even in literary works ostensibly far removed from the arena of colonial struggle suggestive traces of its bloody presence. In Canada, such critical investigation found early expression in questions asked by such critics as Stan Dragland, John Flood, and L.P. Weiss about Duncan Campbell Scott's Indian writing, which was both direct and ambiguous in rendering Native life under colonialism. Soon scholars including Christopher Bracken, Albert Braz, Carole Gerson, Terry Goldie, Brian Johnson, Alan Lawson, C.D. Mazoff, Veronica Strong-Boag, and Lisa Salem-Wiseman began to work not only to recover the lives and cultural contributions of early Aboriginal writers—one thinks of the work by Braz on Louis Riel and by Strong-Boag and Gerson on Pauline Johnson—but also to analyze the literature of settler subjects, understanding settler subjectivity as embodying the Second World position so evocatively outlined by Lawson. For Lawson, the settler text expresses a complex and troubled assertion of "belonging" that is both violent and desiring, claiming indigeneity while manifesting an anxious belatedness. Such a perspective is fruitfully applied, for example, in Mazoff's analysis of early Canadian long poems and in Devereux's reading of Isabella Valancy Crawford's *Malcolm's Katie*.

An interest in race as a textual construct has led many scholars to chart the cultural associations of whiteness (as in Daniel Coleman's *White Civility*) and the contributions of Asian and African Canadian writers to early Canadian literary culture. Notable examples include George Elliott Clarke's excavations of African Canadian writers and Mary Chapman's work on Sui Sin Far, Asian Canadian journalist and short story writer. Many of the essays in Jennifer Blair et al.'s edited volume *ReCalling Early*

Canada (2005) approach the "political" of their subtitle from a postcolonial perspective, considering how assumptions about indigeneity, femininity, and Anglo-Saxon superiority structured colonial and post-Confederation culture. It is no exaggeration to say that this approach has fundamentally transformed early Canadian literary studies so much as to affect the very terms of discussion, giving innocent-seeming words such as "landscape," "discovery," "claim," "map," "Native inhabitant," and "first" charged meanings and inescapable overtones. The dominance of race as a category of analysis has been so unchallenged for the past two decades, in fact, that it has been hard to imagine avenues of approach with equal interpretative power, and the strong moral charge of postcolonial theory has arguably limited discussion about the appropriateness of judging earlier texts by present-day valorizations of cultural openness.

While we are still very much in the postcolonial moment, some new directions have emerged, many of them more modest than the postcolonial in their claims. The field of book history and print culture studies, for example—given recent impetus by the History of the Book in Canada project and the Studies in Book and Print Culture series through the University of Toronto Press—investigates the material and contextual factors of textual production: the network of people (editors, publishers, booksellers, reviewers, anthology compilers, readers) and material factors (newsprint, presses, editions, copyright law, piracy) that affected the literature of early Canadians. George Parker was the notable pioneer of this kind of research with his painstaking *The Beginnings of the Book Trade in Canada* (1985). Since then, such scholars as Mary Lu MacDonald, Eli MacLaren, and Ruth Panofsky have examined the myriad of commercial, technological, legal, and cultural contexts that influenced how early Canadian books were contracted, printed, marketed, and sold.

Other critics, including T.D. MacLulich and Gerson (*A Purer Taste*), approached the subject of print culture with a focus on reception, examining literary periodicals to understand the climate of ideas about fiction and reading that dominated Victorian Canada's conservative book culture. A new generation of scholars is continuing to pursue this rich mine of information, combing through archives in search of partisan editor-authors (Geordan Patterson on Samuel Hull Wilcocke), prolific women poets (Ceilidh Hart on nineteenth-century Canadian newspapers), community-building editors (Suzanne Bowness on nineteenth-century periodicals), and much else. In his study of bestsellers, Clarence Karr made extensive use of

letters and publishers' records to understand how readers reacted to such popular novelists as Ralph Connor and L.M. Montgomery, while Heather Murray, also interested in the cultural history of reading, has focused on those ardent bibliophiles who made up the literary societies of nineteenth-century Canada. Andrea Cabajsky has found the records of nineteenth-century lending libraries a productive source of information about reader interest. Considering the forces that shape literary taste from a different angle, Dermot McCarthy and Robert Lecker have examined the role of literary anthologies in creating a national canon. All of these critics seek to understand texts in complex interaction with readers, cultural arbiters, and commercial agents, significantly deepening our understanding of the multi-dimensional factors shaping literary production.

Such scholarship has often adopted an explicitly international lens, recognizing how authors and texts cross borders both literally and metaphorically. Sometimes Canadian writers travelled in search of subjects or markets; often they shaped or disguised Canadian materials for non-Canadian readers, usually British or American. Sometimes they wrote differently for different English-speaking audiences. On rare occasions, a Canadian product was aimed particularly at a Canadian audience, but more often, colonial and early Canadian writers negotiated international realities. The publishing climate was complex and in transition, often yielding little profit and exposing texts to piracy and unauthorized abridgement. While Eva-Marie Kröller chronicled those Canadians who wrote about travel to Europe, James Doyle and Nick Mount have investigated the tide of professional writers who moved to the United States in search of a readership and a living wage. Misao Dean ("Researching") and Linda Quirk ("Place," "Skyward"), among others, have looked at literary agents' and publishers' records to examine the complex publishing histories of such fascinating transnational writers as Sara Jeannette Duncan and Pauline Johnson. Recent work by Gerson ("Canadian," "Writers"), Davies ("Publishing"), and I.S. MacLaren continues to complicate nationalist assumptions by focusing on the border-crossing relationships amongst authors, publishers, audiences, and the sites of writing.

These book and print culture studies have shifted attention away from narrowly defined categories of poetry, drama, and fiction, defining "text" flexibly and capaciously. Although non-fictional prose has always been of interest to scholars (see, for example, the work of Alexandra Hurst on the "war among the [Confederation] poets" in the pages of the Toronto *Globe*,

a fascinating nineteenth-century contretemps), recent scholarship has placed decisive emphasis on non-literary media such as letters, memoirs, travel journals, newsprint journalism, pamphlets, government records, photographs, and so on. Work on such genres by Julia V. Emberley, Janice Fiamengo, Jennifer Henderson, Kate Higginson, Wendy Roy, and Kathleen Venema, to name only a few, has had the effect of radically expanding literary scholars' subject matter.

We expect that as this cultural approach continues to hold sway amongst English scholars, attention to letters, diaries, journalism, pamphlets, and speeches will continue to provide rich sources of insight. Such research takes us full circle to Frye's belief that the culture of early Canada was most fertile and most vividly revealed in both its polemics and its practical communications. But we hope that literary texts will also be given their due, especially perhaps the landscape and philosophical poetry of such authors as Charles G.D. Roberts and Archibald Lampman, now almost entirely neglected. We expect and trust, in fact, that some of the more sweeping claims and lingering effects of the overtly political—feminist and postcolonial—arguments of recent decades will be contested and modified through the reappraisal and nuanced analysis of now-neglected, once-canonical writers. Straightforward recovery work—for example, of the fascinating Vancouver Poetry Society authors of the early twentieth century, of historical novelists, of First World War writers—remains valuable.

Through it all, we continue to recognize the significant gaps in basic scholarship on early Canadian literature: the lack of complete biographical and bibliographical information about authors, the relatively few scholarly editions of major texts—despite the heroic efforts of Carleton University's Centre for the Editing of Early Canadian texts under the direction of Mary Jane Edwards—the many undocumented letters, stories, poems, and other writings that moulder in private or uncatalogued public collections or are tenuously preserved on fragile newsprint or poorly filmed microfilm. Even simply establishing the complete works of a single author remains in many cases a daunting undertaking. We salute the preservation work of such projects as the *Canadian Poetry* website, Tecumseh Press' Canadian Critical Editions series, Early Canadiana Online, and Tom Vincent's Loyal Colonies Press. More such groundwork is urgently required. Thus, as new interests and approaches push the boundaries of the discipline, traditional scholarship is still crucial in shoring up its foundation.

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Paul Kane's *Wanderings of an Artist* and the Rise of Transcontinental Canadian Nationalism

Wanderings of an Artist among the Indians of North America (1859) helped make Paul Kane (1810-71) a native Canadian, "a founding father of Canadian art" (Royal), and a figure of Canadian nationalism. The solitary wanderer began and ended his travels in Toronto. This was his hometown after immigration from Ireland in about 1819, and again after his travels to upper Lake Huron and Wisconsin in 1845 and to Vancouver Island in 1846-48. It was in Toronto that what were thought to be his most accomplished works came into public possession in 1912, in the collections of the Royal Ontario Museum. They taught generations of southern Ontarians what Indians look like, as Katherine Hale's romantic poem "Cun-ne-wa-bum" illustrates well. As a father of Canadian art and a hardy early Canadian traveller in a vague tradition rooted in the voyageur, Kane served Canada's need for heroes before and after Confederation. He is not on record as ever having corrected the sobriquet of "first native artist in Canada," bestowed on him in 1852 ([Hind], "Provincial" 60; qtd. in Harper, "Ontario" 18 and *Painting* 115), seven years before his book identified Little York as his "native village" ([vii]), native not being the complicated descriptor that it is in Canada today. The construction of him as a solitary wanderer and yet a symbol of an entire nascent country grew complicated. So too did the aims of his *Wanderings*. Was it meant to narrate one man's effort to record Native peoples before the new country engulfed them, or was it meant to achieve a political aim by penetrating a fur-trade empire's haunts in order to convert them into a transcontinental nation and the last link in the British Empire's global chain?

On 13 January 1855, Kane was inducted into the prestigious Canadian Institute ("Fourth"), a high honour for someone who as late as 1834 advertised himself as a lowly "Coach, Sign, and House-painter" in the directory for York, which took the name of Toronto later that year (Walton; qtd. in Lowrey 101).

The 1850s were all about change. High-spirited, occasionally high-minded talk of expanding Canada West into Rupert's Land (the "North-West Territory") was not uncommon. Trains came to Toronto in 1853. On 14 April 1858, a storm on Lake Ontario created the picturesque Toronto Islands. In 1859, University College opened its doors (Careless 200-02). By 1856, working from his field sketches, Kane had completed one hundred oil-on-canvas paintings for his patron, Toronto lawyer, banker, alderman, mayor (1855), and legislative councillor George William Allan (Harper, ed. 320-21). He also executed copies of twelve of them for the legislature, then located in Toronto (322) (which doubtless had expected to pay for originals). Thus, early on, his visual record was patronized both privately and publicly.

On 13 December 1856, George Brown, editor of *The Daily Globe*, admonished the city's merchants to begin to take over the North-West, thereby slipping the noose in which Roman Catholic French Canada held them and their legislators. If Toronto were "ever to be made really great," he fulminated, "if it is ever to rise above the rank of a fifth-rate American town—it must be by the development of the great British territory lying to the north and west, and . . . Toronto is better fitted by situation than any other place to be the depot of the business of that country." In ways that perhaps *aesthetic* expressions of the inchoate idea of Canada could not, *Wanderings*, published over Kane's name at the end of this decade of energy and uncertainty, could help attain Brown's dream. But the dream remained only that for some time. Uncertainty contended with ambition in the 1850s. Budding aspirations of some English Canadians to develop into a continental dominion were not being given voice by John A. Macdonald. He was a survivor-politician of the first water who "seldom went in for big ideas or 'visions'" (Gwyn 294) and "about territorial expansion . . . said as little as possible" in 1858 and 1859 (223). For over a decade, Macdonald and most of his peers left control over the North-West to the Hudson's Bay Company, the world's largest-ever monopoly in terms of geography.[1] Meanwhile, the continent's republic lurched towards civil war.

When Kane traversed the North-West a decade earlier, its political fate, whether it interested the artist or not, had been similarly far from clear. The Oregon crisis of 1845-46 issued out of President James Polk's election cry of "Fifty-four Forty or Fight" and resulted *inter alia* in the assignment of

Britain's Sixth Regiment of Foot to Red River in 1846. Thus positioned, this force was deemed able to offer a timely response in case annexation-minded USAmericans in Oregon or the upper Red River valley contested the newly established international border, attempted to destabilize "the allegiance of British subjects" (Morrison 168), or—the Hudson's Bay Company's fear—took up common cause with disaffected Métis traders at Red River (Miquelon et al. 15). In 1847, along with missionaries, Alexander Isbister (1822-83) and other former employees of the HBC attacked the monopoly in letters to the Colonial Office, charging it with failing to provide religious and agricultural instruction to Aboriginal people while keeping them destitute through the sale of poor-quality, high-priced trade goods (including liquor), and for using Native women for sexual recreation.[2] In 1849, the judgment in the trial at Red River found Guillaume Sayer guilty of unlicensed fur trading but, by imposing no fine (Friesen 100-01), effectively legalized interloping[3] in Rupert's Land and so cracked the HBC's monopoly.

Uncertainty over the legality of the HBC's trade monopoly in the North-West arose again in 1857, as *Wanderings* neared publication. A nineteen-member British parliamentary select committee conditionally approved a twenty-one-year extension of the HBC's charter (Great Britain), but an ensuing deadlock arose in February 1858 after a change of government saw Conservative Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton take over from Whig Henry Labouchère as colonial secretary. "Bully" Lytton added to the proposed extension new conditions (such as petitioning the Privy Council to draw the boundary between Canada and the HBC territory). Because the HBC balked and Canada finally decided that Britain, not the province, must argue the matter before the Privy Council (Galbraith 334), the introduction of these conditions resulted in another ten years without any settlement either of the question or of the West.[4] Yet, the HBC had governing powers. In 1849 and 1858 Britain established the colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia but initially assigned the government of them to the company, not the Colonial Office, and did so even though the Indian Rebellion of 1857 had forced Britain the next year to take over the government of India from the East India Company and to dissolve that monopoly ("East").

In the spring of 1858, when 20,000 people began the Fraser and Cariboo gold rushes, Britain sent troops to New Westminster to keep the peace. Farther east, on 11 May, the establishment of Minnesota as a state helped fuel fears that the USA would annex the North-West. Meanwhile, after mid-decade, the West was not perceived as a trackless desert, thanks in part

to a report by Lorin Blodget, a climatologist working at the Smithsonian Institution (est. 1846). In 1857, Blodget made what would become a widely quoted assertion about the West: "an area, not inferior in size to the whole United States east of the Mississippi, now almost wholly unoccupied, . . . is perfectly adapted to the fullest occupation by cultivated nations. The west and north of Europe are there reproduced" (529).[5] By this time, inhabitants of southern Canada West were finding it agriculturally crowded and were casting an envious eye westward. So they genuinely felt the threat of the loss to the United States of any arable land on the continent that was not already claimed by that country.

The publication in 1859 of a book about the North-West and its denizens was thus bound to have read into it a political dimension, even if the travels had occurred in the 1840s, and even if it sold at too steep a price—twenty-one shillings in Britain ("Now ready") and $5.50 in Canada ("Shortly"; "Vancouver's")—to become widely acquired.[6] How could one let vanishing Indians stand in the way of progress when, at least from a political vantage point, so much seemed to be at stake? A book by an artist painting Indians could be assigned a place amidst the news of the day about the North-West. Protracted debates between the HBC and the Colonial Office involved the likes of William Gladstone and other rising political luminaries. The gold rush proffered an allure of its own. Reports filed by Canadian and British survey expeditions in 1857, 1858, and 1859 under Simon Dawson (*Report*), Henry Youle Hind (*Report*, *Reports*), and John Palliser (*Exploration*) amply sustained Blodget's splendid contention because the surveys happened to occur during moist summers on the northern Prairies. Such developments simply overtook *Wanderings*, making possible the reading of it in a way unintended by Kane if not unanticipated by Longman, his English publisher. The times had ripened for a book about the North-West by a disinterested observer. However innocently, Kane had been in the right place in advance of the right time, but he and whoever helped him into print could still profit from the larger interests of what W.L. Morton has called the "critical years."

A late December 1858 issue of London's *Saturday Review* promised the appearance of *Wanderings* "early in January" 1859 ("Paul"). In the event, Longman released it on Friday 25 February ("On Friday"; "Now Ready") in a print-run of 1,020 unassuming octavo copies, six of which went to the author and fifty to the Toronto bookseller James Bain (Divide . . . Miscellaneous . . . Impression). A good indication of how the publisher

envisioned the ideal reader for it occurs in an article titled "Literary News," published in a London weekly at the end of the previous November:[7]

> Mr. Paul Kane's "Wanderings of an Artist among the Indians of British North America" will be published early in the approaching season, in 1 vol. 8vo. The author spent four years in traversing these regions to which the recent discovery of gold has imparted a new and daily-increasing interest. His wanderings extended from Canada to Vancouver's Island, Oregon, through the Hudson's Bay Company's territory, and back again. His main object was to sketch pictures of the principal chiefs, in their original costumes, to illustrate their manners and customs, and to depict the scenery of the country; but he is not without hope that his work will be found to throw fresh light upon an almost unexplored region, remarkable at once for the beauty of its scenery, the salubrity of its climate, and the abundance of its commercial resources. The illustrations, executed from the author's sketches or finished paintings, consist of eight plates printed in colours, and thirteen wood engravings, selected as specimens of the different classes of subjects which engaged the artist's attention during his sojourn among the Indians of the north-west. ("Literary News" 836)

Likely the work of a puff-writer at Longman, this paragraph assigns the book many roles. One comes in the provisional title of the book. The *published* Kane travelled among the Indians of North America, but all advertisements appearing in both England and Canada prior to the book's release confined the pre-published Kane's travels to the "regions" and "Indians" exclusively of *British* North America,[8] and only a very few of the ads quoted enough of the title to expose the name of "Oregon."[9]

The noun "wanderings" does not describe a relatively constrained itinerary well. Kane travelled on his own recognizance on several occasions, but he spent much of his time in the company of HBC brigades; their schedules often determined his itinerary and pace. Twice, for example he waited for five weeks at Norway House (12 July-14 August 1846; 18 June-24 July 1848), just north of Lake Winnipeg, before passing brigades collected him. A traveller who wanders might give the air of independence and spontaneity, even distractedness, but, as he once pouted while en route, Kane was "nothing but a pasenger [*sic*]" of the company,[10] notwithstanding the claim of the book's persona: "it was with a determined spirit and a light heart that I made the few preparations which were in my power" (viii). "Wanderings" was a popular nineteenth-century title before and after the publication of Kane's book,[11] so the choice of it is unremarkable and not likely intended implicitly to align the artist with the nomadic lifeways of his subjects. However, the leisure with which a romantic (because solitary ["an Artist"]) traveller wandered suggests an effort to distance Kane from, not

engage him in, political controversies. And not a few reviewers emphasized the romantic individualism of the persona of Kane in the book. In Britain, the reviewer for *The Athenæum*, a literary magazine, thought it

> well that . . . some lover of the Red Man who, like Mr. Kane, can strap his portfolio and paint-box on his back, should fill a bullock's horn with powder, and, taking his rifle in his firm hand, stride on board the snorting steam-packet at Sturgeon Bay on Lake Huron.
>
> . . . With light heart and lighter purse the brave young artist started off on snow shoes, or on horseback, in canoe or in mocassins [*sic*], to sketch chiefs and medicine-men, scalp dances and ball play, hunting scenes and fishing scenes. (Rev. of *Wanderings* 14)

From travels comprising "à chaque pas, des difficultés, des fatigues et des périls" (964), wrote Charles Hubert Lavollée, the reviewer for *La Revue des Deux Mondes*, Kane had fashioned "un journal de voyage, sans prétention littéraire ni scientifique . . . sobre de détails et même de descriptions pittoresques," yet a text that reminds its reader of "les tableaux poétiques que Chateaubriand a consacrés aux Natchez et les romans de Cooper" (965). Like many reviews of the epoch, Lavollée's paraphrases the purple patches that occur in nearly every one of the book's twenty-five chapters. Invariably, these entail Native violence, romance, sloth, or filth, which both revolt and allure the persona of Kane. One review, in *The Critic*, comprises little more than a recitation of them: the Assiniboine Potika-poo-tis' confession that he killed his mother (*Wanderings* 139); the Multnomah Chinook Casanov's desire to kill his wife so that she could accompany their son to the after-life (178); the Chinook practice of flattening the head of infants (180-81) (to signify their free, non-slave status, a motive unremarked in *Wanderings*); the custom of producing Chinook Olives from urine-soaked, fermented acorns (187); the attestation that the inauguration of a Clallam named Chea-clach (in fact named Cloll-uck/Clałuch) and the requirement that he eat a dog alive (211-12); the practice of slavery among Coast Salish peoples, and the sacrifice by an unnamed man of five slaves as a demonstration of his wealth (216); the sacrifice by Carrier peoples of widows on their deceased husbands' funeral pyres (243-45);[12] and the subterranean lodges of Walla-Walla people, their reliance on a year-round diet of sand-blown dried salmon, and the repercussions for their teeth and gums (272-73) ("Among").

In the "Literary News" paragraph from November 1858, quoted above, the titular *Wanderings* throws an emphasis on the solitary, apolitical romantic peregrination among supposedly dangerous sub-humans. Yet the roamings occur in a geopolitical realm, "British North America," and the paragraph

goes on to subdivide that into two colonies (Canada and Vancouver Island), one foreign territory (Oregon, soon to become a state), and one monopoly's holdings, "the Hudson's Bay Company's territory." At a time when, although the monopoly's rule persisted on the ground, its right to govern was unclear, this was a decidedly political wording. Brown's December 1856 editorial had called the North-West "British territory." As "Travels in the Hudson's Bay Territory" exemplifies, British notices sided with the HBC ("Travels").

The paragraph's worth of puff pays only passing attention to Native peoples while pointing the reader towards the gold fields. This is a piece of deception: by not mentioning the years of his travels, the puff and the book's title conceal the fact that Kane travelled a decade *before* the gold rushes; moreover, he did not venture near either the Fraser or Thompson rivers. Meanwhile, the puff reserves "hope" for the narrative's success in throwing fresh light on "an almost unexplored" region's tricolonic virtues: "the beauty of its scenery, the salubrity of its climate, and the abundance of its commercial resources." Mention of the last of these perhaps aimed to entice readers who knew in November 1858 that the Colonial Office was threatening to end the HBC's monopoly, so that the vastness of northern North America might open for the first time since the seventeenth century to other British investors and entrepreneurs. The coordinate conjunction "but" introducing the clause "he is not without hope" appears to set these three regional virtues against the book's three already announced aims, which sound passé—to record principal chiefs in their "original costumes," their manners and customs, and the scenery of their country. That Indians had all more or less vanished was the prevailing, romantic/tragic view that complemented the myth of progress—David C. Hunt opines that "the majority of the artists of the western frontier envisioned and perpetuated what we think of today as a romance" (8)—so the prospect of striking a last, "almost" undiscovered vein of original peoples would have enticed readers. Yet, how interest in Indians related to these other matters baffles the puff writer.

That bafflement is apparent in the puff's exaggerated claims: the regions through which Kane passed (in the mid-1840s) "almost unexplored," apparently even in 1859, are paradoxically identified in the book's subtitle as *geopolitical* districts: Canada, Vancouver Island, the HBC's territory, and Oregon (which happened to become a state eleven days before *Wanderings* appeared). That is, the titular artist wanders around no West, crosses no Prairies, negotiates no passes through the Rocky Mountains, boats down no Columbia River to the Pacific Ocean; indeed, he encounters no *geographical*

regions. But a geopolitical emphasis contradicts the cultivation of a wilderness in the book's preface. Its claim that Kane traversed "a new and unexplored country" "through the pathless forest to find" his subjects (ix, vii) appears to be an effort to exoticize his travels and to fetishize the people he met. At cross-purposes with the geopolitical emphasis of the book's title, it serves to show that the puff itself could not decide between a political and a romantic hue.[13]

In fact, both those who wanted the North-West brought under British North American governance through Canada and those who wanted nothing to do with it or wanted the HBC to retain entire control of it could find ammunition in Kane's book. By turns they read it with an emphasis on the Canada in the subtitle or on the wildness of the land and people, together with the tribulations that Kane underwent. The reviewer in the *Edinburgh Review* thought that "chaos," "transition and uncertainty" best characterized the North-West in early 1859 ("Hudson's" 123). He or she considered it "the height of imprudence to commit [Britain] to so decisive and irretrievable a step as the formation of a British colony which we are bound to defend at all hazard": "we are happy to find that Mr. Kane fully confirms, from his own personal observation, the opinion we have formed. . . . He . . . has given us a most graphic and entertaining account of the frightful country he succeeded in crossing. We should be ready to rest the whole case on Mr. Kane's evidence, which is really conclusive. . . ." All land west of the Canadas should, thought this reviewer, remain in the custody of the Hudson's Bay Company, against which "all parties, agreeing in nothing else, seem to have combined for the purpose of destroying the corporation which at this moment renders us such invaluable service [including] . . . the Colonial Minister, to whom it saves infinite trouble and anxiety, the Canadian Government, whose frontiers it preserves in tranquility, nay, the very Aborigines Protection Society, whose duties it most efficiently discharges" ("Hudson's" 156). Thus, despite whatever motivations induced Longman to publish *Wanderings*, the text itself, by not coming down decisively on one or the other side of the debate then occurring about the North-West's geopolitical destiny, could be read by turns for its promise as a colony and for its essential wildness.

The fact that the political triangle underlying *Wanderings* is not Britain, Canada, and the United States but rather Britain, Canada, and the HBC indicates how the book neglects the republic. When it does not, it is negative about it. USAmerican treatment of Indians exemplifies this strain. The events of the several months of 1845 that Kane spent in Wisconsin (made a state on 29 May 1848) are summarized tellingly at the head of the book's second chapter:

> Mackenaw, the "Turtle Island."—Famished Dogs.—The Chief He-Devil.—Green Bay, a Commercial Port.—Consolation in Sorrow.—An Indian Council.—Gambling Habits.—Illicit Traffic in Spirits.—Anecdote of Revenge.—A young Assassin.—Day of Reckoning.—Scenes of Drunkenness. (26)

Pottawatomi, Menominee, and Winnebago are seen as wild, to be sure, but ignoble and irretrievable after contact with Caucasians, all already with a USAmerican identity. But, because *Wanderings* resolutely insists upon the preservation of the aura of wilderness peopled only by wild Indians, whites seldom show up in the "pathless forest" south of the border.[14] No mention occurs of the sizeable number of German immigrants who began settling in Wisconsin soon after Gottfried Duden published *Bericht* in 1829 (although the great influx would begin only after the failed revolution in Germany in 1848). Similarly, the many immigrants to the Pacific Northwest in the years when Kane visited are invisible. Upwards of 4,500 emigrants traversed the Oregon Trail in 1847 ("Columbia"), and Kane's route up the lower Columbia River would have crossed theirs (see Parkman). The book's alternate negative treatment or disregard of the United States happily foregrounded the still-wild savages of British North America while serving to allege or imply that Natives received better treatment at the hands of the HBC.[15]

If the paucity even of sketches of voyageurs and fur-trade factors during his 1846-48 trip suggests that Kane himself remained faithful to his intention to sketch only Aboriginal people, one may conclude that in 1845 Wisconsin disappointed him, not because he was in the United States but because he could not find subjects unchanged by newcomers' manners and customs, including clothing. His art provides an instructive example: an oil-on-paper sketch (Harper, ed. 277, no. III-111), acquired in 2011 by the Royal Ontario Museum, depicts a Menominee spearing fish at night.

The fisher wears a shirt and trousers belted or otherwise fastened at the waist. The three people observing him appear in similar garb, although Kane spent little effort delineating their clothing. However, in both the subsequent oil-on-canvas studio painting (Fig. 2) and the engraving published in *Wanderings* (31; Fig. 3), the three observers wear traditional garments—long hide shirts—while the fisher wears no shirt (although the article draped over the gunwale of the canoe could be one), only leggings and leather lashes. A tipi, untypical of Menominee but expected as typical for "Indians" generally, is added to the oil-on-canvas painting and to the engraving, and the deletion of the moon renders the subject sublime because only the lurid firelight illumines the scene in a fashion reminiscent of chiaroscuro. These alterations

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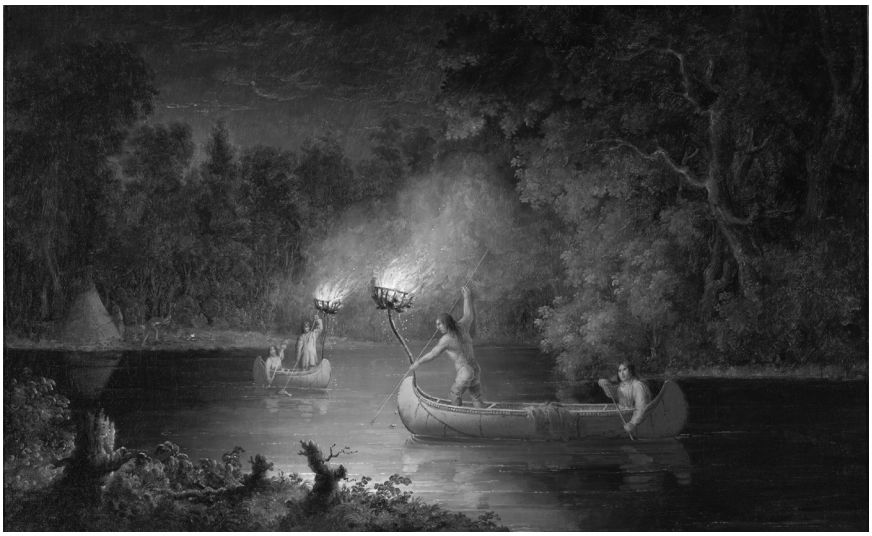

Figure 1
Paul Kane. Fishing by Torch Light. Oil on paper, 24.5 cm x 31.1 cm. 1845. Royal Ontario Museum: 2011.58.1; Harper, ed. 276 (III-111). Courtesy Royal Ontario Museum.

Figure 2
Paul Kane. Fishing by Torch Light. Oil on canvas, 43.7 x 73.7 cm. c1855. Royal Ontario Museum: 912.1.10; Harper, ed. 277 (III-112). Courtesy Royal Ontario Museum.

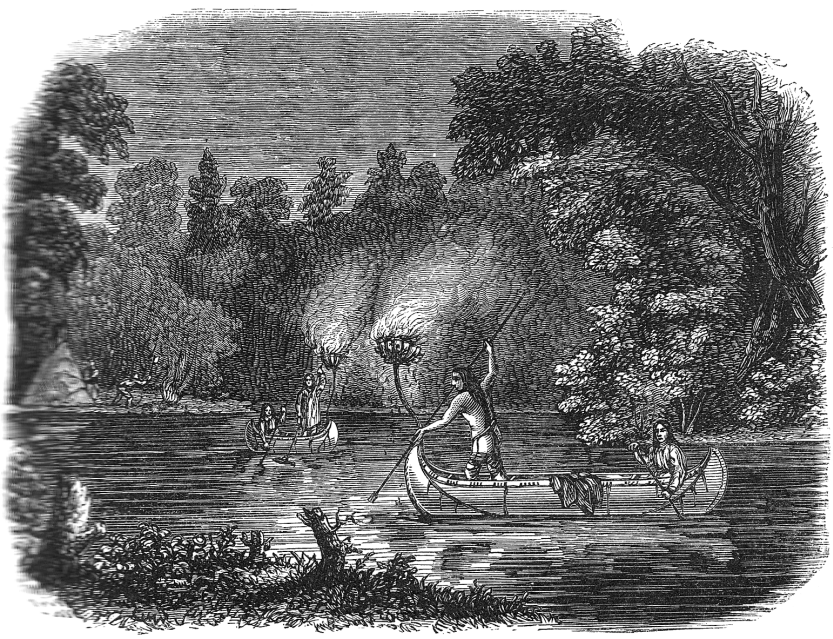

Figure 3
Vincent Brooks. Engraving of Paul Kane. Spearing by torch-light on Fox River. Woodcut, 7.3 x 9.1 cm. 1859. *Wanderings of an Artist* 31.

exemplify the tendency in the finished works to conform to the stereotype of the Noble Savage/Child of Nature, which Victorian society on both sides of the Atlantic required of finished works of art. Complemented by the myth of the vanishing race, such depiction affirmed the era's belief that an inability to adopt newcomers' culture doomed Natives. Few doubted that rails would supplant trails; coins and bills, beads, dentalia, and cockleshells.

Meanwhile, the image that nationalism assigns Kane routinely ignores the fact that, despite the generally negative portrait of the United States in *Wanderings*, the painter did not mind whether he encountered Native peoples and lifeways north or south of the young border. For at least a half-decade before sailing to Europe on 18 June 1841, Kane indulged in an affair of mediocrity by painting portraits and scenery and selling them in towns up and down the Mississippi.[16] It must have put him at home there. Although it remains unverified, the well-worn claim about his being indebted to George Catlin (1796-1872) for the idea of painting noble savages in the West (see Thacker) suggests a further USAmerican influence on him. Of the thirty-six

months away from Toronto in 1845-48, Kane spent more than one-third of them in the United States. Forty per cent of his art from the two trips and little less than forty per cent of the pages of *Wanderings* represent people and places encountered south of the line.

The nationalization of and nationalism engendered around Paul Kane are problematical. How does one foist a nationalist agenda on a politically indifferent, solitary and, later in life, reclusive person born in Ireland? How does one think of Kane particularly as a loyal Canadian when his commission in August 1851 of twelve oils-on-canvas for the Legislature of the Province of Canada was still not fulfilled five years later (Burpee xxxv-xxxviii)? Indeed, three of the dozen (or one-quarter of the pre-paid commission's £500 [Burpee xxxvii-xxxviii]) depicted subject matter from USAmerican stretches of the Columbia River—Mount Hood, and a scalp dance by "Spokan" people and a game called "Alcoloh" in *Wanderings*, both at Fort Colvile, now Colville, Washington ("List," nos. 3, 5, and 12; Harper, ed. 322, App. 6)?[17] Would not the legislators have preferred—even expected—all twelve canvases to depict British North America? What of the fact that thirty-two of the one hundred canvases delivered to his patron depicted either places or people encountered in the United States ("Catalogue," nos. 9, 10-15, and 62-86)?[18]

Little evidence survives to suggest that Kane was politically astute or inclined. Others, not he, assigned his creativity a political stripe, but, although in time it became a Canadian nationalist stripe, *Wanderings* is on the whole indifferent to Canada's interests and defensive of the HBC's.[19] Such details received scant attention in the subsequent fashioning of Kane as "a founding father of Canadian art," perhaps because, by extending to the Pacific Ocean, his continental traverse rivalled Alexander Mackenzie's. Moreover, like Mackenzie but unlike most others, he was one of the first travellers to end *not* on the Columbia River at Fort Vancouver (now Vancouver, Washington, the HBC's former entrepot on the Pacific) but in British territory at Fort Victoria (established in 1843 at Camosun on Vancouver Island). His sojourn and book could be seen as uniting all British colonies in central and western North America.

The long process of rendering Kane a person of national stature entailed linking him to developments in his own lifetime as well as subsequently. In 1852, his "illustrations of Indian life and manners" had been excluded from consideration at the Provincial Exhibition because the judges found them ineligible as "historical painting . . . the highest branch of the art." Hope was

expressed, however, "upon a future occasion, that the spirit stirring incidents of the last war [i.e., War of 1812-14], or the great events which have marked the social progress and constitutional history of the country, [would find] their fitting expositor" in him (Hind, "Provincial" 60-61). Instead, Kane's eight paintings depicting Native lifeways won the prizes in the professional category for *Canadian* landscapes and for depictions of animals (Lister, "Paul Kane's" 208-09). But by mid-decade, his work had attained prominence as expansionism took hold: it was prominently featured in the Canada exhibit at the *Exposition universelle*, held in Paris from 15 May to 15 November 1855. There, it proved able to shoulder a fledgling national pride.

Beginning in 1858, the intimate relationship between the two discourses—the vanishing Red Man and the westward expansion of Canada—becomes discernible in the reception of the apolitical artist. In July, *The Canadian Journal* announced that Kane had "effected very satisfactory arrangements with the eminent London publishers, Messrs. Longman & Co., for the issue of a work prepared from his notes, to be entitled: 'Rambles of an Artist among the Indian Tribes of British America.'" Thereafter, the announcement characterizes the forthcoming publication as "interesting and truly Canadian," promises that the book will comprehend the British parts of the North-West including "the Gold regions of Frazer's River," and concludes that "it is not easy to conceive of a more timely publication, or one likely to do more credit to Canada" ("Miscellaneous" 365).

On 8 January 1859, about six weeks before the book's publication, Kane's patron George William Allan (1822-1901) remarked in his presidential address to the Canadian Institute that during a trip to Europe and England he had "lately had the pleasure of seeing some of the chromo-lithographic drawings taken from these [Kane's] sketches, and intended to illustrate the letter-press of his work." Allan anticipated a "book [that] will be hailed by both the Canadian and English public, as a most timely addition to the scanty knowledge we as yet possess of a quarter of North America which is now beginning to awaken so much interest in the minds of all" (93).

A posthumous statement kept alive the emphasis not on the romantic wanderer but on the national symbol. Appearing in the *Canadian Illustrated News* in October 1871, the anonymous obituary calls Kane a "native Canadian" artist "born at Toronto" of unimpeachable pedigree—the son of "a retired English officer, and . . . a Dublin lady of good family." A claim is even registered that Kane was honoured abroad before ever going west: "[w]hile in Rome a medal was conferred on him by Pope Gregory the sixteenth, bearing the

coat of arms of His Holiness" ("Late"). It goes on from this stretcher to quote "from a New York paper," Frederick Swartwout Cozzens (1818-69), whom it identifies as one "who knew Mr. Kane and appreciated his talents." Cozzens upbraids the Canadian government for letting a "private gentleman" outbid it for "the whole series" of Kane's oil paintings, "which should have been secured by them as the germ of a characteristic national collection." In Cozzens' view, Kane's works constituted a "national" treasure because they were "remarkable records of the races whose extinction is . . . inevitable" ("Late"). The receding Natives make way for the advance of a new native, a native Canadian, whose "native village" is Little York, bearing the ambitions of a new nation; racial succession and geopolitical expansion work hand in glove; the "native" Canadian becomes the vehicle to advance both.

The link between westward expansionism, the vanishing Indian, and, on behalf of his fellow Canadians, a national personage's amassing of verbal and pictorial "monuments" can be found in other post-Confederation sources. In May 1871, three months after Kane's death and ten months after the effective date (15 July 1870) when the transfer of the North-West to Canada from the Hudson's Bay Company established Manitoba, *The Canadian Journal* published another obituary.[20] In it, Sir Daniel Wilson (1816-92)[21] suggestively reconstituted Kane in the interests of English-Canada's expansionism. First, like the schedule of the census of 1871 listing his death, which gives his country or province of birth as "O," presumably for Ontario (Canada), Wilson's title identifies him pre-eminently as "the Canadian Artist."[22] Wilson resituates Kane's father from military service in Ireland to early Upper Canada, where he is numbered among the "small force which accompanied Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe, when he removed to the selected site of the future capital of Western Canada in 1794" ("Paul" 66).[23] Thereafter, Wilson praises Kane for depicting new subject matter, "the artless rudeness of savage life" (66).

An archeologist and anthropologist, Wilson used Kane's work in order to show how North America was witnessing the improvement of the "*Genus Homo*," generally. In his view, native peoples' dispossession or *displacement*—a comparatively anodyne term—was natural and logical ("Displacement" 4). Such a view *appeared* to align with but ended by challenging the mid-century belief—known today as scientific racism—that humans could be categorized by race and that the categories formed a hierarchy, with the peoples of northern Europe at the top. Wilson challenged the more widely accepted belief because he viewed displacement as a mechanism of monogenesis (originally and ultimately, a blending of peoples) rather than a retention of

distinctions among "races."[24] Canada as a young nation in the New World was poised to develop a variation of the British nation, which itself had evolved through displacement. Despite being a life-long monogenist, he used his "anthropological studies to justify colonization as a biological struggle that inevitably entailed the disappearance of native or 'inferior' races because European colonists could turn the wilderness to better account" (Zeller 260). This view was also articulated in the then-current myth of progress, which reasoned that rapid change was positive and desirable (Fallis 173). Only a change being rung on an old leitmotif, it permitted Wilson to see and ennoble his friend Kane as an innocent agent and valued recorder of an ineluctable process.

By the last decade of the nineteenth century, the Toronto *Globe* hailed the performances of the part-Mohawk poet E. Pauline Johnson (Tekahionwake; 1861-1913) by putting paid to Natives: "The race that has gone speaks with touching pathos through Miss Johnson" ("Canadian"; qtd. in Francis 119). In the same year, his last, Wilson cited an anecdote related to him by Kane—the willingness of Indians to deliver Hudson's Bay Company mail—as a sure sign of the gradual disappearance of inter-tribal enmity and the advent of civilization (*Lost Atlantis* 312), the postman being the singular agent of the state/monopoly—assigned thoroughfare in both domestic and public spheres.

In light of this understanding, *Wanderings of an Artist* and Kane's finished paintings themselves became monuments to a past age, which endued expansionism with a priceless historical dimension. This was the sort of discursive manoeuvre that settler cultures invariably crave in order to assuage perturbations that displacing others can prompt. Near century's end, Kane was firmly fixed as a native Canadian, "born" in Toronto, authoritative because of unimpeachable national lineage. An early history of the city after Confederation claimed as much and lionized him as an intrepid adventurer (Mulvaney et al., 2: second and sixth unnumbered pages after 175). In an early twentieth-century national publishing project, Kane numbered "[a]mong those who have in no small degree given a national cast to their work" (Johnston 596). In 1920, the Geographic Board of Canada adopted a suggestion by Alpine Club of Canada co-founder Arthur O. Wheeler to name a 3090-meter (10,138-foot) mountain, a glacier, a creek, and an alpine meadow for Kane on the transmontane fur trade route by then preserved in Jasper (after 1930, Jasper National) Park, where he had "wandered" in 1846 and 1847.

Kane had grown into a Canadian *par excellence*. Even when, in 1925, introducing the first Canadian edition of *Wanderings* in the short-lived

Master-Works of Canadian Authors series (Garvin, ed.), Lawrence Burpee disabused his reader of the fiction that the artist's birthplace had been Canada, he discounted his finding: "[a]part from the mere fact of birth . . . Paul Kane was a Canadian" (xi-xii).[25] In 1937, he was named a National Historic Person (one of fewer than 650) (Parks). In the midst of his nationalist phase, Al Purdy referred to his work in 1951 as "a native art," the answer to the question "If one should ask, 'What is Canadian art?'" A high school in St Albert, Alberta, and a park in Edmonton were named for him in the 1970s. At the beginning of that decade, on 11 August 1971, a seven-cent stamp was issued to commemorate the centennial of his death. It reproduced one of two versions of his painting entitled *Indian Encampment on Lake Huron*. (That the choice of painting depicts not the North-West but central Canada unsurprisingly fixes Kane in Ontario, the baseland of Canadian nationalism because the birthplace of Canadian expansionism.) In a note issued with the stamp, the Philatelic Service of Canada Post identified Ireland as Kane's natal country, but described his paintings' "subject matter and scenes" as "completely Canadian" (Canada Post). The next year saw the National Film Board issue a short documentary about his work (Budner). When interviewed at century's end for another film, one narrated by Tantoo Cardinal, several Native people spoke of the contribution that Kane's work had made to knowledge of their history (Bessai). The bicentenary of his birth was commemorated in the fall of 2010 when the Royal Ontario Museum issued a book featuring its extensive collection of his art (Lister, *Paul*). What could possibly unseat him from his well ensconced place in the pantheon of famous early Canadians? Unless First Nations come to form the centre of a Canadian identity, the process of making Kane into a symbol of nationalism, like the rendering of him in *Wanderings* as a mid-Victorian gentleman with no USAmerican connections, will abide.

NOTES

1 Because it was impossible for a party to win an election by taking seats only in Canada East or Canada West, Macdonald understood that championing a cause that was anathema in the former would stunt his political career in both.

In her extensive research into newspapers and the appendices of the *Journal of the Province of Canada* (*Programme* [3]), Anna Margaret Wright noted many years ago that 1857 and 1858 marked the acme of interest in western expansion, that the interest was eclipsed by concerns over the Civil War, and that it did not recur and match its previous height at any point in the 1860s (Wright 260-61).

2 See Owram 24-26 for a distillation of the views of non-Roman Catholic missionaries. Owram notes in particular that the "very dialectic which the missionaries perceived between the Indians' way of life and their spiritual and material condition . . . contained an inherent criticism of the Hudson's Bay Company" (26).

3 At least from the early seventeenth century onward, *interlope* referred to unauthorized trading within the sphere of action of a chartered company, or trading without a licence. See online *OED*, "interlope, v." def. 1.

4 Bulwer-Lytton served as colonial secretary from 5 June 1858 to 11 June 1859, during the second of three different Conservative governments led by the 14th Earl of Derby, Edward George Geoffrey Smith Stanley. Extending from 21 February 1858 to 11 June 1859, this administration was governing when *Wanderings* appeared, and the Indian Rebellion had prompted its India Act of 1858. Pursuant to its terms, the East India Company was made defunct, the company's trade monopolies were brought to an end, and Britain assumed from the company the direct government of India. This development surely had a bearing on, by contrast to Labouchère's, Bulwer-Lytton's hard line toward the HBC.

Bulwer-Lytton's change of policy served to propel any settlement of the impasses between the HBC and Britain and the HBC and Canada from the jury of public opinion—cultivable land was needed and was available, and others could better civilize Indians than the HBC's track record proved the company could—to the court of the Privy Council. Of paramount importance for Bulwer-Lytton was a ruling on the legitimacy of the company's charter and on the determination of the boundary between Canada and the HBC's territory. By opposing the company, however, he achieved only another impasse after Sir Edmund Walker Head, governor general of Canada from 1847 to 1861, held to the decision that, although Canada wanted the legitimacy of the HBC's charter and the boundary claim tested by the Privy Council, the case should be argued by the parent country, not by the province (Galbraith 330-34).

5 In consideration of the outdatedness of *Wanderings* by 1859 in terms of USAmerican events, one must also note the Indian Wars of the 1850s in the Pacific Northwest, including those involving peoples in Puget Sound (Nisqually, Muckleshoot, Puyallup, and Klickitat), as well as Kaiuse, Yakima, Snake, Spokane, Coeur d'Alene, and Paluse, all peoples whom Kane met and sketched in 1846 and 1847. See Vandervort.

6 Twenty-one shillings for an illustrated cloth-bound octavo edition was a high but not excessive price. In the same month (February 1859), William Blackwood and Sons was selling the three-octavo-volume first edition of George Eliot's novel, *Adam Bede*, for 1*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.* ("3 vols."). For much more—sixty-three shillings—Longman was advertising the imperial folio edition of *Scenes from the Snow-Fields*, by Edmund Thomas Coleman, founder the year before of the Alpine Club ("Just . . . Snow-Fields"). The same firm was selling for much less—7*s.* 6*d.*—the first edition of Edward Copping's octavo, *Aspects of Paris* ("Just . . . Paris"). Nine months later, on 26 November, John Murray advertised the publication of the octavo edition of Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* for fourteen shillings ("This Day"). With its five-thousandth copy printed by March 1860 ("Mr. Darwin's"), it was being eclipsed by another octavo, explorer Francis Leopold M'Clintock's *Discovery of the Fate of Sir John Franklin and his Companions*. Issued by Murray at sixteen shillings two weeks after *Origin* ("Just ready"), it had sold twelve-thousand copies ("Capt.").

7 Its appearance in *The Critic* anticipated by a few days the entry in *Notes on Books*, Longman's in-house quarterly ("Literary Intelligence" 251).

8 See, for example, "Notes," the earliest advertised mention of the book, and "Shortly."

9 The fact that, in an age dominated by piracy, no edition appeared in the United

States suggests a reception of *Wanderings* as a peculiarly British North American text (*Bibliography*).

10 Paul Kane, Field Notes, 11 Oct. 1846; qtd. in MacLaren, "'I came'": 32. A discussion of the relationship of Kane's field writings to *Wanderings* is offered in MacLaren, "Notes" 190-203.

11 For precursors, see, for example, Steedman, who also published with Longman. Notable is Kohl's *Kitschi-Gami:* appearing first in German in 1859, it was issued as *Kitchi-Gami: Wanderings round Lake Superior* the next year. In the title of the 1861 French edition of *Wanderings* (*Indiens*), *promenades* tends to signify more pleasure than challenge. It also precludes the randomness both that the word *wanderings* can imply and that the book's prefatory attestation—"I strayed almost alone" (ix)—promotes.

12 A discussion of this rite is provided in MacLaren, "Caledonian."

13 Like the puff writer at Longman, Owram exaggerates the idea of a wilderness West that *Wanderings* cultivates. Generally, he holds that *Wanderings* and Simpson's *Narrative* "described violent clashes with or between Indians" (15). Apparently, he reads an 1859 publication in terms of the years—the mid-1840s—that its narrative covers, so he identifies the book's mention of the pathless wilderness as dominant. However, like an article published under Kane's name in 1856, *Wanderings* notes that the Scottish and Orcadians at Red River "live as farmers, in great plenty so far as mere food and clothing are concerned" (75; Kane, "Notes" 128).

14 This phrasing, like Kane's "light heart," is likely indebted to the introduction to George Catlin's book, *Letters and Notes* (1841): "I started out in the year 1832, and penetrated the vast and pathless wilds which are familiarly denominated the great 'Far West' of the North American Continent, with a light heart, inspired with an enthusiastic hope and reliance that I could [record] an interesting race of people, who are rapidly passing away from the face of the earth . . ." (3).

15 A prominent example is the chapter-ending purple patch that concludes Kane's account of Red River. It impugns USAmerican policies on alcohol while extolling the HBC's (98).

16 In September 1839, a St Louis newspaper announced that "Mr. Kane, an artist of considerable attainment and a young man of much worth, has two fancy sketches, one of a family of emigrants encamped by a stream, the other a dog fight, both really beautiful paintings . . . [W]e advise all who wish for a handsome parlour ornament to call and look at the pictures" (*Missouri*).

17 Since 1955, the National Gallery of Canada has owned these paintings (accession nos. 6918, 103, and 60; Harper, ed. IV-431, IV-329, and IV-321 [299, 294]). They are versions of the originals owned by George William Allan, held by the Royal Ontario Museum since 1912 (accession nos. 912.1.99, 912.1.66, and 912.1.65; Harper, ed. IV-430, IV-328, and IV-320 [299, 294]).

18 Apparently, Kane made no effort to publish a book anywhere else, any sooner, or with any other publisher. Publication of the book in Britain should not be inferred as being symbolically significant: copyright laws confined British North American 'publishers' almost entirely to the role of distributors of foreign publications. See Eli MacLaren, and note 9, above.

19 In his political perspective, was Kane, as Harper argues (*Paul Kane's* 39), merely following in the footsteps of a resolutely British fur trade magnate, Sir George Simpson, and his ghost-written *Narrative*, published in 1847? Arthur S. Morton notes the roles played in the preparation and edition of Simpson's book by Archibald Barclay, Simpson's secretary, and Adam Thom, former editor of the *Montreal Herald* 1836-38, largest contributor to Lord Durham's *Report*, and, later, first judicial recorder in the Red River settlement (233-34). For a discussion of Simpson's book, see MacLaren, "Touring."

20 The volume containing all the issues printed in that year bears the date 1873.

21 "Canada's First Anthropologist" (Trigger 3), Wilson was a professor of archaeology who emigrated from Edinburgh in 1853 to take up the chair of history and English literature at University College, Toronto. He grew particularly interested in Kane's works and used Kane's collection and anecdotes in his own works, including *Prehistoric Man*, his *magnum opus*, which went through three editions. Wilson "grew especially fond of Kane and of his patron" (Berger 1110). Because the professor ordered his wife to burn all his papers at the time of his death, a firm working relationship between him and Kane cannot be established.

22 This fiction, one that his wife apparently never corrected either, appeared in print more than once in the years following Kane's travels. Not only, as we have seen, was he dubbed "the first native artist in Canada" in 1852, but also Henry Morley, presumably following the reference to York as Kane's "native village" in the book's preface, declared in his March 1859 review of *Wanderings* that Kane "was born in the City of Toronto" (385).

23 Of course, when he mentions the future capital, Wilson means York.

24 Likely, Wilson was again referring to absorption when he spoke about an "ethnological problem" in August 1857 at the conference of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in Montreal. According to one report, Wilson "dwelt on Mr. Kane's descriptions of the Half Breeds, a race combining the Saxon and Red Indian elements and whose probable extinction is now an ethnological problem" ("Sub Section"). Kane accompanied Wilson to Montreal.

25 Although at least one British periodical identified Kane as "an American artist who … has devoted his life to an American purpose" (Review 14), it is clear from the context that the designation "American" was meant to be geographical, not geopolitical.

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John Barton

A Green Man

"And quick he runs through my dreams, quick and grieving…"
—Douglas LePan

His back turned away, head weighting untried hands
He stumbles into the empty clearing unseen

The frieze of undergrowth he's skidded through dense and endless, lean
Torso shorn by low-waisted brambles and trailing bands
Of nettles shackled to the forest floor between stands
Of hickory and oak, his heart a gold finch his trellised ribs preen
His back turned away

From anyone who's stripped him of his undershirt, the callow demands
Of his sylvan flesh unmet by tenderness, the routine
Silent ardor of the boreal stumping him, the sheen
Of his skin brackish, blistering as each arrowhead of poison ivy lands

His back turned away.

Michele Holmgren

"Ireland and England will be too little for me"

The Canadian Letters of Lord Edward Fitzgerald in Thomas Moore's *The Life and Death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald*

If Thomas Moore was the most famous poet to visit Canada in the early nineteenth century (Bentley 2), then Lord Edward Fitzgerald (1763-98) was probably the most notorious Irish visitor to Canada in the eighteenth. Moore, after publishing a successful two-volume biography of Lord Byron in 1830-31, became Fitzgerald's official biographer, publishing *The Life and Death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald* in 1831. (Byron himself had suggested that Fitzgerald's life "would make an excellent novel") (Kelly 485). Fitzgerald's death in 1798 in a Dublin prison after leading a failed rebellion ensured his status in Ireland as "a toweringly romantic figure in Irish history . . . [who] takes his place indisputably in the hagiography of Irish nationalism and republicanism" (Gahan 85). Surprisingly, he began life as a relatively privileged member of the Anglo-Irish ascendancy: the fifth son of the first Duke of Leinster, and an indirect descendant of Charles II through Louise de Kerouaille (Tillyard xx). He ended it as one of the most prominent conspirators during the United Irish rebellion of 1798. (Incidentally, the years of unrest in Ireland and France preceding the rebellion prompted another famous Irish visitor, Isaac Weld, to consider North America as a refuge, resulting in the journey that he described in his *Travels Through the States of North America and the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada During the Years 1795, 1796 and 1797* (1799) (1: iii). Because of his own unique experience in Canada, his indirect links to two such prominent and influential Irish visitors as Moore and Weld, and the light he casts on early Canadian writing, Fitzgerald's letters should be better known.

Moore stopped in North America on the way to and from a government post as registrar in Bermuda in 1803 to 1804. He had left Ireland in the shadow of another ill-fated rebellion led by his acquaintance Robert Emmet, a United Irish supporter, in July of that year (see Kelly 90-92). Two decades later, while finishing his biography of another Romantic figure, Lord Byron, Moore was given access to family papers of Fitzgerald, whose plans to lead a military insurrection were cut short when he was shot and taken prisoner on May 19, 1798, just before May 23, the date of the planned rising. He died of his injuries on June 4, 1798. The trove given to Moore included letters that Fitzgerald had written to his family during his two trips to North America as a very young man, the first as an officer on active service during the American War of Independence, and then later as the major of a garrison stationed in Fredericton (Kelly 473). With the support of the family, Moore embarked upon a life of Fitzgerald in the style of his successful biography of Byron: "a clear limber prose [that] threaded together long quotations from the rebel's letters" (Kelly 485). A significant portion of the biography's first volume is given over to a selection of letters from Fitzgerald's Canadian travels. The biography includes Fitzgerald's accounts of garrison and settler life, as well as of his travels with Aboriginal hunting parties, and his meeting with two important actors in Canadian and American history, the Mohawk leaders Joseph Brant (Thayendanegea) and David Hill (Karonghyontye).

If his subsequent role in Irish history had not overshadowed them, Fitzgerald's Canadian experiences might have earned him a greater place in the annals of travel and exploration in early North America. During his second visit, he landed at Halifax, and then travelled on horseback to St. John, New Brunswick, to join the 54th regiment before the regiment moved to take up a post at Fredericton (Gahan 87). While a major in this regiment, he, his African American servant Tony, and three woodsmen travelled on snowshoes to Quebec along a route never taken before by Europeans (Moore, *Life* 66). On leave, he used his freedom to visit Montreal and Niagara Falls, which he described in a letter only slightly less effusive than one Moore wrote after his own visit (Kelly 122). There he joined Brant and other Mohawk, and with them travelled by canoe through Ontario to Detroit, and from Detroit to Michilimackinac, and from there to the Mississippi, and eventually to New Orleans. After a brief stay in New Orleans, he left for England in January 1790 (Gahan 87). His travels, which "amounted to a circuit of the newly-independent United States," preceded by

at least one trailblazing exploration in Upper Canada, "was an extraordinary one by any measure" (Gahan 87).

As both a historical figure and an observer of Canadian society at a time of great change, Fitzgerald's example not only illustrates the "Pan-Atlantic character" of the United Irish history (Gahan 86), but also the necessity of considering his letters and other early Canadian writing in their proper international context. Moore was one of the earliest writers to note the importance of Fitzgerald's Canadian experience, claiming that it was not Fitzgerald's witnessing of the American Revolution as a young British officer, but the later "romance . . . of savage happiness" that "retained its footing in his mind. . . . [A]ll he had meditated and felt among the solitudes of Nova Scotia could not fail to render his mind a more ready recipient for such doctrines as he found prevalent on his return to Europe" (Moore, *Life* 55). Historians and literary critics are still debating the truth of Moore's observations in the light of postcolonial interest in the extent to which early Irish nationalists' ideas were shaped by their reactions to Aboriginal cultures in the New World (King, "A Stranger to Our Sympathy" 82).[1] However, within the context of Moore's biography, Fitzgerald's positive impressions are of a piece with the Romantic persona that he embodied in the nineteenth century and that was emphasized in Moore's book: the sensitive, great-souled figure pushed to the exigencies of rebellion by contemplation of what a later Irish Canadian poet would call "Erin's woes" (Kidd, *The Huron Chief, and Other Poems* 153). Jason King has noted how widely varied were the responses of individual United Irish members to the plight of oppressed cultures other than Ireland, and suggests that Fitzgerald's particular affinity with the Aboriginal people that he meets was instead part of a "wider communal outlook" of Romantic attitudes in the late-eighteenth and nineteenth century ("A Stranger to Our Sympathy" 83). As an inspiration for United Irish members, the narrative, like other contemporary accounts of Aboriginal life, could indeed present "a journey back in time to bear witness to the origins of natural rights" that provided "radical thinkers in the West [with] an image of 'natural liberty,'" and which Luke Gibbons argues influenced a number of United Irish figures who also advocated against slavery and against the dispossession of American Aboriginal nations (53). However, this interest in and idealization of "primitive" cultures was inspired by the antiquarian revivals in Ireland, as well as by Rousseau, and by much pre-Romantic and Romantic literature. The fact that Irish writers such as Adam Kidd and Moore repudiated violent rebellion while still sympathizing greatly with the United Irish movement as

well as with the plight of Aboriginal peoples suggests that the desire to acknowledge the distinctive culture and rights of Irish and Aboriginal peoples may have roots in a common Romantic source, as a number of critics in addition to King have demonstrated.[2] Fitzgerald's reactions to Canadian life continued to receive appreciation and sympathy in nineteenth-century Canada, even as the philosophy and violence of the uprising he led was repudiated.

When it was published, Moore's biography was the only way that people in Canada (as well as England, Ireland, and America) could read Fitzgerald's letters, and it is still the most accessible form for modern readers, especially since for nearly a century it was believed that the originals of many of the letters had been lost.[3] While Moore's and Weld's impressions of early Canadian society have been discussed by scholars of early Canadian literature, Fitzgerald's account of his time in North America remains relatively obscure, even though his detailed, engaging, albeit highly romanticized portraits of both settler and Aboriginal life are highly readable. If Fitzgerald's Canadian experience partly shaped subsequent Irish history, then it also shaped, both directly and indirectly, the literary construction of Canadian national identity in the nineteenth century. The tendency for many writers, including Moore, to present Canada as a middle ground, or "demi-paradise," (Bentley, "Isaac Weld" 225) located somewhere between revolutionary France and America and the aristocratic estates of Great Britain was partly a reaction to the United Irish uprising in 1798 (King, "The Peaceable Kingdom" 40). Writers in the 1830s such as Standish O'Grady Bennett and William "Tiger" Dunlop were making direct links between the uprisings of 1837 and 1838 and the earlier Irish uprising. Dunlop, for instance, led a militia against the rebels in 1837. While he thought Fitzgerald would be a congenial companion in a hunting-party, he nevertheless deplores the rebel's "mere impulse of the passions" that led to his "plunging his country into blood and disorder" (52). Jason King notes how Romantic writing in Canada in the nineteenth century shows counter-revolutionary sentiments "in constant tension with more subversive, revolutionary currents of the Irish diasporic imagination" ("Prefiguring the Peaceable Kingdom" 44). In many ways, Fitzgerald's letters cast light on the complex allegiances of many writers and particularly Moore and Kidd, just as the bloody aftermath of the Irish rebellions created the ambivalence about Irish-English relationships shown in these poets' works.

Fitzgerald's letters also offer another variation on themes that reoccur in early Canadian literature. His rosy views of settler life anticipate the idyllic fantasies of Moore's portrait of Upper Canada in "Ballad Stanzas"

and Isabella Valancy Crawford's in *Malcolm's Katie*. In addition, the visit of a significant actor in Irish history was used by subsequent writers to create a sense of "local color" and regional history in their own work. His visit was mentioned by the Scottish explorer and writer Patrick Campbell (81) and of course by Dunlop, whose accounts written under the pen name "Backwoodsman" certainly encouraged emigrants to come to Canada. Dunlop alludes to Moore's biography while composing his own work, *Statistical Sketches of Upper Canada, for the Use of Emigrants: By a Backwoodsman*: "It is only since writing the above, that I fell in with the first volume of Moore's Life of Lord Edward Fitzgerald; and I cannot describe the pleasure I received from reading his vivid, spirited, and accurate description of the feelings he experienced on first taking on him the life of a hunter" (51). Dunlop, incidentally, is another writer who notes how an immersion in the Canadian landscape and Aboriginal ways of life may have altered Fitzgerald's outlook irrevocably, with implications for both Ireland and Canada: "No man who associates with and follows pursuits of the Indian, for any length of time, ever voluntarily returns to civilized society" (51).

While both Moore and Fitzgerald had been greatly affected by their visits to the New World within less than twenty years of each other, they could not exactly be considered fellow travellers. Moore is remarkably silent on the fact that he and Fitzgerald covered much of the same ground in their travels, and "made little of the coincidence" in the biography (Kelly 485). Fitzgerald's positive impressions of the freedom and simplicity of settler and Aboriginal life in North America (Gahan 90) contrasted with Moore's, whose newly gained position as a British civil servant made him shift to a deeply anti-republican position in regards to the United States (Kelly 97).[4] Moore's idealistic portrait of British-ruled Upper Canada reflect his commitment to what Jeffery Vail called "a middle path, that of the moderate liberal" (59), taken after espousing much more radical ideas as a student at Trinity (he claimed to have kept company with Robert Emmet and other United Irish sympathizers).[5] In his Preface to *Epistles, Odes and Other Poems* (1806), Moore claimed that he "went to America with prepossessions by no means unfavourable," and "indulged in many of those illusive ideas, with respect to the purity of the government and the primitive happiness of the people, which I had early imbibed in my native country" (*Poetical Works* 94). His United Irish leanings had taught him to view America as the "elysian Atlantis, where persecuted patriots might find their visions realised and be welcomed by kindred spirits to liberty and repose" (*Poetical Works* 94). In

the wake of a violent uprising that over a few short months caused perhaps 30,000 deaths (Vail 42) and the execution of Moore's acquaintance Emmet, Moore seemed to "shrink back" from the more radical leanings of his recent youth (Kelly 101-02). At the same time, Moore's own meeting with members of the Oneida Nation in New York State caused him to comment on the politics affecting them in greater detail than Fitzgerald's letters had. Moore complained, "The government of America are [sic] continually deceiving them into a surrender of the lands they occupy, and are driving them back into the woods farther and farther, till at length they will have no retreat but the ocean" (qtd. in Kelly 119). However, Ronan Kelly notes that the sympathy Moore expressed for America's Aboriginal peoples and African slaves was mostly superficial, employed primarily to attack the Jefferson government's politics (114-19).

Fitzgerald probably never intended his letters to be read beyond the circle of his family and friends (Gahan 88), even though Moore noted that his accounts of Canadian settler life, "detailed with such natural eloquence . . . affords one of those instances where a writer may be said to be a poet without knowing it" (Moore, *Life* 43). Nevertheless, his accounts could still be viewed in part as an "incremental text" (Warkentin x) that became a travel narrative after they were selected and heavily edited by Moore. Even though the letters' main function is "to make contact rather than inform" (Gahan 88), in Moore's biography, they are shaped into a loose narrative. To cover Fitzgerald's second visit to North America, Moore reproduced eighteen selections from Fitzgerald's letters, written mostly to his mother and William Ogilvie, his former tutor and then stepfather, from his arrival in Halifax on 21 June 1788 until his departure from New Orleans in January 1790. As literary documents, Fitzgerald's letters share with Irish and Canadian autobiographies the portrait of a complex relationship between individual and national circumstances; life writing can not only be used to generalize about national identity but also to show how an individual narrative can subvert the determinism implicit in national narratives (Lynch 80-81). Fitzgerald in some ways represents a typical young man of his period and class (Gahan 89), and at the same time a distinct voice within the web of influence woven by history, nationalism, public life, and individual actors. His letters convey his preoccupations with his family and with the way that his status as a younger son frustrated his marriage prospects. He writes approvingly about the egalitarian society he sees in North America, and the opportunities it offers poor Irish emigrants, while at the same time trying to

profit from his own small estate in Kilrush and caring for his "poor tenants" (Moore, *Life* 65). He enthusiastically describes the apparently classless society of Aboriginal hunting parties while simultaneously negotiating his advancement in the military and trying to maintain his integrity as his brother the Duke of Leinster and his cousin Charles Fox attempt to cement his alliance in politics back home. For example, in a letter written to William Ogilvie, he hints at possible business proposals or plans to be carried out in Canada, while commenting on how Canadian events could affect his family: "Since I began this, the lieut.-governor of Quebec is dead. It is a place of £1600 a year, and I think would do well for Charles [Fitzgerald's brother]. The day before he died I was in treaty for his lieut.-colonelcy in the 44th regiment" (Moore, *Life* 73).

While Fitzgerald's portrait of early North American settler society is filtered through his particular circumstances of family relationships, nationality, class, politics, and military strategy, his letters also show the ways that Europeans' expectations of North America were already being shaped by writers on either side of the Atlantic. Moore himself notes that Fitzgerald's idealized portrait of both settler and Aboriginal communities "had been already, it is well known, arrived at, through all the mazes of ingenious reasoning, by Rousseau" (55). In style, they may be influenced by Fitzgerald's own reading, perhaps of other travel narratives, or more likely, picaresque and other travel-related fiction. It is clear from his letters that Fitzgerald was familiar with Frances Brooke's epistolary novel *The History of Emily Montague* (1769), one of the earliest novels concerned with emigration to Quebec. He saves himself the trouble of giving his mother extensive descriptions of the early spring landscape and climate around Quebec City in a letter dated 4 May 1789, where he writes, "The weather is charming,—no snow, every thing green:—but Emily Montague will tell you all that better than I can. Really, after our long winter, we *do* enjoy spring" (Moore, *Life* 74-75). There may also be a more poignant reason for his mentioning this particular novel, in which everyone is eventually happily married. Fitzgerald had fallen in love with his cousin Georgiana Lennox, but her family had higher ambitions for her than a union with a younger son, and Fitzgerald, humiliatingly, was barred from her family home, a situation that led him to accept the posting in Canada (Moore, *Life* 42). His wistful musings about "G * *" throughout his letters suggest that he hoped the narrative his letters shaped would have an equally happy ending. (It did not: Georgiana was married off while he was in North America).

Like a picaresque, Fitzgerald's letters provide social commentary as he moves between classes and cultures, offering descriptions of military and settler life, as well as Aboriginal life in both remote hunting camps and more established villages. Geographically and thematically, the story pieced together from the letters moves from the military and settler society that seemed most familiar to Fitzgerald, to the unfamiliar hierarchy and family relationships of the hunting parties deep in the Quebec woods.

The first letter that Moore writes to his mother on disembarking at Halifax intimates the physical, social, and psychological distances that he will travel, beginning in a town that, linguistically at least, resembles his home and shows family connections wrought through a chain of emigration that was already being constructed by the Irish in North America. At the same time, it hints at how the physical landscape may work upon both emigrant and visitor:

> "Halifax, June 24th, 1788.
>
> "DEAREST, DEAREST MOTHER, . . .
>
> "I can give you no account of the country yet, or the people. By what I hear, they are all Irish, at least in this town; the brogue is not in higher perfection in Kilkenny. . . . I am lodged at a Mr. Cornelius O'Brien's, who claims relationship; and I accept the relationship,—and his *horse*, for thirty miles up the country. I set out to-day. My regiment is at St. John's [sic], in New Brunswick . . . I go another road, which takes me round the bay. It is longer, and very bad, but by all accounts very wild and beautiful. I shall cross rivers and lakes of which one has no idea in England. I go down one river called Shubennacadee for thirty miles, which they tell me is so full of fish that you kill them with sticks. They say the banks of it are beautiful—all the finest wood and pasture, but quite in the state of nature. By all I hear, this will be a journey after my own heart. I long to hear from you. I love G* * more than ever. . . . (Moore, *Life* 42-43)

Even before Fitzgerald sees it for himself, he hears reports of a "wild and beautiful" land whose extravagant fecundity predictably suggests an Edenic destination for the Irish emigrants Fitzgerald has described. He admits that his proposed trip is "a journey after my own heart," rather than one taken for strategic or economic purposes, which suggests that his perception of the landscape corresponds to the highly personal, unrestrained emotionality that he shows in his letters to his mother, in which he permits himself to assert that he loves Georgiana in spite of the civilized rules governing wealth and succession that forbid his acting on this expression.

The next letter in Moore's selection reinforces the idea of a place that, if not an Eden, is a landscape similar to the Huron traditional lands described by the emigrant poet Adam Kidd, who in *The Huron Chief* imagines them as "a type of that pure sanctu'ry / Where first repenting, man had trod" (634-35).

It also introduces motifs taken up by later Irish emigrant writers such as the Nova Scotian Oliver Goldsmith and Isabella Valancy Crawford, who see in the rich and limitless woods and fertile lands the possibility for a more egalitarian society than that found on the estates of England and Ireland. In this letter from St. John, New Brunswick, July 18, he notes being plagued by millions of "musquitos," but apart from that inconvenience seems taken with the landscape and its inhabitants, both in a "state of nature" (Moore, *Life* 43). He claims, "The equality of every body and of their manner of life I like very much. There are no gentlemen; every body is on a footing, provided he works and wants nothing" (Moore, *Life* 44). He recounts meeting Irish settlers "who came out not worth a shilling, and have all now farms, worth (according to the value of money in this country) from £1000 to £3000" (Moore, *Life* 43). To illustrate the possibilities for all classes of emigrants, whether Irish, American, or the newly displaced loyalists, he tells his mother of one encounter with an elderly settler couple:[6]

> . . . Conceive, dearest mother, arriving about twelve o'clock in a hot day at a little cabin upon the side of a rapid river, the banks all covered with woods, not a house in sight . . . The contrast of all this, which had passed during the day, with the quietness of the evening . . . sitting quietly at the door, on the same spot they had lived in thirty years together, the contented thoughtfulness of their countenances, which was increased by their age and the solitary life they had led, the wild quietness of the place, not a living creature or habitation to be seen, and me, Tony, and our guide sitting with them, all on one log. The difference of the scene I had left,—the immense way I had to get from this corner of the world, to see any thing I loved,—the difference of the life I should lead from that of this old pair . . . I own I often think how happy I could be with G * * in some of the spots I see; and envied every young farmer I met, whom I saw sitting down with a young wife, whom he was going to work to maintain. . . . (Moore, *Life* 43-45)

This lengthy letter anticipates Moore's own "Ballad Stanzas" (1802),[7] where he comes upon a solitary cabin at noon, and imagines himself as part of a similarly blessed couple. It also looks forward to the success narratives that appear in emigrant manuals throughout the nineteenth century, and even anticipates the life of Crawford's Max and Katie in old age. As with other life writing, Fitzgerald's immediate reaction is informed by his assessment of his own present and future circumstances, possibly "discontented, disappointed, and miserable, wishing for power . . ." (Moore, *Life* 46).

Fitzgerald attributes this peace to freedom from the trappings of civilization, noting that "[t]he old settlers are almost as wild as the Indians" and furnished by nature with everything they require to be happy, even if

they have no money (Moore, *Life* 44). When he describes Aboriginal life to his family in a letter dated September 2 1788, he again measures happiness by natural affection and family relations, which he suggests are destroyed by the duties and requirements of civilization. He contrasts Aboriginal life to Irish aristocratic society, again using his family's experience to help them conceptualize a different set of societal attitudes and expectations:

> To bring things home to oneself, if *we* had been Indians, instead of its [sic] being my duty to be separated from all of you, it would, on the contrary, be my duty to be with you, to make you comfortable, and to hunt and fish for you: instead of Lord * *'s being violent against letting me marry G * *, he would be glad to give her to me, that I might maintain and feed her. There would be then . . . no devilish politics, no fashions, customs, duties, or appearances to the world, to interfere with one's happiness. Instead of being served and supported by servants, every thing here is done by one's relations—by the people one loves; and the mutual obligations you must be under increase your love for each other. To be sure, the poor ladies are obliged to cut a little wood and bring a little water. Now the dear Ciss and Mimi, instead of being with Mrs. Lynch, would be carrying wood and fetching water, while you, dear mother, you would be smoking your pipe. Ogilvie and us boys, after having brought in our game, would be lying about the fire, while our squaws were helping the ladies to cook, or taking care of our papouses [sic]: all this in a fine wood, beside some beautiful lake, which when you were tired of, you would in ten minutes, without any baggage, get into your canoes and off with you elsewhere. (Moore, *Life* 50-51)

Fitzgerald's account of Aboriginal life is a combination of anthropological details, some casual sexism, and romanticized fantasy. In spite of idealizing Aboriginal life, Fitzgerald does not necessarily oversimplify the society he observes, but sees a complex web of social organization based on obligation and family relationships. His portrait also intimates the complexities of his own identity. While Luke Gibbons has suggested that Fitzgerald's willingness to see Aboriginal people as possessing a complex society based on family ties, ancient custom and tradition has parallels with later sympathetic United Irish views of ancient Irish culture (73), his portrait of the life of the Aboriginal men with its combination of hunting and leisure appealed to many aristocratic travel writers in the eighteenth century (Liebersohn 1).

While fuelled by his discontent with his own society, his belief in the superior moral values held by Aboriginal people was reinforced by his first-hand experience of the charity of an Aboriginal hunting party[8] that his small exploration group "fell in" with on their way from Fredericton to Quebec (Moore, *Life* 66). He makes light of the event to his mother, possibly to reassure her that he was all right, since by other accounts his party was lost, starving

and near death, and had to be rescued (Gahan 89). During their time together, they hunted moose, and Fitzgerald increasingly seems to identify with his Aboriginal hosts in describing the perseverance required to track a moose through snow for five days: "An Indian never gives him up" (Moore, *Life* 68). Fitzgerald seems willing to give up the last shreds of an artificial civility as he contemplates the worth of conventional sentiment in the face of basic survival: he tells his mother that he pities the moose at bay, but has no problems later eating him: "In short, I forgot the animal, and only thought of my hunger and fatigue. We are beasts, dearest mother, I am sorry to say it" (Moore, *Life* 69). Nevertheless, in his account, the harshness of Canadian conditions do not correspond to a degeneration of fellow-feeling, but instead prompts the Aboriginal people to cherish communal values that Fitzgerald thinks should be emulated by Europeans. The lengthy letter he composed to his mother provides a moralistic narrative that once again reinforces the significant differences between European and Aboriginal society:

> "Quebec, March 14, 1789. . . .
>
> "You must know we came through a part of the country that had been always reckoned impassible. In short, instead of going a long way about, we determined to try and get straight through the woods, and see what kind of country it was. I believe I mentioned my party in a letter to Ogilvie before I left St. Anne's or Fredericktown: it was an officer of the regiment, Tony, and two woodsmen. . . . [A]fter making the river, we fell in with some savages, and travelled with them to Quebec; they were very kind to us, and said we were 'all one brother'—all 'one Indian.' They fed us the whole time we were with them. You would have laughed to have seen me carrying an old squaw's pack, which was so heavy I could hardly waddle under it. However, I was well paid whenever we stopped, for she always gave me the best bits, and most soup, and took as much care of me as if I had been her own son: in short, I was quite *l'enfant chéri*. We were quite sorry to part: the old lady and gentleman both kissed me very heartily. I gave the old lady one of Sophia's silver spoons, which pleased her very much.
>
> "When we got here, you may guess what figures we were: we had not shaved or washed during the journey; our blanket, coats, and trousers all worn out and pieced:—in short, we went to two or three houses and they would not let us in. There was one old lady, exactly the hostess in Gil Blas, *elle me prit la mesure du pied jusq'à la tête,* and told me there was one room, without a stove or bed, next a billiard room, which I might have if I pleased; and when I told her we were gentlemen, she very quietly said, 'I dare say you are,' and off she went. . . . We are quite curiosities here after our journey; some think we were mad to undertake it; some think we were lost; some will have it we were starved; in short, there are a thousand lies, but we are safe and well, enjoying rest and good eating most completely. One ought really to take these fillips now and then; they make one enjoy life a great deal more. . . . (Moore, *Life* 66-67)

Possibly as part of the letter's apparent intent to reassure his mother, Fitzgerald makes light of his ordeal and re-casts it as a picaresque in the manner of *Gil Blas*, which allows him to make satiric comments about both European and the nascent colony's social classes and expectations. Fitzgerald first portrays the welcome he gains from people who see themselves and his party as "kind," thus transforming strangers to kin in recognition that such kindness is essential to survival in a harsh environment. He then contrasts their actions to the manners shown by the supposed "civilization" he returns to, whose values include withholding shelter and food, based on his ragged appearance.

In his biography, Moore includes a report from a Mr. Hamilton Moore to the Duke of Richmond that reinforces the egalitarian aspects of an "arduous and dangerous undertaking. . . . [I]n such expeditions lord and servant are alike, for each must carry his own provisions" (*Life* 71). In Fitzgerald's narrative, the conditions of a journey "entirely through uninhabited woods, morasses and mountains, a route never before attempted, even by the Indians" (*Life* 71) requires entering uncharted social territory for an Irish aristocrat. The harshness of the journey, the letter implies, requires a different social system, in which each person contributes his or her own strength to ensure the survival of the group. When he meets his rescuers, Fitzgerald enters into the social system he has only observed in earlier letters to his mother. He carries not only his own, but also the pack of his Aboriginal "mother," and she in turn feeds and cherishes him, replacing the master-servant relationship he left behind in Fredericton with one couched in familial terms that increases each person's natural bond with the other. Like social class, racial and cultural barriers dissolve temporarily as mutual dependence makes everyone in the group "all one Indian." The token he leaves with his adopted family, a silver spoon from his sister, at first appears an absurd symbol of privilege to be introducing to this culture, but this gift from his sister perhaps allows Fitzgerald to incorporate the elderly couple into his family, as they have welcomed him into theirs.

Before leaving North America, Fitzgerald entered into a more official adoption through the agencies of a figure as instrumental to Canadian and Aboriginal history as Fitzgerald became to Irish history, and one who had as radical a view of cultural and racial relations as the United Irishmen. Like Fitzgerald, Joseph Brant first distinguished himself as a British officer and loyal ally, but became equally known for his ill-fated attempt to unite Aboriginal tribes to regain much of the power and influence that the Iroquois and other tribes lost at the close of the American war (Gahan 100). In many ways Brant seemed to illustrate a hierarchy based on merit rather than inherited privilege:

the Scottish traveller and writer Patrick Campbell described him as "a renowned warrior" who "is not of any royal or conspicuous progenitors, but by his ability in war, and political conduct in peace, has raised himself to the highest dignity of his nation, and his alliance and friendship is now courted by sovereign and foreign states" (qtd. in Kelsay 526).

Joseph Brant's British connections were as impressive as Fitzgerald's: he was friends with Fitzgerald's cousin, the Whig politician Charles Fox (Tillyard 106), and had made several trips to England to cement alliances with the British and also to seek compensation as a Loyalist for damage to property incurred in the recent war (Kelsay 390-92). His real dream was for the Iroquois to lead other Aboriginal nations in a pan-Indian confederation that would be considered an equal player in British and American policy after the American war, but unknown to him, the British had already made the decision to surrender Iroquois territories to the Americans. Brant dreamed of an Indian confederacy supporting the common good, imagined as "a dish with one spoon" (Kelsay 416) that was enriched by trade and military alliances with the British. Naturally, as a kinsman of an influential British politician, Fitzgerald was welcomed, possibly with lavish meals, tea on fine china served by servants (and African slaves), copious whiskey and Scottish reels, the type of hospitality Patrick Campbell wrote of in detail after he visited Brant (Kelsay 527). However, descriptions of indoor hospitality are significantly absent from Fitzgerald's letter to his mother from Fort Erie on June 1, 1789:

> "DEAREST MOTHER,
>
> "I am just come from the Falls of Niagara. . . . As I said before, to describe them would be impossible: . . . your own imagination must do it. The immense height and noise of the Falls, the spray that rises to the clouds. . . . Then, the greenness and tranquility of every thing about, the quiet of the immense forests around, compared with the violence of all that is close to the Falls,—but I will not go on, for I should never end.
>
> * * * *
>
> "I set out to-morrow for Detroit: I go with one of the Indian chiefs, Joseph Brant, he that was in England. We have taken very much to one another. I shall entertain you very much with his remarks on England, and the English, while he was there. Instead of crossing Lake Erie in a ship, I go in canoes up and down rivers. In crossing Lake Ontario, I was as sick as at sea,—so you may guess I prefer canoeing;—besides my friend Joseph always travels with company; and we shall go through a number of Indian villages. If you only stop an hour, they have a dance for you. They are delightful people; the ladies charming, and with manners that I like very much, they are so natural. Notwithstanding the life they lead, which would make most women rough and masculine, they are as soft, meek, and modest as the best brought up girls in England. At the same time, they

> are coquettes *au possible*. Consider the manners of Mimi in a poor *squaw* that has been carrying packs in the woods all her life. . . . I think often of you all in these wild woods:—they are better than rooms. Ireland and England will be too little for me when I go home. If I could carry my dearest mother about with me, I should be completely happy here. (Moore, *Life* 75-76)

Even before his official adoption by Brant's friend, the Mohawk chief David Hill, Fitzgerald notes how his time in Canada has changed his perceptions, as suggested by his recounting of the sublime scale of the Niagara Falls reinforced by its foil, the silent forests, that precedes the encounter with Brant. Fitzgerald continues to focus on the hospitality of Indian villages, rather than his time in Brant's mansion, which seems in keeping with his sense of freedom and possibilities represented by open, unconstrained imagery:[9] the freedom of the canoe, contrasted to the nauseous prison of a lake boat, the freedom of the woods, contrasted to the claustrophobia of rooms, including even the "little book room" (Moore, *Life* 76) at his mother's estate that he imagined returning to at the end of the letter. Even the relationships between the sexes seem more "natural" and unconstrained. In contrast to the stilted courtship and financial negotiations that governed aristocratic marriage contracts, he hints of more open sexual mores in his description of Aboriginal women, and, in a letter dated June 20, of a particular relationship he entered into while travelling with Brant: "*Entre nous*, I am in a little sorrow, as I am to part to-morrow with a fellow-traveller who has been very pleasant and taken great care of me:—*les plus courtes folies sont les meilleures*" (Moore, *Life* 76).[10] In the same letter, he links his personal adoption of a new perspective and mores with his official adoption by David Hill: "I have been adopted by one of the Nations, and am now a thorough Indian." Moore reproduces the letter that certifies Fitzgerald's adoption, essentially a tradition in which British officers and allies were made civil chiefs to facilitate trade and strategic connections (White xv):

> "David Hill's letter to Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Chief of the Bear Tribe.
>
> *"Waghgongh Sen non Pryer*
> *Ne nen Seghyrage ni i*
> *Ye Sayats Eghnidal*
> *Ethonayyere David Hill*
> *Karonghyontye*
> *Iyogh Saghnontyon*
> 21 June, 1789
>
> *I, David Hill, Chief of the Six Nations, give the name of* Eghnidal *to my friend Lord Edward Fitzgerald, for which I hope he will remember* me *as long as he lives.*
>
> "*The name belongs to the Bear Tribe.*" (Moore, *Life* 76)

According to Moore, Fitzgerald preserved this note commemorating his adoption to the end of his life (76). A hybrid document written in Mohawk and English, it could function as authentication in a form expected by a European, but also reflects an older oral and ceremonial history. Hill's willingness to provide a legal document probably reflects a more pragmatic and accurate view than Fitzgerald held of the "middle ground"[11] inhabited by Joseph Brant and the Aboriginal nations who were struggling to find a place in the new international political world, in which events in North America affected Britain, and British policy irrevocably changed the traditional way of life Fitzgerald admired during his sojourn with the hunting party.

The remainder of Fitzgerald's trip through America by canoe with his adopted brothers was lengthy and arduous, equalling the achievements made by more famous travel writers of the time (Gahan 87). The letters that survive are significant Irish historical documents, but are also very early examples of many of the themes that would resonate throughout nineteenth-century Canadian writing in poetry, fiction, emigrant guides and popular history. Importantly, Fitzgerald's writing, seen through the lens of Moore's biography, kept his presence alive in Canada well into the 1830s, and for some writers came to illustrate their ambivalence about violent rebellion, not to mention ambivalence about Irish and Canadian identity within a British-controlled territory. Moore, and even Kidd wrote about the United Irish rebellion as something firmly in Ireland's past, and emphasized Ireland's contributions to and rightful place within the British empire in the present (Kelly 484). Such ambivalence reflected a unique Irish sensibility existing in early Canadian writing that evolved into a later, more conservative support for the interests of settler societies, of which the Irish made up a significant part, over those of Aboriginal communities (Urschel 181). As the nineteenth century wore on, Irish Canadian writers such as Thomas D'arcy McGee and Nicholas Flood Davin advocated harmony between Irish and English settler cultures by creating "an essentially 'Anglo-Celtic" conception of Canada to which others had to assimilate" (Urschel 181-82). However, in the first decades of the nineteenth century, Fitzgerald's voice was part of a conversation during a time when what King called "a whole spectrum of Romantic aesthetic and political possibilities" for Ireland and the Irish in Canada was still open (King, "Prefiguring the Peaceable Kingdom" 39). Finally, Fitzgerald's letters, alternately lovelorn, naïve, satirical, witty, and consciously literary, would be, in their own right, interesting contributions to any anthology of early Canadian literature.

NOTES

1 Just as they differed widely on other New World subjects, including slavery, United Irish attitudes to Aboriginal people covered a range of attitudes, of which Jason King provides a useful overview. David Wilson, for instance, observes that United Irish responses featured "a complex combination of attraction and repulsion," and that "the leading United Irishmen in America believed they were bringing enlightenment to the savages" (qtd. in King, "A Stranger to Our Sympathy" 82).

2 In "Native Muses and National Poetry: Nineteenth Century Irish Canadian Poets," "Ossian Abroad: James Macpherson and Canadian Literary Nationalism, 1830-1994," and "United Irishmen in Canada: Adam Kidd's *The Huron Chief* Reconsidered," I trace some of the common Romantic cultural nationalist strategies used by Irish and Canadian writers. Many of these strategies were inspired by the work of Irish antiquarians and employed by Romantic writers in Ireland and Canada. They are a characteristic common to nationalist groups such as The Patriots and The United Irish Society in Ireland, and later by Young Ireland, and then by Thomas D'arcy McGee in Canada.

3 Moore's *The Life and Death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald* is still the most accessible source of Fitzgerald's letters from Canada and North America, although it poses a problem for bibliographers and historians. According to a later biographer, Stella Tillyard, Moore heavily edited Fitzgerald's letters, and in this form they survived an apparent purge of the Duchess of Leinster's family archives that occurred after the biography was written (Tillyard 302). However, in "New Light on Lord Edward Fitzgerald," Kevin Whelan examines the letters recovered and acquired by the National Library of Ireland, and comments on the editorial changes that Moore made to make the letters acceptable for, in Whelan's words, "edifying Whig consumption. He corrects his style, removes any hint of 'low' vulgarity, and elevates Edward into the Whig canon." One of Moore's characteristic excisions concerns Edward's comparison of the New World brothels to the ones in Paris: "There is a certain commodity here very cheap indeed which helps me on—not quite so good as chez la Comtesse de Milford but very tolerable. What a set of hungry dogs there will be at this shop this winter. I certainly do envy some of them" (qtd. in Whelan). The unedited letters suggest that occasionally, in spite of reassurances to his mother, Fitzgerald couldn't always get by with "only one blanket" on a long winter night (Moore, *Life* 63).

4 Kelly notes that Moore "was wholly repentant" for what he later termed "the hasty prejudices of my youth" (97), a repentance he attributed in part to the influences of the company he travelled with, which included the new British ambassador to Washington, and the anti-American British sailors and officers, one of whom, Rear-Admiral George Cockburn, was later responsible for burning down the Capitol and the White House during the War of 1812 (97).

5 Vail claims that Moore not only sympathized with United Irish aims and wrote in support of them, but also joined them, based on evidence from the diaries of a contemporary of Moore, Charles Cavendish Fulke Greville, who claimed that Moore told him that he took the oath of the United Irish Society shortly after an inquisition of all Trinity College students including Moore (49). Kelly is more skeptical about the degree of commitment to the United Irish cause implied by the frail eighteen-year-old Moore's simply taking the oath: "What Moore knew before and after his swearing in was in likelihood fairly common knowledge. Indeed, Moore was hardly the ideal schemer" (63).

6 Daniel Gahan suggests that if this couple was Irish, Fitzgerald would say so; since he does not, Gahan speculates that they might be "New England 'Planters' who moved in after the Acadian expulsion" (90n).

7 I knew by the smoke, that so gracefully curl'd
Above the green Elms, that a cottage was near,
And I said, "If there's peace to be found in the
world,
A heart that was humble might hope for it here!

It was noon, and on flowers that languished around
In silence reposed the voluptuous bee;
Every leaf was at rest, and I heard not a sound
But the woodpecker tapping the hollow beech tree . . .
(Moore, *Poetical Works* 124)

8 Tillyard refers to Fitzgerald's rescuers as Iroquois, possibly because he later spends much time with two Mohawk leaders who spoke for all the Iroquois nations, but Gahan speculates that Fitzgerald, who called all the Aboriginal people he met "Indians" or "savages," met Maliseet and Micmac in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and possibly a Montagnais or Huron hunting party while in Lower Canada (Gahan 97-98).

9 D.M.R. Bentley introduces the Canadian Poetry Press edition of Adam Kidd's *The Huron Chief* (1987) with a discussion of similar centrifugal tendencies and preference for "freedom (openness)" in the poet's imagery (xiv-xv). In *The Huron Chief, and Other Poems*, Kidd calls Ireland "the Land of Fitzgerald" (203).

10 Given that this letter is written to Fitzgerald's mother, it is hard to say from this phrase exactly how far Fitzgerald pursued his flirtation or "brief folly." Tillyard suggests that Fitzgerald did have a sexual relationship with a young Aboriginal woman while travelling with Brant, but does not say where this information comes from (103). Whether mere flirtation or something more, Fitzgerald obviously did not share what King noted was a "widespread sense of 'horror at miscegenation'" more prevalent in the nineteenth century ("A Stranger to Our Sympathy" 82). His writing again anticipates Kidd's own willingness to celebrate "the spirit of miscegenation in its artistic treatment of Irish and Indian cultural intermixture . . . that . . . encapsulates a communal ethic of empathy for Indigenous peoples that is expressed through a Romantic structure of feeling" in Kidd's writing and the pro-Catholic Irish Canadian newspaper *The Vindicator* ("A Stranger to Our Sympathy" 82).

11 "The middle ground" is a phrase coined by Richard White and used as the title to his study of the Aboriginal/European culture that he argues briefly flourished in North America in the eighteenth century. Intermarriage and adoption ceremonies were seen as an economic and political tactic as well as human necessity and rarely viewed with horror in the communities White studies.

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derek beaulieu

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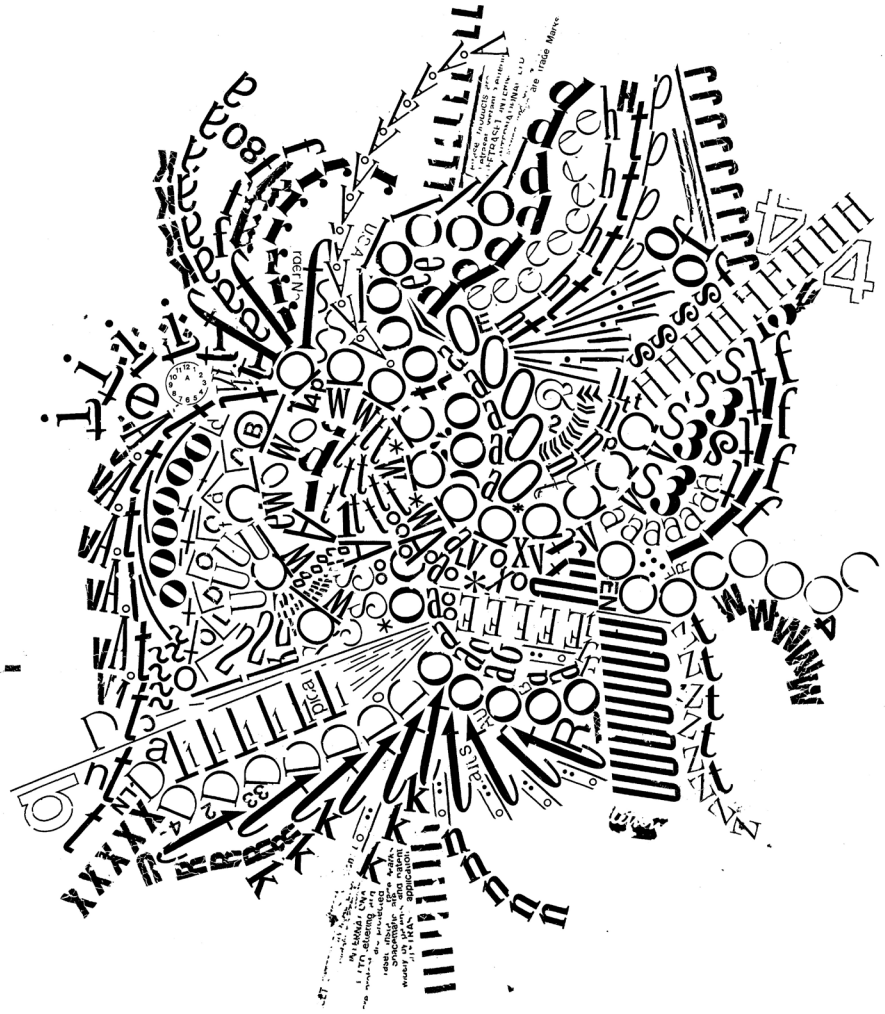

Brooke Pratt

Duncan's Folly
The Murchison House as Mock Ruin

As a novel that is, in Thomas Tausky's description, "fundamentally about the evolution of a national culture" (*Novelist* 75-76), Sara Jeannette Duncan's *The Imperialist* (1904) is an important text for discussing Canada's cultural, colonial, and political history during a period of notable transition. Signs of this transition are exemplified by the Plummer Place (or Murchison house) as the novel's central dwelling space. Duncan's expansive descriptions of the house reveal it to be a place of some distinction, despite its dilapidation. As a site that embodies the "process of blending" that Duncan deems to be necessary for "the making of a nation," the house that shelters her protagonists stands as an allegorical representation of the "edifice" that is Canada itself (49). Although critics have long been interested in the role of the Plummer Place within the novel (see D.M.R. Bentley, Michael Peterman, Thomas Tausky, and Clara Thomas, among others), the status of the house as a ruin has yet to be explored, despite Duncan's careful attention to both its picturesque qualities and its evident state of disrepair.[1] Susan Glickman observes in *The Picturesque and the Sublime: A Poetics of the Canadian Landscape* (1998) that the picturesque ideals of the eighteenth century were grounded in "principles of variety and contrast," which meant that "ruins were favoured for their brokenness and irregularity" (11). Duncan herself employs the language of contrast and irregularity, or what William Gilpin famously identifies as "*roughness*" (*Essays* 6, italics in original),[2] at various points in the novel, particularly in relation to the Murchisons' home. That their house is modelled after Duncan's own childhood home in Brantford, Ontario lends it a degree of historical authenticity (Bentley, *Architexts* 103-04; Tausky, *Imperialist* 288), and yet, the author's decision to transform this space

into a site of architectural idiosyncrasy verging on ruination suggests that she may have envisioned it as a kind of folly—that is, as a purpose-built "mock" ruin of the sort that came to be a distinguishing feature of eighteenth-century landscape design.

The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines *folly* as "[a] popular name for any costly structure considered to have shown folly in the builder," making it an appropriate term for the Plummer Place and the failures of its original residents; however, the French root of the word—*folie*—denotes not only foolishness or madness but also a sense of "delight," particularly in a "favourite abode," which nicely applies to the Murchison children and their general affection for this eccentric family home.[3] In his assessment of the Plummer Place, D.M.R. Bentley hints at its status as "folly" without exploring this line of inquiry in any detail (*Mnemographia* 361). Elsewhere in *Mnemographia Canadensis* (1999), he notes that "the aesthetics of the sublime and the picturesque" were "standard components of the mental outfit that emigrants as well as tourists brought to Canada throughout the Colonial and Confederation periods" (78). By extending Bentley's brief mention of the Plummer Place as folly, I propose that Duncan's fictional depiction of the Murchison house as a new-world ruin can be read as a playful attempt to transplant the British tradition of picturesque aesthetics into a Canadian setting.[4] Adapting this British cultural inheritance to the Canadian environment provides Duncan with yet another means of engaging with the imperial sentiment that her novel ultimately appears to endorse. For his part, Bentley argues that, as an "anomalous relic of an earlier and alien mentality, the Plummer Place evidently needs to be naturalized, adapted to its time and place in a manner that respects both its character and its surroundings" (360-61)—after all, "part of the charm of old houses resides in their naturalization" (360). Mock ruins likewise depend for their "charm" on having a naturalized appearance. In characterizing the folly as an object of picturesque beauty, Gilpin declares that a constructed ruin can be considered complete only once it is covered over by sufficient natural decoration, such as "mosses," "ivy," and "weather-stains"; without them, "[t]he characters of age" that are so important to a ruin's veneer of authenticity are sorely "wanting" (*Observations* 74). Perhaps Duncan's creation of the Murchison house as a Canadian version of the mock ruin, subtly adorned with all the requisite vegetation, was her way of "naturalizing" both the space itself and the imaginative potential of its inhabitants.

At the same time, Duncan's inclusion of a ruin image in a post-Confederation novel about the future of the Canadian nation suggests a level of uncertainty

about the country's cultural identity and the nature of its changing relationship to Britain. As an aesthetic object, material artefact, or literary trope, the ruin carries with it a range of conflicting connotations: it can represent a picturesque balance between art and nature just as it can unsettle that balance by highlighting the vulnerability of human life and art at the hands of time. Ruins can be taken as signs of progress, where one mode of existence makes way for another in the name of advancement and innovation, but they can also serve as grave reminders of past failures and defeats.

The image and idea of the ruin has a long and complex history, not only within the larger tradition of English literature but also in relation to the nation and expressions of national sentiment. In *England's Ruins: Poetic Purpose and the National Landscape* (1990), Anne Janowitz explores the association between the ruin image and British nationalism as it existed in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries by examining literary works in which "ruin sentiment conspir[es] with national aspiration" (5). She contends that, in this period, literary representations of architectural ruin served to establish the kind of "authority of antiquity" that nationalist discourse so often tends to espouse (3). This apparent association between the ruin image and British nationalism was particularly effective, says Janowitz, because it helped to secure Britain's developing cultural identity in terms of both time (history) and space (landscape). As she describes it: "[t]he ruin provides an historical provenance for the conception of the British nation as immemorially ancient, and through its naturalization subsumes cultural and class difference into a conflated representation of Britain as nature's inevitable product" (4). Ruins can thus lend credence to the romantic-nationalist view of nationhood as an organic development wherein the inevitable "violence of nation-making" to which ruined spaces implicitly attest is effectively effaced in favour of a broader nationalist vision that situates the ruin within a narrative of historical and cultural progress (4). Yet in presenting these claims, Janowitz readily acknowledges the ruin as a symbol of transience as well, making it as much an image of "historical and imperial impermanence" as it is a marker of authority or advancement (4). Read in these terms, the ruin image is an inherently paradoxical one: it provides evidence of a longstanding historical presence within a given environment while revealing the obvious fragility of that presence at the same time.

In *The Unfinished Matter: Essays on the Fragment in the Later Eighteenth Century* (1994), Elizabeth Wanning Harries also investigates patterns of ruin imagery in eighteenth-century literature, noting that "[s]ome writers

consistently use metaphors of ruin to suggest their sense of civilization in decay, of the wreck of human hopes or the vanity of human wishes" (57). "But others," she continues, "use ruin metaphors to elicit a sense of continuing vitality, of energy in the midst of wreckage" (57). In this respect, Duncan's transplanted ruin image can be read as a positive sign, representing both a culturally viable tradition and a tangible sense of history, symbolically tied to Britain yet grounded in the new world; however, the presence of the Murchison house as a site of decay also seems to highlight the impossibility of establishing a new order in Canada without first attempting to understand this place as a unique entity, separate from, but related to, the historical, literary, and social traditions of the British empire. British inheritance, in its various cultural and political forms, had to be reconciled with post-Confederation Canada's rapidly changing national landscape, which often proved a difficult task for the country's cultural producers in their efforts to understand the Canadian environment and its inhabitants on their own terms.

As Canadian writers struggled to define themselves and their newly formed country in the first few decades after Confederation, the tension between looking forward to the future of an independent Canada while also acknowledging and, in many cases, celebrating the nation's ancestral ties to Britain became one of the foremost topics of discussion on the issue of cultural nationalism amongst politicians, writers, and critics alike. For Carl Berger in *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism 1867-1914* (1970), this attachment to Britain was a crucial component in the development of Canadian thought in a volatile post-Confederation environment. While imperialist and nationalist sentiments in Canada have often been regarded as opposing forces in the fight for the nation's future (with takeover by the United States as a third and generally undesirable possibility), Berger contends that, in fact, "Canadian imperialism was one variety of Canadian nationalism" (9). Ajay Heble reads *The Imperialist* as a fictional enactment of Duncan's own imperial commitments, noting that "[p]art of what imperialism meant" in post-Confederation Canada "was a deeply felt devotion to the British heritage" (220). Tausky, too, offers an analysis of *The Imperialist* as a political novel, arguing that the character of Lorne Murchison (as Duncan's idealistic imperial spokesperson) "puts forward imperialism as a means of preserving the British heritage, rejecting the United States and asserting Canada's future greatness" all in one fell swoop (155). Tausky goes on to observe that, within *The Imperialist*, "the line dividing the proponents from the opponents of imperialism also divides the

imaginative characters from the unimaginative" (*Novelist* 161-62), resulting in what Heble describes in positive terms as the novel's "explicit connection between the imagination and imperialism" (224). Duncan's most imaginative characters are able to see the value in retaining a sense of history whereas her less imaginative characters are content to discard the past altogether. In the world of the novel, history itself thus "depends on and is determined by the imagination" (224). Such comments reinforce the notion that Duncan's imperialism was as much a cultural pursuit as it was a political one (226).

Placing her writing in the "artistic and literary context" of the 1890s, Misao Dean highlights Duncan's interest in "the unique ways that British culture developed and changed in North America" (Introduction 12). This concern with cultural transplantation and adaptation in the new world is manifested not only in Duncan's fiction (to which I will turn momentarily) but in her journalism as well. Writing for the *Washington Post* in 1886, Duncan emphasizes the reality that national literary production cannot occur in isolation: even as she affirms the notion that "[a] literature should have its roots in the national character and within national limits," she knows that, "to give it growth, variety and comprehensive character, it has to be fed from without" (*Selected* 102).[5] Although she was influenced by both American and British literature, Duncan's political views and expatriate life in England and India ultimately connected her more securely to Britain and British culture. Faye Hammill's examination of "English Canada's literary climate" (154) in the 1880s and 1890s makes clear that Duncan "placed a high value on British literature" and remained "committed to the need of maintaining close ties with Britain," despite her vocal rejection of "colonialist deference to foreign literary models" (155). Hammill further maintains that, while Duncan certainly believed in "the creative potential of her own country" (164), she nonetheless "valued the stimulus and support of British culture" (166). Negotiating the cultural and political implications of imperialism in relation to both British heritage and Canadian national expression would surely have been a formidable balancing act; yet, as the following discussion will show, Duncan seems to have found in the ruin image—and the picturesque tradition from which it springs—a creative means of successfully embedding her imperial theme within a decidedly Canadian setting.

The Imperialist helpfully engages with Canada's waning imperial sentiment during the first few pivotal years of the twentieth century as the country continued to search for a sense of national definition. Set in the fictional town of Elgin, Ontario, the novel presents a detailed portrait of small-town

Canada during a period of immense social and political change. Elgin is based on Duncan's hometown of Brantford, appropriately named in George Monro Grant's *Picturesque Canada: The Country as It Was and Is* (1882) as one of the "*picturesque* seats of industry" located along Ontario's Grand River Valley (461, emphasis added). As the characters of Dr. Drummond and John Murchison survey the streetscape that lies before them near the beginning of the text, they see less a picturesque seat of industry than a modest town that still bears the weight of its "thirty years of varying commercial fortune" (19). Both men are personally invested in Elgin's gradual march toward prosperity because both emigrated from Britain to "add their labour and their lives to the building of this little outpost of Empire" (20). When they first arrived in this foreign land, presumably just after Confederation, "[t]he new country filled their eyes; the new town was their opportunity, its destiny their fate" (20). "They were altogether occupied with its affairs, and the affairs of the growing Dominion," explains the narrator, "yet obscure in the heart of each of them ran the undercurrent of the old allegiance. They had gone the length of their tether, but the tether was always there" (20). Even though "their bones and their memories" will eventually "enter into the fabric" of their new home, these characters remain obscurely yoked to the past (20).

Duncan makes an admirable effort to articulate the nature of this ambivalent yet persistent connection to Britain. For Elgin's average citizen, "[p]olitics wore a complexion strictly local, provincial, or Dominion" (62), in part because England's affairs were perceived as being too far removed from daily life in small-town Canada to have any real impact. "A sentiment of affection for the reigning house certainly prevailed," writes Duncan, but "[i]t was arbitrary, rococo, unrelated to current conditions as a tradition sung down in a ballad, an anachronism of the heart, cherished through long rude lifetimes for the beauty and poetry of it" (62). The Canadian landscape contains no "picturesque contacts" between "Royalty and the people" (62); instead, Elgin is a place where "the common love for the throne amounted to a half-ashamed enthusiasm," in part "because of the shyness that attaches to all feeling that cannot be justified in plain terms" (63). The people of Elgin are slightly embarrassed of their lingering attachment to a place that has little influence over the course of their everyday lives and that many of them know only in the vaguest of terms. Having built, with "their labour and their lives," communities of their own in Canada, the "reigning house" remains only as a dim presence for many of Duncan's characters, and has ceased to function, in Yi-Fu Tuan's terms, as a "repository of memories and dreams" (164).

Duncan includes small snapshots of Ontario's settlement history in order to demonstrate how things have changed since the early days of British emigration to Canada. With reference to the "shadowy Plummers,"[6] the family who first built the Murchison home, Duncan traces the common stages of experience for settlers in the new world:

> Such persons would bring their lines of demarcation with them, and in their new *milieu* of backwoods settlers and small traders would find no difficulty in drawing them again. But it was a very long time ago. The little knot of gentry-folk soon found the limitations of their new conditions; years went by in decades, aggrandizing none of them. They took, perforce, to the ways of the country. . . . Trade flourished, education improved, politics changed. (48, italics in original)

Expectation does not match the reality of creating a new life in the wilds of Upper Canada, and this initial group of emigrants had to adapt to their environment out of simple necessity, with neither accolades nor a dramatic increase in material wealth to encourage them along the way. The hope instead seems to lie with their children and grandchildren—the future generations of what would become, in due course, the Dominion of Canada. For the most part, *The Imperialist* focuses on the lives of Elgin's younger residents, who can now benefit from the forward strides of their predecessors; however, Duncan also acknowledges the generational tension that continues to inform the town's social makeup. She points to the "great gulf" that exists "between the older and the younger generation" wherein "[t]he sons and daughters, born to different circumstances, evolved their own conventions, [and] the old people used the ways and manners of narrower days" to the extent that the two groups end up "paralys[ing]" one another (54-55). Although Duncan is here delineating the social character of Elgin rather than the national character of Canada itself, this reference to a state of paralysis suggests a deeper level of anxiety over the potential for social, political, and cultural stagnation if the old-world traditions of the past and the changing needs of the present cannot be successfully unified.

Duncan configures these tensions between age and youth, the old world and the new, Britain and Canada, as a confrontation between the real and the ideal. Several critics have commented on the pairing of idealism and pragmatism as the novel's opposing forces, or what Peter Allen describes as a "perpetual conflict between a romantic world of imagination and controlling world of hard fact" (48).[7] Dean understands this conflict as an uneven ideological struggle in which idealism (art, culture, imagination) is constantly under threat of extinction at the hands of the real (economics,

politics, materialism). In outlining Duncan's championing of the ideal, she argues that "preserving the ideal against the incursions of the real . . . is a prominent theme in all of Duncan's work" (*Different* 53). Like Tausky and Heble, Dean aligns imperialism with the imagination as idealism's primary agents, noting that, in much of Duncan's writing, "[t]he Empire is a repository of ideal values that must be preserved against the materialist self-interest of individuals and nations" (53) just as "imagination is the ability to see beyond the material surface, to find a way to preserve important ideals and to apply them in the modern context" (84). Taken together, the critical commentary surrounding Duncan's attention to the old and the new, the past and the present, the real and the ideal, creates a picture of *The Imperialist* as a novel that pits local interests, material realities, and practical concerns against imperial loyalty, national ambition, and imaginative potential; missing from this commentary is an extended discussion of the pivotal role that the Murchison house plays in conveying these dualities through its position as an invented ruin.

Jon Kertzer envisions the novel's thematic split as a contest between nature and destiny, both of which are often invoked in discussions of nation building. Nature, in this context, supposedly "assur[es] a stable identity" for the nation, whereas fostering a sense of destiny "motivat[es] its development" (1). While stability and achievement are by no means absent from Duncan's novel, she does expend a good deal of narrative energy on the instabilities and limited prospects of both people and place. According to Kerzter's analysis, *The Imperialist* presents nation building as a "perilous" activity, "because nature and destiny, at least as they are displayed in rural Ontario at the turn of the twentieth century, prove to be rivals rather than allies, as if Canada and its fate cannot quite be reconciled" (1). As Allen describes it, Duncan's Canada is paradoxically "new but old, crippled but flourishing, dominated by the past but the country of the future" (59). Duncan herself employs the rhetoric of nation building in what is arguably the novel's best-known passage, where she summarizes the struggles of settling in Canada as a colony-*cum*-nation in the decades leading up to and following Confederation. She writes: "[i]t was a sorry tale of disintegration with a cheerful sequel of rebuilding, leading to a little unavoidable confusion as the edifice went up. Any process of blending implies confusion to begin with; we are here at the making of a nation" (49). This tale is one of both collapse and reconstruction, indicating that perhaps both elements are required in the "making of a nation." At first glance, *The Imperialist*

appears to be a text that is as much concerned with the "cheerful sequel of rebuilding" as it is cognizant of the failures that have come before, but its author also implicitly questions the path that Canada seems to have chosen.

In his reading of Duncan's novel, Kertzer maintains that, "[i]f nation-states are made, not born, then their making partly depends on writers who can envision a hospitable social imaginary in which people will feel at home" (13). At the same time, he concludes that, within the social imaginary of *The Imperialist*, "the 'blending' of cultural forces required to build the new country does not raise a sturdy Canadian house" (3). The apparent fragility of Canada as house comes through in two of the novel's central settings: Elgin's town centre and, more importantly for my purposes, the Murchison family home. Despite the obvious markers of success along Main Street and the ongoing economic activity of the market square, for instance, these sites also seem to incorporate the possibility of stasis or decline in the years to come. Additionally, Duncan's careful depiction of the Murchison home (better known as the Plummer Place, in deference to its former owner) overtly situates it as a kind of ruin, albeit an inhabited one.[8] Both the town and the house thus speak to the larger issue of what Kertzer refers to as "the perils of nation building"—those seemingly irreconcilable tensions between nature and destiny (1)—or what other critics view in general terms as an overarching tension between the real and the ideal. Such perils, as Duncan portrays them, are both subtle and complex. Yet while each of these two spaces is implicated in the risky project of nation building, they seem to predict markedly different outcomes for the nation's future; indeed, the town and the Murchison house are often at odds with one another in terms of the values they represent. Before examining the Murchison house as ruin in further detail, it is useful to first take a closer look at Duncan's construction of Elgin as a whole.

Duncan's often ironic narrative stance makes it difficult to discern her feelings about Elgin with absolute certainty. She has a way of viewing the town through the eyes of her various characters to the point where it becomes tricky to gauge the narrator's own perspective. Janice Fiamengo aptly remarks that "Duncan's irony both acknowledges, and protects against, the inevitability of failure" (122). This cryptic narrative lens (or free indirect style) notwithstanding, there are a number of clues throughout the text indicating that things on the streets of Elgin are not always as they appear. The town's Main Street, for example, is "a prospect of moderate commercial activity," with its "mellow shop-fronts, on both sides, of varying height

and importance, wearing that air of marking a period, a definite stop in growth, that so often co-exists with quite a reasonable degree of activity and independence in colonial towns" (23-24). So, although this thoroughfare is characterized as an active place of business, its economic vision remains "moderate" because it has reached the climax of its own capabilities. Unlike Canada's rapidly expanding urban centres, Elgin is a town where "a certain number of people went up and down about their affairs, but they were never in a hurry" and where "a street car jogged by every ten minutes or so, but nobody ran after it" (24). Still, the narrator is disinclined to let the reader be deceived by these first rather staid impressions, quickly adding that the "appearance and demeanour" of Elgin's Main Street "would never have suggested that it was now the chief artery of a thriving manufacturing town" (24). Main Street, it seems, is "not a fair index" of Elgin's success (24), but while the town might very well be "thriving" in some respects, it also contains remnants of its past sacrifices along with an undercurrent of impending change. In Tausky's description, "Elgin is a community whose present life is energetic but not always wisely directed, and whose future development is uncertain" (*Novelist* 166). For Fiamengo, the town's uncertain status serves to demonstrate that "prosperity, though important, is not everything" because "it alone does not make a country great" (125).

Even in its present state of indeterminacy, however, Elgin remains a place with a past. Clara Thomas rightly points out that "Elgin is no frontier town perched in a new continent at the beginning of its history" (39). In the eyes of Lorne Murchison, the town has a meaningful story to tell—one that signifies "the enduring heart of the new country already old in acquiescence" (81). That there are "bones in the village graveyards" testifies to "a narrow inheritance of the opportunity to live which generations had grasped before" (81). The challenge for Duncan's characters (and ultimately, her readers) is to make use of the town's historical narrative in productive and imaginative ways as they face whatever the future might have in store. But finding the right path for Elgin—and for Canada—in the twentieth century proves to be easier said than done. The intricacies of this search are embodied, in part, by Duncan's construction of the Murchisons' house as a rare example of the "picturesque contacts" that link Canada to the "reigning house" of Mother England (62). In his evaluation of the novel's historical setting, Alfred Bailey asserts that *The Imperialist* appeared at a time when Duncan's hometown of Brantford (as the inspiration for Elgin) was a place that had "few historic associations" (205). Coupled with the fact that Duncan composed the novel

from her adopted home in India where, according to Thomas, "the sense of layer upon layer of history could hardly have failed to touch and modify her imagination" (39), Canada's relative lack of historical resonances must have seemed especially glaring. As Thomas remarks in her analysis of the novel's social mythologies, *The Imperialist* generates an impression of its author as someone who was aware of the "difficulties in writing the romance of a new land where the monuments of the past, its glamorous ruins, were not readily visible and available to the writer" (39).

Thomas goes on to suggest that, in her attention to Canada's dearth of historical monuments and ruins (as expressed on the opening pages of chapter 7), Duncan may have been influenced by Henry James' well-known comments on the state of early American writing in which he catalogues the country's numerous absences (39; see also Tausky, *Imperialist* 290).[9] Yet Thomas stops short of unpacking the rich interpretive potential of this allusion by mentioning it only in passing and without explicit reference to the Plummer Place. According to James, American civilization lacks everything from "palaces" and "country gentleman" to "thatched cottages" and "ivied ruins" (43).[10] Although James is discussing the cultural and aesthetic makeup of life in nineteenth-century America, his observations might be fruitfully applied to Canada as well. He writes: "Americans have as a general thing a hungry passion for the picturesque, and they are so fond of local colour that they contrive to perceive it in localities in which the amateurs of other countries would detect only the most neutral tints. History, as yet, has left in the United States but so thin and impalpable a deposit that we very soon touch the hard substratum of nature" (12). Faced with little more than the "crude and immature" elements of the natural world (12), it is no wonder that early American (and Canadian) writers sometimes turned to European models in order to establish a semblance of cultural and historical legitimacy in their works.[11] Duncan's creation of the Murchison house as a storied space and her shaping of Elgin as a town with a store of colourful local history can thus be read as a deliberate attempt to produce a work of Canadian literature that is anything but lacking in historical interest. Given her awareness of Canada's need for the kind of historical overtones evoked by old-world monuments and ruins (such as those that abound in Britain), I argue that Duncan invented a ruin of her own in the form of the Plummer Place.

The possibility of the Plummer Place as an artificial ruin or folly is an intriguing one, especially in light of the novel's focus on the status of Canada's relationship to Britain and British heritage. In *Romanticism and*

Visuality: Fragments, History, Spectacle (2008), Sophie Thomas traces the eighteenth-century connection between ruins and the picturesque tradition that initiated a practice of erecting "artificial or sham ruins," otherwise known as "follies" (50). The inclusion of these artificial ruins in gardens and parks provided a means of enhancing the natural landscape with a pleasing visual contrast from the surrounding topography. Yet, as Thomas makes clear, "[t]he very idea of building a ruin is, of course, contradictory. Normally, buildings are designed with permanence in mind, and to resist the forces of nature, whereas a successful built ruin does its best to render artifice natural, indeed to efface the line between artifice and nature" (51-52). Harries points to a related contradiction by highlighting the way in which artificial ruins "deliberately blur the distinction between the man-made and the natural" to the point where they "both imitate and reflect on the way buildings can be transformed over time by natural processes" (62). In his wide-ranging discussion of antiquity and decay that sits at the heart of *The Past is a Foreign Country* (1985), David Lowenthal wisely remarks that, "[w]hatever their historical connections, objects that are weathered, decayed, or bear the marks of long-continued use *look* aged and thus seem to stem from the past" (125, italics in original). In this way, mock ruins perform the kind of historicization via naturalization that so many writers in post-Confederation Canada earnestly sought to portray in their works.[12]

Because mock ruins are designed to enact a pleasing balance of nature and art, they function as a useful means of bringing together the actual and the imagined, the real and the ideal. As a rendition of the ruin as relic, the folly is, by its very definition, a kind of fiction. Yet in its capacity as a fictional construct, the folly is also supposed to mimic—as accurately as possible—the weathering of architectural space that typically occurs over extended periods (as demonstrated by Harries and Sophie Thomas above). Duncan's creation of the Plummer Place as a *fictional* space that exhibits signs of age and architectural decay is thus akin to the practice of erecting follies as sites of simulated ruination.[13] Despite the folly's inherently contradictory nature, Thomas goes on to explain that "[t]he paradoxical idea of building a ruin was taken seriously" in the eighteenth century "and fooling the viewer was an important measure of success" (23).[14] While she concedes that "sham ruins can be the product of idleness, decadence, and frivolity" given their decorative appeal to primarily wealthy patrons, Thomas also maintains that "they can nevertheless make powerful symbolic statements," in part because "they reveal aspects of the ruin's necessarily *constructed* relationship to

questions of history, and its importance in the creation of the present" (51, italics in original). She argues that "[m]ock and reconstructed ruins suggest a playful attitude to the materials of history, and to the irretrievability of its past forms, while making a visible statement about their impact on the cultural forms of the present" (39). Although Duncan understands the impossibility of seamlessly replicating European traditions and historical legacies in a Canadian context, she also recognizes that these imported traditions and histories continue to inform the development of Canadian cultural practices and modes of creative expression. As a literary iteration of the kind of "mock ruin" that Thomas describes, the Plummer Place not only provides a pleasing visual *contrast* to the town of Elgin and its surrounding environment (in line with the picturesque ideals of eighteenth-century landscape design), but it also demonstrates Duncan's sophisticated approach to the complexities of maintaining (or rejecting) a sense of cultural, historical, and/or political continuity between the old world and the new.[15]

As the inspiration for the Plummer Place, Duncan's family home in Brantford (which still stands today at 96 West Street) provides a useful point of contrast for her fictional creation. Bentley observes that the architectural features of the Duncan house, from its "Italianate form" to its "substantial dimensions," mark it as a site of "Old World tradition, solidity, formality, and elegance" (*Architexts* 104). The Plummer Place certainly echoes some of the architectural elements of its real-life counterpart, but where the latter is made of brick, the former is "built of wood" (Duncan, *Imperialist* 27), making it more susceptible to decay and accelerated ruination. By merging old-world style with new-world construction materials in her rendering of the Plummer Place, Duncan fabricates a convincing ruin that acts as a meaningful illustration of her sustained efforts throughout the novel to strategically combine the real and the imagined. She reproduces a measure of the old-world "elegance" that Bentley attributes to the original Duncan property by supplying the Murchison residence with a variety of domestic furnishings imported from Europe, including "French windows," "an Italian marble mantelpiece," and a library "filled with English classics" (28, 30), and yet the house as a whole has clearly seen better days.

A strange blend of ostentation and deterioration, the Plummer Place is full of contradictions; it stands "in an unfashionable outskirt" of Elgin proper but is a "respectable place to settle in" all the same (19). Yet Duncan makes it clear that the Murchisons "could never have afforded, in the beginning, to possess it, had it not been sold, under mortgage, at a dramatic sacrifice" (27).

Not only are they potentially living beyond their means, but the Murchisons have also chosen to inhabit an anachronistic space that carries the suggestion of a previous failure, given that the Plummers let go of the property at such a "dramatic sacrifice." The presumed inability on the part of the Plummers to integrate themselves into the Canadian landscape invests the house with a propensity for ruination. Indeed, it is still a place that requires a "tremendous amount of 'looking after'" (27). In its role as representative of a "different tradition," the Plummer Place is judged by the townspeople of Elgin (excluding the Murchisons and, arguably, Duncan's narrator as well) "to be outside the general need, misjudged, adventitious" (29). In this respect, the house becomes a kind of burdensome inheritance, rather than a nostalgic gesture to the past. Although the house is a "dignified old affair" (27) with a variety of lavish features, readers soon learn of the "negligible misfortune" that things are rarely in working order (28). The house is, quite literally, falling apart: "if the ceiling was not dropping in the drawing-room, the cornice was cracked in the library, or the gas was leaking in the dining-room, or the verandah wanted re-flooring if any one [sic] coming to the house was not to put his foot through it" (28). The barn is in even worse shape than the house, and is in fact "outside the radius of possible amelioration—it passed gradually, visibly, into decrepitude, and Mrs. Murchison often wished she could afford to pull it down" (28). This description of the barn as ruin is particularly interesting in light of Elgin's shifting economic base and the house's position on the borderlands between town and country. While the Plummer Place stands on "the very edge of the town" surrounded by "wheatfields" and "cornstacks" (27), the barn has become a relic of bygone days because John Murchison is a retailer, not a farmer. Elgin still relies on agricultural production to a certain extent, as indicated by the weekly farmers' market in the town square, but its future lies instead with the manufacturing sector, making the need for barns increasingly redundant.

In addition to its signs of physical decay, the Plummer Place exhibits characteristics that align it with conceptions of the picturesque ruin as an aesthetic object. The narrator explains that the house is situated in "ornamental grounds" filled with "winding gravel walks" that have become a prime habitat for weeds (27), and the lawn in front of the house is home to a defunct fountain with a "frayed air of exile" that looks as though it would be much more comfortable in "some garden of Italy sloping to the sea" (28). This overgrown yard is especially tiresome for Mrs. Murchison, who is exasperated by these "out-of-door circumstances which she simply could not

control" (28). Much to her chagrin, the property has succumbed to a mass of "untidy shrubberies" and flowering "horse-chestnuts," and yet the house remains an attractive place of residence, in spite of its obvious idiosyncrasies (30). For most members of the Murchison family, the Plummer Place is actually more appealing because of its unconventional status. Duncan's narrator admits that the house "wore its superiority in the popular view like a folly," yet she simultaneously implies that its folly is also its grace (29). The "architectural expression of the town" is clearly "on a different scale" from the Murchison house, and yet the reader soon recognizes that the latter "gained by force of *contrast*" (29, emphasis added). As Duncan's central example of the picturesque tradition at work in a Canadian context, the "shabby spaces" of the house and its unruly natural surroundings make it far more interesting than the "numerous close-set examples of contemporary taste" within the ordered confines of the town itself (29). With Duncan as its architect, the Plummer Place can be read as a deliberately incongruous structure. By virtue of its position as a fictional space that (at least partially) resembles the traditional picturesque ruin, the Murchison house acts as a literary incarnation of the ruin-folly.

There is "an attractiveness about the dwelling of the Murchisons" that stems from "the large ideas upon which it had been built and designed" (28-29). John Murchison "had felt in it these satisfactions, [and] had been definitely penetrated and soothed by them," unlike the original owner of the property, who was most likely "one of those gentlefolk of reduced income who wander out to the colonies with a nebulous view to economy and occupation" only to "perish of the readjustment" (29). Just as this imagined settler might have built the house on a foundation of "large ideas," John Murchison initially "seized the place with a sense of opportunity," but in his case, "its personality sustained him . . . through the worry and expense of it for years" (29). As noted by John Dixon Hunt, one of the foremost modern thinkers on garden history and landscape architecture, "what attracts one to ruins is their incompleteness, their instant declaration of a loss which we can complete in our imaginations" (179). Inger Sigrun Brodey offers a similar perspective in *Ruined by Design: Shaping Novels and Gardens in the Culture of Sensibility* (2008): "[i]n avoiding the appearance of order, completion, or authority," writes Brodey, "ruins give the imagination more room to play" (68-69). Despite the town's smug reception of the house, and his wife's frustration with it, John Murchison's imaginative "capacity for feeling the worthier things of life" is fuelled and rewarded by his curious choice of residence (29).

Duncan's insistence that the house is "in Elgin, but not of it" (29) highlights the problem of cultural transplantation from one side of the Atlantic to the other. She explains that, when families like the Plummers first arrived in Canada as "gentlefolk of reduced income," they were met with "a tacit local understanding that they have made a mistake," leaving them to contend in "isolation" with their own grave "misapprehension" (29). The Plummers dealt with this uncomfortable situation by selling their property to the Murchisons, who are willing to inhabit the house despite its misfit status. The Murchisons thus occupy a ruin-like space where things seem to fall into disrepair precisely because of a disjunction with the local landscape, and yet, this space does not end up defeating them in the same way it did the previous occupants. On the contrary, the house "was pure joy to the young Murchisons" in particular, because to them "[i]t offered a margin and a mystery to life" (31). While their home is no ruined abbey or haunted castle, "[t]hey saw it far larger than it was; they invested it, arguing purely by its difference from other habitations, with a romantic past" (31). Whatever the house's failings might have meant for people of the Plummers' generation, the Murchison children are far enough removed from the source of these failings that they simply become part of a larger historical narrative rather than a cause for personal distress. That they are clearly of a different socio-economic background than the upper-class Plummers further helps to explain why the Murchisons have prevailed where the Plummers foundered. In Lowenthal's view, "once-sumptuous mansions decaying into humble abodes" often signal the welcome dissolution of outdated social or political hierarchies (175), which means that the ruination of the Plummer Place can, to some extent, be construed as an indicator of positive change. The Murchison children (especially Lorne and Advena) are also prone to indulging in imaginative pursuits—a fact that makes it possible for them to embrace their house as a site of picturesque beauty and intrigue rather than reject it as an unwanted marker of otherness.

The house may very well be a ruin of sorts, but in its role as an imaginative centre for Duncan's main characters, it is less a sign of previous failure than a vehicle for the lingering sense of idealism that Fiamengo profiles in her discussion of the novel's "elegiac tone" (132). The ruin image provides Duncan with an alternative means of articulating the real-ideal divide that so many critics identify as the novel's central quandary. Recall the dual meaning of the term *folly* as a site of both foolish impracticality and self-indulgent delight. The Murchison house clearly embodies both sides of this definition: it is a material

space, but not a very practical one; the "large ideas" (28) that occasioned its design alienate the house and its occupants from the rest of the community and yet the Murchison children owe much of their cultural and intellectual development to the imaginative freedom supplied by the house and its echoes of a "romantic past" (31). For Bentley, the Murchison house stands as "Duncan's architectural microcosm of the edifice of British North America/Canada" during a time of profound transition (*Architexts* 106), making it a vexed site of heightened nationalist expression as per Janowitz's definition of the ruin image. Clara Thomas makes a similar claim by arguing that the house is "a very real symbol of John Murchison's place in his own concept of Canada, and even more so, of his idea of the future progress of his family in Canada. The house is a fitting shelter for his family, a setting for their growth and a launching-point for their future" (41-42). Although both Lorne and Advena Murchison are rather too imaginative for their own good, they, along with the rest of the Murchison children, have "grown up sturdily, emerging into sobriety and decorum by much the same degrees as the old house" (31). The house has in fact enabled them "to push ideas and envisage life with an attraction that made it worthwhile to grow up" (31).

It is no coincidence that Canada, too, is coming of age alongside the Murchison children and their unusual house; Duncan encourages her readers to consider just what might be at stake if the country should reject Lorne's idealism altogether, for instance, or ignore the historical and cultural resonances contained within the Plummer Place as a symbolic ruin. In the same way that the young Murchisons have tried to adapt their extraordinary "spiritual and mental fabric" (45) to the larger community of Elgin without entirely relinquishing their imaginative tendencies, the nation had also begun to achieve a new level of political independence and cultural definition by the time *The Imperialist* was published in the early years of the twentieth century. But Duncan does not conclude her novel with a wholly positive vision for Canada, as evidenced by her attribution of misjudgment and failure to the characters she seems to admire the most. By the time Lorne delivers his impassioned speech at the end of the novel on the necessity of forming an Imperial Federation with Britain, his listeners have already strayed well beyond convincing—a sign of change that both secures and troubles Canada's developing cultural and political identity.

Sara Jeannette Duncan's depiction of the Murchison house as an artificial ruin nicely captures what Janice Fiamengo labels as the "multiple ironies" of a novel that is at once "a defence of idealism" and an "elegiac admission

of its vulnerability" (138). The ruin is an optimal image for Canada as an up-and-coming nation whose foundational narrative includes, in the words of Duncan's narrator, both a "sorry tale of disintegration" and a "cheerful sequel of rebuilding" (49). As Sophie Thomas maintains, ruins form "an obvious site for mourning lost cultures" while also allowing for "a certain reflective distance from the past that can inform the construction of new ones—that speak for a certain freedom from the past and the constraints that its traditions impose on the present" (52-53). "In their present state of decay," writes Thomas,

> ruins signify loss and absence; they are, moreover, a visible evocation of the invisible, the appearance of disappearance. And yet, to the extent that they are themselves preserved, they suggest perseverance: the possibility, at least, of endurance against the odds of time and history. Notions of hope, memorialization, and restoration all thus adhere to the ruin as an object of contemplation, however framed or constructed that object might be. (42)

The Murchison house as a ruin-folly clearly represents this duality: on the one hand, it signals Canada's tenuous attachment to Britain in the form of an imported aesthetic lens that is decidedly incongruous in the eyes of Elgin's townspeople; on the other hand, it provides the Murchison family—namely Lorne and Advena—with an imaginative setting conducive to their idealistic dreams in a place where "[n]o one could dream with impunity . . . except in bed" (46). For Elizabeth Wanning Harries, "[t]o confront a ruin is to confront the inevitability of dissolution, personal and cultural, but it is also to see oneself as the inheritor of a long and enduring tradition" (56). To create a ruin image in fiction is to infuse this complex blend of discontinuity and historical connection with symbolic import. While ruins often invoke feelings of "conservative nostalgia," Harries suggests that they can also act as an important "quarry" or "resource" for the future (57). As a purposefully built ruin of Duncan's own design, the Murchison house not only highlights her clever integration of British cultural tradition into her only novel actually set in Canada but also speaks to her hope that the nation will not entirely forget its past in its haste to find progress and prosperity in the years ahead.

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NOTES

1 Duncan's interest in and (sometimes ironic or satiric) attention to the picturesque tradition materializes in several of her other works as well. In *A Social Departure* (1890), for instance, she records her surprise at encountering a renovated pioneer dwelling on the Canadian prairies whose "rustic fence" and array of English garden flowers strike her as being positively "picturesque" (22). Picturesque images also appear in *A Voyage of Consolation* (1898) in the form of ruins that dot the Tuscan countryside. While Senator Wick loudly dismisses Italy's abundant ruins in favour of buildings that show evidence of "progress," Duncan makes it clear that an appreciation for the ruin as a picturesque artefact is only ever accorded to those with an "artistic temperament" (130). For a slightly different version of the ruin image in Duncan's fiction, see her portrayal of Pavis Court in *Cousin Cinderella* (1908), the rundown ancestral home of the Doleford family that Anna Snaith convincingly reads as a symbolic site of England's decay—a space, in her words, that bears "the weight of tradition neglected" (71).

2 In one of his seminal essays on the defining characteristics of picturesque beauty, Gilpin claims that a "*smooth* building" must be converted into a "*rough* ruin" if it is to become a suitable subject for art (*Essays* 7, italics in original). In order to provide a work of "Palladian architecture" with "picturesque beauty," its symmetry must be partially destroyed, even if only in the mind's eye: "we must use the mallet, instead of the chisel," writes Gilpin, "we must beat down one half of it, deface the other, and throw the mutilated members around in heaps" (7). That such destruction is a central part of what Gilpin classifies as picturesque beauty lends credence to my reading of the Murchison house and its various failings in positive terms. See also Bentley's comments on the Plummer Place as a site of "creative destruction" (*Architexts* 106).

3 The *OED* entry on the term *folly* further explains that "[m]any houses in France still bear the name *La Folie*," indicating a kind of self-aware extravagance on behalf of the original builder or owner with respect to the house as a source of personal contentment. The title of the present article, "Duncan's Folly," should be read in this context—that is, as a place name in line with the practice of designating ownership of (and affection for) a house or country estate by assigning it a formal title—and not as a suggestion of foolishness or error on Duncan's part.

4 Duncan's efforts to rework the picturesque tradition in a Canadian context provide an example of the "importation and adaptation" model that Bentley applies to Archibald Lampman in *The Gay]Grey Moose: Essays on the Ecologies and Mythologies of Canadian Poetry, 1690-1900* (1992). See Section VIII: "The Poem in its Niche: Lampman's 'The City of the End of Things' and its Origins" 187-200.

5 Of course, Duncan was not alone in voicing her concerns as a writer over the fate of Canadian literature in the post-Confederation period. See, for example, Archibald Lampman's "Two Canadian Poets" (1891) or Charles G.D. Roberts' "The Beginnings of a Canadian Literature" (1883) and "Literature and Politics" (1891) for contemporary perspectives on the direction of Canada's cultural development in the late nineteenth century.

6 As one of the founding families of Fox County, the "shadowy Plummers" (48) are about as relevant to the daily lives of Elgin's townspeople as the far-flung "affairs of Great Britain" (62): for the residents of Elgin, the details of both local history and contemporary British politics "lay outside the facts of life, far beyond the actual horizon, like the affairs of a distant relation from whom one has nothing to hope, not even personal contact" (63).

7 Joseph M. Zezulka, for instance, discusses the novel's dualities as a clash of "old and

new world values, of idealism versus political expedience, of imaginative vision versus pragmatism" (148). W.J. Keith similarly conceives of the issue as a choice between "traditional sentiment and contemporary practicality" (153), as does Faye Hammill, who laments that Elgin's "basic attitude of dogged practicality" allows little room for "realms of the spiritual and artistic" (157). Janice Fiamengo presents this tension in related terms as a lack of harmony between "spirit," the "ineffable," and the "ideal" on the one hand and "matter," the "tangible," and the "material" on the other (122).

8 Although the folly is traditionally an ornamental structure of little practical use, not all artificial ruins are necessarily uninhabitable. The Column House at the Désert de Retz in Paris stands as a case in point. Built by the French aristocrat François Nicolas Henri Racine de Monville in 1781 as the "centerpiece of his picturesque garden" (Brodey 123), this mock ruin soon became his "principal residence" (125). As Inger Sigrun Brodey explains, Monville "carefully disguised its artificial origin, its utility, and its internal luxury" to create a remarkable structure that was visibly "ruined on the outside" but "entirely orderly and inhabitable on the inside" (125).

9 Duncan's admiration for American writers such as Henry James and W.D. Howells is well documented (see Bailey 206; Dean, *Different* 10-11; Carole Gerson 322; and Hammill 156).

10 See also Nathaniel Hawthorne's preface to *The Marble Faun* (1860)—the probable source for James' comments—in which he professes that "[n]o author, without a trial, can conceive of the difficulty of writing a Romance about a country where there is no shadow, no antiquity, no mystery, no picturesque and gloomy wrong. . . . Romance and poetry, ivy, lichens, and wall-flowers, need Ruin to make them grow" (4).

11 Canada's enduring relationship to Britain arguably made this kind of borrowing more acceptable than it was in the United States; indeed, the American Studies scholar Nick Yablon contends that, in the nineteenth century, "American appropriations of the ruin-folly remained rare, its foreign and aristocratic associations at odds with the patriotic and democratic fervor of the Jacksonian period" (45).

12 Charles G.D. Roberts stands as a ready example of this search for naturalization among Canadian writers of the post-Confederation period. Bentley identifies Roberts' "The Tantramar Revisited" as the text that ushered in what he deems to be a "*topos* of cultural agedness" in Canadian literature through its "combination of built and planted elements that signify the picturesque and vital presence of a past in which the human and the natural seem to have existed in a state of balance and harmony" (*Mnemographia* 359, italics in original). This "vital presence of a past" was an important step for Canada as a relatively young nation, and its inclusion in a work of literature suggests a new level of security or comfort on the part of the country's writers as cultural nation builders. Other early Canadian writers with an interest in "cultural agedness" include Archibald Lampman, Isabella Valancy Crawford, and Stephen Leacock. It is worth adding that, when read in terms of "cultural agedness," even architectural decay takes on an expressly positive connotation. Lowenthal demonstrates that, under optimal circumstances, decay "signifies companionability with our surroundings" (181), thereby suggesting, on some level, "the accretion of experience" (179).

13 Brodey explicitly likens the ruin-builder to the writer, arguing that, in order to master the delicate "art of dissembling and disassembling the past" (76), "[t]he best architects of follies" must also be "storytellers or authors of evocative fiction" (110).

14 Gilpin claims that "[t]here is great art and difficulty" in constructing an artificial ruin, in part because "[i]t is time alone, which meliorates the ruin; which gives it perfect beauty; and brings it . . . to a state of nature" (*Observations* 73-74). Harries likewise notes that

an artificial ruin's believability "depends on maintaining the artifice of the natural and unplanned" (66). Not surprisingly, this balance between art and nature is easier to achieve in painted or written depictions of ruined structures (whether real or invented) than it is in actual built follies themselves because a painter or writer can speed up the pace of overgrowth and the erosive effects of time with the mere stroke of a brush or pen.

15 Take by way of brief example Advena Murchison's conversation with Hugh Finlay in which she concedes, with a degree of optimism for Canada's future, that there is something to be said for the chance at a "fresh start" in a country where there are no "picturesque old prescribed lanes to travel" (123). My reading of the Murchison house as a reinvention of the picturesque tradition on Canadian soil turns this scene into a calculated moment of dramatic irony that serves to underscore (to borrow Sophie Thomas' phrase) Duncan's "playful attitude to the materials of history" (39).

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John Reibetanz

River of Air

On Edward Burtynsky's photograph, *Feng Jie #5*

Not the roadbed's rubble-banked "river" this river's flood
too sluggish to rise on wings of inverted quotes cuts
channels broader than the metaphor fills not that stream

nor those grey-foamed swells rolling across the road over
the heads of a man and his donkey welling up from
two small fires the picture's sole bright undoings silken

shimmers of orange-hooded spirits that make ash from
the picture's only wood for this river gets along
with fire shares fire's enmity for the water that is

as missing from the picture as from the moon ashen
hillside dust-covered shards of cinderblock dusty man
and donkey the one non-human form of life borne on

this river which supports neither pink Yangtze dolphin
nor finless porpoise and which has drowned in its torpor
sturgeon and soft-shelled turtle whose avenging ghosts throng

the river and possess the bodies of more deadly
swimmers endotoxins benzopyrenes aerosol
denizens of a bed too wide to bridge too savage

a tide for any dam to hold river everywhere
but nowhere in the picture like a god's messenger
gifted with invisibility and winged helmet

stronger than hardhats that will not shield crews spidering
wrecked ramparts in the distance what chance for tender manes
of donkey or man as he leads the beast burdenless

and festive in studded red halter through the river
to sacrifice do his feet break into a half-run
his face into a smile in hope of pleasing the god

who lives in the west whose urgings will deliver him
up where airborne blades finer than spider legs sweeping
through the forest of his lungs will open more rivers

Jennifer Harris

Unmasking *The Literary Garland*'s T.D. Foster

> The *Christian Register* pertinently asks, "Will the coming woman work?" The editor gallantly answers, "Yes, if you give her opportunity."
> —*Columbus Daily Enquirer*, 1868

In 1982, a disagreement took place in *Canadian Notes and Queries* about the identity of an author. The players were all long dead, the question admittedly academic: was the woman who signed herself T.D. Foster the sister or the niece of Harriet Vaughan Cheney (1796-1889) and Eliza Lanesford Cushing (1794-1886)? Cheney and Cushing are perhaps best recalled as the owners and editors of *The Snow Drop*, the first Canadian periodical for children, produced and published in Montreal from 1847 to 1853. As Mary Lu MacDonald notes, "Alongside their sisters T.D. and Hannah White Barrett [1796-1833], they participated actively in the literary, religious, and benevolent life of Montreal, beginning in the 1830s" ("Foster Sisters"). This included contributions to the Montreal-based journal *The Literary Garland*, which famously published the writings of Susanna Moodie, Catharine Parr Traill, and other notable early Canadian authors. As David Arnason describes it, the *Garland* was the "longest single publishing enterprise before Confederation," lasting "for thirteen years at a time when other journals found survival nearly impossible" (127). The contribution of the Foster sisters to the *Garland*'s success, as authors, promoters, and editors, should not be underestimated. Whether sister or niece, this credit must also extend to the elusive T.D.

It is undeniable that Barrett, Cheney, and Cushing are the daughters of a well-known American author, Hannah Webster Foster (1758-1840), whose 1797 novel *The Coquette* remained a bestseller throughout the nineteenth century. (Her second novel, *The Boarding School* [1798], emphasized the

need for female education and attests to her belief in the moral power of the pen.) However, T.D. Foster is absent from American histories and genealogies of the Foster family or those in which they appear (a not infrequent occurrence given their colonial pedigree) as well as biographies of Hannah Webster Foster (Paige 2: 547; Pierce 238-39). Instead, the original identification of Foster as a sister occurs in John Lovell's *Catalogue of the Library of Parliament* (1858). He writes: "T.D.F. –Miss Foster, another sister of Mrs. Cushing ; since married to the Revd. Mr. Giles, of Boston, who has also written several papers for the *Garland*" (1409). As Lovell (1810-93) was the publisher of *The Literary Garland* there is an expectation that he is correct on this matter. However, David Bentley and Sabine Nolke have suggested in *Canadian Notes and Queries* that Lovell errs, that T.D. Foster is a niece of the Foster sisters, not their sibling. While Bentley and Nolke take at face value the claim that Foster married Giles, they turn to the Foster genealogies from which T.D. is excluded to forward their hypothesis that Lovell is mistaken in his statement of relation. Still, little effort is made to identify exactly who T.D. is—perhaps a daughter of James Foster, they suggest (12). Mary Lu MacDonald, a Foster expert who has conducted significant archival research on the sisters, challenges their theory, most recently in 2002, noting that in the absence of solid proof otherwise, Lovell's word must stand.

If this were the only mystery about T.D., it would hardly be intriguing. But as it turns out, almost everything we know about her has been a matter of misinformation. This has served to obscure particular literary connections, while inventing others. Following Lovell, the *Dictionary of Literary Biography* repeats that T.D. wed the Reverend Henry Giles (1809-82), who had been a visiting Unitarian minister in Montreal in 1842 (Wagner 85-86). Alternately, *The Feminist Companion to Literature in English* marries her to a Mr. Gibson (MacDonald, "Harriet" 71; Wagner 85; Blain, Clements, and Grundy 256). It is fairly easy to disprove the first claim: the Henry Giles who preached in Montreal was a dynamic Irishman who would become famous in Boston for his oratorical prowess and works of criticism; his *Human Life in Shakespeare* was described by one commentator as "The finest Essays on Shakespeare ever written" (M'Clintock and Strong 764; Giles 120). Should Giles have been associated with the Fosters by marriage, we can assume a long and fruitful exchange of ideas, writings, and publications. Yet contemporary sources, including census records, identify and confirm his spouse as Harriet Louise Lord, a Maine resident whom he married in 1849 (Rich 282). When she died in 1875, Giles—reduced by alcoholism—did not remarry.[1]

Mr. Gibson is a slightly more enigmatic proposition as a husband for T.D., and does not seem to appear anywhere but *The Feminist Companion*. The Foster sisters did know a Mr. Gibson, namely John Gibson, editor of the *Literary Garland* from 1838 to his death in 1850. However, as of December 1836, Gibson was married to Sarah, a sister of Lovell, thus eliminating him as a possible spouse for T.D. Of course it is possible another Gibson suitor existed; still, it seems an unlikely coincidence. It would appear more likely that Gibson was a typographical error, where Giles was intended. And so we have a T.D. Foster who may or may not have been a sister or a niece to the Fosters, who could have married a Gibson, but definitely did not marry Rev. Henry Giles, about whom we know little else, except that she was literary, dedicated, and "evidently fluent in both Italian and French" embodying "the very model of a cultivated, well-travelled gentlewoman" (MacDonald, "Foster Sisters").

That said, once the confusion caused by Lovell's naming of Giles is resolved, a suitable candidate emerges. Notably, Hannah Webster Foster's son, John Standish Foster, married Miss Theoda Williams Bartlett in June of 1811 (Hibner 262). Their daughter, Theoda Davis Foster—T.D.F.—was born December 11th of that same year in Boston.[2] John S. Foster is best remembered today as "a genius chemist in the glassmaking field" (Baker 1: 1) but this did not interfere with his love of reading and intellectual culture, which he shared with his daughter (Bush 10-19). Both Hannah Webster Foster and her son took an interest in Theoda's education. The girl appeared to be a favourite with her paternal grandparents, spending much time with them in Brighton, where she attended Miss Abigail B. Cook's school (Merwin, "no. 5," 4; Bush 28). Cook, obviously in awe of Theoda's grandmother, paid the child particular attention according to the reminiscences of a resentful schoolmate (Merwin, "no. 10" 4). If Cook pretended to teach more than she did, Theoda's further education made up for it, as she later studied under the well-known reformer Dorothea Dix as well as William Bentley Fowle, a textbook author and scholar of education (Bush 12). Theoda's appreciation of fine art and literature, as well as her knowledge of European history, are evident in her letters and journals, and are in keeping with what we can deduce of T.D. Foster (Bush 38, 131-33). The same can be said of her social justice concerns—she was firmly anti-slavery—and her religious orientation, as a devout Unitarian.[3]

If this intellectual preparation were the only evidence of Theoda as T.D. Foster, it would be compelling, but not irrefutable. For that we must turn to

another source, namely, the account given by Theoda Davis Foster's husband. In a memoir of his wife produced shortly after her death in 1888, the Reverend Solon Wanton Bush describes her parentage, upbringing and, eventually, time in Montreal, where she relocated after her father's death in 1834.[4] He writes:

> The home of her two aunts, where she lived, was the centre of intellectual activity. They and their niece were diligent readers of the best books. Often one of them would read aloud, and then they would fall into animated conversation as to the quality of the thought and the characteristics of the author. The two aunts were very unlike in their mental organization; and the niece, even at this early period, held to her own independent judgments. So often the talk became a spirited discussion of free, independent, active minds. Thus the intellect of the girl was stimulated and strengthened. Mrs. Cushing edited the *Garland*, a magazine well known in Canada, and a children's periodical called the *Dew Drop* [sic]. The three were the chief contributors. Thus there were active influences to strengthen her mental growth. The Unitarian Church was at this time in its beginnings; and, as the three were deeply interested in its success, they gave much thought and work to its advancement. The ministers who preached were always welcomed to their house with a heartfelt cordiality. (20-21)

In addition to providing an intimate literary-domestic portrait of the Foster sisters, this account supports Mary Lu MacDonald's pre-existing work on the Fosters and Unitarianism; indeed if Theoda's ongoing career as an author is accounted for, it renders their literary and religious efforts inseparable in a way not appreciated before.[5]

If we previously made an assumption that the Foster sisters were at the centre of Montreal's literary scene, adding Theoda to the picture gives us some additional insight into their social position. In particular, Bush writes of his wife's enjoyment of Montreal society, where "visiting, dinners, and balls were the chief forms of social activity" (20). According to the conventions of the time, the Foster sisters would have facilitated their niece's introduction to their own circle, and thus we can determine from the connections she formed that the Fosters were of the city's elite. Among Theoda's chief Montreal friends was Louisa Goddard Frothingham, the philanthropic heir of a wealthy wholesale hardware dealer, who would eventually marry the heir to the Molson family fortune. Louisa's sociability was not confined to Theoda: she continued to socialize with the Foster sisters until the last died in 1889.[6] Theoda's friendship with Charlotte Temple, the daughter of a Vermont gentleman (and first cousin to Henry James), was no doubt tinged with amusement: if Hannah Webster Foster's novel *The Coquette* had any competition for sentimental favourite in the hearts of American readers, it would have been Susanna Rowson's *Charlotte Temple* (1791). Lady Charlotte, as she would become following the

elevation of her husband, John Rose, was renowned for her hospitality, entertaining constantly. Their house, Rosemount, was impressive, "fifty feet square, on a commanding situation, with a lovely terraced garden in the rear." When the Prince of Wales visited Montreal in 1860, it was there he stayed (Leonard 55).[7] It is probable these women and their social circles followed the literary productions of their Foster friends quite closely, subscribing to the *Literary Garland* and, on the behalf of their children or those of friends, the *Snow Drop*.

Though Theoda lived primarily with her Foster aunts until her own marriage in 1849, she also spent considerable time with her maternal family in Roxbury, then a suburb of Boston. Accordingly, Foster did not limit her literary efforts to Montreal, and during this time was also an anonymous contributor to the prestigious *Knickerbocker*, in company with such luminaries as Longfellow, Whittier, Cooper, and others.[8] This dual orientation must have furthered what one critic described as the "Anglo-Bostonian" tone of the *Literary Garland*; Theoda may have also been the individual responsible for securing the *Snow Drop*'s twenty-nine Boston subscribers (Klinck 1: 160; *Snow Drop* 128).

Marriage to Solon Wanton Bush in 1849 did not stem Theoda's literary activities; indeed her husband appears to have encouraged them, as she writes in one letter "I am trying to be a good girl and to please my troublesome ! ! ! husband, by writing a sketch for the *Miscellany*" (qtd. in Bush 35).[9] Still, writing and charity work were joined by motherhood and the duties of a minister's wife, first in Burlington, Vermont and, after 1852, in Brattleboro, where they stayed for six years and "left a legacy of affection and goodwill behind" (Cabot 1: 393). Theoda in particular was commended for her commitment to the Sunday school (Staples 45). Bush's next post, in Medfield, Massachusetts was remembered as "peaceful and efficient," terminating—perhaps at his own request—in 1864 (Hurd 450).

Whether Bush had tired of the life of minister is not known. If that was the case, though, at least he was not without prospects. A contributor to a number of journals, including the *Christian Examiner and Religious Miscellany* and *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, he was also the unnamed and admired American correspondent for the *London Daily News* during the United States Civil War (J.F.S. Bush lxxv-lxxvi). And so, in 1864, he assumed the role of editor of the *Christian Register*, a weekly four-page Unitarian paper. A notice to that effect appeared in the 26 December 1863 issue, informing readers:

> Rev. S. W. Bush will become the responsible Editor of the *Christian Register* on the first of January. His connection with the religious and secular press of this country and of England has given him especial faculties for the charge of such a journal as ours;—and the reputation he has gained in the duties of that connection makes it unnecessary for us to speak of his fitness for the work. (2)

While Bush had a history of submitting his writings for publication, at the time he was named editor he appeared to have had little if any experience of editing or producing a publication (Eliot 56). In this he was evidently assisted, if not guided, by Theoda, who had her apprenticeship with her Montreal aunts upon which to draw. The degree to which Theoda aided her husband in his editorial duties cannot be fully determined, but it is more than apparent she did. From the start Theoda generated a significant amount of the material published in the *Christian Register*'s page four section of miscellany, and possibly elsewhere. While her name or initials did not appear regularly until mid-1868, internal evidence suggests she was writing under the mark of + as early as the second week of February 1864.[10] If this is the case, there were issues where Theoda was responsible for producing almost the entire creative content of the *Christian Register*'s final page—a full quarter of the issue, and an even larger portion of its original material. No doubt other productions went unmarked both before and after she began using her initials in 1868.

Theoda's contributions vary. While predominantly short fiction, occasionally extended over successive issues, they also include history, translation, art appreciation, and memorials. She draws on the various devices deployed in the *Snow Drop*, introducing recurring characters as well as dialogue, particularly in the conceit of "Cousin Lizzie" who explains different matters and events to her younger relatives. Though Theoda's name was never on the masthead, her husband makes clear her involvement when he comments on her time in control of the *Register*'s Home Department (81). As the literary review section also appeared on page four, it too may have been within Theoda's purview—certainly her opinion on literature was valued by those such as the respected writer and *Atlantic Monthly* contributor, Edward Everett Hale, who wrote of her, "thoroughly trained as she was, she would have been as good a literary critic as the best of them; but that was not her affair. What interested her in a book was its real purpose and the extent to which that purpose was carried out. . . . After I had talked with her, I had good authority on whether a book had any positive and permanent value or were [sic] simply a book of the year" (qtd. in Bush 6-7).

In addition to drawing on her own resources to fill the *Register*, Theoda also enlisted her Canadian connections early on, especially her Montreal aunts, whom she continued to visit regularly.[11] Both Harriet Vaughan Cheney and Eliza Lanesford Cushing appear in the pages of the *Christian Register* during the seven years of Bush's time as editor. Cheney contributed at least five pieces including "Harry and his Dog; or, the Evils of Disobedience" in December of 1864, and "Cousin Jane's Visit, or the Lesson in Botany" in April of 1865. Cushing surpassed her sister, and is credited over two dozen times, including a piece which describes her habit of walking in the St. Antoine suburbs of Montreal—demonstrating that the sisters did not entirely ignore Canada in their writing. For those who have wondered how the women sustained themselves in later years, the answer seems clear: they wrote. Harriet's son and Theoda's first cousin, Edward M. Cheney, also appears on the masthead as the paper's business agent. Theoda did not ignore other Canadian talent from her *Literary Garland* days either, either: Catharine Parr Traill was among the Canadian contributors, as was Emma Donoghue Grant, editor of the *Quebec Transcript* and another *Garland* alumna. The latter in particular benefited from the association, receiving an endorsement from the Unitarian journal—not to mention free advertising—when it reprinted her poem "Clouds" introducing it as, "From 'Stray Leaves,' a volume of sweet, natural poetry, by Mrs. J. P. Grant, just published in Montreal" (Grant 4).[12] In this way we see how networks of women in print span not only journals, but also countries and generations. In the case of the Foster relatives, the ties are not simply literary or even genealogical, but religious and social, demonstrating a thread of continuity from their literary and non-literary efforts in Montreal on the behalf of Unitarianism, and Theoda's own forwarding of the cause in Boston.

It seems clear that Theoda's effort to secure and produce material was crucial to the *Christian Register* during her husband's stewardship. In fact, it seems probable that she actively functioned as an unacknowledged co-editor for the Unitarian journal, just as Cushing was not adequately credited in her editorial endeavours with the *Garland*. Whatever the exact division of labour, the time both spent with the *Register* was considered a success, as their son posthumously observed of Solon W. Bush's tenure:

> He made the paper a more natural paper than it was: he made it show, what so few religious papers do show, what the word "religion" is and what it means; that it is better for the people of the day to study the history of to-day than to discover what were the relations of the Greek Church and the Roman Church in the eleventh century. (J.F.S. Bush lxxvi)

When, after seven years, Bush left the *Christian Register*, so too did his wife, taking her contributions and connections with her. The loss to the journal is evident in her last story to appear in the paper that year, "The Two Creeds," spanning two issues in April of 1870. In it, a courting couple debates the merits of their differing denominational commitments, as well as their reasoning in adhering to them. Eventually, the woman ends the relationship, deeming the connection unsuitable based on the revelations and convictions the exchange lays bare. The romance serves as a compelling yet tidy framing device for what is in fact a deeply personal and advanced theological debate, and attests to Theoda's skill and value to the paper as a writer. Without the Fosters' original productions, the *Christian Register* turned to the practice of reprinting from other sources to fill its miscellany section, effectively diminishing the journal's commercial worth and distinctiveness. Clearly, the *Christian Register* lost more than its official editor when Bush departed, though he at least maintained a connection.[13]

If we can deduce Theoda was an important part of the *Christian Register*'s operations, it is impossible to assess the degree to which she might have assisted with the weekly women's rights paper, *Women's Journal*, published by Lucy Stone and Henry Blackwell, though it is known that Solon W. Bush acted as "occasional editor" when Stone and Blackwell were absent (Kerr 278).[14] Commended by Harriet Beecher Stowe for possessing a "conservative religious tone" and "paying attention to women's domestic life and the honor given to it" the journal would have been an acceptable venue for articles by the wife of a minister (Stowe 273). As Bush's involvement with both suggests, the *Women's Journal* and the *Christian Register* were not incompatible venues, the former even reprinting items from the latter (e.g., "A Pioneer Nurse"). However, a cursory reading of several years of the *Journal* has not revealed the initials under which Theoda commonly published, or her name in conjunction with organizational activities. While her absence from committees might be explained by her unpredictable health, and anonymous contributions were not uncommon, it seems more likely that she privileged other causes, including the Hampton Agricultural and Industrial School (now University) founded to educate recently emancipated African Americans; an association to alleviate poverty among women in India; and especially Roxbury's Children's Home and the Home for Aged Females ("Appendix" 10-11; Bush 73-74). Ultimately her death went unremarked in the pages of the *Women's Journal*.

Independent of her husband's activities, T.D. Foster Bush retained a literary profile of her own. Her writing for the *Christian Register* was deemed worthy

of reprinting by other journals including, notably, a short story about the formerly enslaved, which found its way into the *New National Era*, of which Frederick Douglass was part owner. Claims that Theoda did not write fiction, but was primarily a translator, are belied by these productions and others. Even as her *Christian Register* contributions ended with her husband's term—after which he returned to the ministry, at Needham—her writing did not cease. Her support of the New England Women's Hospital led to a special fundraising project, a daily paper called *Hospital Waif*, which she edited and managed as part of an annual hospital fair. Such literary productions, often by women, have been historically overlooked by scholars, in all probability because of their ephemeral nature which meant they were not preserved. *Hospital Waif* appears to have suffered this fate. Given her involvement with various causes it is possible that other similar works also were produced but did not survive. However, one did, providing an excellent example of this kind of literary activism: namely, during the four-day Carnival of Authors organized in support of the Old South Church in January 1879, Theoda issued a daily paper (Bush 77-78). As the paper attests, those who treasured the church were worried it would be razed as had recently been the fate of other historic buildings, and thus sought to raise funds for its preservation.[15] All four issues of volume 1 of *The Carnival Transcript*, covering the duration of the event, have been preserved, prominently listing Mrs. T.F. Bush as editor.[16] Each issue is six pages, and provides a guide to that evening's happenings, as well as—for the less well read, perhaps—an overview of the literary works they draw upon. Also included is an editorial, excerpts from the popular authors featured, commercial advertisements, jokes, and original compositions. A short story by Theoda about the staging of tableaux spans the first two issues, encouraging attendees to return, if only to buy the guide on a daily basis. Once again the family was enlisted: staffing *The Carnival Transcript* tent was her only child, Dr. John Standish Foster Bush, with his wife.

For those interested in the culture of literary celebrity and its popular manifestations, *The Carnival Transcript* provides a rich resource with its accounts of faux waxwork likenesses of famed authors, impersonators of others, staged tableaux of literary scenes, and re-enactments of literary passages. There was also a "minuet on the large stage" which is described as contrasting the "whirling waltz and flying gallop of our day" as well as a fan drill. Whittier wrote an original poem to be read aloud ("Programme" 6). Children were not neglected, as Mother Goose took up residence in Booth #8 where, readers were promised:

> [I]n the house garden will be found many children of ye olden day, engaged in games, songs, and old-time amusements. Tableaux will be given on the large stage, representing many nursery rhymes, viz.: "Old King Cole," "Bo-peep," "Mistress Mary," "Simple Simon" and others like unto these . . . The rhymes and melodies will be given by the children, and with much spirit.

There is a further caution: "Owing to the fact that children are at this booth, the songs, games, and so forth will cease each evening at nine o'clock"—it was a school-night, after all (*Carnival Transcript* Issue 1, Vol. 1, 5).

That the events went past nine p.m.—in fact past ten—tells us a great deal about the energy Theoda expended on behalf of the *Transcript*, as editorials appearing the following day referenced happenings of the previous evening, demonstrating a tight turn-around time for producing and editing copy in advance of printing. Her professional abilities were more than evident in the *Transcript*'s composition and execution. Yet at the same time, she inherited another facet of her aunts' existence, where women utilized their skills without being adequately remunerated or recognized. Likewise, such women writers were conceived of as straddling the worlds of professional and amateur when they were, in fact, the former. That many such women were often seen as writing to advance causes further diminished the evaluation of their abilities, as the perception was that it was a hobby or duty, not professional calling. Independent of any analysis of Theoda's professional activities, after all, this is exactly how the *Transcript* might appear, as the production of a talented woman, but a dilettante or dabbler nonetheless. Yet, in the context of her other endeavours, *The Carnival Transcript* extends our understanding of women editors as activists, yes, but also as professionals capable of carrying projects through for themselves and others.

Though recuperating all of Theoda's literary endeavors is an impossible task, we can determine that she was a highly respected literary woman. As the Reverend Edward Augustus Horton, of Boston's Second Church, commented, her pen: "was busy for good purposes. Stories for the young, with pithy moral; articles on current topics of vital importance; appeals and arguments; organization of forces; pushing forward of educational moral agencies; calling for consultation; rallying for new courage" (qtd. in Bush 165). To that we can now add a commitment to historic preservation, a vital belief in the transformative potential of literature, a deep appreciation of art, and a desire to advance the cause of African Americans. Moreover, she was clearly embedded within a network of social reformers and reforms committed to a variety of causes.

Admittedly, identifying Theoda Davis Foster Bush does little to alter our perception of the *Literary Garland* more broadly, though it does create the basis for a reconsideration of her work. In addition to illuminating her career, it also further enriches our understanding of the intellectual milieu in which the Foster sisters were positioned, the social and political events which might have swayed them, and their legacy for other female authors and editors whom they nurtured. For those who have claimed that Cheney, Cushing and their ilk were apolitical (cf. Trofimenkoff), it is worth reconsidering how such literary productions were in fact decidedly political in that they were meant to advance women's causes, education, and social reformation. Theoda was the third generation in the family to assume the need for greater opportunities for women, especially in education, and to advocate strongly for them through her pen. Notably, Theoda's obituary emphasizes this legacy, naming each of the women in connection with their literary activities (H. 7). While Theoda had no daughters, it is clear her son imbibed her beliefs, as one of his daughters, also named Theoda, attended Radcliffe, taught at Dana Hall School in Wellesley, and in 1910 founded a summer camp for young women dedicated to athletic pursuits—a somewhat advanced proposition at the time (Bush and Johnson 11; Hesperides 277). In 1913 this granddaughter made a strong statement:

> I have never been interested in the so-called fashionable, and ultra-fashionable doings, which concern so many women. The day of moping, of sitting still and whining for things, of believing that some chosen man will bring us the things we desire, including health, are long past. (qtd. in "Don't Mope" 6)

While her literary grandmother, great-aunts, and great-grandmother would have phrased it more diplomatically, it was a claim they had all been making in one form or another since 1797. Certainly, *The Coquette*, the *Snow Drop*, as well as page four of the *Christian Register*, advocated that young women should take responsibility for themselves and their lives. The difference is that after two-hundred-plus years this twentieth-century Theoda had the luxury of being blunt without being judged. Perhaps such forthrightness was something she shared with the generations of students she taught, along with the earlier lessons inherited from her Foster ancestors.

NOTES

1 For their deaths see "Deaths in Bucksport" (51). The United States Federal Censuses for 1850, 1860, and 1870 support their marriage. The 1880 Census identifies Giles as a widower. By this time he was also confined to bed, and not likely to remarry (see Rich).

2 For Theoda Williams Bartlett, see Hibner (262). Foster changed his name to John Standish Foster in February of 1811 (Commonwealth of Massachusetts 325).

3 In a letter Theoda recounts being remarkably moved by Samuel Joseph May's Boylston Hall anti-slavery speech. By his account, that would have been fall, 1833 (Gannett 291; May 138).

4 Bush gives her father's date of death as 1839; however, business records for the Redwood Glass Manufacturing Company date it to 1834. A local historian gives his date of death as 2 January 1834 (Carpenter n. pag.). As the book was advertised for sale ($1.25) she must have had a following, either literary or social. See the book announcement section of *The Unitarian* (528).

5 The Fosters' Unitarianism can be traced to Rev. John Foster and was decidedly personal. A doctrinal disagreement in his Brighton congregation led to a splinter group leaving (Marchione 6-7).

6 In 1873, at the age of forty-six, Louisa married John Henry Robinson Molson (1826-97), who had inherited the brewery in 1836. It was from Cheney that Louisa learned of Theoda's death (Bush 180).

7 John Rose's conduct following his wife's death served as the inspiration for Henry James' "The Marriages." Likewise, Charlotte Temple's sister Minnie was the model for Isabel Archer (*The Portrait of a Lady*) and Milly Theale (*The Wings of the Dove*) (Richards 316-17). Theoda and Charlotte's friendship survived past Montreal, and included transatlantic visits (Bush 115); however, the Rose family reports no letters survived (Correspondence with Sir Julian Rose, 28 Sept. 2010). For Charlotte Rose see "Lady Rose" 291. Their home is now the site of Percy Walters Park.

8 As the *Knickerbocker* is the only journal mentioned in her obituary, I assume it was the most prestigious with which she was connected (H. 7). No trace of her has been found in that journal as of yet.

9 I been unable to definitively identify this journal. The Unitarian journal *The Monthly Miscellany* was absorbed by *The Christian Examiner and Religious Miscellany* in 1844; it is possible this is it. Bush (1819-98) was a Rhode Island native who, after a time in commercial life, enrolled at Brown University, then Harvard Divinity School, graduating 1848 (J.F.S. Bush lxxv-lxxvi).

10 The + mark appears in the page four section soon after Bush assumes the helm of the journal. The writings above it are not only consistent with Theoda's style, but also demonstrate continuity of content and interests. The use of + ends exactly as Theoda's own initials are introduced in June 1868.

11 This travel would explain her appearance in Montreal records as "a communicant of the Unitarian church in 1848 and 1852." MacDonald transcribes her "first" name from the church register as Theo [oti de ile], which, for those familiar with nineteenth-century handwriting, would seem to be a rendering of Theoda Davis (MacDonald, "Foster Sisters").

12 "The Transcript was a very nice little literary paper edited by my friend Mrs. Grant, of the 'Stray Leaves,' and her sister, (the MK of page 78,) and printed by Mr. T. Donoghue, their brother ; but it was before the age and died young, as things fair and fragile will do" (Wicksteed 3).

13 The new editor was a personal protégé of the Bushes, brought from Medfield (Eliot 55; *Medfield* 30).

14 In addition to describing select activities, S.W. Bush quotes extensively from his wife's journals and papers, which have not been located. Several generations of the family have been traced, and it seems most likely that they were passed to her granddaughter, Theoda

F. Bush (1889-1964). Miss Bush did not marry, and a rift on religious grounds prevented her from willing any family materials to her sister's family. Upon her death, her belongings passed first to the woman with whom she lived and then, soon after, to the nephews of another woman with whom she had once operated a summer camp for girls. That family holds many items belonging to Theoda F. Bush; however no papers survived. It is the opinion of family members that the value of the papers would not have been apparent at the time, and had they been among her effects, would most likely have been discarded (private correspondence).

15 In the second issue the writer makes clear they are undertaking this fundraiser to ensure the church doesn't follow the fate of the recently demolished Hancock house ("Carnival Reveille" 5).

16 The *Carnival Transcript* is held at the Widener Library, Harvard, where I am indebted to Frederic Burchsted for his assistance. Volume 2, beginning 3 May 1879, was edited by Miss Mary G. Morrison; only a few pages of its first issue survived.

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Joy Russell

Drown

We got our feet wet here,
cut our teeth as silences
sliced into the sea's skin.

Our borders juiced. Our tongues
animal on the map, while English wrote us
with its pen, tattooed memory, engineered
reflex, and everything

we learned
to interpret
as danger

: a red sky, unable to dismantle grief, its thickness

rising
inch by inch,
terms we couldn't
fathom.

Florian Freitag

Weltgeschichte as *Heilsgeschichte*

Typology in Mary Rowlandson's and Jérôme Lalemant's Captivity Narratives

Comparing North American Captivity Narratives

In the past fifteen years the field of captivity narrative studies has undergone profound changes. As evidenced by anthologies such as *White Slaves, African Masters* (ed. Paul Michel Baepler, 1999), *American Captivity Narratives* (ed. Gordon Sayre, 2000), or *Piracy, Slavery, and Redemption* (ed. Daniel J. Vitkus, 2001) and the work of critics as, amongst others, Ralph Bauer, Linda Colley, Gordon Sayre, or Lisa Voigt,[1] recent scholarship on the captivity narrative has been informed by a "transnational turn" (Sayre, "Renegades" 347), a growing interest in texts written in languages other than English, as well as a "comparative desire" (Toulouse, "Prologomenal" 9). In the light of these paradigmatic shifts in scope and methodology, it is surprising that there has yet to be published a sustained comparison of two of the genre's most famous texts: Jérôme Lalemant's *Relation de ce qui s'est passe . . . en l'annee 1647* (1648)[2] and Mary White Rowlandson's *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God, Together with the Faithfulness of His Promises Displayed*[3] (1682).[4] Lalemant relates Jesuit missionary Isaac Jogues' nearly one-year captivity (1642/43) and assassination (1646) by the Mohawk Indians during the so-called Beaver (French and Iroquois) Wars in what was then New France. Rowlandson gives an account of the eleven weeks she spent as a captive among the Narragansetts and Wampanoags as well as her subsequent release in 1676, all in the context of King Philip's War in New England. Such a comparative project might include, as Lorrayne Carroll has suggested, a contrastive reading of the two texts' depictions of Native converts (see Carroll 144). It might also compare attitudes towards martyrdom, a point

discussed by both Gordon Sayre and Barbara Buchenau in their analyses of captivity narratives from New England and New France (see Buchenau; Sayre, "Communion"). Other potential points of comparison range from the problematic topic of authorship[5] and the texts' success with contemporary readers[6] to the "cultural work" accomplished by the two accounts.

Such an exhaustive treatment of Rowlandson's and Lalemant's captivity narratives is beyond the scope of this article. Many of the issues identified above will be raised, however, in the following comparison of the accounts' central textual strategy, namely, their use of the Bible as an intertext[7] or their employment of typological hermeneutics. The use of typology in Puritan colonial literature in general and in the Rowlandson text in particular has been studied in great detail.[8] The intertextual use of the Bible in the Jesuit *Relations* from North America and particularly in Lalemant's captivity narrative has been documented very carefully in Guy Laflèche's excellent editions, *Les saints martyrs canadiens*. Laflèche has also identified the use of Biblical quotations in the *Relations* as typological, arguing that "the Jesuits organized the entire Catholic literature of New France around this biblical typological analogy, with the Iroquois enemy as the reincarnation of the Egyptian armies attacking the children of Israel in the desert" ("Literature" 52). Yet neither Lalemant's distinct use of typological hermeneutics[9] nor the significant differences between Lalemant's and Rowlandson's accounts with respect to typology have ever been analyzed in full detail. The only comments available on these topics are by Sayre and Buchenau. In her comparison of Jogues' letter "Novum Belgium" (1646; see note 5) and Puritan John Williams' *The Redeemed Captive Returning to Zion* (1707), Buchenau has recently argued that "[a]ligning French captives with Jesus Christ, Jogues ensures that they become Christ's worldly fulfillments of his sacrifices" (172), while through typology, Williams' account appears as "scripted by Old Testament narratives of exile" (174). And in his aforementioned comparison of captivity narratives from New England and New France, Sayre briefly notes[10]:

> Another key difference between the two approaches toward captivity is the typological use of Christ's crucifixion. Rowlandson's providential pattern of suffering, and its meaning for New England as a whole, is interpreted primarily through Old Testament figures, and is ordained by God, not Christ. . . . In Jogues's account . . . , however, such an *imitatio Christi* was obvious. ("Communion" 52-53)

These analyses are correct, but not exhaustive.[11] The aim of this article, therefore, is to thoroughly examine Lalemant's use of types and to highlight the ways in which the Jesuit text's typology contrasts with Rowlandson's.

More specifically, it will be argued that the Rowlandson text employs typology to correlate numerous isolated situations during her captivity with Biblical passages mainly from the Old Testament. By contrast, Lalemant's use of types connects different moments in Jogues' life during and after his captivity and is sometimes based not directly on the Bible, but mediated through a Catholic devotional practice that references the New Testament, the so-called Way of the Cross or the Passion of Jesus.

In addition, and drawing upon recent developments in both Rowlandson scholarship in general and readings of typology in her account in particular, this article also seeks to investigate the "cultural work" accomplished by Lalemant's distinct use of Christic figuration. Employing typology to transform the narrative of Jogues' captivity into a hagiographic account of his life, the Lalemant account contributes to the formation of a textual community that unites not only the North American Jesuit missionaries around the figure of the martyr, but also (re)connects the geographically remote North American mission with Jesuits and Catholics around the world.

Post-scriptural Typology

The term typology refers to one of several modes of interpreting the Bible. The typological or figural mode exegetically relates two textual items—one from the Old Testament, one from the New Testament—in terms of prophecy and fulfillment. Thus specific objects, (groups of) persons, or events from the Old Testament, in addition to their actual historical meaning and significance, are interpreted as types or *figurae*, that is, as prophecies or prefigurations of specific objects, (groups of) persons, or events from the New Testament (most commonly, Jesus Christ and His works), which constitute the corresponding antitypes.

The first application of the typological or figural mode can be found within the Bible itself, namely in the Pauline epistles. While the typological mode continued to be a relevant mode of Biblical exegesis until the early nineteenth century (see Hall 216), it also began to be "extended . . . to postscriptural persons and events" (Bercovitch 36), thus becoming "a general method of comprehending reality" (Auerbach, *Mimesis* 16) or a "theory of history" (Lupton 4): by interpreting post-scriptural and even contemporary worldly persons and events as antitypes (or, conversely, by finding Biblical types or prefigurations for post-scriptural persons and events), practitioners of post-scriptural typology write post-scriptural events into the divine plan. Both Biblical and post-scriptural typology at once retain the individual historical

significance of both (Biblical) type and (Biblical or post-scriptural) antitype and additionally ascribe to each of them a specific eschatological role or meaning. Hence, the narrative strategy of post-scriptural typology depicts *Weltgeschichte* as *Heilsgeschichte*, or worldly history as sacred history.[12]

Scholars have identified the use of post-scriptural typology in a large variety of texts, both contemporary and historical, both from Europe and the New World (see Hall 220), including the North American Indian captivity narrative.[13] And indeed, both Rowlandson and Lalemant continually represent various occurrences during their captivity among the Native Americans as fulfillments of Biblical types, precepts, or prophecies. In both *The Sovereignty* and the *Relation*, God—who thus becomes an additional character, if not the main protagonist of the two accounts—acts upon human beings according to Biblical paradigms that need to be recognized and typologically interpreted by the captives (see Brumm 15). Thus Rowlandson punctuates her account with numerous direct quotations from and allusions to the Bible, often introducing them with phrases such as "now I may say as" (82) or "like" (78), which may suggest a relationship of mere analogy between Biblical and "current" events. David Downing also points out that Rowlandson "repeatedly introduces the biblical quotations with modest qualifiers such as 'I hope it is not too much to say with Job' [88]" and concludes that she "indicates by these phrases that her experiences are only a dim reflection of the biblical prototypes" (255). However, it is notable that when Rowlandson uses introductory phrases such as the one quoted by Downing or, to give another example, "[n]ow may I say with *David*" (90, emphasis original) as well as when she weaves the quotations into her text without any introduction whatsoever, she completely removes the quotations from their original Biblical or historical contexts and interprets them as prophecies that are fulfilled and only fully make sense by and through her own experience. In this way she establishes a relationship of typology—and not one of mere analogy or similarity—between the two events: "And now could I see that Scripture verified (there being many Scriptures which we do not take notice of, or understand till we are afflicted) *Mic.* 6. 14" (93). Here as elsewhere,[14] Rowlandson uses the voice of the Bible to express various emotions, but at the same time she also suggests that it is only through her individual, personal experience in captivity that specific passages in the Bible reveal their full eschatological meaning, thereby gaining "in concrete dramatic actuality" (Auerbach, "Figura" 41).

In Lalemant's text, direct quotations from the Bible are always given in Latin (with translations into French); while the Protestant Rowlandson

quotes from an English translation, most likely the Geneva Bible, the Catholic Lalemant uses the Latin Vulgate. However, like Rowlandson, Lalemant either simply weaves the quotations into his text or uses introductory phrases such as "c'est bien pour lors que je pouvois dire avec mon Seigneur et mon Maistre" (50); "it was indeed then that I could say with my Lord and Master" (41).[15] As in Rowlandson's narrative, Biblical quotations are stripped of their original context and brought into a typological relationship with Jogues' experience as a captive. Thus, while Jogues carries a copy of *L'imitation de Jésus-Christ* (a "Gerson" [79]) with him during his captivity, his own sufferings are clearly not interpreted as imitations of, but rather as prefigured by and part of Christ's Passion: "C'est ce qui me fit rendre grâces à mon Sauveur Jésus-Christ, de ce qu'en ce jour de liesse et de joie il nous faisoit part de ses souffrances, nous admettant à la participation de ses Croix" (49); "This made me render thanks to my Savior Jesus Christ, because, on that day of gladness and joy, he was making us share his sufferings, and admitting us to participation in his crosses" (37, 39).

Incidentally, like the Bible itself, both *The Sovereignty* and the *Relation* contain textual items that can be related to each other according to the typological type-antitype paradigm: Rowlandson's short spiritual biography of her sister in the beginning of the narrative, culminating in the latter's conversion (69-70), clearly prefigures Rowlandson's own conversion through the experience of captivity, while the short narrative of René Goupil's martyrdom and death, inserted at the beginning of the *Relation* (43; 51; 57), anticipates Jogues' captivity and assassination.

However, the two accounts employ typology in significantly different ways. What sets the use of post-scriptural typology in Rowlandson's and Lalemant's captivity narratives apart from each other are, first, the different Biblical types selected by the two authors. Whereas the mainly Old Testament types chosen by Rowlandson offer her "a variety of voices available for her use" (Toulouse, "Mary Rowlandson" 38), Lalemant also uses types from the New Testament to construct Jogues as a martyr and to provide a basis for his canonization as a saint. Second, the two accounts differ in their relationship to the chosen types. While *The Sovereignty* refers directly to the Bible, the *Relation*'s access to the New Testament is mediated through the Way of the Cross. Although Lalemant's account pre-dates that of Rowlandson by several decades, the latter shall be discussed here first, mainly since it is the better known text, but also in order to avoid what could be mistaken for an implied chronology of established norms and textual conventions.

Mary Rowlandson: A Variety of Old Testament Voices

The most prominent characteristics of Rowlandson's use of typology are undoubtedly the diversity of the types chosen and the complexity of the ways in which they are employed. Downing has estimated that Rowlandson "draws on Scripture more than eighty times in the form of direct quotations, allusions to biblical characters, or echoes of biblical phrases" (252). These quotations, allusions, and echoes are taken from more than twenty different Biblical books; those that are the most frequently quoted directly are the Psalms (twenty-one references), Isaiah (seven references), and Job (five references). Often, Rowlandson chooses Hebrew captives such as Joseph (75), Samson (88), Daniel (103; 107), or the Psalmist (who becomes, as Dawn Henwood argues, an "archetypal captive" [see 174]) as types for her own captivity (see Downing 255).[16] To these, one may add the references to other Old Testament individuals who were not specifically captives, but otherwise tried or tested by God, as Rowlandson certainly felt she was—most notably Job, whose story Rowlandson evokes on five occasions.

However, the Rowlandson account's use of types is, as Teresa A. Toulouse has argued, highly "complex" (*Captive's Position* 56). Rowlandson scholarship has generally moved from identifying the narrative's complicity with Puritan orthodoxy to uncovering its "gendered resistance to orthodoxy" and, in a third step, to inquiring about the "larger 'cultural work'" it performs (Toulouse, "Sovereignty" 925; see also Newman 59n3 and Logan 471). Broadly following these developments, specific studies of typology in the narrative such as those by Gary L. Ebersole, Downing, Mitchell Robert Breitwieser, Toulouse, and Henwood have identified a large variety of purposes for which the Rowlandson account draws upon Biblical types. According to the "classic" view, represented by scholars such as Downing or Ebersole, the Rowlandson text—whether through editorial interpolation or not (see Ebersole 29)—employs scriptural references to typologically identify the Puritans with Old Testament Israel and to simultaneously link Rowlandson's individual fate to that of all Puritans (see Downing 254). Towards the end of her narrative, for instance, Rowlandson is amazed at the fact that the Indians never seemed to lack food (105), quotes Psalm 81.13-14 (106), and then concludes:

> But now our perverse and evil carriages in the sight of the Lord, have so offended Him, that instead of turning His hand against [the Indians], the Lord feeds and nourishes them up to be a scourge to the whole Land. (106)

Just as the Indians are a "scourge" to Rowlandson, they are, at the same time, a scourge to all Puritans; and just as God punished the Hebrews for

not having walked "in His ways" (see Psalm 81.13-14, *KJV*), he also punishes the Puritans for their "perverse and evil carriages" (106). According to this particular view, then, typology allows *The Sovereignty* to reproduce the orthodox Puritan self-conception as the New English Israel, as conceptualized by ministers such as Increase Mather. Focusing on the numerous references to the Psalms in the narrative, Henwood has argued that typology also provides Rowlandson with an orthodox, "sanctioned means of expressing her emotional torment, especially her anger" (170). Scrutinizing the context of the Psalms Rowlandson quotes—i.e., what "she must also read but does not quote" (177)—Henwood finds that the captive repeatedly turns to Psalms that apparently soothe but "actually offer substantial psychological compensation in the form of potent threats and visions of violent retaliation against the enemy" (179). According to Henwood, then, typology in the shape of the Psalms also offers Rowlandson a voice of public orthodoxy to express emotions such as anger and rage.

By contrast, scholars such as Breitwieser, who view Rowlandson's anger as an expression of her resistance to, rather than her complicity with, Puritan orthodoxy, have used some of the narrative's scriptural references as keys to the way the account supposedly undercuts its own orthodoxy. Breitwieser notes that by using typology, Rowlandson "*hands herself over* to Mather's view of the war . . . because she knew that this was . . . the only way her thoughts and words could escape from the eventual oblivion of isolated memory" (8, emphasis original). At the same time, however, he argues, some of the types chosen by Rowlandson—for example, her reference to Lot's wife during the sixth remove (see Rowlandson 80)—work against her "best intentions" (Breitwieser 8), as they betray individual, subjective, and publicly defended emotions such as anger, frustration, and, most importantly, a desire to mourn her losses. Similarly, Toulouse views the increasing density of scriptural references at the end of the thirteenth remove (see Rowlandson 91) as well as the growing incongruousness of these hope-inspiring quotes in the light of Rowlandson's desperate situation as underscoring rather than hiding her anger (Toulouse, "'My Own Credit'" 664).

Finally, in a later publication that exemplifies the most recent development in Rowlandson scholarship, namely, the tendency to inquire about the "cultural work" performed by *The Sovereignty*, Toulouse relates Rowlandson's use of typology to the highly ambivalent relationship of second- and third-generation Puritan ministers—men such as Increase Mather—to their fathers. Again focusing on the end of the thirteenth remove, Toulouse argues that the

different types evoked in this passage represent "a variety of relational positions that the vulnerable captive woman assumes toward a punishing and a redeeming father/God" (*Captive's Position* 167), thus simultaneously expressing the swerving of the first generation's sons between "filial loyalty [to] and their desire to separate" from their fathers (72).

Yet however complex the use of types in the Rowlandson text may be, what is still striking is the high number of Old Testament types or, conversely, the "peculiar paucity of New Testament references" in *The Sovereignty* (Downing 255). According to Downing, "fewer than one tenth [of Rowlandson's Biblical references] are from the New Testament; in fact, the name of Jesus Christ is never directly mentioned in her account" (255).[17] In Lalemant's captivity narrative, by contrast, the figure of Christ is repeatedly, though more indirectly, drawn upon as a type.

Jérôme Lalemant: The Figuration of Christ

The Biblical types chosen by Lalemant (as well as those chosen by the sources he translates and quotes in his account, most notably Isaac Jogues himself) are as diverse as in Rowlandson's case. Chapters one and four through eight of the *Relation* contain around fifty direct quotations from and allusions to the Bible. As in the Rowlandson text, these are taken from about twenty different Biblical books; here, too, the books most frequently drawn upon are the Psalms (five direct quotations, see 50; 53; 60; 62; 79; three allusions, see 42; 60; 90) and Isaiah (five allusions, see 27; 28; 51; 60; 67). Like Rowlandson, Lalemant also refers to Old Testament episodes of captivity (for instance, when Jogues is taken to the Mohawk village Ossernenon,[18] Lalemant describes the place as "cette Babylone" [51]; "this Babylon" [41])[19] as well as to Old Testament individuals who were tried or tested by God (again, most notably Job; see 44).

As in the case of Rowlandson, however, the use of types in Lalemant's narrative is highly complex. Here, too, for instance, the use of the Psalms may be argued to widen the range of what could be expressed in orthodox terms beyond the Jesuit missionaries' self-conception as the new early Christians, who wilfully accept martyrdom as a key to the success of the mission (see Perron 111). In a central passage at the end of his narrative Lalemant, like Rowlandson, views the fate of the captive as emblematic of an entire group of people, which he then typologically relates to a Biblical group of people:

> Or tout ainsi qu'on reprochoit jadis en la primitive Eglise aux enfans de Jésus-Christ qu'ils causoient des malheurs par tout, et qu'on en massacroit quelques-uns pour

> ce sujet, de mesme sommes-nous persécutés de ce que par nostre doctrine . . . nous dépeuplons à ce qu'ils disent leurs contrées, et c'est pour cette doctrine qu'ils ont tué [Isaac Jogues], et par conséquent on le peut tenir pour Martyr devant Dieu. (93)
>
> Now, just as of old, in the primitive Church, the reproach was cast against the children of Jesus Christ, that they caused misfortunes everywhere, and as some of them were slain on that account, likewise we are persecuted because by our doctrine . . . we depopulate—as they say—their countries; and it is for this doctrine that they have killed [Isaac Jogues], and consequently we may regard him as a martyr before God. (121)

Here, it is not the Old Testament Hebrews (as in *The Sovereignty*), but the New Testament early Christians that are seen as prefiguring the North American Jesuits in general and Jogues in particular (see Laflèche, "Literature" 52). Throughout the narrative Jogues himself is portrayed as accepting and even desiring martyrdom; for example, after having been tortured at Ossernenon, he notes[20]: "nous nous offrismes d'un grand cœur à sa [Dieu] bonté paternelle pour estre des victimes immolées à son bon plaisir et à sa cholère amoureuse pour le salut de ces peuples" (50); "we offered ourselves with great courage to his [God's] fatherly goodness, in order to be victims sacrificed to his good pleasure and to his anger, lovingly zealous for the salvation of these peoples" (41). A few lines later, Jogues quotes Psalm 129.3 to describe the wounds on his back, but the context of this Psalm—i.e., what he "must also read but does not quote"—is less concerned with the "salut" ("salvation") of his torturers than with the righteousness of God, who will "cut asunder the cords of the wicked" (Psalm 129.4). As in the case of Rowlandson, the Psalms thus allow Jogues to publicly express his anger and desire not (only) for martyrdom, but (also) for retaliation.

There are, however, also differences between Rowlandson's and Lalemant's choice of Biblical types: most importantly, and in contrast to Rowlandson (see above), Lalemant mentions Jesus Christ no fewer than nineteen times, in addition to many indirect evocations such as "mon Sauveur" (49); "my Savior" (39). Certainly the most important role of Christ in the *Relation* is that of the Biblical type foreshadowing Jogues' captivity and assassination by the Native Americans. Yet unlike Rowlandson, who directly refers to and quotes from the Bible, Lalemant accesses the type of Jesus through a Catholic practice of devotion, the Way of the Cross. As Laflèche points out in his annotations (*Les saints martyrs*), chapter four of the *Relation* typologically aligns Jogues' arrivals at different Mohawk villages—and specifically the Native American ritual of running the gauntlet, "ce chemin de fureur et d'angoisses" (47); "that way of fury and anguish" (31)—with selected stations

of the Way of the Cross. Of the latter's altogether fourteen traditional stations (see Brown 833), eight are alluded to in chapter four, four of which, in turn, have scriptural precedence. Station one (Jesus is condemned to death) is evoked when Jogues leaves his hiding place and the "Iroquois" who has already captured Jogues' companions "s'avance, et m'ayant saisi il me mit au nombre de ceux que la terre appelle misérables" (44); "advances and, having seized me, puts me in the number of those whom the world calls miserable" (25). Station two (Jesus is given his cross) is not alluded to by Lalemant, but Stations three, seven, and nine (Jesus' first, second, and third fall, respectively; no scriptural precedence) are referred to when even before arriving at Ossernenon, Jogues has to run the gauntlet for the first time:

> Je n'avois pas fait la moitié de cette route que je tombai par terre sous le faix de cette gresle [de coups], et de ces coups redoublés; je ne m'efforçai point de me relever, partie pour ma foiblesse, partie pour ce que j'acceptois ce lieu pour mon sépulchre. (47)
>
> I had not accomplished half of this course when I fell to the earth under the weight of that hail [of blows] and of those redoubled blows. I did not strive to rise again,—partly because of my weakness, partly because I was accepting that place for my sepulchre. (33)

Stations four and five (Jesus meets his mother and Simon of Cyrene carries the cross) are again omitted, but Station six (Veronica wipes the face of Jesus; no scriptural precedence) is referred to when in Ossernenon, Jogues' Native guardian sees him covered with blood and "touché de quelque compassion, . . . il m'essuya la face" (50); "touched with some compassion, . . . he wiped my face" (39). At the very end of chapter four, "[q]uelques femmes plus pitoyables nous voyoient avec beaucoup de charité, ne pouvans regarder nos plaies sans compassion" (55); "[s]ome women, more merciful, regarded us with much charity and were unable to look at our sores without compassion" (51), thus evoking Station eight of the Way of the Cross (Jesus meets the women of Jerusalem). Station ten (Jesus is stripped of his garments) is alluded to twice, once shortly after the capture (46) and again when Jogues, now having been brought from Ossernenon to Andogaron, notices that pieces of his skin fall off his body (53). Finally, in the third Mohawk village, Jogues is attached "à des bois attachés en Croix, en sorte que mes pieds n'estans point soustenus, le poids de mon corps me donnoit une géhenne et une torture . . ." (54); "to pieces of wood fastened crosswise. Consequently, my feet not being supported, the weight of my body inflicted upon me a gehenna, and a torture . . ." (49), a clear reference to Jesus' crucifixion, Station eleven of the Passion.

One may wonder, however, where Jogues' prefiguration by Jesus actually ends: Jogues may have been "crucified" at the end of chapter four of the *Relation*, but Lalemant's account of the captivity ends neither here nor with Jogues' eventual escape in 1643 (79), his voyage to France in 1643/44 (85-86), or his return to North America in 1644 (86). Instead, Lalemant ends his captivity narrative with Jogues' eventual return to the "pays des Iroquois" and his assassination there in 1646 (chapter eight of the *Relation*; 89-99), thus evoking Station twelve of the Way of the Cross (Jesus dies). The events between Jogues' "crucifixion" in August 1642 and his return to the Mohawks in July 1646 are, however, heavily contracted by Lalemant. In fact, the description of the nineteen days between Jogues' capture and his "crucifixion" (44-55) and the two and a half months between his return and his assassination in October 1646 (89-99) take up almost as much space (twenty-three pages in Laflèche's edition) as that of the almost four years between the "crucifixion" and the return (56-88, i.e., thirty-three pages in Laflèche's edition; see also Perron 286n41). Hence, as in Rowlandson's work, in which time is measured not in days and weeks but in spiritual and physical "removes" from God and civilization, typology and the specific Biblical types chosen also impact the overall temporal structure and scope of the captivity narrative.

The Cultural Work of Christic Figuration

Recent readings of the Jesuit North American *Relations* such as those by Carole Blackburn, Takao Abé, or Micah True have explicitly sought to overcome the emphasis on the personal voices, motives, and psychology of individual priests that characterized earlier studies of these texts (see Blackburn 12; Abé 80; True 22). For instance, Laflèche attributed Lalemant's depiction of Jogues as a martyr mainly to the individual, personal ambitions of the author of this particular captivity narrative (see Laflèche, *Les Saints* 9). By contrast, examining the Iberian Jesuit accounts from Japan and Jogues' own, personal letters, Abé and Alexis Lussier have evoked the North American mission's specific historical situation and the Catholic Church's politics of martyrdom during the Counter-Reformation, respectively, to account for the prominence of the figure of the martyr in the *Relation* (see Abé 80 and Lussier 95-98).

Another way of overcoming earlier critical paradigms would be to consider, as recent Rowlandson scholarship has done (see above), the broader cultural work accomplished by the use of typology in Lalemant's captivity narrative. Seen from this particular critical angle, typology or, more specifically, Christic figuration allows the *Relation* to become part of a

textual genre that rallied Jesuits and Catholics all over the world around the figure of the saint, namely, the hagiography. Julia Boss has explained the role of saints' lives in forming and articulating a global Catholic community:

> Beyond the immediate purposes of edification and emulation, the lives of venerables also could serve a variety of social uses that were essential to the articulation of Catholic community. . . . The collective reading of . . . hagiographic narratives made possible an "imagined community" of French Catholicism. (213)

By donating or loaning hagiographic writings or "lives" to Catholics in the New World (see Boss 213-14) and by reading and circulating these narratives, respectively, both European supporters of the North American missions and North American Catholics were thus engaged in a trans-Atlantic "work of community definition" (215). However, as Boss points out, North Americans contributed to this formation of a Catholic community not only as readers, but also as authors of hagiography (see 215-16). Using typology to portray the captive as a (potential) martyr and saint and distributing these accounts on both sides of the Atlantic, the author of the *Relation* participated in a process that simultaneously linked the different North American missions as well as the Old and the New World. Already in the *Relation* itself, Lalemant notes how the story of Jogues' captivity, turned into a hagiographic account, has contributed to a sense of community among the North American Jesuits in particular and the Catholic population of New France in general:

> Nous avons respecté cette mort comme la mort d'un Martyr, et quoi que *nous fussions en divers endroits*, plusieurs Pères *sans scavoir rien les uns des autres pour la distance des lieux* ne se sont pû résoudre de célébrer pour lui la Messe des trespassés, si bien de présenter cet adorable Sacrifice en action de grâces des biens que Dieu lui avoit eslargis; les séculiers qui l'ont connu particulièrement, et les maisons Religieuses ont respecté cette mort, se sentans plustost portés d'invoquer le Père que de prier pour son âme. (92, emphasis added)
>
> We have honored this death as the death of a Martyr; and, although *we were in various places*, several of our Fathers,—*without knowing aught from one another, because of the distance between those places*, although they could not resolve to celebrate for him the Mass of the dead, have indeed offered this adorable sacrifice by way of thanksgiving for the blessings that God had extended to him. The laymen who knew him intimately, and the Religious houses, have honored this death,—feeling inclined rather to invoke the Father than to pray for his soul. (119)

Geographical distance and lack of communication notwithstanding, the veneration of Isaac Jogues, justified by Lalemant's typological reading of captivity as an experience of martyrdom, has created a "nous" ("we") that includes "Pères" ("Fathers"), "séculiers" ("laymen"), and "maisons Religieuses" ("Religious houses") all over New France. And the inclusion of Jogues' story in the

Relation and the latter's distribution in France and all over the world (see note 6) would further expand this "nous" to also include Catholics—clergy and laity—in Europe and beyond. To be sure, the official response from Rome in the shape of Jogues' beatification and canonization by Pope Pius XI would not come until 1925 and 1930, respectively. Yet the *Relation*'s use of typology also had more immediate effects. While Puritans such as Mather or Rowlandson (also) employed typology to "unite . . . around remembering King Philip's War" (Boss 221), the depiction of *Weltgeschichte* as *Heilsgeschichte* in Lalemant's *Relation*, far from merely setting the process of canonization in motion or attracting further political, spiritual, and material support from Europe, helped to form a global community of Catholics around the figure of the martyr.

NOTES

1 See Sayre's *Les sauvages américains* (1997), Colley's *Captives: Britain, Empire and the World, 1600-1850* (2002), Bauer's *The Cultural Geography of Colonial American Literatures* (2003), and Voigt's *Writing Captivity in the Early Modern Atlantic* (2009).

2 More precisely, chapters one and four to eight of Lalemant's *Relation*, which are exclusively concerned with the captivity of Isaac Jogues.

3 The two titles refer to the first Cambridge and London editions of Rowlandson's narrative, respectively. The very first edition of the work, the 1682 Boston edition, has only been preserved in fragments (see Bauer 122-23; Salisbury viii).

4 Both texts have been described as "foundational" with respect to early New England and early New France (see Perron 103; Sayre, "Communion" 51). Moreover, selections from these texts are included in some anthologies, e.g., in the *Heath Anthology of American Literature*, 5th ed. (2006).

5 Critics have repeatedly discussed the possible influence of Increase Mather and perhaps also Rowlandson's husband Joseph as well as Gershom Bulkeley on her account (see Toulouse, *Captive's Position* 181-82n28) as well as the various first- and second-hand sources Lalemant used to compile his narrative (see Laflèche, *Les saints* 11-14; see also note 20). Sayre's comparison ("Communion") elides this difference—and others—as he contrasts the Rowlandson text not with the respective chapters of Lalemant's *Relation*, but with Jogues' letter "Novum Belgium" (1646), in which Jogues describes the events up to his escape to Rensselaerswyck in August 1643.

6 With *The Sovereignty* having gone through three additional editions during the first year of its publication (two in Cambridge, one in London) and with the *Relation* (along with the other yearly installments of the *Relations des Jésuites* from 1632 to 1672) having seen "numerous editions and reprints by Cramoisy" (Laflèche, "Literature" 53) and other printers (see Rigault and Ouellet 639), both texts may be considered to have been bestsellers in their own time.

7 This is not to argue that *The Sovereignty* and the *Relation* do not also use other intertexts or textual models such as the spiritual autobiography (see Downing 253) or, as will be shown, the hagiography (see Blodgett 31).

8 Toulouse (*Captive's Position* 187n19) offers a list of studies on Rowlandson that examine the use of typology in her account.

9 Most critics have described Lalemant's use of Biblical quotations as allegorical or analogical.

Perron, for instance, speaks of the account's "Christic analogy" (287 n47); Lestringant notes that Lalemant "sui[t] le grand modèle dialectique offert par la Passion du Christ" (260; "follows the great dialectical model offered by the Passion of the Christ," author's translation). Even Blodgett, who offers the most thorough analysis of Lalemant's use of Scripture to date, seems to avoid the term typology. In fact, however, Blodgett uses nearly the exact wording to characterize the relationship between the Jesuit writings and the Bible that Caldwell had used to describe the role of Bible quotations in Puritan conversion narratives: while Caldwell speaks of the "movement of the narrator through the Bible, almost as through a physical space" (31), Blodgett notes that "while the Jesuits travelled through vast regions of North America, they were in fact moving through the Bible" (39).

10 Already in *Les sauvages américains*, Sayre had noted that in contrast to Rowlandson, Jogues "interpreted his fate by a very different typology" (23). He then goes on to argue, however, that the Jesuit employs Jesus' crucifixion as a "metaphor" (23) and also classifies the Puritan captivity narratives as "religious allegories" (310), where "typology" would be the more accurate term.

11 In her forthcoming monograph, however, Buchenau will examine the use of typology in Jogues' account in more detail.

12 "It is sometimes said that the reason for the Bible's oblique approach to history is that what we call history is *Weltgeschichte*, whereas the Bible is interested in *Heilsgeschichte*, in the history of God's actions in the world and man's relation to them" (Frye 65).

13 Sayre, for instance, comments on the use of post-scriptural typology not only in the Rowlandson text and in Jogues' "Novum Belgium" (see note 5), but also in the sixteenth-century captivity narratives by Hans Staden and Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca (see "Communion" 53).

14 See, for instance: "Now hath God fulfilled that precious Scripture" (109) or "Then the Lord brought, and now has fulfilled that reviving word unto me: . . ." (109).

15 English translations of the French quotes are taken from *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, compiled and edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites and originally published from 1896 to 1901. The page numbers following the English translations refer to vol. 31 of *The Jesuit Relations*.

16 For a list of these references, see Downing 258-59n15.

17 For a list of New Testament references in addition to those identified in the text, see Downing 258n10.

18 Today Auriesville, New York, the site of the National Shrine of the North American Martyrs, which is dedicated to Jogues and the seven other Canadian Martyrs (see Laflèche, *Les saints* 192-93n53).

19 Rowlandson, of course, also alludes to Babylon (82). Lalemant, in turn, also alludes to Daniel (62), albeit less in the latter's role as a captive in Babylon than as an interpreter of dreams.

20 Lalemant, starting with the fourth paragraph of chapter four, draws on letters written by Jogues himself and by Jacques Buteux, the superior of the Montreal mission during the winter of 1644/45, and retains the first person singular throughout the entire chapter (see Laflèche, *Les saints* 172n10 and 195n70).

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Joy Russell

Survivor

Jack favors hunting and its savage reward of meats.
—notes on *Lord of the Flies*

Sand and refinement get you lonely
on this desert island, sending out smoke
signals in hope of rescue. Nature's
a camouflage of rusty palm trees, mosquito
breeze, winding snakes in the bush.
No conch to blow saxophone.
The Bible and Shakespeare—your radio prize—
don't give what you need—what you
need can't be read. Night's an eerie
savage sound; slaughter of sow keeps you
civilized, beast tucked firmly below the belt.
Fitting into grainy voids is what you do best.
Survivor, you've boated, been islanded before.
You know the way, the weight of water's slosh,
knocking eardrum twenty four-seven, month
after month. You know memory's flat as the world,
hard to find, easy to erase. Your skin's wet
wood, alone, umbilical-free. For what it's worth,
for all your trouble, crossing is how you got over.

Jennifer Henderson

Taste and Colonial Conjugality in Susan Frances Harrison

I. Loving in bad taste: colonial vulgarity in London

Critics have long seen an autobiographical gesture in the internal monologue that stands as the title story of Susan Frances Harrison's collection, *Crowded Out! and Other Sketches* (1886), a story in which a male, English Canadian writer seeking a London publisher for his work encounters acute rejection and isolation in the metropolis, dying in the attic room of a lodging-house beside a dry ink well (Wetherald 268; MacMillan 118, 109). Harrison herself had already made unsuccessful trips to London and New York to find a publisher for her work (MacMillan 109). *Crowded Out!* was her first book, published under the pen name Seranus and probably at her own expense by the *Ottawa Evening Journal* (MacMillan 121). But the rejection experienced by Harrison's narrator in this opening story is multiple in its origins: the message that he is "nobody" comes from Canada as well as London, and he is "not wanted" in matters of love as well as art (*Crowded* 8, 12). Before coming to London to seek artistic recognition, he has been rejected by his French Canadian muse, Hortense, the "last one of the noble line" (12). Harrison makes the position of the rejected suitor work as a figure for the narrator's rejection as a writer in the metropolis. The pain of both experiences is expressed in terms of a passionate lover's failure to make himself the "accepted, delighted lover" of his love-object (8-9). The narrator's problem, much as Harrison saw her own, is a problem of reception, or taste.

Strangely omitted from the original edition's table of contents,[1] the title story establishes a metafictional concern with taste as a densely encoded form of judgment; this concern is central to a number of stories in the

collection, but I shall focus on one in particular, the novella, "How the Mr. Foxleys Came, Stayed, and Never Went Away," which develops the specific problem of taste's fractured geographies and histories introduced in the opening story.[2] The extent to which Harrison was interested in taste as a category bridging the aesthetic and the social, a means of assigning value based on a mixture of historically and contextually specific distinctions, is suggested in the opening story by the narrator's insight into the factor that joins his experiences of rejection as a writer and a suitor: "It was all caste. Caste in London, caste in *Le Bas Canada*, all the same" (11). What the narrator confronts is taste's contamination with history, the social hierarchies of class and colonialism, and the encrustation of persons and things with these value determinations. The relevance of caste to his rejection by Hortense, the "delicate, haughty, pale and impassioned daughter of a noble house," is more apparent than its relevance to his rejection by London publishers, however (10). Hortense's distaste for him derives from an older code of good taste explicitly linked to status and impermeable social boundaries, a code which, as the title story of *Crowded Out!* implies, is still operative in Canada, and perhaps especially in *Le Bas Canada*. Rejected in art as well as love, by London publishers as well as Hortense, the narrator is depicted as caught between that older code of good taste and the modern, bourgeois one according to which his work is judged in London, a code in which taste by definition transcends worldly distinctions.

In the modern redefinition of taste that began to make discrimination available to non-aristocratic individuals in the eighteenth century, taste was disassociated from inherited status and made a matter of individual moral sensitivity (Garson 8). As a number of cultural historians of taste have observed, modern bourgeois taste was constituted through taste's apparent separation from the instrumental, the calculating, and the self-interested. The "true gentility" of moral refinement, now reflected in the exercise of good taste, was to be distinguished "both from the decadence of the aristocracy and from the 'violence' of the working class" (Garson 8). Thus it is too bad for Harrison's narrator—too bad a second time, on the other side of the Atlantic (but for different reasons there)—that he has the bad taste to be in love with an aristocratic daughter with a name like "*Hortense Angelique De Repentigny de St. Hilaire*" (11). As Elsie B. Michie has argued, the modern form of tastefulness that was inflected as moral refinement was performed in choices in love as well as in aesthetic responses; indeed, the two kinds of choice are fused in the nineteenth-century novel's marriage plot

designed to affirm the virtue of the hero who has the good taste to resist the vulgar appeal of money, rejecting the unsympathetic heiress in favour of the woman embodying anti-materialist, altruistic values (423). The cordoning off of a newly privatized and interiorized taste from the "external" realm of economic transactions had made taste the expression of virtue understood as a capacity for disinterested, benevolent feeling, including the feeling of love. In this context, the fictional marriage plot that Michie describes operated as a necessary "sibling discours[e]" to political economy, offering readers, through its specialization in questions of aesthetic-moral taste, the reassurance that there was a realm uncontaminated by self-interest and economic consideration (432).

As John Barrell has noted, bourgeois taste was embroiled in economic considerations, precisely to the extent that its mode of sympathetic aesthetic response pretended to transcend the crassly material. In reconstituting taste as private and as linked to a subject's interiority, the new code freed economic transactions from moral scrutiny. The role of the artwork in this context was to teach readers "to take a private pleasure in alleviating the results of activities of which they were the economic beneficiaries, . . . to clear up after the accidents" of commercial and industrial capitalism, through aesthetic-moral responses to representations (60). The remapping of the public and private that allowed for this "privatization of virtue" (Barrell 58) also entailed a designation of the family and its intimate relations as part of that sphere cordoned off from the self-interested passions: "[M]arriage for love rather than marriage for reason, that is, for economic or social considerations," thereby became the normative basis for unions (Habermas 47 qtd. in Povinelli 233). Love, as Lauren Berlant puts it, became the conceptual "loophole" through which the modern, liberal, capitalist subject could "disidentify" from the aggression in "his pursuit of desire and interest in all spaces" (293).

By the end of the nineteenth century, Michie notes, this marriage plot was employed with increasing self-consciousness and even subjected to ironic reversals. For Harrison, though, self-consciousness about the rules of taste was also made available by the asynchronies of metropolitan and settler-colonial cultural "development," associated with the comparatively delayed emergence of industrial capitalism in Canada. As Nancy Christie has argued, "contractual social relations, individualistic notions of wages and labour, and the separation of the public and private spheres of workplace and home" were relatively slow to displace older social forms of obligation and duty

associated with the persistence of economic production within the family in the settler-colonial context, and thus "gender, status, and wealth hierarchies" were preserved through informal cultural mechanisms in Canada's experience of a particularly "'long' eighteenth century" ("Interrogating" 13; "Broken" 28; "'Painful Dependence'" 72).[3]

Harrison is an astute observer of this transatlantic asynchrony and the complexities of taste produced by its disjunctive temporality. As the opening story in *Crowded Out!* suggests, this asynchrony poses a problem for a writer wanting to write *of* Canada *for* a transatlantic audience. The narrator is caught between conflicting regimes of taste, in Canada and England, in which his love for Hortense counts as presumptuous and déclassé, respectively. His straddling of the two regimes is precisely why he can see through the ostensible disinterestedness of metropolitan bourgeois taste to insist that his rejection in London is as much about caste as is the rule that prevents him from winning the hand of Hortense at home.

He knows he is a colonial nobody in London, but the relevance of caste to the rejection of his writing in the metropolis stems more specifically from his aesthetic choices, especially insofar as these are inseparable from, indeed shaped by, his doomed choice in love. He has come to London with "an opera, a comedy, a volume of verse, songs, sketches, stories" (8). We meet him at the point at which he has tried to sell everything but the opera, which is metonymically associated with Hortense.[4] His fear is that when he takes the opera to the theatre managers, and "even tell[s] them about [himself] and Hortense," he will face ridicule (10). It is not just that he may be "nobody" to the London gate-keepers, but that to them, "Hortense, with her imperial brow, . . . my Hortense, [may be] nobody!" (10). If his works are judged as foolish or tasteless in London, then, it is because they are infused with his love for Hortense, an expression of taste that is not tradable—because it has no value—where the market is largest. As Margaret Steffler has noted, the story suggests that what makes Hortense erotically attractive to the narrator is her unattainability and exoticism: the fact that he is "'crowded out' of the *château* by its nobility and religion, not to mention its perceived perversity" (247).[5] In London, however, this form of desire—and the opera that is its aesthetic correlative—registers as embarrassingly formulaic, according to a bourgeois code of good taste that requires object-choices to reflect moral integrity. The narrator only proves his aesthetic and moral backwardness when he protests that Hortense is "better born than most of these girls I have seen here in London" (11). Within London's regime

of taste, his pursuit of a noble heiress will be received as vulgar and morally anachronistic; it will be seen to violate both moral codes and the rules of good art. London will not love him for his love of Hortense.

In "Crowded Out," then, Harrison provides a perceptive representation of the confused performance and decoding of taste in contexts of inconsistent, overlapping, or transitional social relations.[6] That the contingency of taste was already Harrison's topic makes the difficulties contemporary and later critics have had in placing her work in relation to genre somewhat ironic. It is certainly tempting to read in her narrator's passion for the daughter of Old Quebec a trope for Harrison's own often-remarked penchant for "the romance typical of turn-of-the century English-Canadian literary interpretations of the lower province" (Gerson, "Susan" 145).[7] The suggestion that London will "laugh" at the narrator's work may reflect Harrison's sense that her own work's "special subject" failed to resonate with London tastes, and was also "wasted" at home (qtd. in MacMillan 107). But if her work was "wasted," in Harrison's view, it was precisely because it was not typical in its treatment of "French" material and did not correspond to the ruling taste in nineteenth-century English Canada for historical romances, either. In English Canada, a politically conquered French Canadian cultural other was relegated to a mythical past, in the service of a broader nationalist project to invest Canadian identity with romance and distinctiveness.[8] In an interview with William Dean Howells for *Massey's Magazine*, Harrison observed that "there may be work which is a little too good for Canada, and yet, not quite good enough for English or American markets" (239). She went on to insist on an aesthetic distinction between two ways of working "French Canadian subjects," separating her own attempts from the contemporaneous "dialect craze" by explaining, "I try to get the *idiom*" (239; emphasis added).[9]

One contemporary who did recognize that the "Frenchness" of Harrison's material was not what Harrison called the "easy historical" of other writers was Agnes Ethelwyn Wetherald, whose discussion of Harrison's work in 1888 in *The Week* addressed the "tone and spirit" of "Crowded Out."[10] Wetherald explains the difference of Harrison's aesthetic by drawing on the concept of national character, and implies that the tastes corresponding to national characters are indexes of their differing moral codes. The unmitigated anguish expressed by the narrator of "Crowded Out" flouts an English moral and aesthetic code of restraint, Wetherald observes. The "intensity of the emotion" in the story is "entirely French" (268): "It is as if one were inspecting a butterfly pierced but not chloroformed" (268). Interestingly, it

is when she is discussing a story largely set in London, and with an English Canadian narrator, that Wetherald sees a "French" tone in Harrison's work (268). The adjective refers to the psychological interest of "Crowded Out," its dramatization of emotional processes, which would seem to support Harrison's self-characterization as "a realist, a modern of the moderns" (qtd. in Gerson, "Susan" 145).[11] Harrison, indeed, is not a romancer of "the Old World of America" (Wetherald 268; qtd. in Gerson, *Purer* 110), but a writer of modern genre fiction, in whose work the most uncompromising ironic detachment can sit alongside eruptions of melodrama and the gothic that are framed as aesthetic-emotional genres at work in everyday life, that is, in a world perceived through the lens of realism.

In identifying the body of nineteenth-century English Canadian fiction fascinated with Lower Canada, Carole Gerson concurred with Northrop Frye in assessing the values it promoted as those associated with the "pastoral tradition," marked by a nostalgia for a past world now lost to a present marked by artifice and self-interest (*Purer* 115). The historical fiction of Old Quebec granted its readers the pleasure of an aesthetic-moral distinction based on disidentification from the purportedly less authentic version of themselves, forced to participate in the competitive, instrumental social relations of the present (Barrell 58; Berlant 293).[12] Harrison's fiction seems to write against precisely this middle-class code of good moral and aesthetic taste. Her rejection of the approved uses of romance in late-nineteenth-century Canada implies an at best ambivalent relation to the private sphere as the source and sustaining ground of the tender, selfless virtues, the space of a love based on mutual, intimate recognitions of moral worth in which instrumental calculations have no part.

As Elizabeth A. Povinelli has argued, recognition according to individual moral worth (differentiated from "primitive" or aristocratic valuings of rank or descent) is supposed to be the basis for intimacy not only in the bourgeois family but also in the modern nation, the intimate national community made up of subjects formed in the "natural" bonds and recognitions of the nuclear family. Modern "nationalism," Povinelli writes, "absorbed the structures of this recognition: We-the-People emerged as a transposition and lifting-up (*Aufhebung*) of the dialectic of the intimate I and thou" (230). So bourgeois taste as a mode of recognition, conjugal relationships and their meanings, and the modern nation as a structure that includes and excludes on the basis of an imagined intimacy set against the illegitimacy or backwardness of other modes of recognition—all of these may be seen as analytically linked

in the writing that struck Wetherald as "wholly un-English" (268). Gerson's discussion of Harrison's fiction in the chapter of *A Purer Taste* devoted to historical romances of Lower Canada allows that Harrison's work represents an exception to the genre's project of "comfort[ing] and disburden[ing]" the middle-class reader (132). Harrison deploys French Canada as the site where the "fears and desires," the "lower depths" of English-speaking characters might be projected and explored (128). But Harrison's exploration of the "lower depths" of her English-speaking audience does not always rest on the dynamic of projection onto French others; indeed, the critical representation of such a self-deluding cultural dynamic is key to her dissection of Ontario taste in the novella published as the second-to-last story in the *Crowded Out!* collection, "How the Mr. Foxleys Came, Stayed and Never Went Away." Here the unconscious depths that interest Harrison are inseparable from relations of class, especially insofar as these are inflected by the context of colonial settlement and its particular distances, longings, and anxieties about social distinction—anxieties which, the novella suggests, are disowned as foreign, or French. The narrator of this story, set in the fictitious southern Ontario village of Ipswich,[13] is an English Canadian, unmarked as to gender, but equipped with a historical consciousness and a capacity for observing with an air of worldly detachment and controlled irony the playing-out of dynamics of class and gender at a moment of unsettlement, and within a place mapped by the complex spatio-temporality of cultural transposition, settler nostalgia, and "New World" ambition.

While "Crowded Out" dramatizes the disastrous fate of a writer whose muse and intended audience are defined by the asynchrony of colonial and metropolitan tastes, the penultimate story in the collection turns to the protracted survival of pre-capitalist social forms in the settler context as fascinating material for fiction consciously focused on the vicissitudes of taste, and on characters positioned at the crossroads of different orders of value. "How the Mr. Foxleys Came, Stayed and Never Went Away" thematizes taste as an encoding of social and moral judgment. It follows the fortunes of two Englishmen of the fox-hunting class as they move into an apparently "placid" and uncannily familiar Ontario settlement, with "a certain Old World haze hanging over it" (108). *How* these English travellers come to remain in the town of Ipswich, as the title suggests, is the story's explicit preoccupation, as it traces the slow transformation of the two sojourning brothers, George and Joseph—well-heeled but, as it turns out, disinherited members of the English gentry—into permanent residents.

Their ability to exhibit the outward signs of rank wins them easy passage into Ipswich, for the town residents are only too ready to be flattered by the attention of visitors displaying the codes of English nobility. Thus, even as the brothers appear to become unwittingly drawn into the village's "haze," the story suggests that they deliberately deploy the currents of nostalgic projection, the residual consciousness of inherited status, and the bourgeois disavowal of the selfish passions that make up the complex moral order of Ipswich's emerging middle class. Thus we move from the state of abjection that anachronistic colonial taste produces for the narrator of "Crowded Out" in London, to the ironically observed state of grace that this colonial taste produces for a pair of English travellers in southern Ontario who understand how to make the most of this residual code, while it lasts in the colony, insofar as it buys them time which they have run out of at home.

II. Companionate marriage and colonial asynchrony

Among the semi-acclimatized British settlers of Ipswich, who have created a town and local landscape that is a citation of England, the newly arrived Foxleys seem to promise access to a more-valued original, a mother country idealized in class terms.[14] The villagers eagerly decode the signs of the Foxleys' gentrified status in the details of their appearance. It "was easy to gather from their picturesque and unusual attire of neat gray small-clothes meeting gray stockings at the knee, low white shoes, a striped blue and white flannel shirt and canoe-shaped hats of gray, each bearing a snow-white 'puggree' with blue and gold fringed ends. Such was the outward adorning of the Mr. Foxleys" (108). But as the exacting detail of the description suggests, something is at stake for the observers in demonstrating this expertise, the assertion of their own identity as English or at least British. The codes of Englishness are both familiar and tinged with distance and longing. They represent cultural materials from which the residents of Ipswich have themselves, by time and circumstance, become alienated. The simile used to describe the visitors' hats draws on a point of reference that seems to allude, as if unwittingly, to a pre-European social geography of the deceptively English river the visitors are crossing over in their carriage.[15]

The colonial situation makes for important slippages and misrecognitions, especially insofar as it produces a form of historical lag in the reading of social types. Mrs. Cox, the landlady of the Ipswich Inn, "took [the Foxley brothers] to her heart at once. They were *gentlemen,* she said, and that was enough for her" (114). But just before this we have been led to suspect

that her certainty that "she knew gentlemen when she saw them" might be questionable, or her judgment out of date, for her estimation of "the only well-to-do man in the place"—the American owner of "the new and prosperous mill"—as falling short of gentlemanly status is based on an outmoded "knowledge of types": "[t]he aristocracy of money was as yet a phase unknown to her simple English mind" (113-14). The unfamiliarity to Mrs. Cox of this new phase which signals the breakdown of a whole regime of value is key to the Foxley brothers' ability to make themselves at home at her inn and indeed in the village as a whole. The codes according to which the people of Ipswich read and desire are what we must understand, if the story of the village's seduction by the Englishmen is to unfold with the dramatic irony that allows us to share in the controlled bemusement of the narrator. More precisely, the reader needs to understand the contingency and the confusion of the codes of taste operating in the village, their inextricability from social relations of class which are, fortunately for the Foxleys, not quite in synch on either side of the Atlantic. Thus, the brothers' casual references to Foxley Manor, the family home in the Old Country, work such powerful magic among the admiring settlers that by the end of their first afternoon, the narrator wryly observes, George was "in full possession of [the town's] charming and comfortable Inn" (112). The state of possession referred to here anticipates the later, legal possession that George will be able to claim, when after four years' enjoyment of the inn's services and domestic comforts, he marries Milly, the young maid, who also happens to be the landlady's niece and the heir to the charming establishment.

Indeed, the Foxley brothers discover soon after their arrival that "the entire village" seems to be "populated by people of English extraction"; what they also find is a village populated by unmarried people: spinsters, eligible maidens, widows, and widowers (113). While there are homes and properties, there are no marriage relations, and so the desirability of the Foxley brothers is keyed to the problem of marriage in the colonial village, and to the vexed question of what constitutes "tasteful" marriage material there in that moment, repeatedly specified as "twenty years ago," a moment that places the events around both the time of Confederation and the transition from a commercial to an industrial mode of production in southern Ontario (122).[16] The story's metafictional concerns with genre and taste are played out on conjugal terrain that is explicitly invested with these material, historical, and political concerns. In its broadest sense, conjugation means a "yoking together." The novella explores conjugation's more specific sense, the art of

making a good marriage, but in a context that also reflects a wider yoking of contradictory schemes of value.

Taste that is out of place and out of time is the basis for the story's many misrecognitions, but it is not just the villagers' misrecognition of the Foxleys as the real thing that is in play, it is also their more general sense that the distinctions of inherited property should be relevant to social standing. In Charlotte Dexter, one of two unmarried middle-aged sisters who count among the "persons of distinction" in the village, the novella condenses the tragic pathos of the fantasy, shared by numerous characters, that affiliation with an English estate will provide the necessary means of re-establishing the distinction lost through emigration (116). In Joseph Foxley, Charlotte misreads the careless attentions of a flirtatious and worldly "general lover," imagining that his visits for tea constitute a courtship that recognizes and reaffirms the social distinction of her family. When she comes to understand that Joseph's attentions have been indiscriminate, and thus that his presence among her things has defiled them with disregard, it is fitting that the punishment Charlotte delivers—blinding him by tossing vitriol into his eyes—attacks the organ of aesthetic evaluation by which she and her "beautiful and interesting objects" have been so violently insulted (130).

The two Foxley brothers turn out to have starkly different fates in Ipswich, according to a subtle difference in their initial aesthetic judgments of the place. This is the other side of the circuit of desire and projection that draws the Foxleys into the village and keeps them there. The Foxleys stop at Ipswich, and go no further, because they recognize the town's resemblance to an English original. "*This* is better," remarks George as they approach the "pleasant picture" of the village. "It's a little bit after—Devonshire, don't you think?" responds his brother Joseph (108-09). The younger Joseph is the brother more convinced of the reassuring familiarity of Ipswich. George, with a "weary smile" and "weary eyes," allows that the landscape is "better" than what they have seen to this point in Canada, but reminds his brother that it is "*not* English" (109). What George seems to understand already, and what Joseph has yet to learn, are the social dimensions of taste. For Ipswich, in straining to look like England, promises a fertile social terrain but only if one plays the value of one's status as an Englishman carefully. The enchantment of the comfortably familiar must be resisted, for this is a setting of overlapping and contradictory regimes of value, where the residual power of inherited social rank pulls against an emergent liberal order in which property is made, and entitlement earned, by individual effort.

Only George, the world-weary elder brother, who arrives weak and wasted from his adventures in the Old World, knows how to secure for himself all the benefits of the relatively delayed emergence of a liberal order in Ipswich, particularly through his success in the domestic sphere. For him, this narrative of arriving, staying, and never going away is a narrative of regeneration. In marrying Milly, the "buxom maid in bare arms" (110), he appears to accomplish a modern marriage across class lines that, in the eyes of a character like Charlotte, consumed by a nostalgia for Old World distinctions, would constitute a scandalous *mésalliance* between a gentleman and a "common drudge, the scullery maid of a country inn," at home in England (143). Of course, Charlotte is mistaken, for in Harrison's representation of metropolitan-colonial asynchrony, those social distinctions are now relatively outmoded in England and only persist in the colonial settlement, especially in the nostalgic fantasies of the social type that she herself represents. What Charlotte does not see about the New World, but George evidently does, is that it produces social identities and mobilities unthinkable even in those fictional plots in which the country squire becomes besotted with the maid, because Milly is not just a maid, she is a servant-*inheritor* and George's goal is not to seduce her but to "make" himself, to secure a middle class existence by *marrying* her.

In England, as the reader suspects before it is made explicit through George's confession at the end of the story, the elder Foxley brother has already lost any prerogatives associated with his birth. He can no longer rely on a system of familial interdependence and obligation, and faces the brisk demands of a new liberal order of contractual individualism—an unfortunate situation for a man who had "passed the meridian of his years, [whose] health was gone, [his] life rapidly passing away and [for whom] it was impossible now . . . to make any new departure in his life or habits" (149-50). In justifying his choice of the maid, George makes the most of the idea of the affectionate family associated with this new liberal order, praising Milly's embodiment of the virtues of the domestic woman: "if a girl is lovely and gentle and pure-minded, and innocent, and neat, and clean, and refined as [Milly is], it matters not about her birth" (161).[17] But there are other signs that this is actually a marriage that will sustain feudal deference and obligation in a new form, and a match that could not have been achieved without George's special lustre in a place like Ipswich.

Harrison is clearly suspicious of the set of domestic virtues alluded to by George, and skeptical about the "progressive" and supposedly non-instrumental

form of conjugal relation that they sustain, the sympathy of protective husband and infantilized wife. In the case of George and Milly, this natural sympathy is actually fuelled by pre-modern elements that persist precisely through the alibi of the marriage's modern, liberal form, which claims to turn a blind eye to differences in social station. Before the marriage, what permitted George to remain at the inn as a specially indulged, long-term guest was his presumption of his social inferiors' spontaneous submission. With his marriage to Milly, that presumption is merely translated, and thereby perpetuated, in the form of a gender hierarchy naturalized as a relation of affection. The translation seems already to be underway just before the marriage proposal, when Milly is still officially in domestic service at her aunt's inn, but already operating in the role of the domestic woman: "For a long time her share of daily work in the inn and out of it, had been growing less and less, until now she hardly did anything at all besides wait on her master, lover and friend" (155).[18]

Harrison's fiction suggests skepticism about the bourgeois division between the private realm of the affections and the political and economic realm of instrumental calculations, the division upon which the model of the affectionate family rests. In the novella, that skepticism is expressed through the emphasis placed on the profit the Foxley brothers, and especially George, can draw from the nostalgic fantasies of Ipswich's English settlers, fantasies that permit pre-modern social relations to survive as a residual force within the new horizontal relations of an incipient industrial capitalism. Nostalgia conditions both the working-class Mrs. Cox's spontaneous deference to English gentlemen and the desperate desire for recognition of the shabbily genteel Charlotte Dexter. But while some residents of Ipswich cling to a fantasy of gentrified Englishness, other residents are susceptible to a different form of false consciousness, believing that "accidents of birth" make for no real distinctions in the New World (129). That is the view of Farmer Wise, whose sadly misjudged proposal of marriage to Charlotte is accompanied by the argument that "it's the New Country that's made me . . . [and] I says, to all as come out to it, 'it's better to try and forget the past'" (137).[19] The ostensible progressiveness of the New World is also mobilized by George Foxley. Insofar as his marriage breaks the code of the "deployment of alliance"—in which marriages serve to connect the blood and property lines of the nobility—it may horrify a character like Charlotte, but it can be validated by the liberal critique of arbitrary power that goes along with Farmer Wise's injunction to "forget the past" (Foucault 106). Based on "bonds of deep

and lasting affection, as well as [mutual] respect for and appreciation of . . . character and individuality," the modern companionate marriage cuts democratically across class lines and ignores accidents of birth (Abbey 79). As Foucault argued, the advent of this new ideal was also tied to modern race-making and the project of cultivating healthy bourgeois bodies and conducts, a biopolitics of sexuality and childrearing (106).

Although Charlotte is punished for her outmoded attachment to the Old World regime of alliance, and the narrator at one point even seems to recommend a more general training in "th[e] faculty of self-repression" that would correct the excesses of passion in such people, it is crucial that when the story delegates point of view on companionate marriage, it is given to Charlotte (121). The novella thereby privileges one of taste's more embodied responses—revulsion—as a potential response to this new institution, whether exemplified by George and Milly, or offered to Charlotte herself by the "comfortable placid unimaginative elderly farmer" (138). Charlotte refuses her only opportunity for security when she haughtily rejects the offer of a sensible marriage from the local widower. The picture Farmer Wise offers of the "comfortable 'ome awaitin' . . . with two 'ired girls to do the work and plenty of hands on the farm and the best of cheese and butter and the Harmonium in the parlor and drives to and fro' the Church and behind it all a—solid man—a solid man" constitutes the story's other representation of companionate marriage, to which Charlotte responds with "disgust and embittered hostility" (136, 137). Her point of view thus operates as the source of, if not quite a fully developed critique of, then at least an embodied discomfort with, bourgeois marriage. Her revulsion pulls against what the plot seems to affirm, that Charlotte should have given up her Old World tastes and identifications long ago, and accepted "real life." Like the narrator in "Crowded Out," Charlotte refuses prudence, refuses to adjust her desires to an emerging regime of good taste.

It is the shocking news of the impending marriage of George and Milly that re-awakens Charlotte's knowledge of something she had forgotten about the Old World, having "lived so long out of England": the "sweet relations that prevailed there between the aristocracy or landed gentry and their inferiors" (130). The announcement of the impending nuptials reminds Charlotte of the nobility's sexual presumption with respect to the servant class, and shapes her judgment of the marriage of George and Milly as "not a proper marriage at all, it is a very sad thing for the girl . . . and some friend should tell her so" (135).[20] Even here, it might be said, the "truth" of England

that Charlotte retrieves has the outlines of a vaguely remembered Samuel Richardson plot, a fantasy used to paper over the painful contradictions of her immediate context, in which a maid can also be an heiress, and a Foxley of Foxley Manor make himself through marriage to a social "inferior." But in spite of the indications of the outmodedness of Charlotte's reading of it, the George-Milly union seems designed to produce an unsettling effect, a response of distaste, even in that class of reader inclined to applaud the union's transcendence of status barriers. As the story's successful instance of companionate marriage, it is represented in highly equivocal terms that stress its costs for Milly. In marrying the maid, George will eventually acquire the business to which his young wife is heir, but the emphasis is placed on a different kind of gain: he also secures a legitimate, permanent claim to Milly's domestic services and a new lease on life through her body. By the end of the story, the formerly pallid George is flush with new colour; Milly, meanwhile, has acquired a new pallor and thinness.[21] The details suggest a perverse if not vampiric relation, something gothic at the heart of this form of conjugality. The marriage proposal itself comes in the form of an invitation to "give me your young life," as George puts it (153). As it happens, Milly already seems to have been doing so, during the long period of George's residence at the inn as a paying guest. "Poor Milly!" the narrator observes, the third year in, "[h]ow she worked for him . . . ! Milly was always near with her strong young arms, not quite so pink as they used to be" (121). In thus unsettling the meaning of the propertied man's choice of the unpropertied woman, Harrison ironizes the nineteenth-century marriage plot's code of altruistic taste and thoroughly corrodes its happy ending.

In the confession to Milly that comes in the last few pages of the novella, George reveals the extent to which he has been falsely credited with values both economic and moral. Having become alienated from his widower father upon the father's remarriage, he is now cut off from any claim to the Tudor family estate in Nottinghamshire. Neither has he any claim to moral credit-worthiness, he reveals, as he recounts his experience of seduction and humiliation by a widow in Paris, in a story that makes him the male counterpart of Charlotte in its revelation of his catastrophic misreading of another's attentions. Although the move to expose George's sexual history inverts the norm that stakes family reputation on female rather than male virtue, and suggests that, at least for Milly (the immediate audience for the confession) moral credit-worthiness might have mattered, all of this is now moot since George is the one character who has found "rest" at the end of

the story (150). And this is in spite of the fact that he has neither inheritance, nor reputation, nor even the ambition and capacity for self-improvement of the new normative liberal individual. As a social type, George represents what, in another context, has been called the "end of the line for the aristocracy [at] a moment of historical rupture" (Garson 380-81).[22] Rather than constituting a "non-mercenary marriage" (Michie 424), then, his union with Milly is a means of equipping himself to survive in the new era by connecting himself to another's hard-working, robust body.

Prior to the marriage, while George is enjoying the services provided at the inn, his brother Joseph is breezily courting the whole town with no end in view but the pleasure of seeing his rank reflected in female adulation. As we've seen, he is eventually punished for his careless reading of the Dexter sisters as "gentlewomen, neat and sweet spoken, and capable of offering small evening entertainments of cribbage and hot weak tea" (117). Charlotte is likewise punished for her failure to adjust her taste to a new order of value. Not only does she misread the meaning of Joseph's attentions, she fires her vitriol at the wrong cad, believing that Joseph, not George, is going to marry the maid. This is indeed a story of misapprehensions, of wires crossed in the muddle of contradictory codes, but it is more than a farce for all of that because at stake in that muddle is the "architect[ure] of private life" that will form the basis for the new nation of Canada (Carter 59). As the historian Sarah Carter has argued, the bourgeois British version of that architecture—"submissive, obedient wives and commanding, providing husbands"—"was not a foregone conclusion" in Canada at the end of the nineteenth century (59). Harrison explores that space of uncertainty or precariousness through questions of taste, which link the pointed self-consciousness with respect to genre in her work with a broader commentary on the domestication of bodies and desires within the liberal order of the new nation. "How the Foxleys" suggests that this domestication occurs as the dazzling power of rank becomes recoded, and naturalized, as feminine subservience in the institution of companionate marriage.

Taste, as Denise Gigante reminds us, remains tied to the "'lower' somatic world of appetite," even after it has been sublimated into a law that is supposed to regulate the most civilized appetites from within (10). For the middling classes, good taste is supposed to become the exercise of an instinctive moderation that is set against the overindulgence of the rich and the animal hunger of the poor (9-10). The only character in Harrison's novella whose tastes might be said to have been satisfied by the end of

the story is George,[23] whom Harrison makes the instrumental pursuer of a comfortable middling station in the settler context. The exercise of tasteful moderation that goes along with this station, however, is encoded by the story as a condition of mediocrity and bloated self-satisfaction. If his middling tastes in literature, art, and conversation are enough to make him an "oracle, prophet, God" in his new circle in Ipswich, the relationship with Milly reveals the raw appetite, the impulse to consume, that tasteful moderation is supposed to have civilized (150). George becomes "brown and bonny, with his wife on his arm," but a strange post-nuptial scene suggests that the exorbitant health and energy of the husband is related, through some strange ritual, to the young wife's new state of somnolence (160). Stumbling onto the scene, Mrs. Cox recounts, "there was [George] standing behind her in a chair, with all her hair down, and a brush in his hand and his wife fast asleep! He looked frightened for a minute when he saw me and I besought him to bring her to, thinking he'd mesmerized her" (160). Whether Milly is mesmerized or just put to sleep by George's attentions, it is clear that her fate—like Charlotte's, although more gradually paced—will be to recede.

III. Colonial nostalgia and the dazzle of rank

At a pivotal point in the plot of "How the Mr. Foxleys" the narrator provides an extended metafictional commentary on the surprising irruption of melodrama in a chain of events, which, up to this moment, has appeared to the other characters in the story—and, it is presumed, also the reader—to conform to "real life" (128). The passage suggests that that understanding of the real is mediated by hierarchies of genre and taste, and the way in which these hierarchies operate to disavow as foreign, and to abject from the recognizable social world, those violences that threaten to unsettle the village's sense of itself. Anticipating surprise and resistance at this sudden moment of melodramatic excess in the story of a "dear placid little village" in Ontario, the narrator challenges readers not to be like the village residents, who expect to see such displays of excess only on the French stage (112). The metafictional commentary comes when Charlotte Dexter, a character who has been violently disappointed in her love for Joseph Foxley, conceives of an act of revenge that will have tragic consequences. Returning to the privacy of her little cottage, she

> enacted a scene which would have petrified with astonishment any inhabitant of the prosy little village in which she had dwelt so long and indeed many other people as well, for when you and I, dear reader, go to see one of these emotional

> plays in which the French actress writhes on the sofa . . . and strides about the stage as no woman in real life has ever been seen to stride, . . . we are apt to look around at the placid Canadian or the matter-of-fact American audience and wonder if they understand the drift of the thing at all, . . . forgetting that perhaps the most placid, the most commonplace person in the theatre has gone through some crisis, some tragedy as thrilling, as subtle and as terrible as the scene we have just witnessed. "Not out of Paris," we say, "can such things happen?" Do we know what we are saying? . . . Is it only in Paris that money allures and rank dazzles, and a dark eye or a light step entrances? . . . Oh! In that obscure little Canadian village, a lonely old maid locked her door that morning and pulled down her blind[.] (128)

The passage serves as a reminder that violent emotion—the "thrilling, the subtle, the terrible"—need not be situated in projections onto others. The commentary on the resistance to believing that such intensity of emotion is plausible and on the temptation to disavow such emotion as "foreign" bleeds over into the social world into which *Crowded Out!* is launched in Ontario in the late 1880s. Surely "no woman in real life" has ever writhed on the sofa in *that* way, readers are imagined to say, observing their fellows for confirmation. Of course, Charlotte does not actually stride across the stage in the novella's domestication of melodrama, because Harrison's interweaving of the genre with the "commonplace" is designed to show, in realist fashion, how melodrama lives in an intricately specified historical and social environment. But in making Charlotte, of all the characters in Ipswich, the one who might be confused with a "French actress," the novella is also insisting that this "foreign" excess resides in the very heart of the nostalgic colonial taste for Englishness, and in the performance of this taste as a means of clinging to social distinction.[24]

As the daughter of an Englishman who was "at one time a prominent medical man," Charlotte, we are told, "respected all th[o]se accidents of birth which we are supposed to ignore or at least not expected to recognize in a new country" (116, 129). It is the waning of this distinction that makes her peculiarly vulnerable to the appeal of the Foxleys, and to the need for the kind of recognition that their attention would bestow. As the melodramatic passage continues and the reader is allowed past Charlotte's drawn blind "to see her misery," her disappointment in her quest for such recognition is dramatized through her immediate point of view, as her gaze takes an inventory of the beloved mementoes, ornamental objects, and collections in her Victorian sitting room, objects that speak of genealogy, empire, and childhood. What Eva Badowska has observed of descriptions of interiors in the nineteenth-century novel holds true here, for Charlotte's anxious "sense

of identity" is "owed to the furniture and the parlor whatnots," objects which bear a "fetishistic significance" because of what her relation to them disavows (Badowska 1515). The nostalgic affect they bear is based on Charlotte's need to believe that her true identity transcends her real circumstances, that it is really noble and English, and that there was a time when it did not depend so precariously on the possession of these few last things and, especially, on their recognition by particular others. The passage stresses that the rejection in love really counts for Charlotte as a blaspheming of the precious things on which she has constructed her sense of self. The intimate, personal meanings of these things are revealed to be impersonal and public in the sense that they amount to markers of social distinction, utterly dependent on their appreciation by other "persons of distinction" (116). Thus, it is fitting that in her hour of heartbreak, the memory of the Foxley brothers' contact with these things is rehearsed and re-evaluated: "And how glad those foolish Miss Dexters had been to possess such beautiful and interesting objects when it pleased Mr. George Foxley to drink tea out of the cups on summer afternoons . . . or when Mr. Joseph would wind the Indian shawl round his silly head in the evening. . . . These and other memories crowded into Charlotte Dexter's brain as she looked around her room, crowded thick and fast, crowded fast and furious, surged, broke, leaving an empty moment of perfect blankness" (130).

The point is that Charlotte's most intimate self rests in these trinkets, and by extension that the innermost movements of her heart are propelled by the desire for caste recognition. Thus Harrison's insistence that French melodrama is at the heart of colonial Englishness and that "money allures and rank dazzles" at the very heart of love, are interconnected (128). The conviction that melodrama is too far-fetched for a place like Ipswich, Harrison suggests, is connected to the village's inability to read the Foxleys accurately. The illusion of a natural moderation in sentiment is sustained only by the division between public and private spaces and conducts. This, as I've noted, is the division of an emerging industrial capitalist middle class that insists selfish passions are limited to the public sphere of economic transactions and do not touch a private sphere cordoned off as virtuous. Behind locked doors, Harrison's narrator suggests, we are all susceptible to Parisian extremes and to the residual power of status. The private room of desire's hopes and disappointments is not closed off from the public pursuit of social distinction. And if hearts are indeed moved violently in this "obscure little Canadian village," it is because even (and perhaps especially) here, where it is not *supposed* to, "rank dazzles." In the new nation of Canada,

the arbitrary claims of noble birth are supposed to be nullified, in favour of the claims of individual merit and hard work, but inherited rank continues to operate as a residual, disavowed force in social life, a force that lives on in the form of taste. The novella refuses the relegation to spheres that are foreign, or unreal, or historically superseded, of that to which it gives a generic name—melodrama.

Harrison's representation of the social relations of taste in *Crowded Out!* thus affords an opportunity to ask what else the use of materials encoded as "French" might have meant in English-speaking Canada in the 1880s, besides a nationalist re-sourcing of cultural difference. In Harrison's collection, it may be read as alluding to a cluster of distinctions—aesthetic, moral, and socio-economic—which are in the process of coming to seem anachronistic, but also available for nostalgic inscription, in the emerging regime of taste in industrializing Ontario. In this reading, "French" is a broad trope that refers as much to what is imagined to be aristocratic as it does to French Canada more narrowly, and the reference to the aristocratic functions as a coded critique of bourgeois morality. In "How the Mr. Foxleys," the sharp edge of this critique is aimed at the conjugal relations of an emerging bourgeois order in the space/time of the settler colony. The novella thematizes the persistence of inherited status as a category of social distinction charged with a peculiar force—the force of nostalgic colonial fantasies of the "Old World"—and capable of provoking instantaneous, compulsive attraction, as well as forms of classed and gendered subservience which are supposed to have been forgotten in the New World.

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NOTES

1 Jennifer Chambers suggests that the absence of "Crowded Out" from the table of contents may be read as a "playful gesture" through which the titular reference to being excluded is enacted (262).

2 In addition to the novellas I discuss, questions of taste are central to "The Prisoner Dubois" and "The Gilded Hammock." (On the latter, see note 22.)

3 Christie uses the term "familialism" to refer to interdependent, usually extended families governed by patriarchal authority and sustained by a network of duties and obligations exchanged with a view to upholding moral reputation. This form of social organization was able to persist until the 1920s in most parts of Canada because of factors that reinforced the family as the primary institution of social control: the

weakness of alternative institutional structures such as poor relief, and the constraints on the development of industrial capitalism in rural, agricultural contexts (see Christie, "Interrogating" 3-24). It is fair to say that in the stories I discuss in *Crowded Out!*, Harrison exaggerates the survival of pre-capitalist social forms and tastes in the colony and their seemingly complete disappearance in England. As Raymond Williams argues in *The Country and the City*, "even after [English] society was predominantly urban its literature, for a generation, was still predominantly rural" (2). But Harrison's schema of taste's transatlantic asynchronies also pairs rural Canada with urban England.

4 The opera was "scored . . . nearly altogether, by *her* side" (10). "Crowded Out" is read by both Chambers (262) and Gerson ("Susan" 145) as reflecting Harrison's disappointment with the fate of her own opera, *Pipandor*.

5 Hortense is protected by a Catholic priest. The end of the narrator's acquaintance with her comes when he "burst[s] in" to the château to interrupt what he believes to be a scene of lechery (12) but as Steffler notes, the scene may amount to no more than the narrator's "paranoid creation" (247).

6 I borrow the notion of taste as a performance requiring decoding from Marjorie Garson 18.

7 See also MacMillan 110.

8 See Gerson, *A Purer Taste* 110-31.

9 Although, Harrison notes, her work on French Canadian idiom has been misunderstood as stylistic incompetence, as "'wordy,' 'garrulous,' or something to that effect" (335).

10 Harrison's comment that she is not writing the "easy historical" Montreal favoured by many of her contemporaries in English Canada is quoted by Gerson ("Susan" 145). Reading for the codes of literary taste in the pages of *The Week* (1883-96), Claude Bissell observes that "local colour" fiction or "'picturesque realism'" was what was "most palatable to the Canadian reader" in the 1880s and 1890s (33). Harrison's fiction, however, is characterized by a pitiless irony and is arguably closer to the realism of Henry James, especially in its interest in comparison of "the English type with the Canadian type, a popular pursuit in the days of the international novel" (MacMillan 110).

11 Harrison was a student of the disciplinarily impure psychology, mixed with philosophical speculation and sociological observation, of her time. At some point in the 1870s, she studied at McGill University with John Clark Murray (MacMillan 108), the author *A Handbook of Psychology* and *The Industrial Kingdom of God* (see Armour and Trott 107-25).

12 As Eva Badowska has proposed, nostalgia is constitutive of nineteenth-century bourgeois moral selfhood insofar as the latter turns on a notion of true interiority as something accessed through the memory of a time before the appeal of commodities.

13 MacMillan notes that Harrison has written "Lambton Mills" on the first page of the story in one copy of the book (115). The village of Lambton Mills was at the crossing of Dundas Highway and the Humber River (an intersection now within the city of Toronto). By the mid-nineteenth century Lambton Mills was a commercial centre with a number of milling operations, a post office, and a hotel and tavern, Lambton House, which served as the "centre of social activity for the area." See "History," *Lambton House: A 19th Century Landmark Located by the Banks of the Humber River*. The village was named after John Lambton, Lord Durham, High Commissioner and Governor General of British North America, and the author of the *Report on the Affairs of British North America* (1838).

14 A "thoroughly British settlement," Ipswich is so self-enclosed in its transplanted Englishness, so peculiarly oblivious to its wider cultural and historical context on a different continent that, the narrator conjectures, a "French-Canadian would have been hoisted on a table and examined minutely all over, hair, eye, skin and costume, had one

been present" (113, 139). It is noteworthy that the exception, the American owner of the new mill, and thus the character associated with drive towards industrial capitalism, is the one Ipswich resident unaffected by "the advent of the Mr. Foxleys" (114).

15 Long before the arrival of Europeans, the Humber River provided an important inland route from the north shore of Lake Ontario. Although by the mid-nineteenth-century Toronto residents "may have believed that the local Mississaugas had vanished," Victoria Jane Freeman writes, the sense of residents in outlying villages was likely quite different (124). Freeman cites evidence that Mississaugas sold baskets at Lambton Mills in the 1890s and that, along the lower Humber, they "came constantly" (Lizars qtd. Freeman 152 n90).

16 See Burley 103-26. Focusing on the town of Brantford in southwestern Ontario, Burley documents changes in class consciousness in the decades from the 1840s to 1870s which saw a transition from a commercial economy, in which credit was given on the basis of character and reputation, to the impersonal system of exchange relations associated with industrial enterprises and wage labour "under the protection of a national political economy" (17). The narrator of Harrison's novella reminds the reader that "[n]ow," that is, twenty years after the story's mid-century setting, "everything is different" and the "tempting picture" presented of the recent past should not induce any Englishman to "come out to Canada to-day in search of such a Utopia" (151).

17 "Affectionate family" is borrowed from Nancy Christie ("Broken" 28). My argument is indebted to the case Christie makes for a rethinking of the "periodization of the rise of modern values in Canadian society" that would recognize the persistence of an order of familialism within nineteenth-century Canada's precariously-established "modern" liberal market society (73).

18 The gender positions of the master-servant relation that persists within the companionate marriage of George and Milly are reversed in the marriage depicted in the final story of *Crowded Out!,* "The Gilded Hammock," where the husband has "joyfully acquiesced" to an arrangement in which he will "make himself of use to [his wife], be in fact, her major-domo, steward, butler, amanuensis, anything and everything" when she brings him back from Europe to New York (176). In Harrison's ironic rewriting of the international novel, the cash-strapped Italian prince is too proud to be seen to marry the American heiress, whom he really does love. His agreement to a marriage in which he makes himself "of use" to her constitutes a bargain with his own conscience. Insofar as the marriage is kept secret, it is also a wager on public opinion. There is no gender ideology to naturalize the husband's playing the servant; therefore, it is safer for the couple to pass as an unmarried heiress and her "foreign butler" (170). As in "How the Mr. Foxleys," Harrison is concerned in this story with the inconsistency of codes in "Old" and "New" worlds, and with the relations between aesthetic-moral taste, economy, and conjugal relations. But whereas the novella ironizes the moral significance of marital choice in the nineteenth-century novel, "The Gilded Hammock," instead of including the reader in ironic recognition actually tests the extent to which the reader's aesthetic-moral judgments coincide with those of the fickle public opinion represented in the story. Not until the tide of opinion turns against the heiress' extravagant tastes and she becomes the object of moral judgment does the story reveal the fact of her marriage to the "butler." The "paralyzing statement" that reveals the secret marriage to a prince—in the newspaper and, at the same time, in the story itself—only "for the moment" "reinstate[s] [the couple] into public favour," that is, for as long as the power of a melodramatic reversal can offset moral uncertainty (178).

19 Shelley Hulan provides a contrary reading of Farmer Wise as an "ideal local colour subject" whom Harrison writes against type, granting him insight and even self-reflective

distance from "old country" nostalgia (302-03). My reading stresses the mixed codes at work in Ipswich which make his insight only partial, and the disgust with which his picture of "domestic contentment" is received by Charlotte, whose point of view I see as being privileged (301). To my mind, these aspects of "How the Mr. Foxleys" qualify the extent to which the novella can be read as arguing for adaptation to the New World as a "cure" for the psychological complexes that Hulan reads in Harrison's depiction of Charlotte and George (304).

20 Whether Charlotte could be a friend to Milly is very doubtful, but the reader is made to share Charlotte's discomfort with the marriage of the gentleman and the maid when the narrative returns to the scene of the proposal, and draws out a dialogue between lovers who call one another "sir" and "child," with George persisting in his use of "child" even after insisting that Milly call him by his given name (152-53).

21 In the "Utopia" of twenty years' beforehand in which Harrison's novella is set (151), women still lost ownership of all property, wages, and profits from inherited land when they married. "Marriage law," as Bettina Bradbury puts it, served as a powerful instrument of male accumulation" (137). By the time Harrison was writing, married women's property laws in Ontario had changed to make wives' property separate from their husbands' after marriage. But this liberal reform brought with it the elimination of other "historic and gendered claims" (specifically, those of First Nations to land and widows to a dower), and did nothing to change "[m]en's control over their bodies and their labour power" (Bradbury 138, 149).

22 Garson refers here to the fiction of Thomas Hardy. Harrison's later novel, *Ringfield*, includes a citation from Hardy's *The Hand of Ethelberta* (1876). Milly is a little worse off and certainly less cunning than Hardy's character, Ethelberta Petherwin, but it is noteworthy that both *The Hand of Ethelberta* and "How the Mr. Foxleys" include a young woman of the servant class marrying a much older member of the gentry.

23 The two imprudent characters, Charlotte and Joseph, die prematurely, outlived by the "successful and happy" George and his "pale" wife (166).

24 "The Gilded Hammock" also domesticates melodrama through ironic observation of its "far-fletched" plot conventions at work in a specific socio-historical environment—not a "placid little village" in Ontario, but New York high society (112).

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Kenneth Sherman

Layton

His office, a late light burning
in the grey monolith
of the new university.
Poured concrete, sealed windows.
"An afterthought of Albert Speer," he quipped.

Around his neck he wore an ancient
medallion engraved with the Goddess.

He praised the Greek islands, women, ouzo,
but the eyes that scanned your soul
were those of a Talmudist.

He welcomed me,
a neophyte with manuscript in trembling hand
and read my poems aloud,
making them credible to my ear.

"Don't question your talent.
Can't you see you're blessed
with Jewish anxiety?"

Once, after discussing poetry
and the Holocaust,
he lit a matchbox and together
we sat in silence
watching it flame into nothing
in the ashtray
on his desk.

Heather Jones

Class, Culture, and Belief
The Contexts of Charles Heavysege's Christian Poetry

His fault was found in his own heart;
Faith lacking, all his works fell short.
—Zoe, Saul's guardian angel, *Saul*

Charles Heavysege's working-class status, informal education, and evangelical religious beliefs have been the focus of critical approaches to his work from Coventry Patmore's 1858 review of the first edition of *Saul* to George Woodcock's 1983 monograph. With the exception of Patmore, these three attributes have been used by critics to dismiss Heavysege as "the best bad [Canadian] poet of them all" (Woodcock, "Premonitions" 5). Not one commentator, however, has defined or even questioned the meaning of the terms "working class," "informal education," or "religion." This paper places these terms within the historical, cultural, and religious contexts specific to Heavysege's life in England from 1816 to 1853 and in Montreal from 1853 to his death in 1876. These contexts expose Canadian literary criticism's failure to recognize and assign value to the evangelical religiosity at the heart of Heavysege's mature poetry. Built on the typological interpretation of the New Testament as the revealed truth of the Old Testament, this belief structures Heavysege's understanding of his personal relationship with God and his representation of this complex relationship. Taken together, *Saul*, "Jephthah's Daughter," and *Jezebel* reveal how Heavysege uses the typological structure of Christian history to express artistically the religious worldview that permeated his dual life as a working-class skilled tradesman and poet.[1]

The term "working class," like religion, is a category that is often used but rarely defined in literary criticism. Not only Heavysege but also poets as diverse as the "four Jameses"—made notorious by William Arthur Deacon—and Alexander McLachlan have all been labelled "working class." In fact, only Heavysege truly merits this class distinction. The *OED* defines this term as

denoting the "grade or grades of society comprising those who are employed to work for wages in manual or industrial occupations." While James Gay and James McIntyre both apprenticed as carpenters, Gay also learned hotel management and at age thirty built Gay's Inn in Guelph, Ontario, which he owned and managed for the next twenty years (Lennox, "Gay" n. pag.). McIntyre was predominantly a businessman in Ingersoll, Ontario, who manufactured and sold furniture and coffins and had a lucrative sideline as an undertaker. He ran this business for almost fifty years (Lennox, "McIntyre" n. pag.). James MacRae (John James MacDonald) was a surveyor and farmer, and James D. Gillis was an educator (Gillis 38). Although McLachlan had apprenticed as a tailor in Glasgow, he emigrated to Caledon, Ontario, to farm his father's grant of one-hundred acres; he practised his trade sporadically while farming, travelled back and forth to Scotland as an emigration agent, and later toured widely on speaking engagements after his poetry began to gain critical favour (M.J. Edwards 660). Only McLachlan and Heavysege experienced life in a large industrialized urban centre. McLachlan left that life behind when he emigrated; Heavysege did not. Most significant is the fact that, with the exception of the schoolmaster Gillis, Gay, McIntyre, McLachlan, and MacRae were all landowners. The possession of capital emphatically excludes them from any consideration as working-class poets. Nevertheless, Deacon's denigration of the "four Jameses" through the use of their first names allows him to consign them to their place among "the masses." As John Carey observes, "[r]ewriting or reinventing the mass was an enterprise in which early twentieth-century intellectuals invested immense imaginative effort . . . [in order] to segregate the intellectuals from the mass, and to acquire the control over the mass that language gives" (23). Righteous indignation at the fact that this particular subset of "the mass" presumed to access poetic language is the actual basis for Deacon's criticism of their work, a classist response that characterizes most criticism of Heavysege's work as well. Alexander McLachlan's so-called working-class poetry has received a very different critical response, however.

Heavysege's contemporary and product of the Scottish enlightenment through his schoolmaster, John Fraser, McLachlan was publishing his first works at the same time as Heavysege was publishing the first two editions of *Saul* (1857, 1859), his sonnets (1855), and "Jephthah's Daughter" (1865). With a strong following in Scotland and Upper Canada and adept at marketing his own work, McLachlan published altogether 130 poems in *Poems* (1856), *Lyrics* (1858), and *The Emigrant, and Other Poems* (1861) (M.J. Edwards 661).

Referred to as "The Robbie Burns of Canada," his use of dialect, Scots nostalgia, "democratic" themes, and the representation of Upper Canadian colonial life as the "freedom of the wilderness" all contributed to his "national reputation" and provided critics with exactly what they wanted to hear and read, then and now. Mary Jane Edwards' conclusion that "McLachlan's importance today lies in the vision he provides of the religious beliefs and social values that helped shape Victorian Canada, and in the reaffirmation of these national standards that his work still calls forth" completes the "rewriting and reinvention" of McLachlan that plucks him out of "the mass" identity assigned to the "four Jameses" and Heavysege and establishes him as one of the "intellectuals" (664). Unlike McLachlan, Heavysege was working class in fact rather than in rhetoric, a devoutly religious man rather than a sceptic *cum* spiritualist, earnest rather than shrewd, and unfortunately more of a local curiosity than an internationally fêted author. Because the term "working class" has remained unexamined in criticism dealing with nineteenth-century English Canadian poetry, the ethically untenable mass/intellectual dualism persists although Heavysege's biography and work have long shown its inadequacy as a critical strategy.

Unlike MacRae, Gay, Gillis, McIntyre, and McLachlan, Heavysege was truly working class, having been "apprenticed at the age of nine" to a wood carver in Liverpool where he lived, with only a short break in Yorkshire, until he emigrated in 1853 (Heavysege qtd. in Lanman 273). His traditional seven-year apprenticeship would have ended in 1832. As a journeyman wood carver, Heavysege would have "made components or full items of furniture or fixtures from soft and hard woods including oak, box, mahogany, fruitwoods and walnut" (Banham n. pag.). After Heavysege and his family left Liverpool for Montreal in 1853, the factory-based furniture industry that Heavysege encountered at J. and J. Hilton's was very different from the small shop furniture industry he had been working in for over twenty-five years. In 1856 Hilton's employed over eighty workers in a building that had over six floors of showrooms alone (Collard 1). While Hilton's factory presented Heavysege with a radically different work environment, John Dougall's vehemently evangelical *Montreal Witness* offered him a familiar religious environment. The *Montreal Witness* "was a stern champion of . . . evangelical Christianity" (Snell 1). The introduction of a daily edition in 1860 (Snell 1) greatly increased the need for content, creating an opportunity for steady employment for Heavysege that likely stimulated his final departure from Hilton's. Bayard Taylor's 1860 description of Heavysege's working conditions in Montreal—

"the noise of hammers, saws, rasps, in a great grimy hall smelling of oil and iron-dust" (414)—indicates that his work as a skilled tradesman became more difficult after he emigrated, and newspaper work exacted the same long hours and drudgery (John Reade qtd. in Burpee 21). Heavysege's transition in 1860 from wood carver to reporter and editor meant leaving behind a trade in which he had been well-trained, had many years' experience, and had achieved mastery; it also meant entering a field for which he was ill-suited by character and unprepared by education (Reade qtd. in Burpee 21). His poetry was written, then, out of the experience of constant labour.

Heavysege's informal education was supplemented by his interest in literature and the theatre. The education of working-class children was a hotly debated topic in early nineteenth-century England (Hopkins 128). Opposed to the idea that educating the working classes would lead to social unrest was the view of education as a form of social control. Such education was to be undertaken "within a religious framework, which would [teach] . . . the due subordination of the working classes in the divine order of things, and that their reward was to be in heaven rather than here on earth" (Hopkins 129). With no consensus on this issue and regulated public education not in place until the last quarter of the century, Heavysege was most likely taught to read and write by a family member using the Catechism, the Bible, and associated texts, such as Foxe's *Acts and Monuments of the Church* and Milton's *Paradise Lost* (Harvey 254-55). Heavysege's brief experience of formal schooling was marked by his fascination with Gray's "Elegy"; this was augmented by his enduring interest in theatre (Taylor 413). Despite his family's strict evangelical fundamentalist values, with the aid of his mother he was able to obtain cheap copies of Shakespeare's plays (Heavysege qtd. in Lanman 273). Working-class skilled tradesmen who were educated and raised in a family and work environment encompassed by evangelical fundamentalism interpreted not only the Bible but also other literature within its boundary (Christie 145). The failure of literary criticism to recognize and value the interdependent contexts of Heavysege's working-class status, informal education, and religion and to account for their influence has led to seriously distorted interpretations of his work as critics have tried to impose on it one inappropriate paradigm after another.

Northrop Frye provides the most influential example of ultimately unsupportable efforts to shoehorn Heavysege's life and work into the mould of the emigrant backwoods pioneer-poet, a mould that Archibald McLachlan, for one, was more than ready to accept and use to his advantage. Referring to

Heavysege's "clumsy but powerfully built genius" Frye, despite Heavysege's clearly working-class ethos, sees *Saul* as a "Victorian leviathan" that combines "a Biblical subject with middle class morality" ("Narrative" 150). Ignoring the fact that Heavysege had always lived in large industrialized urban centres, Frye sees the "derivative and conventional" *Jephthah's Daughter* as reflecting Heavysege's Canadian environment because "in a primitive country" God tends "to disappear behind the mask of nature." Oblivious to Heavysege's close examination of the complexities of faith in the poem, he considers Heavysege "a man who, like Jephthah, . . . identified his God . . . with a mindless force of inscrutable mystery" ("Narrative" 151). Similarly disinclined to take the religious context of his work seriously, Sandra Djwa notes that although Heavysege "presents the new hero [the Romantic rebel], because his allegiance is ultimately with the old order his successive protagonists [Saul, Jephthah, and Jezebel] are ultimately reduced to a common fundamentalist denominator—that of sinner" (xvii-xviii). Ironically, among twentieth-century treatments of *Saul*, Robertson Davies' satirical examination of "Amcan" criticism (163), *Leaven of Malice*, actually offers some useful insights, yet still inverts the religious values of the text: "Heavysege was awed by angels, sobered by Saul, but right in his element with the devils" (179). Critics' stubborn refusal to pay attention to the facts of Heavysege's life and to consider his work on its own terms, choosing instead to restructure it within the frameworks of nationalism and canonical literary influence, requires analysis and explanation. In addition to its classism, the defining characteristic of virtually all Heavysege criticism after Patmore has been its secularist bias, including that of Frye, even though he was an ordained United Church minister.

Symptomatic of what sociologists and historians of religion have called the "secularization thesis," while criticism of Heavysege's poetry has concentrated on textual infrastructure, and the borrowing of genre, plot, characters, and diction, especially from the King James Bible, Milton, and Shakespeare, these influential sources have not been considered in terms of the larger religious purpose they serve in Heavysege's poetry; that is, criticism fails to recognize Heavysege's Christianity as determining his way of seeing these sources and structuring their influence. Ironically in the context of his criticism above, Frye pointed out in 1971 that "there has been a crisis in the response to the Biblical Christian myth which is often called a crisis of belief, but is really a crisis in understanding the language of belief" (*Critical Path* 110). Sociologically, the concept of belief denotes a "body of convictions . . . that owe their

validity to the meaning and coherence they give to the subjective experience of those who hold them[;] . . . believing is belief in action, as it is experienced" (Hervieu-Léger 72). Believing as a form of Christian religious experience has been most often identified with Protestantism. Canadian religious historians have long been aware of the particularly prominent role of Protestantism in nineteenth-century English Canadian culture both in Protestantism's institutional forms and as the subjective experience of believing. Michael Gauvreau and Nancy Christie's introduction to the special issue of *Histoire Sociale/Social History*, "Intersections of Religious and Social History," offers an important conceptual framework for historians of nineteenth-century English Canadian literature interested in rethinking the function of religion in literature written during what Gauvreau has called "the evangelical century." They argue that "religious faith cannot be reduced to simply an 'identity' for it can be better interpreted as a world view or cultural resource from which people draw . . . to conceptualize identities such as class and gender" (2). Like Danièle Hervieu-Léger, they consider religion to be an ideology rather than an identity: "[r]eligious forms and practices have to be conceived as much more than a passive cultural landscape or merely the repository of a banal conventionality" (2). This latter view of religion as an ideologically neutral set of conventions originates in the historical position that a "tight ideological fit [existed] between evangelical religion, domesticity, and a cult of respectability, and that these in turn provided a coherent and unified cultural identity for the middle classes" (10). However, Gauvreau and Christie argue that if the notion of "respectability" encompasses "those values of thrift, probity, domesticity, self-help, temperance, and self-improvement, then clearly this was a culture whose origins were not unique to the middle class, and in fact contained cross-class contributions from both gentry and working-class people" (10). Gauvreau and Christie's argument helps to show that the historical and sociological view of religion as a mere epiphenomenon has influenced literary history and thus has contributed to the "crisis in understanding the language of belief" in Christian literature, including Heavysege's.

This reduction of religion to epiphenomenon has been exposed as a construct of the secularism inherent in (literary) historical and sociological discourse itself. Gauvreau and Christie consider that "today's academic presuppositions [are] reliant upon secularization theory" (29), which S. J. D. Green refers to as "arguably the most significant, and unquestionably the most influential, thesis about the form and dynamics of social change in modern

societies" (5). This theory presumes that the decline of the political power of organized religion in the face of the separation of church and state also signifies a decline in the social power of religion generally resulting in the ascendancy over citizens' lives and loyalty of the secular nation-state. As both theory and meta-narrative, secularism has pervaded academic discourse and has only been effectively challenged in the past twenty years after "many sociologists of religion had started to question its validity and applicability, both to modern society and to the future of religion" (Green 45). In contrast to secularist historical assertions, Gauvreau and Christie argue that "the explosion of sacred literature throughout the nineteenth century" leads "to the conclusion that the links, both cultural and institutional, to religion were multifarious and ubiquitous" (14). Especially relevant to understanding Heavysege's religiosity—he left Liverpool for Montreal when he was thirty-seven—is the fact that "the portrait presented by social historians both in Canada and Britain is irrefutable insofar as it demonstrates high levels of identification with religious culture by working-class men and women" (24). Acknowledging secularist ideology in both historical and literary historical discourse and taking into account the recent sociological and historical challenges to the secularization thesis allow us to rethink the ways that religion informs nineteenth-century English Canadian literature.

The intense evangelical religiosity that permeates Heavysege's mature poetry was ingrained in him from early childhood and reinforced by his class and education. He told Charles Lanman that he was "religiously brought up" (273) within an evangelical ethos (Waller 10). According to John Stackhouse, this ethos is made up of "Christian *individuals* who, regardless of ecclesiastical affiliation, affirm [four] distinctive evangelical commitments" (55, his emphasis). Evangelicals must "affirm the good news . . . of God's salvation in Jesus Christ, . . . trust the Bible as their pre-eminent source for and ultimate standard of all God's revelation," effect a personal transformation in which "faith must be experienced as a personal relationship with Jesus Christ and must be manifested in a disciplined life of increasing holiness," and actively proclaim the "good news" (56). Within this ethos, Heavysege wrote poetry designed to affirm his faith, atone for his sin of repining, acknowledge the hope of redemption provided by Christ's suffering on the cross, and, through publication, proclaim the good news of the Gospels in a way that would instruct and "elevate" the reader towards his or her own transformation and discovery of a personal relationship with God. Heavysege's changing understanding of his own relationship with God is seen in *Saul* and the later,

more intimate psychological studies in "Jephthah's Daughter" and *Jezebel*. Heavysege's religious *and* literary interest is in the success or failure of Biblical persons to identify, understand, accept, and fulfill God's plan for their lives. Heavysege's poetry weaves a thread through these lives where ambition wrestles with obedience and humility, on the one hand, and despair struggles against hope and acceptance on the other.

Unlike Frye, in 1858 Coventry Patmore, who had been sent a copy of *Saul* (published anonymously in 1857) by Nathaniel Hawthorne (Burpee 25-26, 60), had no difficulty in correctly locating its author's Christian perspective in *Saul*: "Seldom has art so well performed the office of hand-maiden to religion" (79). He observes that Heavysege "takes not virtue and morality, and their opposites *generally*, as other dramatists do, but these under the single aspect of their dependence upon *spiritual influences*" (78, his emphasis). Although he states that "the writer's want of literary culture is so great, that he seldom gives us many lines together without some obvious and ludicrous fault," he also sees that "the language is often powerful, and the thought always so" (79). Earlier in this review essay, Patmore notes that "the old forms of the heroic have died out, and it is high time that the Christian heroic should come upon the vacant stage" (77). Heavysege fulfills this requirement through his representation of David. He also cites the Christian historical basis of *Saul*: "In it the greatest subject, in the whole range of history . . . has been treated with a poetical power and a depth of psychological knowledge which are often quite startling, though, . . . inevitably, below the mark of the subject matter, which is too great to be done full justice to, in any but the words in which the original history is related" (78). Patmore, a devout Catholic, views Biblical history through the lens of typology. As George P. Landow points out, when we "fail to recognize . . . typology, we deprive many Victorian works of a large part of their context. Having thus impoverished them, . . . we under-read and misread many works, and . . . the greater the work, the more our ignorance will distort and inevitably reduce it." Landow defines typology as "a Christian form of scriptural interpretation that claims to discover divinely intended anticipations of Christ and His dispensation in the laws, events, and people of the Old Testament" ("Introduction" n. pag.). Patmore's typological understanding of Biblical history justifies his interpretation of the events of 1 Samuel 8-31 and 2 Samuel 1 in terms of Mark 12.30, for he sees in *Saul* "a most impressive poetical exposition of the awful truth, that he who is not wholly for God is against Him" (*Nelson's NKJV* 79). Thus Patmore

correctly identifies the drama's thread, its "moral clue": "in Saul [Heavysege] represents a man who is *eminently* the creature of spiritual influences . . . but who lacks the one thing needful, the principle of *faith*, which would have given [him] the will to submit himself to the good influence and resist the bad" (76, his emphasis). In his mature work, Heavysege uses typology to depict imaginatively humanity's essential depravity through the sins of Saul, Jephthah, and Ahab and to experience, through the sufferings of David and Jephthah's daughter, "his Saviour's agonies and feel their saving effect upon himself," for evangelicals believed "that scriptural types could be fulfilled in the individual's own life" (Landow "Chapter 1"; "Type and Temporality"). Indeed, individual Bible study to learn one's own purpose within God's plan for humanity is fundamental to Protestantism, for without knowing this purpose one risks the first and greatest of all sins: disobedience.

The term "tragedy," which Heavysege uses in the Preface to *Saul*, signifies the catastrophic consequences of Saul's lack of faith: his failure to accept and fulfill God's will and his confusion of God's will with what are, in fact, his own worldly goals. The willful pursuit of ambition by one lacking in faith and trust in God will inevitably lead to disobedience. Within Heavysege's Calvinist sense of predestination, Saul's disobedience is also the fulfilment of God's preordained purpose for his life. The First Part of *Saul* opens with the demons—in terms of Christian history the first to disobey—who shout: "Think not sons of earth he'll spare, / Who smote the nobler things of air" (13; Part 1 1.1). Historically, Satan and the demons will also be the last to disobey before Christ's final victory over them and the establishment of the New Jerusalem (Rev. 20.7-15, 21.1-21). For Heavysege, then, all others who are disobedient are types of Satan from Adam forward. Accordingly, Saul's disobedience is guaranteed by his twin faults of willfulness and ambition. The Second Demon observes "the confidence of his nature" (15; Part 1 1.1) which Saul struggles to control: "Down, proud imagination; quiet keep / Thou rash impatience" (18; Part 1 1.2). Referring to the slaughter of the priests at Nob who briefly sheltered David, Saul acknowledges that ambition, rather than love of God, has determined his actions: "Oh, love of rule, / For thee I may have damned my soul to hell, / Murdering for thee the sacred priests of heaven!" (321; Part 3 6.8). His willfulness and ambition even lead him to invert his role and God's: "He shall assist me to transform the Hebrews / Into men" (36; Part 1 2.1). During his first battle with the Philistines he observes that "though men desert me, God / Is not among the faithless" (49; Part 1 2.7). Saul believes that he is fit for kingship and in a state of Grace as God's

Anointed. David knows better, for he sings to God to "give the king thy grace to see." Saul, in "disbelief," asks "What have I done deserved the loss of grace?" (121; Part 1 5.10). Samuel tells Saul that he has lost the kingship of Israel to David as the consequence of disobeying "both the Law of Moses and the instructions of God's prophet" (Note on 1 Sam. 13.8.9): "Dethroned, thy throne now given unto another / Whom God hath chosen, a man after his own heart, / To be the Captain over Israel, / Instead of thee, presumptuous and daring" (48; Part 1 2.7). Zoe, his guardian angel, points out that Saul's lack of faith alone has caused his downfall and suffering, in Samuel's words "for his rebellion's sake" (243; Part 3 3.6). Saul's inability to distinguish between his simulation of belief and David's genuine belief, in Calvinist terms, represents the essence of reprobation and election, respectively.

The transition from Saul's reign to David's is itself a type of the transition from the fallen to the resurrected world prophesied in Revelation. Heavysege keeps this latter transition in the reader's mind through his use of the demon, Malzah, the Evil Spirit from the Lord.[2] His power, like Satan's, is strong and he intimidates even other demons. The first Demon says, "We will not stay to greet him, least he should, / With mystic charm, seduce us to his vein, / And lead us, bound, to fields of dissipation" (95; Part 1 4.6). Malzah himself, however, is completely subject to the will of God and must obey: "God's permitted me, / He's admitted me / Into king Saul's heart" (103; Part 1 1.4). Although he is a reluctant "drudge," he nevertheless saves Samuel's life three times (Part 3 3.2, 3.5, 3.6) and David's once (Part 1 3.3) from soldiers sent by Saul to kill them. Fittingly Zaph and the demons take Saul's side in the final battle while Gloriel and the angels take the Philistine's side, for the King of Gath has been sheltering David and has sent him away to a border town to spare him the necessity of raising his hand against Saul, the Lord's Anointed. Heavysege also shows that although Saul's attempts on his son Jonathan's life and on Samuel's and David's are done under the influence of Malzah, his later acts, including the slaughter of the priests at Nob, are done under his own will. Saul's downfall is sealed by his own lack of faith; Heavysege clearly shows that he is *not* a victim either of Malzah or God. As in the final battle at the end of days, the demons lose and Saul is destroyed, allowing David, as a type of Christ, to take his place as the first true king of Israel.

While Saul lacks faith and trust, Jephthah keeps his faith; only his trust wavers. The opening lines of "Jephthah's Daughter" connect the stories of Saul and Jephthah: "When from [Israel's] people, rose up mighty men / To judge and to defend her; ere she knew, / Or clamoured for, her coming line

of kings" (5). More specifically, Saul and Jephthah are connected because they both make a "rash vow." Pursuing the Philistines during his first victory as king, Saul proclaims: "Let none eat food till evening, that revenge / May glut itself" (63; Part 1 3.4). Unaware of his father's order, Jonathan "*dips a reed which he has in his hand into the honey*" and when soldiers tell him of the order he observes: "'Tis done; and 'twas a foolish interdiction! / My father hath trouble made for many" (64-65; Part 1 3.5). After Jonathan confesses, Saul exclaims: "Oh, that my curse should fall upon myself! / Saul, Saul, rash man, now let the sceptre drop / Out of thy hands for thou hast slain its heir." After the crowd protects Jonathan and takes him away unharmed, Saul persuades himself that "They break my oath, Not I. . . . Foolishly I swore, / Forbidding to eat" (70; Part 1 3.6). Jephthah also acknowledges his own culpability in bringing about the sacrifice of his daughter: "Who shall go scatheless and not suffer loss / That dare attempt to stipulate with Heaven, / And bribe Jehovah to bestow success?" (14). Unlike Saul, because of his unwavering faith Jephthah fulfills his vow to God. Jephthah's betrayal of his daughter for a military victory is explicitly connected typologically with Judas Iscariot's betrayal of Jesus for thirty pieces of silver (Matt. 26.15): ". . . swindler I, . . . / To take a treasure that was not mine own, / And, with my sordid shekels, to fling down / A borrowed jewel, that outweighs them all!" (13-14). Unlike Saul's increasingly half-hearted attempts to repent, Jephthah's repentance is sincere, and so he is drawn further into the Christian typological frame. He asks the priests, "'How shall I buy, / How ransom her, redeem?' . . . He ended; and, . . . / Silent, still stood appealing; life and death, / Salvation and destruction, waiting on / Their words" (65). Whereas Saul finds an excuse to spare Jonathan, Jephthah's steadfast faith, which is ultimately echoed by that of his wife and daughter, supports him in enduring the horrific outcome of his "rash vow."

In his representation of Saul and Jephthah, Heavysege remains close to Biblical sources. In *Jezebel*, however, Heavysege diverges from Ahab's Biblical role as a powerful king by representing him as weak, vacillating, and almost entirely under the influence of his wife, Jezebel. Traditionally, Ahab is considered "the most evil king in the history of Israel" (*Nelson's* "InDepth Ahab" 595). As with Jephthah's betrayal of his daughter, Heavysege describes Ahab's meeting with Jezebel after he discovers Jezebel's murder of Naboth in terms of Judas' betrayal of Jesus: "And Ahab in the vineyard stood alone;— / . . . Then ran unto his house, and the hall [*sic*] / Met Jezebel, all unattended, sole. / As once Iscariot distracted rushed / Into the presence of the Sanhedrin, / And there threw down the dread, accursed price / For

which he sold the Saviour of the world:— / So Ahab stood in presence of his wife" (Canto Second n. pag.). Jephthah understands fully the consequences of his lack of trust in God when "With timbrels and with dances, forth to meet him, / His daughter comes, attended by her maids,— / His only daughter, and his only child" (Judg. 11.34). Similarly, with Jezebel's instigation of Naboth's murder, Ahab understands the true extent of his culpability in Jezebel's crimes: "The sad king did penance, and the Lord, / Beholding it thus to Elijah spake:— / 'Seest thou how Ahab doth abase himself / Before me . . . / He grieves, and thinks with pity upon Naboth, / In his time will I not bring punishment, / But in his sons' days desolate his house'" (Canto Third n. pag.). Both Saul and Jephthah see their children die, but, like the Prodigal Son (Luke 15.11-31), Ahab, returning from a greater depth of sin, is shown mercy (1 Kings 21.27-29). Saul and his sons die in disgrace in battle against the Philistines: "But go, ye lights of Saul; be quenched, be quenched! / Oh, my poor sons, my sons, ye die for me! / 'Tis for your father's follies that you perish!" (Part 3 6.10; 1 Sam. 31.1-13). In contrast, Jephthah, who ultimately returns to complete trust and faith in God, becomes a type of the New Testament God the Father who also sacrifices his only child: "Behold, I am a rash, imperfect man, / With but one cherished child, a daughter lamb, / Whose life I staked, not knowing what I did" (25; Judg. 11:29-40). Within Heavysege's vision of Christian history, Saul and Jephthah represent two failed modes of negotiating a place for ambition, achievement, and fame within the context of faith and salvation. Heavysege's darkest vision is of Ahab and Jezebel who are not mere sinners, but the actual instruments of evil from whom salvation is utterly withheld.

Mircea Eliade observes that "in the economy of salvation, human virtues matter no more than human sins; what counts is to repent and not to lose hope" (335). The hope of salvation for the truly repentant faithful is prefigured historically in *Saul* and "Jephthah's Daughter." David and Jephthah's daughter are represented as types of Isaac, Abraham's son, whose type is ultimately fulfilled in Jesus Christ. Heavysege's affirmation of God's salvation in Jesus Christ is especially clear in his representation of Jephthah's daughter. Echoing Jesus' words: "'Oh My Father, if it is possible, let this cup pass from Me; nevertheless, not as I will, but as You will'" (Matt. 26.39), she says, "'Take me, my father, take, accept me, Heaven; / Slay me or save me, even as you will'" (54). While Saul and Jephthah suffer as a result of their willfulness and ambition, Jephthah's daughter and David, as types both of Isaac and Jesus, move through suffering to submission and acceptance.

Unlike Saul's instant will to power, after his own anointing by Samuel, David finds that "Fear mingles with my joy. This is the Lord; / And I must wait till he shall make that clear, / Which is left dark by his departed seer" (106; Part 1 5.5). David accepts that he is the instrument, not the originator of divine destiny. David receives courage by means of his faith. Early in the Third Part, David explains his success against the Philistines: ". . . Jehovah never fails / To succour me; for in mine own strength never / Do I contend, but, mailed in faith and prayer, / Meet those grim warriors from the ocean marge, / Expecting ever thus to overcome them" (210; Part 3 1.2). Further, David's hymn, "How the mighty have fallen" (2 Sam. 1.19-27), quoted by Heavysege in his Preface, marks, from a Christian perspective on Biblical history, the genealogical origin of "Jesus Christ, the Son of David, the Son of Abraham" (Matt. 1.1). Jephthah's daughter's faith and prayer also allow her to submit and accept God's will: "Then, rendering herself to the grim end, / Died, self-forgetful;—yet, immortal lives, / Loved and remembered to the end of time" (74). Jephthah, whose return to Grace is guaranteed by his daughter's death, ". . . filled with love and awe, / Worshiped her soul" (73). In *Jezebel*, however, Heavysege is constrained by Biblical history regarding Ahab's sons, Ahaziah and Joram. Ahaziah "did evil in the sight of the Lord, . . . for he served Baal and worshiped him, and provoked the Lord God of Israel to anger, according to all that his father had done" (1 Kings 22.52-53). Despite the spiritual bleakness of *Jezebel*, Heavysege's use of typology demonstrates the persistence of faith and hope as he continued to develop his vision in the third edition of *Saul* published in 1869.

Within a Calvinist paradigm of predestination, Bible study for evangelicals such as Heavysege was fraught with great anxiety as individuals searched not only for the knowledge of God's plan for their lives but also for the certainty of Grace. In *Saul*, "Jephthah's Daughter," and *Jezebel*, Heavysege anatomizes this anxious search for knowledge and certainty that is resolved, I believe, in the persona's "felt beatitude" expressed in "Sonnet XX." The last poem in the sonnet sequence published along with the text of "Jephthah's Daughter" in 1865, it provides Heavysege's most concise statement concerning the great man's and the good man's relationship with God. The "great man" is celebrated by "the world's loud cry" and has a "quenchless glory" around his name. He is a man of "ambition," aspiration, "reputation," and "fame." In contrast, "the good man's adequate reward" is the "memory of good deeds" and "Sense of his rectitude, and felt beatitude / Of God's regard" (94). The great man's reward is in the here and now; the good man's reward is in the

hereafter. Examining the function of typology in Heavysege's poetry sheds light on his effort to understand his personal relationship with God and how this relationship generated anxiety concerning the best way to reconcile piety and literary ambition. Heavysege struggled to locate an identity within Christian history that would allow him to justify his ambition to be a recognized, respected, and financially successful poet. Saul, Jephthah, and Ahab represent great men of ambition who suffer, and cause others to suffer, because of their lack of faith and trust in God. David and Jephthah's daughter represent a good man and woman who, as Heavysege himself wished to do, also win renown but through faith, piety, and submission to the will of God.

NOTES

1 In the 1850s Heavysege published two epic poems, *The Revolt of Tartarus* (1852, 1855) and the verse drama trilogy *Saul* (1857, 1859, 1869). In the 1860s he published a second verse drama, *Count Filippo* (1860), and the long lyric poems "The Dark Huntsman" (1864, 1876), *Jephthah's Daughter*, which includes twenty sonnets (1864), and *Jezebel* (1868). His sole prose work is *The Advocate* (1865, 1866). *The Owl*, a single long poem, and a collection of sonnets published in 1865 are now lost (Djwa xxxv). Heavysege also wrote an occasional poem, "Ode," which he read at the Shakespeare tercentenary in Montreal in 1864. Only two works have received extended critical attention outside of T.R. Dale's encyclopedic 1951 dissertation: *The Advocate* and *Saul*.

2 In the *Dramatis Personae*, Heavysege refers to Malzah as "The Evil Spirit from the Lord" in keeping with the Standard King James wording. *Nelson's NKJV* describes this being as "a distressing spirit from the Lord" (1 Sam. 16.14).

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Allusions and Illusions

Angie Abdou
The Canterbury Trail. Brindle & Glass $19.95

Miriam Toews
Irma Voth. Knopf Canada $29.95

Reviewed by Kathleen McHale

Angie Abdou's *The Canterbury Trail* features the inhabitants of Coalton, a mountain town and tourist destination where ski skills and status as a "local" garner social capital. Abdou writes about the small details of small-town life and produces a zippy, readable novel in the process. The novel features an eclectic group of snow-worshippers that embarks on a backcountry ski trip in an effort to capitalize on a rare deluge of spring powder. Abdou brings the outdoor enthusiasts together for a weekend in a no-frills cabin where they entertain themselves with a story-telling contest. The gang includes such characters as Janet, a mother-to-be who is (perhaps justifiably) cautious about the dangers posed by the great outdoors; Loco, a "local" who boasts about his Coalton roots; Shanny, "the rad chick"; and Alison, a former journalist and ex-Torontonian who feels out of her depth as the only novice skier in the bunch.

With each new chapter, the characters take turns narrating, and each section begins with a charming illustration, often accompanied by a clever how-to manual ("How to Immerse Yourself in Ski Culture," for example). These chapter headings establish a playful tone, which Abdou maintains as the novel progresses. Though the allusions to Chaucer can seem heavy-handed at times, overall they manage to complement this lightheartedness, and, lifting the *The Canterbury Trail* into metafictional territory, contribute to the novel's self-consciousness about itself as a form of media. The ski bum Loco, for instance, considers the disparity between the group's chaotic, chilly venture up (and down) the mountain and the sleek video they might later produce as an account of the weekend. In the video, he imagines, the skiers would be "luminescent, superhuman, godlike, unbound by the laws of gravity." In this way, the novel examines the manipulations often employed by art and media, noting the temptation to gloss over grittier details in favour of a polished, coherent narrative. The "urbanite" Alison serves as a vehicle for further metafictional exploration. The former journalist has a habit of mentally generating catchy headlines that capture the spirit of the outdoorsy goings-on. Her "brain [spews] forth a stream of headlines" until a companion's ski accident leaves her unable to "imagine their tragedy on the cover of *The Globe and Mail*." In the face of near-disaster, Alison's "headline fountain" runs dry, highlighting the shortcomings of media when it comes to capturing the complexity of real-life experience.

Abdou, for her part, does not shy away from including seemingly unsavoury details. Instead, she realistically describes the physical discomfort and occasional tedium that are necessary ingredients of

most adventures. Claudette "the Canadienne" suffers from marital frustration, which she somatizes into the physical pain of heartburn, while Alison's fear and fatigue manage to overshadow her enjoyment of the ski journey. Abdou also explores each character's prejudices and insecurities by exposing the occasional pettiness of group dynamics. Given that the adventurers constitute "a complete cross-section of Coalton society," tensions are bound to arise between skiers and boarders, nature-lovers and city-dwellers, husbands and wives, fathers and sons. Abdou's talent lies in her ability to capture the complexity of these relationships without sacrificing any of the sporty, snowy suspense of exploring the great outdoors.

Like *The Canterbury Trail*, Miriam Toews' *Irma Voth* features a small community, but the similarities between the two novels end there. In a Mennonite community in Northern Mexico, the nineteen-year-old Irma struggles to keep her loved ones both safe and close. Irma, whose candid voice chronicles the pain of missing her absent husband and the grief of living apart from her family, is thoughtful and curious, and, though introverted, never ponderous. When Irma begins working as a translator for the enigmatic, temperamental director Diego Nolasco, who has chosen Irma's community as the setting for his film *Campo Siete*, the novel begins to unravel slowly; the first two-thirds leisurely explore Irma's role on the movie set, the beginning of her marriage, and her relationship with her family, especially her wholehearted attempts (and failures) to understand her rigidly moralistic father. This initial section of the novel develops gradually, but many questions arise throughout to capture the reader's curiosity, and these mysteries prevent the novel's pace from lagging.

The narrative's deliberate progress is disarming; I found myself lingering on every page, often flipping back to consider a connection to another fragment of dialogue. The book invites a slow reading, and its lengthy sentences, often unbroken by punctuation, demand to be parsed and considered carefully. "I hate stories . . . " announces Diego, the director, whose films focus on emotion in lieu of action. "They scare me. They freak me out. They're dead. I want emotion, the feeling, the emotional resonance of the person . . . I hate narrative." This declaration also seems to serve as Toews' manifesto: the novel's gradual development clears a space for a focus on raw emotion and direct experience, and Irma manages to remain engaging without relying too heavily on action or suspense. Nonetheless, the novel's tempo does hasten, almost unexpectedly, when Irma and her sisters move to Mexico City. The change of pace is surprising but not unwelcome, and this snappier second component of the novel provides a pleasing complement to the unhurried first section.

Irma's journey begins with an earnest account of her last encounter with her husband. As ever, her tendency to ask the wrong questions complicates her interactions; her questions are too honest, too direct, and somehow not designed for everyday use. From here, Irma's narration guides the reader backward in time through her still-potent memories, and then forward to her plans and hopes. When the director Diego asks her to keep a diary of the shoot, we observe the apparently natural transition and translation of Irma's innate curiosity into an urge to write. From here, the text of Irma's first-person narration is occasionally inlaid with the similarly matter-of-fact, but somewhat sparser, text of her diary. In a tender moment, Irma's mother instructs her daughter to "just begin," and these words later inspire the budding writer when stunting self-criticism threatens to overwhelm her.

Observations about art, often specifically about the practice of writing, find their way into the novel. "Art is a lie," says Irma's father. As a whole, the novel enquires as to

whether art is a worthwhile pursuit. Irma grapples with understanding the dynamism and importance of words and writing, but remains open to the power of other mediums. In an effort to convince Aggie, her irreverent and headstrong younger sister, to stay put (and stay safe) while she searches for a job, Irma implores, "I understand your opinion of my words is that they are just words, and in so many ways but not in every way you are absolutely correct. . . . My words aren't only words. They're pictures and tears and imperfect offerings of love and self-inflicted shots to the brain." Toews reminds us throughout the novel that words can transform into images, films may be composed of raw emotion, and dancing the tango might just mean losing everything you own, because art, emotion, and life's quotidian happenings are all fluid and flexible, so that no border exists between art and "real" life to keep the two from interacting and occasionally colliding. The "energy of trauma," which can offer "a choice: paralysis or the psychic energy to move forward," in Irma's case transforms her, and eventually leads her back to her immeasurably flawed but irreplaceable family. Understated, powerful, engrossing, *Irma Voth* merits multiple readings.

A Treasure Trove for Theatre Lovers

Nina Lee Aquino, ed.
Love + Relasianships Volume 1: A Collection of Contemporary Asian-Canadian Drama.
Playwrights Canada $29.95

Love + Relasianships Volume 2: A Collection of Contemporary Asian-Canadian Drama.
Playwrights Canada $29.95

Reviewed by Gordon Gamlin

Nina Lee Aquino's collection is an important resource for teachers and thespians alike. Students of Asian Canadian drama especially may consider these twelve thoughtfully selected plays as required reading. In the first volume they are featured in chronological order from 1982 to 2002: *Yellow Fever* by R.A. Shiomi, *Bachelor-Man* by Winston Christopher Kam, *Maggie's Last Dance* by Marty Chan, *Mother Tongue* by Betty Quan, *Noran Bang: The Yellow Room* by M.J. Kang, and *The Plum Tree* by Mitch Miyagawa. The second collection begins with works from 2002: *Yes Yoko Solo* by Jean Yoon, *Tiger of Malaya* by Hiro Kanagawa, *Miss Orient(ed)* by Nina Lee Aquino and Nadine Villasin, *China Doll* by Marjorie Chan, *Banana Boys* by Leon Aureus, and *paper SERIES* by David Yee.

In her introduction, Aquino shares her process of selection and we catch a glimpse of canon-formation at its origin. In compiling the initial list of plays, she was attentive to history, geography, and a balanced representation of the Asian diaspora. A communal effort next brought together some of those working in the field to hold script readings and discussions to assess the merits of the assembled corpus. The result is an anthology of stylistically diverse Asian Canadian works over three decades that highlight Canada's regional diversity as much as the distinct communities of those who live here. Directors will find everything they may expect from gifted playwrights to help these plays come alive before their audiences. Look forward to engaging storylines, crisp dialogue, clear stage directions, strong characters, and, above all, profound insights into life in Canada from Asian Canadian points of view.

The first volume invites you to accompany private eye Sam Shikaze in a comedy mystery on Vancouver's Powell Street, meet reincarnations of the legendary Monkey-King in Toronto's Chinatown, mingle with attendees at a Prairie high school reunion to relive past follies at an experienced age, listen to a Vancouver girl who is the only interpreter between her younger deaf brother and her widowed Chinese mother,

witness a Torontonian Korean family's emotional self-discovery after the passing of their revered grandmother, and visit a berry farm in Mission, British Columbia, where an activist in the Japanese Canadian redress movement comes to terms with questions of ownership, justice, and history.

In the second volume, you are invited to lose yourself at the Art Gallery of Ontario in another woman's transformational multimedia vision of "The Yoko Ono Project." Witness an American legal defence team struggle as the "Tiger of Malaya" faces military justice in Manila. Enter the world of a Canadian Filipino beauty pageant in Montreal to encounter conflicting cultural ideals of beauty. Read Ibsen's *A Doll's House* a hundred years ago in Shanghai and encounter a new world. Join five men as their friendship reveals unexpected identity conflicts within their own generation. Hear the voices of recent childhood and adolescence in Toronto and look to the future. Already, these plays have been performed widely and stand as a record of accomplishments of the Asian Canadian drama movement. Only one question remains. When can we look forward to the third volume in this series?

De subtils effondrements

Véronique Bessens
Les coriaces. Triptyque 15,00 $

Normand Génois
Va-nu-pieds. Noroît 17,95 $

Michel Létourneau
Les marges du désert. Triptyque 15,00 $

Robert Sylvestre
Carnet de Miserabilis le Qibis : (2001-2009). Triptyque 15,00 $

Compte rendu par Mariloue Sainte-Marie

Une menace diffuse plane sur ces quatre recueils qui pressentent, chacun à leur manière, les risques qui adviennent de subtils effondrements de l'être, du monde, des jours tranquilles. *Les coriaces* s'ouvre sur un étrange festin dont le déroulement et les manières civilisées apparemment bien réglés tournent au désastre : « Tout se passait comme d'habitude : il y avait suffisamment de chaises, de convives et de formules, donc ils s'assirent ». Mais bientôt, les « visages se tordirent et se défigurèrent ». L'apparat et les décors se désintégrèrent, laissant apparaître le vide et les faux-semblants. Puis le ciel s'écrasa. Fin de l'entrée en matière. Hommes, femmes et bêtes se croisent dans ce recueil où la prose poétique et les vers présentent un univers dissonant, toujours impénétrable pour celui qui l'habite ou le regarde. Alors que les humains naviguent à vue, avec leur mal-être, leur colère, leurs désirs, les bêtes, elles, se font tantôt menaçantes (« Armés de leurs propres sabots / les hordes blessées s'avancent sur nous / carnaval de bétail mûr pour une vengeance »), tantôt victimes de l'appétit des hommes (« Depuis les champs brûlés / s'élève le dernier râle / des charognes sacrifiées : / les capricieuses exigences / du béton / des assiettes / et du marché »). Carnaval ou fables ou peut-être les deux à la fois?

« Nous demeurons à proximité de l'arbre / pour éloigner le chaos ». Omniprésente, remplie de bruissements, la nature, dans *Va-nu-pieds,* fait office de refuge en (re)donnant aux êtres un sens, un espace, un temps. Si les premiers poèmes laissent croire à un bonheur calme (« les noms d'arbres ploient / au-dessus de nos corps subjugués // un ciel pur l'eau vive enraient la gravité »), la plénitude du couple bat rapidement de l'aile : « la fin du monde calcule ses heures ». L'amoureuse apprend qu'elle est rongée par une tumeur. « Un homme habillé de gris entre et dit la tendre la douce la porteuse de rêves va quitter ce monde pour toujours elle le sait le nie repousse la mort de toute sa fatigue on n'abat pas un amour comme un arbre ». Pour celui qui lui survit, pour celui qui vit « avec un trou au cœur », il faut s'habituer à « vivre à la lisière de l'abîme »,

tenter de se raccommoder, devenir attentif aux signes qui annonceraient que malgré tout « la paroi entre les mondes » ne redevient pas « opaque » : « depuis je fais partie du groupe de recherche fouille sans repos l'immatériel l'indicible questionne à répétition les astres muets j'insiste me mets en mode réception planté seul devant la voûte noire des nuits blanches . . . // je cherche encore zigzaguant parmi les arbres derrière la ligne d'horizon au fin fond du possible le regard interprète le long mouvement nuageux du silence ».

Les deux parties qui composent *Les marges du désert* — « Chambreuse des lisières » et « Hémisphères du couchant » — explorent deux versants d'une semblable difficulté à vivre. La première partie dresse un portrait — fragmentaire il est vrai — d'une figure féminine qui connaît la détresse dans sa chair : « Tu recouvres de graffiti / ta trentième année, / penchée / sur tes itinéraires, / l'endurance des ruines. / Tu ne sais / quelle urgence / te pousse / à vouloir vivre / à la fois / la guérison et la chute / quand s'étale / devant toi / ton reflet dans l'ouvert ». Écris à la deuxième personne du singulier, les poèmes se tiennent à la limite imprécise entre l'adresse à l'autre et le discours intérieur : « Lorsque tu lèves la tête, / tu aperçois des oiseaux / exténués comme toi / non par la résistance de l'air / mais par les questions / qu'ils écartent constamment / de leur chemin ». Les poèmes brefs, plus apaisés, de la dernière partie du recueil — d'où la figure féminine a disparu —, offrent un bel équilibre entre ombre et lumière : « La montagne engrange ses millénaires. Attelé à tes angoisses, le ciel abolit ses chiens de tête. Des images se percutent au fond de la tasse. Les rhizomes ce matin instillent en toi des mots de réconfort parmi les pousses d'enfance qui jonchent l'âpreté de la route ». Cette dureté se retrouve enfin dans *Carnet de Miserabilis le Qibis,* recueil s'ouvrant sur une menace, comme un mauvais sort : « Le chant disparaîtra d'abord. Les mouches, mes besogneuses, aggraveront l'écorché splendide. La profanation sera irrémédiable ». Le ton se fait flamboyant; le poète ne dédaigne pas les images fortes, saisissantes : « L'enfant noyé dans les abattoirs de l'oubli / soliloque ». « L'effondrement est l'une des figures de la danse », nous dit le poète. Ce vers fait écho, dirait-on, aux trois autres recueils . . .

Poetry After Poetry

bill bissett
sublingual. Talonbooks $18.95

Kate Eichhorn
Fond. BookThug $20.00

Marguerite Pigeon
Inventory. Anvil $15.00

Reviewed by Clint Burnham

I'm calling this review "poetry after poetry" because in some ways all three of these books can most profitably be considered in light of the changes in poetry and poetics that have followed postmodernism—changes that make it more difficult to account for what poetry is, or what it does. bill bissett's work has manifestly been part of that change, the changes that postmodernism wrought on aesthetic standards (from orthography to subject matter, from taste to canonicity). Kate Eichhorn's body of work, while more recent, has come to deal especially with a poetics of the archive, with research as production (as my colleague Jeff Derksen has put it), with poetry not as matter but as process. And Marguerite Pigeon's book flirts, via the phenomenological, with current conceptual strategies, demonstrating perhaps in its failure how even those tropes have their own past-ness (or post-ness).

bissett's recent book *sublingual* certainly continues the formal innovations that have, since the 1960s, marked his poetry as instantly recognizable; his voice manifested on the page as the marking of the phonetic. But surely what is most important about

bissett's style is the variety within—thus the poem "evreething" begins:

> that goez in my
> hed i put ther
>
> what abt fakts
> i sd 2 stuffus

If we can see the logic of bissett's phonetic spelling behind "evreething," "goez," "hed," and "ther," the rationale for "fakts" is a bit more difficult (is a "k" more obviously a hard sound than a "c"?), and "stuffus" is downright enigmatic. Indeed, it's when the words get more complicated and difficult to make out that bissett's work is not only slowing down the reading (already commendable), but turning back on its own method, making phonetic spelling its own mystery. Thus, later in the book, we have "stasyund" (stationed?), "prswaysyuns" (persuasions?), "temprashurs," "impetago," "tagoez," "olfaktoree," and "slitelee." Some of those words I could not even figure out; but if bissett's method is to promote the sliding of the signifier, it also remains tied to an arbitrariness of same: "stasyund" not "stayshund," "prswaysyuns" not "prswayshuns." As Len Early wrote more than thirty years ago, the radicality of bissett's work maintains its edge at that microscopic, granular level.

Like Kate Eichhorn, I am fond of archives, and I am fond of the fact that we use the French word *fonds* to designate a collection within an archive. Like her more recent novelistic poem *Fieldnotes: A Forensic* (also from BookThug), *Fond* is concerned with archive as process, as matter that makes out of words and texts (and textiles and textures) not, perhaps, meanings, but propositions about how meaning works. The book reads as a collection of notes taken in an archive ("No caffeinated beverages . . . No ink . . . Isolate the body. Wear gloves") that rapidly become a visual poem of the *fonds*' disintegration. Scribbles become drawings that bring to mind Toronto underground poet Peggy Lefler. Words are interlaced with others in a way that mimics on-screen editing and makes the virtual into a material culture. *Fond* probes our memory as an artifact, and the facticity of our writing.

Fond is structured in the following way (this may be an erroneous, retrospective ordering of the manuscript, only apparent on my third reading): a manuscript or series of manuscripts, "Case Studies," is presented at the beginning of the book via archival documentation:

> Collection
> 1
> Title
> [Case Studies]
> Creator
> Anon; found manuscript.
> Extent
> 1 box
> 7 files
> 8 notebooks

This description continues for three pages, and then we have what presumably is the manuscript, with the formal devices outlined above. Part way through *Fond* is a memorandum for "Processing Staff" ("Place in acrylic-coated storage chambers," etc.); concluding the book is another note, complete with deleted phrases:

> I was intrigued by the arrival of [Case Studies]. But this ~~found manuscript~~fonds~~,~~ (which one of the archivists discovered in a recycling bin outside her ~~rental unit~~ apartment but couldn't bear to leave for Public Works and managed to slip into a stack of manuscripts to be processed with surprisingly little difficulty and no elaborate explanation~~,~~) was ~~most~~ultimately ~~-~~ disappointing.

Fond leaves us only aware of how provisional any text—and knowledge of same—is; beauty, then, is to be found in those scattered marks on the page, the marks of underscoring, strike-throughs, the marks of a lost intent.

Marguerite Pigeon's *Inventory* holds out the hope of a poetry of objects and their place—or placelessness—in the world, and while it offers some tantalizing connections and correspondences, its effect ultimately is less of a poetics than a description, a flat lyricism not nearly lurid enough. We have here a series of poems—sometimes prose-ish, sometimes not (and why this mild distinction is never clear): a banana, and then, in a poem about bicycles, a banana seat. A toothless newspaper and an auto-erotic cunt. But we want more than objects: we want words, and Pigeon does not seem to be interested in those.

Taking Control

Lesley Choyce
Living Outside the Lines. Red Deer $12.95

Susin Nielsen
Dear George Clooney: Please Marry My Mom. Tundra $17.99

Reviewed by Suzanne James

Teenagers often feel frustrated by their limited control over day-to-day life and the future, and thwarted by controlling parents and situations. Reflecting these concerns, young adult novels frequently present empowered protagonists who succeed in controlling—rather than being controlled by—their environments. In Lesley Choyce's *Living Outside the Lines,* control takes the form of inspiring the creation of a future society drastically different than our own, visualized in a novel-within-a-novel composed by the book's sixteen-year-old protagonist, Nigel. Less dramatically, but more convincingly, the teenage narrator of Susin Nielsen's *Dear George Clooney: Please Marry My Mom* succeeds in gaining control over her environment by changing herself and her interactions with others.

The first-person narrative of *Living Outside the Lines* opens with the rather clichéd device of the inspiring creative writing instructor prodding his students to write a novel "so powerful, inventive, enthralling, and revolutionary that readers take the message to heart and do something to make this a better world to live in." While most of the students remain indifferent, Nigel is inspired to "live outside the lines" and so sets out to complete a novel over the course of the term (each of his four previous attempts having stalled at page 176). Writing a novel proves surprisingly straightforward: after little creative anguish, and even less editing, Nigel's partially complete draft earns him a lucrative book contract. Far more intriguing is Nigel's relationship with Michelle, a mysterious classmate who—as we realize long before he does—has travelled back through time to meet our narrator. As the novel shifts from contemporary realism to science fiction, characters debate the ethics of time-travel and its potential to change future events, though the nature of the futuristic world inspired by the novel-within-the-novel proves far more interesting.

Nigel's creative work, sections of which are included in the text, posits a country in which discovery, endeavour, and governance are handled by young adults aged fifteen to twenty-two; mature "adults" step aside to pursue hobbies and play no more than an advisory role in the real work of society. This novel, we discover, provides the blueprint for the future to which Nigel travels in the closing section of Choyce's text. Although not a perfect utopia, the world managed by young adults is peaceful, egalitarian, innovative, and—most importantly—takes advantage of the potential of its young citizens. As Choyce argues in an interview, "Adults have not been that good at solving some of the world's greatest problems . . . why not let young people with possibly some radical new improved ideas take over?"

Dear George Clooney: Please Marry My Mom is a more subtle, character-driven work which lives up to the playful absurdity

of its title. Nielsen's novel succeeds in being thought-provoking and relevant with little of the overt earnestness which often characterizes young adult novels. Violet, the twelve-year old narrator, projects her anger at her father (who has left her mother and married an aspiring actress) on to her twin half-sisters by persuading the toddlers to eat cat "turds." The scene is outrageous, and, as presented in the novel, appears both funny and plausible. As Violet explains, "What happened was this . . . 'It's chocolate,' I said. 'Santa must have left it. Look, there's one for each of you.'" Objectively, as the narrator realizes, her actions are wrong; yet the insincerity of her father and his new wife and their over-reaction to the incident, combined with the vicarious pleasure of observing Violet's audaciously antisocial behaviour, lead readers to sympathize with her. Following this incident we watch her struggle with anger, disappointment, and embarrassment at her mother's desperate search for a new man, as well as with feelings of alienation at school. Nielsen's touch is deft and the book's lightly humorous, ironic perspective keeps the domestic drama and teenage angst from becoming too self-indulgent. Violet's transformation into a more tolerant and understanding individual is marked by realistic setbacks as well as advances, and the supporting characters, for the most part, move beyond caricature. When the novel closes with an encouraging personal note from George Clooney, we really want to believe it could happen.

Living Outside the Lines and *Dear George Clooney: Please Marry My Mom* are well-crafted novels targeting a young adult audience. Working within generic conventions, the authors succeed in balancing accessibility, relatively fast-moving plots, and catchy narrative twists with, in Nielsen's novel, a subtlety of characterization, and in Choyce's work, an exploration of the socio-political issue of teenage autonomy and potential.

Women and Religious Tradition

Mary Frances Coady
The Practice of Perfection. Coteau $18.95

Dora Dueck
This Hidden Thing. Canadian Mennonite UP $19.50

Robert Eady
The Octave of All Souls. Editio Sanctus Martinus $29.95

Reviewed by Maryann Tjart Jantzen

In all three of these recent books, the authors highlight the complex lives of women irrevocably shaped by their religious faith. Coady's collection of short stories is set in a convent during the late pre-Vatican II 1950s. It traces the experiences of four young postulants as they seek to embrace their order's traditions of silence, service, and isolation from the outside world. To succeed on this journey, relinquishment of individual skills (for example, Melanie's expertise on the cello), clothing choices (all must wear a "long black dress with a Peter Pan collar"), and desire for the sake of "conformity to the will of God" is crucial.

Coady highlights the tensions that emerge within these young women as their idealistic desire to serve God rubs up against their youthful exuberance. A hint that the timelessness of this world is soon to be shaken comes when Mother Alphonsine, the novice mistress, asks Mother Superior to let her charges read a recently published book on the Dead Sea Scrolls that will reveal "new things about the Bible." After her request is denied, and she departs the convent for a time of "rest," the agitated whispering among the nuns, even during times of silence, foreshadows turbulent times ahead. While highlighting the archaic nature of this closed world, Coady also gestures toward the complex layers of meaning within this confined space generated through both pursuit of communal goals and individual encounters with the divine.

Setting his book in Strathearn, a fictional Ontario town, Catholic writer Robert Eady shapes the plot of his epistolary novel around his narrator's observance of the tradition of praying for the souls of the recently deceased during the week following All Saint's Day. Within this framework he unfolds both the inner life of JT, an aging single woman, and the complexity of small town life as she writes letters to a childhood friend (an Oblate missionary priest) that update him about mutual acquaintances who have died during the past year. Her letters provide vivid and wry depictions of a diversity of local residents, including Paula, the vindictive city councillor, Augusta, a much venerated, retired English teacher, and the fast talking Luther Stronk, whose naïve involvement in drug dealing ends with the discovery of his body in a local gravel pit. JT's astute commentary highlights the complex world lurking under the surface of this seemingly mundane small-town. Eady's narrative strategy effectively reflects his themes; his focus is narrow, constrained by one woman's thoughts and words as shaped by her religious tradition. However, it also highlights the sustaining value of lifelong continuity to geographical place and religious faith.

Finally, Dora Dueck's novel, the 2011 McNally Robinson Book of the Year, traces five decades in the life of Maria Klassen, a Manitoba Mennonite woman who is forced to take a job as a live-in domestic days after her arrival in Canada in the late 1920s, in order to financially support her refugee family. Young Maria experiences various levels of displacement while working in the Winnipeg home of the Lowrys, an upper middle-class Anglo family: she must not only adjust to a new homeland and language but also to a new cultural context and a socially subservient role. Increasingly exposed to new ways, Maria is caught between her longing to embrace more cosmopolitan "English" mores and her desire to retain the conservative values of her Mennonite religious background.

Made susceptible to the sexual advances of the Lowrys' adult son by her loneliness and naïve belief that their relationship will result in marriage, Maria conceives a child whose birth and subsequent adoption reshape the trajectory of her life. Stoically closing the door on this aspect of her life, she returns to her Mennonite community, determined to never disclose "this hidden thing." Taking the place of her recently deceased mother, she devotes her life to caring for her family. In return, she gains cultural security, close familial bonds and, over time, benefits from the growing prosperity and social status of her extended family. However, her inability to come to terms with "this hidden thing" stunts her emotionally and also points to the dangers of being overly defined by a narrow cultural and religious context.

Taxonomical Metaphors and the Language of Race in Canada

Wayde Compton

After Canaan: Essays on Race, Writing, and Region. Arsenal Pulp $19.95

Reviewed by Lily Cho

Neologisms are freighted with risk. Given the potential misunderstandings and slippages attendant upon the use of a received linguistic term—consider: race, difference, origins—the risks of developing ideas out of new terms—consider: phenetics, cladisticizing, halfrican—seem even more palpable. In *After Canaan*, Wayde Compton embraces these risks. The opening chapter of the book, "Pheneticizing vs. Passing," maps out many of the key themes of this book.

Dissatisfied with a language of racial passing that "implies deception on the part of the individual being viewed," Compton seeks instead to "inject the verb 'pheneticize'

and the noun 'phenetics'" into the existing vocabulary for race and identification. Drawing from biological taxonomy, Compton revives the notion of phenetic classification. Long since replaced by cladistics, which classifies organisms based on ancestry, phenetic classification relies upon visible characteristics as the basis for classification. Foreseeing the potential for confusion, he offers a "very short glossary of racial transgression" that clarifies his use of this terminology. Some of the terms glossed: "*cladisticizing*: Racially perceiving someone by inquiring into his or her family history"; and "*pheneticizing*: Racially perceiving someone based on a subjective examination of his outward appearance." Arguing that phenetics allows for a more precise description for the ways in which mixed race people can be confused for members of racial and ethnic groups to which they have no affiliation, Compton applies the concept of phenetics to four case studies.

Compton follows the racially mixed histories of four people: Chief Buffalo Child Long Lance, Rhonda Larrabee, Fred Wah, and Anthony Ekundayo Lennon. In each of these cases, Compton shows how they have been pheneticized, and how some of them chose to pass (which, according to Compton's glossary, means that they deliberately mispresented their racial origins) at different moments in their history for specific ends.

While Compton's differentiation between active and passive forms of racial perception is crucial, I have two concerns with the concept of phenetics. First, his case for new language rests upon a claim that passing is the only term available to describe the instances of mixed race people being misrecognized as members of racial or ethnic groups with which they do not identify. Opening the book with the story of Shane Book, a brown man who is alternately mistaken for an Indigenous person, a Peruvian, Hispanic, Samoan, Mexican, or an Arabic person, Compton suggests that the "English language has only one word to specifically describe the phenomenon Book experiences—we call it 'passing.'" Compton is absolutely right to note that the language of passing suggests an active intent to deceive even though many mixed race people have these alternate racial identities foisted upon them. There is a crucial difference between an active intent to be perceived as belonging to a particular race, and being arbitrarily subjected to membership in a group because of the idiosyncratic, and often racist, presumptions of a particular viewer. However, I couldn't help but wonder if one might also describe Book's experience as one in which he was *mistaken*, or *misrecognized* as, and not just "'passed' for Indian, Peruvian, Hispanic, Samoan, Mexican, or Arab," as Compton claims. While mistakes and acts of misrecognition are not specific to race, I'm not sure that passing is the only way to describe Book's experience.

Second, I worry that borrowing these classificatory metaphors from taxonomy reifies and valorizes cladistics as a way to talk about racial mixture. The case studies that Compton shares do not simply follow the story of the ways in which their subjects were pheneticized, they also outline the racial identities in their family histories. In that sense, Compton engages in cladistic narratives even as he shows how the people in these case studies have been pheneticized. In a footnote to his terminology, Compton situates phenetics as "a natural antonym" for cladistics which he "repurpose[s] to mean reference to actual ancestry rather than an account of visual cues." This emphasis upon ancestry potentially reinscribes blood and origins as a basis of racial classification. While Compton makes clear that he does not subscribe to the idea of race as a science, the language of these metaphors opens up the possibility of re-entrenching some of the pseudo-science of racist classification. As

the history of the "one-drop rule," a history that Compton recognizes as intimately tied to the emergence of the very language of passing, attests, focusing on blood and origins can be deeply problematic.

However, as the essays in this book reveal, Compton is alive to the risks and dangers of his ideas. In the final chapter of the book, "Post-race," he tracks the usage of the term "halfrican." Compton astutely follows the ways in which a term he used in a semi-autobiographical poem, "Declaration of the Halfrican Nation," had become part of "a strange trail of blogger rants and flame wars" where commentators debated the validity and relative offensiveness of the term with reference to Barack Obama. The term had entered mainstream media and had been used by commentators such as Rush Limbaugh. In his discussion of the multiple ways in which this term has been invoked, Compton usefully reveals the ways in which a term that he coined when he was twenty-four and aiming for satire and irony could be twisted out of its context.

Bookended by two chapters that point to the problem of finding an adequate language for mixed race subjectivity, *After Canaan* also offers an extensive and illuminating engagement with the history, geographical and linguistic, of black Canada. In chapters that range in content from a re-mapping of Hogan's Alley, to contemplations on Fred Booker, Alexis Mazurin, Isaac Dickson, and Mifflin Gibbs, to a discussion of turntables and poetry, Compton's book offers a series of powerful and vibrant insights into race and writing in Western Canada.

Recovering Early Canada

Len Early and Michael Peterman, eds. *Collected Short Stories of Isabella Valancy Crawford.* Canadian Poetry $45.00

David Thompson; William E. Moreau, ed. *The Writings of David Thompson, Volume 1: The Travels, 1850 Version.* McGill-Queen's UP and The Champlain Society $44.95

Reviewed by Thomas Hodd

In an age of online resources, the publication of two authoritative texts based on recovery scholarship is a refreshing reminder of the intrinsic value of the book. Canadian Poetry Press in particular has played a vital role in leading this country's recovery work for several decades, especially with regard to early Canadian writers. The *Collected Short Stories of Isabella Valancy Crawford* brings together all of the known thirty-two short stories that Crawford published during her lifetime. Prepared with thoughtful, scholarly rigour, this book is more than just an anthology of Crawford's work: it is a detailed critical resource for Crawford scholars as well as those interested in early Canadian fiction. In addition to the stories, Len Early and Michael Peterman have included in the edition comprehensive textual and explanatory notes sections, a bibliography related to Crawford's short fiction, and a substantial introduction.

The only aspect of this book readers may find questionable is the extent to which the editors argue for Crawford's critical importance as a writer of fiction. In justifying the need for such an anthology of her stories, Early and Peterman suggest, in part, that Crawford's work "represents a fascinating stage in the development of short story writing in Canada and furnishes a credible link between the pioneering work of Haliburton and Moodie in the early nineteenth century and the sophistication and modernity of Scott's Viger stories at the century's end." To that end, they offer a

sustained critical overview of the stories in the Introduction, identifying various patterns of theme and style, although offering little insight by way of Crawford's achievement in relation to her contemporaries, such as Rosanna Leprohon, Susan Frances Harrison, or May Agnes Fleming. Also missing from this conversation is a sense of the reception of Crawford's stories, or even the relative significance of a New York publication like *Frank Leslie's Chimney Corner* to help readers understand how Crawford's fictional work was valued in its own time. These minor criticisms aside, the availability of such a useful anthology will no doubt help future scholars succeed in either validating or rejecting the claims made by Early and Peterman for Crawford's place within the critical history of the short-story genre in Canada.

Equally rewarding is William Moreau's edition of David Thompson's *The Travels, 1850 Version*. A co-publishing initiative between McGill-Queen's University Press and The Champlain Society, Moreau's text represents the first of a three-volume "complete" edition of Thompson's work. In some ways, this book is long overdue; it has been fifty years since the publication of Richard Glover's 1962 edition. What's more, as Moreau points out, "the current edition is based on a fresh transcription of Thompson's manuscript and a careful study of the evolution of the work through its various drafts." To that end, his edition includes several detailed maps, a comprehensive index and bibliography, as well as brief biographies of many of the people Thompson refers to in the text. Moreau's "Textual Introduction" will no doubt be of particular interest to book history scholars.

Perhaps most compelling is Moreau's argument that *The Travels* should be considered a literary object as well as a historical document, noting that "in his life, Thompson took on the roles of storyteller, interpreter, scholar, and philosopher; at the deepest level, he was a mediator, who placed disparate voices into dialogue with one another and who attempted to form syntheses." Moreau devotes considerable space in his introduction to discussing the construction of *The Travels* and its aesthetic properties. He also rightly points out that "exploration texts such as Thompson's have come to be appreciated as literary works," although his most recent referenced piece in relation to Canadian literary criticism is nearly thirty years old. Also missing from Moreau's introduction is a more nuanced explanation of how his edition of *The Travels* differs from the 1916 edition prepared by Joseph Tyrrell and that of Glover; both Tyrrell's and Glover's editions are available on the Champlain Society website, yet Moreau merely glosses the differences between these three editions in his Textual Introduction. In short, the general reader is left to largely assume that Moreau's edition is better than those of his predecessors, a somewhat surprising omission given that scholars are arguably the only intended audience for this type of publication. Having said that, this book, along with the project's subsequent volumes, will no doubt help introduce Thompson to a new generation of historians and Canadian literature scholars.

Telling Secrets

Lee Easton and Richard Harrison
Secret Identity Reader: Essays on Sex, Death and the Superhero. Wolsak & Wynn $25.00

Reviewed by Tim Blackmore

As fans once more watch DC Comics prepare to commit commercial suicide and stupidly reissue and renumber every comic by putting a "1" on the cover (ironically the DC June 1st blog entry on the matter is titled "We Hate Secrets," because they're so exhilarated about cynically flooding the market in September 2011) in the hopes of making a sale to every sucker . . . sorry, fan,

who thinks they're buying a piece of history, it is a great relief to read a book as thoughtful, intelligent, well-informed, perceptive, and smart as Lee Easton and Richard Harrison's *Secret Identity Reader*. Easton and Harrison, two professors at Mount Royal College, have pooled their brains and voices to explore, in depth, the world of Marvel and DC golden to iron age comics. As the book title indicates, the discussion revolves around sex and death, but most of all, identity, in the world of the superhero and the superhero reading audience. It's a pleasure to see this kind of study done right (the word "properly" just doesn't pack the colloquial wallop it needs).

Easton and Harrison discovered each other's love for comics and decided to write this book together. They've done it in a way that makes it easy on the reader—there's no guessing about who wrote what. Instead, the chapters alternate between authors: Harrison may weigh in on identity, and then it's Easton's turn. After a few chapters, the reader comes to know and identify each of the voices: Harrison is the modernist and poet who has struggled with his father's at times overpowering presence in his life; Easton, the postmodernist, is the queer man from Sudbury who found in comics' repeated narratives of hidden identity and male beauty some refuge from the narrow closet of 1960s northern Canada. Each has a touching, intriguing vision of how comics operated not only for them, but how they still operate for a culture at large. Together they agree and disagree, creating a true discussion between them about the value and intricacy of comics across time.

The reader who prefers other graphic texts to superhero comics (I'm one of those, although there's a time for good crazed costumed stories like those detailing Iron Man or Daredevil's latest struggles with the Evil of the Week) may think this book has nothing worthwhile to say about comics more generally. They'd be wrong. Across the text it is clear that both authors know the material, all of it, thoroughly, and can apply what they see in superhero comics to all kinds of graphic narratives. Harrison begins by addressing why the book is about foundational superheroes, not *Maus*, *Jimmy Corrigan*, and *Persepolis*. They're not writing about superheroes because it's all they know: they're writing about superheroes because they're reflecting on how these iconic figures have functioned and continue to function in the culture.

The two authors get it right in a number of ways. They show themselves to have the kind of particular knowledge that a scholar should have: they've followed the online debates, have listened to creator commentaries that accompany films of Marvel and DC comic characters (even atrocious failures like Marvel's 2003 *Daredevil*), know the literature of comics scholarship, and understand what a spoof can say about the field (Harrison's tangential comments about Brad Bird's *The Incredibles* show just how much he's attuned to the genre). They follow the chains of production and consumption that we know, in graphic fiction of the twentieth century, so drove (and still do, although in different ways) the art form. We cannot talk about the way Marvel and DC Comics created their books without talking about distribution, work for hire, creator's rights, and the suborning of artists. Easton and Harrison get this, and get beyond it, too. They consider who produces the text, from the corporate author, to creative minds and hands, right down to the fan. It's a satisfyingly thorough discussion. I suspect the classes on comics each teaches have the same kind of depth and complexity. This is the kind of mature comics scholarship we've been looking for: it doesn't have to lard the text with heavy theoretical references in order to be legitimate, but it can actually talk about its subject. I don't need someone to read me a Foucault (or Derrida, Freud, Habermas, Adorno) superhero story,

thanks. I can do that myself. Here instead is the real deal: the connection of icon to memory, sexuality, power, fantasy, and identity. The fact that Harrison says about these graphic works, "I love them," only makes the book stronger and more intriguing. Let's have lots more of this kind of discussion, and no more secrets.

Sui Generis

Rachna Gilmore
Catching Time. Fitzhenry & Whiteside $19.95

Sarah N. Harvey and Leslie Buffam
Great Lakes and Rugged Ground: Imagining Ontario. Orca $19.95

Gary Kent
Fishing with Gubby. Harbour $19.95

Robin Muller
The Nightwood. Tundra $20.99

Reviewed by Hilary Turner

The humble reviewer prides herself on finding *some* sort of common ground among the assorted books assigned to her. In vain has she cudgeled her brain this time for a single thread—a tiny strand—with which to bind these volumes together. In vain did she challenge her erudite friends to find a common feature. Alas, the result is a review without a theme.

Poor Sara. She wants to go to the park, but Mom and Dad in Rachna Gilmore's *Catching Time* are caught up in a whirlwind of Saturday chores—vacuuming, shopping, washing the car—and time is slipping away. Several prominent clocks attest to it, as does the car's license plate, which reads T1C T0C. Sara gets control of her frustration by taking a metaphor literally: with effort and ingenuity, she finds Time and traps it in a jar. Time, in case you've never seen it, is a rotund gremlin with a clock on his belly. The expressive watercolours of Kirsti Anne Wakelin add energy to this simple and comforting story. With time in hand, so to speak, the family ends the day playing in the park.

A pictorial history of Ontario with accompanying haikus sounds farfetched, but Sarah Harvey and Leslie Buffam make this odd combination work, adding gentle, reflective commentary to the panoramic illustrations of Kasia Charko. The story begins before the Europeans have arrived, and takes us through the years of the fur trade, the building of locks and railways—interspersed with glimpses of the lumber and mining industries, war work in a factory, the Maple Leafs, and Caribana. The short poems open up the scenes before us, each one of which is rich in interesting details. *Great Lakes and Rugged Ground* is a book designed to be pored over and talked about. Very young children will be captivated by the colour and movement of the pictures; older ones will have questions about the historical significance of the people, places, vessels, and machines they portray. A list of things to "seek and find" and a series of explanatory notes make it easy to get the most out of each historical freeze frame.

Equally informative, yet more lighthearted is *Fishing with Gubby*, an inventive blend of comic book (or possibly graphic novel) and conventional picture book. Gubby makes his living fishing for salmon in the straits off Vancouver Island, and the story follows him and his cat Puss for a season as they move the troller *Flounder* up and down the coast. Illustrator Kim La Fave and Gary Kent impart information with humour and charm, and their illustrations convey with equal facility the intricate details of the craft of fishing and the wide vistas that surround the characters. The format is flexible enough, in other words, to contain a labelled cross-section of the *Flounder*, and to encompass the complicated tangle of fishing crafts at the mouth of the Fraser just as the sockeye run is beginning. Gubby's dry humour and the amusing body language of Puss make us care about these characters throughout their brief adventure.

The Nightwood adds another title to the impressive bibliography of writer and

illustrator Robin Muller. The story, a retelling of a Celtic legend, is set in the strangely shifting space between the commonsensical daylight world of duty, and the shimmering nocturnal space of freedom and love. When the Earl of March's daughter, Elaine, defies orders and ventures into the territory of the Elfin Queen, she meets her true love, an enchanted captive named Tamlynne. Yearning across the boundary of the human and the elfin, Elaine grows pale and thin. Eventually, her love for Tamlynne is pitted against the obduracy of the Queen, and, as in many fairy tales, Elaine's resources are painfully tested. Muller's illustrations show the longings and the conflicts of the characters in a style that is both gothic and realistic. This is a well-rendered fairy tale for speculative children.

In Search of Sanctuary

Steven Heighton
Every Lost Country. Knopf Canada $29.95

Michael Helm
Cities of Refuge. McClelland & Stewart $32.99

Reviewed by Gordon Bölling

On 30 September 2006, Kelsang Namtso, a seventeen-year-old nun, was shot by Chinese border police in an attempt to stop a group of more than seventy Tibetan refugees from fleeing to Nepal. This incident near the Nangpa La, a 5,800 metre mountain pass on the border of Nepal and Tibet, serves Steven Heighton as the point of departure for *Every Lost Country*, his third novel. As he writes in his acknowledgements, Heighton began work on the book in February 2007, less than half a year after the actual event. Although *Every Lost Country* chronicles the plight of the Tibetan people under Chinese rule, the novel's focus lies squarely on a group of four, wholly invented Canadian characters who travel to the Himalayas for a range of reasons. There is Wade Lawson, a professional mountaineer from British Columbia, who is desperate to be the first to reach the summit of Mt. Kyatruk. He sees his current expedition primarily as a means to restore his tarnished reputation as a first-class climber. Therefore, and to enable the commercial exploitation of his feat, he has enlisted the help of Chinese-Canadian documentary filmmaker Amaris McRae. Lawson is also joined by Lewis Book, the expedition's base camp doctor, and his daughter Sophana. For several decades, Book has done crisis postings in such war-torn countries as Bosnia and Rwanda only to realize the gradual unraveling of his own family in his native Canada: "A family is its own small country and culture and he has been displaced from his, just a marginal participant in its constant, necessary renewal." Sophana accompanies her father on his latest, seemingly less dangerous engagement in an attempt to restore the ties between father and teenage daughter.

For these characters, the expedition to the Himalayas becomes a test of courage. In the course of the fast-paced narrative, the four Canadians repeatedly need to readjust long-held views and attitudes: "Though Kyatruk is the highest peak in the area, from here it's hidden. A paradox of perspective: how the high peaks you see from fifty miles away vanish behind the lower ones as you near, so getting a view of a mountain is like getting a clear vision of a life—you have to pull away from it before its shape starts to emerge from behind all the concealing layers."

None of the protagonists is left unchanged, and those who eventually return to Canada do not do so unscathed. In the aftermath of the Nangpa La shooting incident, Lewis, Amaris, and later Sophana are taken into custody by Chinese border patrols. The first of the novel's two narrative strands recounts their adventures and their eventual return to freedom. The second, less prominent (though no less important) narrative strand deals with Lawson's abortive attempt to reach the summit of Mt. Kyatruk.

Heighton switches back and forth between the two parallel plotlines, makes ample use of cliffhangers, and constantly changes perspectives. This rapid pace is part of the pleasure of reading *Every Lost Country*. Still, Heighton's writing is even more rewarding in those quiet passages in which he steps back from the action and takes his time to explore his characters and the cadences of their inner worlds, in more detail. Ultimately, it is in these moments that the larger ethical questions which form the backbone of Heighton's novel are explored. Lewis Book, for example, has always known that there is no such thing as a bystander, a lesson he and his fellow travellers do well to remember in Tibet. Steven Heighton's *Every Lost Country* is both a modern story of adventure set in Tibet and a profound exploration of, to borrow a title by Marilyn Bowering, what it takes to be human.

The link between *Every Lost Country* and Michael Helm's *Cities of Refuge* is a shared concern for universal human rights. Helm's third novel takes its title from the Biblical Book of Numbers, in which six cities are designated as places of refuge for anyone who has killed a person without intent. Set in present-day Toronto, *Cities of Refuge* sheds light on the lives of illegal immigrants in Canada's largest city. Helm's protagonist, twenty-eight-year-old Kim Lystrander, has abandoned her PhD and is working part-time at GROUND, the Group for the Undocumented, where she helps refugee claimants such as the Iranian dissident Sadaf to hide from Canadian authorities. Kim also holds a job at a museum in downtown Toronto and is on her way to work one night when she is brutally attacked by a stranger. Only narrowly does she escape being raped. This act of violence is the novel's key scene. Its various plotlines ripple outward from here. Traumatized by the event, Kim compulsively returns to the attack in her writing. However, Kim's exploration of the past does not stop with her own life: "And so she began retracing the long arc of her life, and the lives of others, and things like chance and the city itself, the zones where lives collided." She soon realizes that she is able to imagine the life of her unknown assailant. For her, this proves to be both a burden and a blessing: "Everything connected. Her attacker has given her this way of seeing, and she hates him for the giving, for the beauty of the gift. It's been forced on her and she will never be free of it. She can't separate the gift from the giver."

Whereas Kim looks for salvation in her writing, her estranged father, the historian Harold Lystrander, pursues a very different course of action. He develops the theory that his daughter must have met her attacker while working at GROUND. His search for clear-cut causes and effects leads him to Rosemary Yates, a social worker who offers sanctuary to illegal immigrants without delving into their distant pasts: "We'd rather that the world made sense somehow, and that's what you're trying to come up with. Sense. Meaning. Sometimes, Harold, there is no meaning." It is Harold's own past that eventually comes under scrutiny when Kim questions his actions during Pinochet's 1973 coup d'état. Her speculative account of Harold's student days in Chile proves to be disturbing for both father and daughter. Michael Helm's *Cities of Refuge* is an exceptionally well-crafted and ambitious novel. It is as much a novel about Toronto as it is a novel about a larger globalized world. In it, the personal is intertwined with the political, the past with the present, and the familiar with the unexpected. Like all good literature, *Cities of Refuge* ultimately raises more questions than it answers. Still, it is the questions that count.

Le *beat* des répliques à la puissance deux

Tomson Highway; Jean Marc Dalpé, trad.
Dry Lips devrait déménager à Kapuskasing. Prise de parole 18,95 $

Compte rendu par Stéphanie Nutting

La version originale de cette pièce de théâtre de Tomson Highway remonte à 1989, année où elle a mérité à son auteur le prix Dora Mavor Moore. Il a donc fallu attendre vingt ans pour avoir le plaisir de la lire en traduction française. Qu'est-ce qui a motivé Jean Marc Dalpé à en entreprendre la traduction après tant d'années ? Cette pièce de théâtre se déroule dans la réserve autochtone de Wasaychigan Hill, sur l'île Manitoulin en Ontario. Peut-être est-ce l'espace de l'Ontario rural qui a interpelé Dalpé, lui-même ontarien d'origine, quoique domicilié depuis un moment à Montréal. Si tel était le cas, ce ne pourrait certainement pas être la seule raison : le langage crépitant et le réalisme cru ont dû y être pour quelque chose également. La fable, elle, se résume à ceci : les femmes de la réserve décident de monter une équipe de hockey féminine devant le regard amusé et dubitatif de leurs maris. Mais ce projet collectif n'est qu'un canevas drolatique sur lequel s'inscrit un commentaire mordant sur les maux sociaux qui affectent la communauté. Tout y passe : l'aliénation, l'alcoolisme, la violence physique et verbale, et l'escamotage des mœurs et croyances ancestrales. Ces dernières sont incarnées par une Nanabush surnaturelle qui est aussi polissonne que désopilante. Il faut dire que, dans l'univers dramatique de Tomson Highway, le tragique et le comique se côtoient non seulement dans l'intrigue (qui a toute la force d'un ressort tendu) mais aussi à l'intérieur des dialogues; Dalpé, possédant une sensibilité esthétique semblable à celle de Highway, nous en livre une traduction magistrale. Ils ont tous les deux un sens de l'humour très fin. Dans cet univers de propos décapants et de personnages imprévisibles qui se disputent les jeux de places, les personnages savent que c'est le *beat* de la répartie et la finesse de l'esprit qui l'emportent. Grâce à cette heureuse traduction de Dalpé, la puissance du texte de Highway est désormais multipliée à la puissance deux.

From Person to Song

Don Kerr
The Dust of Just Beginning. Athabasca UP $16.95

Tammy Armstrong
The Scare in the Crow. Goose Lane $17.95

Jon Paul Fiorentino
Indexical Elegies. Coach House $16.95

Gary Barwin
The Porcupinity of the Stars. Coach House $16.95

Reviewed by Michael Roberson

The newest books by Don Kerr, Tammy Armstrong, Jon Paul Fiorentino, and Gary Barwin demonstrate a range of lyric modalities. Somewhere between singing the person and singing the song, these poets engage with the textural and material nature of language to differing degrees. For Kerr, the textures of language hardly mediate the compulsion to deliver an effortless portrayal of lived experience. For Armstrong, the textures of language unabashedly overwhelm any compulsion to deliver an unmediated portrayal of the nuanced world. For Fiorentino, the materiality of language invariably problematizes the compulsion to think of poetry as a haven for sincerity. For Barwin, the materiality of language subtly augments the compulsion to treat poetry as a purveyor of profound and parabolic truth.

Don Kerr offers a series of comfortable and unassuming poems—the equivalent of what he calls "going the speed limit plus / five." In the five sections of the book, each named for a particular poem, Kerr delivers the kind of love poems for both humanity

and nature that hinge elegy and celebration. In lines that break with the syntax, and some that even rhyme, Kerr relies on plain language, unburdened by any need to innovate. Upon first impression, Kerr provides characteristic examples of "the dead tired poem"—a telling line from one of the poems in the collection. Still, while he banks too much on the "brown cows and green trees" and finds inspiration too often in the sun, Kerr delivers supremely palatable lyrics. These poems show a confident and mature response that recognizes the poetry in a boy who "sinks his teeth into the / varnished pew to leave his mark" or that captures the poetry in the following lines:

> [T]he first red finger of tulip
> in the smelly mulch reborning
> in the wrinkled leaves.

Tammy Armstrong offers a series of lexically rich and crafted poems that exemplify the discovery in the following rhetorical question: "Who knew ice held hymn / in cradled waters." In the five untitled sections of the book, Armstrong delivers the kind of wordsmithing that creates a music by cradling and releasing words at the phonemic level. She combines an adherence to absolute detail with an attention to elaborate sonority. In lines that each stand on their own as "gem-streaked" units, Armstrong invokes an enchanted language that reaches back to the kennings and alliteration of Anglo-Saxon verse. Take, for example, the following passage:

> I'd scab-shimmied a culvert as a child
> for a bet, the use of a bike or bat
> hunch-walked through the algae-slick
> while the boys jogged the road above.

Despite the admirable musicality of these lines, it tends to almost overwhelm the image or the memory in a way that makes me desire the sparseness of Don Kerr's delivery. Armstrong's poems are strongest when they minimize their turn to the personal and when they remain at an observational or researchable distance. Armstrong's tone in those personal moments often resonates with condescension, symptomatic no doubt of her erudition. Her commentary about "package tourists" and mall crowds leaves me a little wary of the personality behind poems like "While We Sleep, It Snows." Still, when Armstrong stays attuned to the subtleties of phenomena, her poems are exquisite and inimitable.

Jon Paul Fiorentino offers a diverse smattering of styles that demonstrate an edgy playfulness, attendant to the pun and to sound, to form and to formula, all of which capitalize on what he calls: "[A]n injury to language." In the three sections of the book, Fiorentino consistently utilizes a "disrigorous play and ploy" that optimizes humour and irony, as apparent in titles like "Hysterical Narrative" and "Grift Economy." In the most explicitly metapoetic piece, "Polyclinique," Fiorentino suggests that his method consists of "[s]tich[ing] up a coterie of kindreds" where "connections are severed" but reconnected "lazily, forcefully." In the title section of the book, dedicated to the memory of the poet Robert Allen, Fiorentino alternates between a series of language-influenced poems, each titled "Hymn," and a series apparently based on excised passages from Charles Sanders Peirce, each titled "CSP." From Peirce, Fiorentino takes the notion of the index—a type of sign that points to something else, like a thermostat or a clock. As indexes, or indices, these elegies are a tribute to language—since many of these poems emphasize language's materiality rather than language's meaning. This attention to materiality is one aspect of what constitutes the "post-prairie"—a term that serves as a subtitle of the last section titled "Transprairie." "Transprairie" as a sequence and as an idea suggests Fiorentino's exploration of the threshold between traditional prairie writing—with an adherence to voice and experience—and academic experimental

writing—with an adherence to disjunction and unconventionality. This book, however, shows Fiorentino inhabiting both spheres confidently and comfortably in a way that suggests that he's not interested in transcending his prairie roots, but in traversing them in new ways.

Gary Barwin delivers surreal, parabolic, even mythic poems, the denseness of which opens up to sparkle with an alluring beauty, as in the image conjured by the book's title. In the book's three sections, Barwin uses both "Kurzweil Cybernetic Poet software" (RKCP) and "old-school English language technology." The RKCP, named for Ray Kurzweil, creates a "language model" from a selection of writing that the software then uses to generate derivative but original poetry. While using such software might betray a belief in the oracular, the rhapsodic, or the geomantic, Barwin's attitude is ambivalent. As he writes in a short poem, titled "Frost":

> [T]wo roads diverged in a yellow wood
> I took one
> it doesn't matter which
>
> I'm not giving it back[.]

Playfully, Barwin refrains from indicating explicitly which method he uses to generate any of the poems, because in some sense "it doesn't matter which." For Barwin, "if luck filters pretty things" then a poem is successful. Even if you use cybernetic software, "maybe you'll slip up and tell a truth" anyway. Of course, by truth Barwin does not mean a universal or transcendent truth, but a discovery, like a "glimpse of the planet" or "earth's contingent language." In other words, Barwin purveys a kind of poetry that delivers unusual knowledge—"knowledge" that is like "a blackbird braided by shadow / shredding the holy books to nest." The poems in *Porcupinity* are the result of an unencumbered imagination, tinted by humour, intelligence, and pathos.

"Dreaming in Iambic Pentameter"

Susan Knutson, ed.
Canadian Shakespeare. Playwrights Canada
$25.00

Reviewed by Vin Nardizzi

The eighteenth volume in the series, Critical Perspectives on Canadian Theatre in English, *Canadian Shakespeare* affords a snapshot of the cultural work that "has been done with Shakespeare in [English-speaking] Canada since the 1980s." It gathers two newly commissioned pieces with seventeen previously published (and sometimes substantially excerpted) essays and interviews that describe how Canadian actors, dramatists, literary scholars, students, and teachers have all creatively—and differently—found "themselves in Shakespeare as they make the language their own, talking back to 'his' authority, or claiming it for other intentions, including pleasure." As this overarching thesis suggests, key concepts threading through the collection include adaptation in its various guises; the foreignness of Shakespeare's antiquated syntax and vocabulary; identity formation, with special attention to gender and race; postcolonial critique; and the vexed relation between the universal and the local (or national) Bard. But the snapshot that the collection presents of these concepts is no still life: since its arrangement is chronological, readers observe the development of these central terms as they have shaped discussions about and productions of Shakespeare on Canadian stages, from Ontario to Saskatchewan. For instance, the tone of Ann Wilson and Steven Bush's "Notes on Playing Shakespeare" (1988), which is a strident call for theatrical appropriation that rejects the idea of Shakespearean purity, is a far cry from the celebrations of adaptation without limit in Mark Fortier's "Wild Adaptation" (2007) and of intertextuality in Wes Folkerth's engaging 2010 piece on Tomson Highway's

Dry Lips Oughta Move to Kapuskasing. Critical perceptions of adapting Shakespeare in Canada have indeed come a long way in a short time. Insofar as *Canadian Shakespeare* makes this genealogy (and others) ready-to-hand in the accessible and short contributions tucked between its covers, it will prove an invaluable aid in theatre classrooms across Canada and a fine companion to the anthology of drama that Ric Knowles edited, *The Shakespeare's Mine: Adapting Shakespeare in Anglophone Canada* (2009).

It is no small achievement to claim possession of Shakespeare ("mine") for progressive political ends and for Canadian artists and audiences to be able to say that they have discovered "themselves"—and will continue to do so—in re-purposing his "language." Yet as the interview with Yvette Nolan included in Knutson's collection intimates, possession can also operate in the other direction. The author of *Death of a Chief* (2008), a revision of *Julius Caesar* included in Knowles' anthology, Nolan reports that, when workshopping the play, she found herself "dreaming in iambic pentameter." For her, the experience of having Shakespeare's meter animate her dreamscape was the stuff of comedy ("It's hilarious," she observes). To our eyes, it makes for a charming anecdote. Even so, such psychic engagement also stands behind one of the most thrilling Canadian adaptations of tragic Shakespeare. A reader—this reader—felt the trace of that possession when reading her play for the first time.

Coup d'œil sur la littérature acadienne

David Lonergan, éd.
Paroles d'Acadie : Anthologie de la littérature acadienne (1958-2009). 29,95 $

Compte du rendu par Clint Bruce

Comment prendre connaissance de la petite littérature acadienne, celle qui s'écrit dans les régions francophones de l'Est canadien? Certes, quelques auteurs primés ne sont pas passés inaperçus — Antonie Maillet au premier chef, mais aussi Herménégilde Chiasson, France Daigle ou encore Serge Patrice Thibodeau. Cependant, ceux-là ne sont pas seuls en leur pays à prendre à bras-le-corps les défis spécifiques à la création en contexte minoritaire. Pour s'initier à l'expression littéraire en Acadie dans sa multiplicité, l'anthologie s'impose, et il faut à ce titre saluer la parution de celle, toute récente, de David Lonergan, également l'auteur de *Tintamarre : Chroniques de littérature dans l'Acadie d'aujourd'hui* (Prise de Parole, 2008).

Livre d'une facture attrayante, *Paroles d'Acadie : Anthologie de la littérature acadienne (1958-2009)* réunit des textes et extraits de textes de quelque quarante-neuf écrivains de l'Acadie contemporaine, c'est-à-dire depuis l'avènement d'une modernité littéraire marquée par les premiers écrits de Maillet et de l'iconoclaste Ronald Després. Cette sélection est assortie d'un avant-propos, d'une préface d'une trentaine de pages, d'une bibliographie et de notices bio-bibliographiques. L'ouvrage embrasse plusieurs genres (poésie, fiction et théâtre), sans recourir aux textes historiques comme l'avait fait la première *Anthologie de textes littéraires acadiens, 1606-1975* (Éditions d'Acadie, 1979) à laquelle *Paroles d'Acadie* fait suite. En moyenne, entre huit et neuf pages sont attribuées à chaque auteur.

Dans son avant-propos, Lonergan expose en toutes lettres les critères, tout à fait solides, qui ont guidé ses choix, en précisant que *Paroles d'Acadie* « s'adresse à tous ceux et celles qui s'intéressent à la littérature acadienne, en particulier aux étudiants et étudiantes de la fin du secondaire et de l'universitaire ». Quelle vision de la littérature acadienne en retirera une jeune lectrice de dix-sept ou dix-neuf ans, probablement inscrite dans un cours de littérature?

Désireuse de situer le corpus acadien, elle se tournera à coup sûr vers la préface, laquelle

prétend présenter « Un peu d'histoire ». Bien qu'elle y puisera un certain nombre d'éléments contextuels, notre novice risque de rester sur sa faim : ayant privilégié démesurément les facteurs institutionnels, en particulier les heurs et malheurs des maisons d'édition au Nouveau-Brunswick, Lonergan néglige d'introduire ce qui rend vivante une littérature que l'on découvre, par exemple ses particularités esthétiques, son environnement socioculturel ou les grands thèmes issus de l'imaginaire collectif. Qui ignore ce qu'est le chiac n'en saura pas davantage après la lecture de cette préface. Cette réserve émise, le défaut est amendé en majeure partie grâce aux notices, efficaces et bien tournées, consacrées aux auteurs des textes proposés.

Quant à la sélection de ceux-ci, c'est évidemment s'aventurer sur la corde raide; après tout, « construire une anthologie implique faire des choix », avoue Lonergan. Les spécialistes peuvent toujours s'amuser à chercher lacunes et peccadilles; il me paraît douteux, par exemple, d'avoir accordé six pages de plus à l'œuvre de Claude Le Bouthillier, dont la quantité n'est pas forcément en rapport avec la qualité, qu'à celle de France Daigle. Toujours est-il que l'échantillonnage est représentatif dans son ensemble, et, ce qui est plus important, donne de quoi mettre en appétit.

Recollecting Home

S. Leigh Matthews
Looking Back: Canadian Women's Prairie Memoirs and Intersections of Culture, History, and Identity. U of Calgary P $39.95

Pam Chamberlain, ed.
Country Roads: Memoirs from Rural Canada. Nimbus $19.95

Reviewed by Jodi Lundgren

S. Leigh Matthews has written a groundbreaking study of memoirs by white, English-speaking women that document "western land settlement from around 1870 to 1950" in Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and Alberta. Most of the texts under discussion were produced and published between 1950 and the mid 1980s, often by daughters or granddaughters of the original homesteaders. According to Matthews, this body of work has been neglected both by literary scholars (who typically favour the individualistic focus and complete narrative arc of autobiography) and by historians (who mistrust the subjective, personal nature of the memoir form). Matthews recuperates these texts "from pronouncements of failure according to the traditional expectations of either category." Heeding the "function of cultural narratives in the representation of settlement life," she reveals that the representative "Pioneer/Prairie Woman" was created in Catherine Parr Traill's "cheerfully adaptive" and "dauntlessly optimistic" image. The hegemony of this ideal has meant that those who do not conform to it (notably Traill's own sister, Susanna Moodie), have—like the memoir genre itself—been deemed failures. In her book, Matthews aims to demonstrate that women's memoirs attest to a much broader spectrum of gendered experience and that even successful adaptation itself was a heterogeneous process.

To demonstrate the "re-visioning" of dominant images and narratives in women's memoirs, Matthews explores the connotations of "homestead," with its feminine first syllable and masculine second syllable. Not only does the focus of women memoirists on the intimate, local concerns of "home" decentre the official, national "'stead'-centred project," but their works testify that, especially in the early stages of homesteading, women's work in the home (which generally encompassed vegetable garden and chicken coop as well as kitchen) provided both sustenance and income. The work of "'Home'-building" was thus, she argues, "as important as—as foundational to, really—the work of 'stead'-building."

Matthews defines the memoir genre as inherently relational, "less concerned with exclusively the writer's experiences . . . and more concerned with establishing the multiple forces (national/cultural/social/familial) that affected their family's experiences of prairie life." Fittingly, then, one of the most compelling chapters in the book addresses the eco-consciousness apparent in these texts: using Riane Eisler's contrasting "dominator" and "partnership" models of social organization, Matthews argues that, especially in their empathetic, subject-subject representation of "non-human animals," the authors rewrite the exploitive, conquest-oriented narrative of prairie settlement. Matthews extends her claims for subject-subject representation to the memoirists' treatment of First Nations people, although her evidence here is less convincing. Overall, *Looking Back* is a cogent, meticulous study that attests to the important role played by memoir as a "textual space" in which "representations of women's bodies chasing bears, fighting fires, running races, straddling horses, driving wagons and working in the fields" contradict the dominant domestic ideal of the "Prairie Woman."

In *Country Roads,* Pam Chamberlain has collected thirty-four memoirs by men and women who recall growing up between the 1920s and the 1980s in rural areas ranging from BC's Kootenay region to the Goulds in Newfoundland. Fourteen of the texts have been previously published, including those by such well-known figures as Pamela Wallin, Roch Carrier, and Rudy Wiebe. In their form, the texts range from non-linear, associative reminiscences ("Landing" by Luanna Armstrong, "A Solid Foundation" by Kay Parley, and "There Isn't One Thing I'd Change" by Brent Sutter with Andrew Leitch); to focused narratives with a complete plot arc ("Fargo, North Dakota" by Ruth Latta, "Burning the Fields" by Laurie Elmquist, "Joining the Workforce" by Andrew Beattie, and "Section 29" by George Fox); to fractured stories that juxtapose past and present time-lines ("Wave Riders" by NJ Brown, "Grandpa and Me" by Chris Beingessner, and "Road Trip: Why I Write About Saskatchewan" by Shelley A. Leedahl). These fractured narratives challenge the uncomplicated relationship between memory and truth often assumed in the more conventional texts.

Some of the common themes that emerge in the collection echo those identified by Matthews: for example, the intersection between identity, gender, and farming is apparent in Marianne Stamm's "I Am . . . a Farmer": "Some might say I wasn't really a farmer—I was just a farmer's daughter. They don't understand. A teacher's daughter doesn't go to school with her mother and help teach. She isn't responsible to help make sure the school runs smoothly. A farmer's daughter is." This passage also points to the texts' frequent emphasis on work, and particularly on children at work. Although some of the child labour may seem exploitive to urban readers, writers such as Elmquist, Beattie, and Fox emphasize children's pride in building skills and the reward of bonding through work with siblings and parents. Indeed, the benefits of a country upbringing in developing strong core values and a secure sense of self are cited by several of the writers, including Wallin. Furthermore, like the eco-conscious writers in Matthews' study, writers such as Sharon Butala, Keith Collier, and Gordon Tootoosis ("great-grandnephew of the Cree leader Chief Poundmaker") express and appreciate a sense of connectedness to the earth.

Bearing out Matthews' claims regarding the memoir form, most of the writers in this collection construct a relational identity as they recall the land, the people, the animals, and the labour that defined their childhoods. Yet it appears that, to use Matthews' term, the "textual space" of the memoir may be the only place where that identity can still exist. Chamberlain

laments that "for complex reasons that are difficult to understand or articulate, it seems heartbreakingly impossible to return to that place." Tootoosis, however—while acknowledging the diminishing fluency in the Cree language among his people—remains optimistic: "I see myself as being indigenous to North America, not merely to one small part of it." Invoking a subject-subject paradigm similar to that described by Matthews, Tootoosis says of raising his grandchildren at Poundmaker Cree Nation that "like me, they can navigate in both cultures and accept people for who they are, while maintaining who they are. In this place, they have a strong base from which they can grow and then face the world."

The Saved and the Spooked

Holly Faith Nelson, Lynn R. Szabo, and Jens Zimmerman, eds.
Through a Glass Darkly: Suffering, the Sacred and the Sublime in Literature and Theory. Wilfrid Laurier UP $85.00

Reviewed by Timothy E. Dugdale

"I want more life, fucker." In a film with many quotable lines, this one from *Blade Runner* takes the cake. An alpha male replicant has stolen into the baronial penthouse of a genetic engineering magnate. Time is of the essence because the replica's expiration date is nigh. But the father has no answer for the son, and the son has his revenge.

Is this not the secret raging fantasy of billions of people, to confront God on his home turf and demand extra innings? Why rage against the dying of the light if you could just remove the hand on the dimmer? Death is a vexing inevitability that produces that most profound sense of fear and loathing, the *sublime*. In this compelling new collection of essays, the editors explore how many different writers over the ages have sought to comprehend and render the sublime in the realms of the sacred and the profane. How can we love a God that creates us only to put us to death? Is suffering a magic vehicle of transcendence in *both* life and death? Or is suffering a mental swindle that turns life into a miserable gamble of deferred gratification and eating shit just to earn potential heavenly relief and reward?

No figure in Western civilization exemplifies the fetish of suffering more than Jesus Christ. For Christians to achieve transcendence, they must suffer like their saviour and live with it, quietly. Daniel Doerksen contends that George Herbert's *The Temple* is, in fact, a Calvinist ode to adversity, that the Christian "cannot like the Stoics seek indifference to it, but must 'feel it as a man.'" Herbert, like Calvin, revels in the double bind that believers must embrace—God is good but he likes to test, and you have to suffer without asking God why you can't suffer a little less. Doerksen suggests that Herbert's poetic genius lies in his ability to bring to life the sights and sounds of humans as they endure affliction without making a spectacle of themselves.

In an essay on Alice Munro, John Van Rhys quotes the author from an interview: "I don't see life very much in terms of progress. I don't feel at all pessimistic. I rather like the idea that we go on and we don't know what's happening and we don't know what we'll find. We think we've got things figured out and then they turn around on us." Rhys, through close textual reading of early Munro short stories, suggests that Munro sees humans alienated from nature because they are unable to understand nature or come to terms with their own inadequacies in nature. They can't hack the surprises. Rhys goes on to argue Munro's later short stories have become not so short because "of Munro's exploring in greater complexity and depth the mysteries and violence, vitality and the human spirit."

A few years ago, standing on a Metro platform in Washington, DC, I overheard

a well-dressed Rasta tell his equally elegant partner, "I'm sick of being defined by trauma." In her introduction, Holly Faith Nelson points out that "theologies of suffering have been viewed by many trauma theorists not as a means of healing victims but rather as a way (to our peril) of averting our eyes from the brutal physical realities of the human condition."

Steve Vine addresses this very notion in his essay on Toni Morrison's *Beloved*. He argues that the "national amnesia of slavery is not just a cultural repression, but a historical obliteration, too; for a key dimension of the sublime in Morrison's text is the silence or absence that characterizes the very object that it takes as its focus of representation." Just as Herbert brought to life the interior world of suffering of Christians, Vine suggests that Morrison attempts to "rip the veil" that is drawn over the unspeakable thoughts, unspoken." But unlike Herbert's quest to bring suffering to life without questioning the celestial source of that suffering, Morrison refuses suffering outright in the material world. She has Sethe murder Beloved to save her from a life of slavery and its attendant trauma. "By unplugging Beloved in this way from the slave system," writes Vine, "Sethe flouts slavocracy's literal and symbolic economy: the regime that declares the slave child to be the property of the slaveholder, not the child of its mother."

Ultimately, literature may provide a pathway to that most treasured of spiritual states: grace. Thinking about suffering and trauma through the choice words of choice authors, the reader can discover that life is a hell of a ride and that ride is heaven enough.

Divining the Elegiac

Merle Nudelman
The He We Knew. Guernica $15.00

Sue Chenette
Slender Human Weight. Guernica $15.00

Susan Briscoe
The Crow's Vow. Signal $16.00

Reviewed by David Leahy

What these collections of poetry have most in common is the elegiac mode—especially its humbling challenge when trying to communicate diverse registers of loss and grief in short free verse lyrics. Many of Merle Nudelman's poems in *The He We Knew* are about the accumulative estrangement of a son—"Keys clatter into my palm. Silvery / ones for the car; bronze for home. / No note. A muddle, keys / to our lives from the son // who made this his goodbye."—but many other poems turn away from that downward gyre; express what it feels like to be "sustained by a flame / that sings of odyssey: // the enduring loves, travail, / the final flash to nightingale."

In *Slender Human Weight* Sue Chenette's frequently autobiographical slices of life can invoke the likes of an empty house ("Draperies Relaxed in Their Folds"), simple domestic actions ("Intimacy"), or a found object, and succinctly imagine the lives and secrets they might reveal. Such is the case with "To The Woman Whose Notebook I Found in the Puces de Vanves": "The recipes—for you? a friend? a mother-in-law? / Is it her hand that alternates / in strong forward-tilted strokes / with your round and sturdy backhand? / Did you share a kitchen? / Could you hold your own?" The understated account of the *nature morte* of Chardin's *The Silver Tureen* can prompt an eidetic memory yet refocus our sense of the painting's magic upon the more banal foreground: "Partridge / and hare just that side, / the apple this side, / its life located, held / in view, potent,

miraculous." This said, a few of the poems are slightly ingénue, as when we are told a self-referential anecdote about a street person in Paris who passes off copies of lines of Victor Hugo as his own "*petit poème*," but the majority are thoughtfully disarming.

The *pièce de resistance* is Susan Briscoe's book length cycle, *The Crow's Vow*. Like *The He We Knew* unsettling material predominates, but via more concise, precise meditations on the slow, painful threats to a marriage and its tentative renewal. Like Chenette, Briscoe has a talent for dissecting, often via stunning figurative juxtapositions, the lurking threats and paradoxes of our relationships to a deceptively idyllic world. Consider the grotesqueness of the concluding couplets of "Spring . . . ": "We wake to a field mouse, / soft brown fur and clean white belly. // I could skin the whole family, / stitch pretty mittens." The collection's imagistic mapping of the weight and fancy of the seasons in an almost exclusively rural domestic setting builds inexorably to overt feelings of despair, of emotional dams breaking—"You have been pulling the stones for months— / thought I wouldn't notice, / but I knew . . . / Wake downstream and wet, / wade, stumblingly, back." Briscoe's delicately handled yet forceful ability to capture, contain and convert a sense of betrayal, fear, and failing love into something more uplifting yet unsentimental in couplet after couplet is impressive, as when the understated images of the cycle's last poem dramatize the tension between the renewal of the marriage bed and its tenuousness, its potential to melt away with yet another change of the seasons of the affections: "Still night in the morning, you / still beside me. // Snow banked to the eaves, / the driveway diminished // to the length and width of one car, / one door slightly open. // The path to the house / is of snow // packed by our boot prints. / Single file."

Challenging Slums

Doug Saunders

Arrival City: The Final Migration and Our Next World. Knopf Canada $34.95

Reviewed by Daniel Harvey

In *Arrival City*, Doug Saunders takes up two related global issues that have garnered widespread attention in the last few decades: the growth of informal urban settlements and slums, and the increasing migration from rural to urban habitations. Eschewing the gloomy conclusions put forward in other texts dealing with these subjects, the book frames these spaces in a hopeful light. When successful, Saunders claims, these "arrival cities" act as the threshold between rural and urban conditions. They integrate the world's most precarious populations into networks of national citizenship and global capital, and they create sustainable ways of living. While Saunders acknowledges the world's slums as potential sources of economic stagnation and social disorder, he also posits them as a solution to the poverty and exclusion faced by the roughly two billion people who have moved (and will move) from the rural to the urban.

In Saunders' vision, properly managed arrival cities function as a global panacea for a host of ecological, economic and social problems. The bottom-up model of entrepreneurial capitalism endemic in these transition zones, he suggests, offers the possibility of "sustainable prosperity" for a global middle-class living in a "permanently sustainable world." Organized as a compendium of personal accounts from inhabitants of the urban margins, *Arrival City* takes the reader on a global tour, to places well known to scholars of urban poverty and others less commonly examined: it moves from the slums of Kenya, India, and South America to migrant communities in the more developed cities of Europe and North America. Saunders attempts to describe why

some arrival cities succeed in incorporating migrants into middle-class economic and political systems, while others trap succeeding generations in social and economic stasis.

The book outlines many factors that influence the potential for success in specific locales. The central (if implicit) factors include individual, social, and fixed forms of capital, as well as a spirit of entrepreneurship. In Saunders' account, gaining and maintaining personal property and credit is the final goal of people transitioning from rural poverty to the urban middle class. To attain this goal, those in arrival cities must adopt entrepreneurial forms of subjectivity and an aspirational outlook focused on incremental improvements and generational deferral of middle-class success. Networks of social capital—embedded in kinship networks within urban spaces—provide links to rural villages, which aid new migrants in their transitions and connect urban and rural communities to their mutual economic and social benefit.

Saunders' discussion of the inception and development of these urban-to-rural networks highlights the informal economies found at the interstices of the two spaces. In describing personal and social capital, he points to the importance of free market economies for migrants transitioning into middle-class urbanism. Here the role of the state lies in developing forms of fixed capital, not only infrastructural but also human. That is, the inclusion of migrants into educational, political, and social systems remains as important to successful arrival cities as access to potable water, transportation systems, communication networks, and the like. Saunders implicitly argues that the development of urban space mirrors the development of its inhabitants' subjectivity: successful arrival cities require the development of both subjectivity and infrastructure.

Arrival City provides an accessible introduction to the problems faced by a large section of the global populace, suitable for a general or undergraduate audience or for scholars in the early stages of research in globalization, urban studies and poverty. Saunders refuses to infantalize or demonize his subjects (a tendency that sometimes limits similar accounts) and for this he deserves praise. His optimism, however, may go too far in the other direction.

The book is short on historical discussions of the larger economic processes that generate arrival cities, especially the structural adjustment policies (SAPs) imposed by the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, World Trade Organization, International Monetary Fund, and World Bank, and the twentieth-century's (global and local) crises of capital. Readers of David Harvey, Samir Amin, Arturo Escobar and Kalyan Sanyal (among others) will find this gap particularly vexing, since those modes of historical critique cast doubt on one of Saunders' basic claims: that capitalism, and the system of private property it requires and continuously reproduces, can ever function in a globally sustainable manner. As the above authors suggest, it seems more likely that such crises of accumulation and reproduction are in fact necessary to generate wealth, and that crises and inequality act as structural requirements rather than repairable flaws of capitalism.

Arrival City's central premise, its reliance on an ideology of the bootstrap, bears a strong resemblance to the economic development theories of the Peruvian economist Hernando de Soto and the founder of the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh, Muhammed Yunus. All three suppose that increasing the development of capitalism, and introducing systems of property rights and credit on a wider scale, will somehow solve the very problems that such economic models have, if not created, at least exacerbated. The SAPs and other global economic pressures of the 1970s, 80s and 90s privatized national resources and industries, increased monoculture-based agribusinesses,

streamlined labour forces, and reduced social aid networks. These pressures contributed to force rural populations out of the hinterlands, pulling them into urban centres where, jobless and without property, they migrated to less desirable areas to form ever-accumulating pockets of surplus labour. The global capitalist system's inability to provide full employment, and its need for such reserves of the unemployed have, after all, not disappeared. Although *Arrival City* presents examples of migrants who have made the transition into middle-class stability within arrival cities, it never elaborates how such levels of wealth and security could be extended to entire populations. Saunders' examples remain *ideals*, which foster a too hopeful vision of entrepreneurial success. Despite these shortcomings, the book does offer an illuminating glimpse of the world's poorest and most precarious lives, and provides valuable material for future study. Unfortunately, the conclusions Saunders draws from its case studies remain unconvincing.

A Timely Save: Canada's Pre-eminent Feminist Theatre Company at Thirty Years

Shelley Scott
Nightwood Theatre: A Woman's Work is Always Done. Athabasca UP $39.95

Reviewed by Kirsty Johnston

In her preface to *Nightwood Theatre: A Woman's Work is Always Done*, Shelley Scott demonstrates the drive behind the company's "fervent commitment to women artists" by quoting its former artistic director, Alisa Palmer: "Artists and audiences, feminists and thespians alike, are hankering for women's art that laughs like a maniacal harlot in the pallid and even-featured face of the Disneyfied, sanitized Mega-theatre culture." Nightwood Theatre has been laughing in such generative ways since its 1979 founding as a Toronto collective and this book, offered in part to commemorate the company's thirtieth anniversary, takes the "weight and measure" of this important theatre, one that Scott quite rightly describes as the "pre-eminent women's theatre company in Canada." Grounded in rigorous archival research, interview responses, critical press, performance analyses, and relevant theoretical scholarship, the book goes a long way to preserving the company's considerable labour and accomplishments.

Scott's book balances close analysis of the company's decades of activity with a broader view of its place in the international context of feminist theatre, thinking, and activism during the same period. She begins by comparing Nightwood with other feminist theatres founded in the 1970s, and argues for stronger parallels with its US (At the Foot of the Mountain, The Women's Theatre Project) rather than its UK counterparts. She also explains the critical importance of Rina Fraticelli's 1982 report on the *Status of Women in Canadian Theatre* as "a catalyst toward [the company's] clearly feminist mandate." Founded as a collective, Scott demonstrates how this mandate complemented the operational mode: "Collective creation offers at least the possibility for equality and a balance of power in an organization; since these are feminist goals for society at large, it seems only right that they should be put into practice in a feminist company." Scott fully acknowledges that working in this way is complicated and one of the great strengths of this book is that it does not skate past the history of potential or realized conflicts. Rather, she suggests what it takes for collective creation to function and attends to how precisely operations unfolded at Nightwood and with what outcomes. She also observes how the company's changing mandate language, strategies for soliciting funding, and audience outreach and

interactions with the media both broke and forged bonds between company artists and associated personnel. The straightforward chronological structure of chapters one to three helps to trace the logic behind such changes as well as the sometimes long and winding paths to individual productions. These chapters divide the company's thirty years into three sections. The first, beginnings (1979-88), examines the founding impulses for the theatre, distinguishing it from other feminist theatre in Toronto at the time and highlighting its early commitment to inclusion and diversity. Chapter 2, "breaking away and moving on" (1989-93), charts artistic activities under artistic director Kate Lushington as it explores mandate shifts and negotiations around the label of "feminist." It also asserts the importance of Nightwood's 1989 launch of the SisterReach initiative: "an anti-racism campaign aimed at opening the company up to a wider community." Chapter 3 accounts for the "new leadership models" that have animated the company's operations since then. Each of these chapters also includes neatly organized summary analyses of key Nightwood productions that note both artistic choices and critical reception. These complement the Nightwood chronology that is offered as an appendix and will serve as a valuable and rich resource for further research in the field.

The more synthetic arguments of the final chapter help to understand the company in relation to feminist theory. Drawing, for example, on the work of Sue-Ellen Case and Gayle Austin, Scott demonstrates diverse feminist impulses in the company's work over time. Highlighting the company's striking longevity in the field of feminist theatre practice and scholarship, Scott is also able to link its activities over time to second and third wave feminist impulses. The latter, she argues, are defining features of Nightwood at the close of her study in 2009.

As some of the most accomplished names in Canadian theatre (e.g., Ann-Marie MacDonald, Djanet Sears, Monique Mojica, etc.) have been variously involved with the company, it is well that this work is not lost for Canadian theatre or feminist histories. As Scott argues, "So many women have worked so hard, not just at Nightwood, but in feminist theatres internationally, and in journalism, and in scholarship. All that can be easily lost, especially in the ephemeral world of theatre production or in the peripatetic nature of a nomadic theatre company." While the book's careful recording and analysis of this work will certainly be useful to scholars, its detailed and clear organization of material will also serve practitioners and educators interested in how companies outside "Mega-theatre culture" are formed and sustained artistically, structurally, and financially over decades.

What They Wished For

Johanne Sloan
Joyce Wieland's 'The Far Shore.' U of Toronto P $16.95

William Beard
Into the Past: The Cinema of Guy Maddin. U of Toronto P $37.95

Mark Harris and Claudia Medina
Wild at Heart: The Films of Nettie Wild. Anvil $15.00

Reviewed by Seth Feldman

During the last fifty years, independent Canadian cinema has evolved from a wish to "be careful what you wish for." That evolution is well reflected in these three books.

Johanne Sloan's monograph on Joyce Wieland's film, *The Far Shore,* is one of a series on important Canadian feature films. It has the distinction of discussing the least conventional and least commercially successful of those titles. Shot in 1975 and released in 1976, *The Far Shore* was a premature work. Canada's nascent and insecure feature film industry and the nervous civil servants who funded it were looking for

crowd pleasing, professionally polished work. Wieland's film was neither.

Wieland, who died in 1998, had been known for her adaptation of domestic crafts to an equally home grown Centennial era nationalism. There were some popular experimental films on her resume. One of them, *Reason Over Passion* (1969) was composed entirely of shots taken from the window of her car driving cross-country. The words "reason over passion" (Pierre Trudeau's personal motto) are flashed onscreen only to be mangled as the trip progresses.

"Passion Over Reason" was the derisive response of more than one critic when *The Far Shore* was released. Its leisurely paced melodrama was seen as more akin to the year in which it was set, 1919, than the year it was released. The plot involves the love and death of a Tom Thomson-esque figure as seen through the woman who loved him. Throughout, the characters and their entanglements appear less important than Wieland's eye luxuriating on objects, fabrics and, an hour into the film, the Canadian wilderness, which the characters endlessly praise.

Sloan, a professor of art history at Concordia University, gives *The Far Shore* the contemporary re-investigation it deserves. She brings to the project her own practiced eye and theoretical knowledge of Wieland's art and of landscape as well as the tall shoulders of scholars like Kay Armatage who have spent careers fighting for the film and for Wieland's reputation. As a result, the reader is patiently guided into seeing the film as Wieland saw it, an intricate interplay of personal vision, feminist sensibility and Canadian nationalism that very much rewards a second look.

No such patient guidance is required in the case of Guy Maddin. Large cult audiences understand his work or like it anyway. Maddin's films appear continually in festivals and in art houses around the world. He has launched a thousand film studies term papers.

Ironically, like *The Far Shore*, Maddin's films are also created in the style of silent film melodramas (and, occasionally, early talkies). He films in a soft focused black and white that evokes the shimmer of nitrate prints. Dust and scratches appear when needed.

Even the surrealism injected into Maddin's already twisted tales is more of a first generation surrealism, homemade special effects created before the ink was dry on the concept of the subconscious. Cinema itself is indistinguishable from the dream. Cinematic references abound. Maddin's much celebrated five minute short, *The Heart of the World* (2000), looks like the coda for a lengthy retrospective of classic Soviet Cinema.

Maddin is also maddeningly prolific. Simply keeping up with his new releases, much less explicating their origins and many references requires a commitment bordering on obsession. Yet that is the task William Beard sets for himself. *Into the Past: The Cinema of Guy Maddin*, as systematic as Maddin is idiosyncratic, is clearly evidence of a determined superego at work.

The book begins by quoting J. Hoberman's observation that Maddin is the "most eccentric of mainstream filmmakers (or the most accessible of avant-gardists). Beard adds to that bare description what he calls Maddin's "elements." He is an autodidact; silent-film lover; cinephile, bibliophile; surrealist; avant-gardist; melodramatist; sensationalist; jokester; postmodernist; and child at play. Beard, like Maddin himself, also makes it clear that Maddin is a Winnipegger, in a sense of being shaped by a frozen prairie outpost with only one foot in life as we know it.

Moving further west, we find far more laid-back (except for the occasional riot) Vancouver and one of its signature filmmakers, Nettie Wild. *Wild at Heart: The Films of Nettie Wild* is also rather low-key. It is composed of an interview and an essay, together weighing in at 100 small pages.

Both the interview (with Claudia Medina) and the essay (by Mark Harris) reveal Wild's

approach to the struggles she has filmed with leftist guerillas in the Philippines and Chiapas as well as with Native activists in Canada and, most recently, the hard-pressed defenders of Insite, Vancouver's safe-injection haven for drug addicts.

"[O]f course I'm concerned about those issues," Wild tells Medina. "But that's not what pulls me into making a movie . . . My fascination was the drama of people trying to gain control over their own lives and what they had run up against. Those are people who I really find intriguing. At that point when I get a really profound sense that the audience is going to be blown away by this story. It's a slam-dunk. I'm in."

Wild's films are very smart travelogues shot in places and with people in conflict. Committed as she is to their causes and dangerous as her position might be (she lost one crew member during a firefight in the Philippines), she avoids equating herself with her subjects. And that, in a medium that encourages unearned empathy, is an invitation to us to do the same.

Poems of Sensual Clutter

Heather Spears
I can still draw. Wolsak & Wynn $17.00

Rob Winger
The Chimney Stone. Nightwood $17.95

Vanessa Moeller
Our Extraordinary Monsters. Signature $14.95

Reviewed by Emily Wall

Heather Spears, Rob Winger, and Vanessa Moeller have written books full of sensual clutter. All three poets, like magpies, collect images and words and pile them in shining, enticing heaps around us. At times, we feel buried—we can hardly feel the floor beneath our feet. We walk between the towering walls of words, syllabus, and images, looking for some kind of foothold into story or meaning, and only sometimes do we find one. It's best to read these poems with eyes closed, hands out, letting our fingers rather than our hearts and minds read.

Heather Spears' poems are a curious blend of the distanced speaker and a sharp look at the reality of life. Her poems swing between minutia—poems full of images we are told are unimportant—to powerful poems about war zones, and the suffering of those distanced from us. The poet avoids sentimentality when writing about stillborn babies or those dying in ambulances in Gaza, but in doing so she also sacrifices any access to deeper emotional resonance. We sense the speaker standing back, sketchbook in hand, objective, dry-eyed. She tells us not to pay too much attention to the suffering of the world. And we admire that lack of sentimentality. But at times her poems become almost cold—she chastises a mother of a stillborn child, who is "leaking grief" and refuses to leave the hospital. She dismisses the image of a girl killed in the poem "Lockerbie": "Now after all this time / even if she'd lived, taken / say another flight / it's not that big a deal. / And as I find my seat / it's fairly easy to shut her out." In the end, we're left holding nothing but her dry, disapproving voice, and her ability to dismantle the world.

In "The Chimney Stone" Rob Winger writes a series of ghazals, or variations on the ghazal. In the true nature of the ghazal, he lets each couplet stand alone, connecting them with the merest thread of recognition. His strength as a ghazal writer is his ability to connect these couplets, these disparate images, with pure intuition. We make those illogical leaps with him, from country song lyrics, to political moments, to the birth of a child, in a nearly invisible way. If we try too hard to find the connections, though, we're lost. "We rise from marinas into melodrama. / On the counter, the Macallan's half-full. / I want to write war novels and drink, sucker-punch the busboy; / which bits of men are worth applause?" The dislocated nature of the poems echoes in the book as a whole. He seems intent on telling

us, again and again, that no true meaning exists, that we are adrift in a world of random moments. The message of the book feels true, but the reading of it is as complex as wandering a foreign marketplace without a map. The weakness of these ghazals is his overuse of allusion—literary, pop-culture, lyrical. The poems are almost found poems at times, and it's nearly impossible to read them without web surfing each poem. It creates an interesting experience, but also a disjointed, strained one. In the end, we feel the dislocation the writer and the form aim for—it's illuminating, but mostly just along the skin of our thoughts. No deeper emotional response or resonance is possible, in the cacophony of this landscape.

If the other two have collected images, Vanessa Moeller collects words and facts. She translates her own poems, and even the poems in English feel like collections of words—esoteric, rich words collected and pooled on the page. "A pentatonic scale of metatarsals, / slight glissando shifts as I carve / ocean with board fins, etch curves across / fluid viridian rising above me, over me, / down." The early poems in this collection have a seductive plethora of *facts:* the way divers used to gather oysters, the length of veins in a human body, the mythological names of winds. These facts compel us to pay attention—to see our bodies and the world around us in a fresh, vivid way. The latter half of the book is all about correspondence—postcards, letters, and "found" scraps of writing. We can see a loose thematic connection of correspondence through the book, but it feels as if we're seeing parts of the whole—entire letters, entire stories, are missing. The partial letters, the brief postcards, the moments of memory are enticing enough that we want the whole picture. Ultimately these poems are satisfying one by one, but taken as a whole, make us hungry for what's missing.

All three poets remind us of what a chaotic world we live in, and how easy it is to disconnect ourselves from any true sense of connection: to each other, to our own bodies, to language, to one another's stories. We cannot deny the honesty of these poems, but the reading of them ultimately leaves us searching for a path out of the chaos, for some kind of order to the piles of glittering objects heaped all around us.

Better than Stamps

Jordan Stouck and David Stouck, eds. *"Collecting Stamps Would Have Been More Fun": Canadian Publishing and the Correspondence of Sinclair Ross, 1933-1986.* U of Alberta P $34.95

Reviewed by Janice Fiamengo

For many who admire *As For Me and My House* (1941), Sinclair Ross stands as the paradigmatic lonely Canadian artist, isolated from other writers and neglected until (too) late in life by the literary establishment. His depiction of Philip Bentley amongst the Philistines has always seemed an indirect commentary on his own entrapment by place and time, his talent suffocated by an uncongenial environment. That Ross himself considered and did not reject such an exculpatory narrative is evident in his response to a 1975 review of *Sawbones Memorial* by his long-time friend and supporter Roy St. George Stubbs; he wrote to agree with Stubbs that his "performance over the years has been disappointing—especially so to me—but there are blocks, hang-ups and limitations for which one is not always responsible." Later in the same year, however, he was less inclined to excuse himself when Margaret Laurence sought permission to apply on his behalf for a Senior Arts Award from the Canada Council: "If I haven't 'made it' as a writer," he wrote to her, "I have only myself to blame." The letters assembled in *Collecting Stamps Would Have Been More Fun* illuminate the details of Ross' decades-long, often frustrating pursuit of literary recognition.

These letters to and from editors and friends chronicle not only the many setbacks he encountered as he sought to bring his work into print but also his enduring commitment to and pleasure in the writing life.

In his dealings with publishers, Ross was often reserved and even apologetic, inclined to accept criticism of his work and to downplay its value. Reading of the long delays, dismissive reader's reports, complicated editorial demands, protracted revisions, and poor sales, one understands his growing resignation. After *Maclean's* asked him in 1955 to consider a radical condensing of "The Well" for possible serial publication, he told John Gray at Macmillan that he had dismissed the suggestion as a mere kindly rejection. "Unfortunately," he went on to say, "it is typical of me. I always run to meet rejection." Two years later, with "The Well" refused by *Maclean's* and extensively revised for Macmillan, he explained his lack of progress on new work by admitting that "The prospect of a couple of years' drudgery, and at the end of it the dreary business of collecting rejection slips again, makes me falter." His letter to McClelland and Stewart accompanying "A Whir of Gold" in 1969 was about as defeatist as could be ("Spotty, slack, dull, pointless—a big *So What?* on every page—I can only wonder why I have persisted"). And so prepared was he for disappointment that when Jack McClelland wrote in 1974 to accept "Sawbones Memorial," congratulating him on its original form, he wrote back anxiously to stress that French novelist Claude Mauriac had made the formal experiment before him: "it is best to speak up now, before anything has been done."

Despite his sense of failure, Ross never gave up on writing, and his later years were marked by expressions of satisfaction in new projects and respectful correspondence with younger writers, including Laurence, Ken Mitchell, and Margaret Atwood. He began to read more widely in Canadian writing, and he was gratified and slightly bemused to begin receiving inquiries from scholars about *As For Me and My House*. One of the delights of this collection are his detailed explanations of that novel, a compensation for the fact that the correspondence with publisher Reynal and Hitchcock has been lost. He wrote a fascinating defence of Mrs. B to John Moss, who had attacked her as vindictive and whiny. While disclaiming ownership of the novel and stressing his lack of conscious artistry ("I did my best to get inside Mrs. B and just let her carry on"), he was masterly in his analysis of the workings of the first-person narrative and the complexities of the character's motives. He concluded the letter with a mixture of pleasure and perplexity that "What amazes—and gratifies—me is that after all these years you and others should be still interested in and concerned about her. Whatever kind of woman she is, I suppose I can conclude that at least she is very much alive." Hesitant as he was to speculate about his legacy to Canadian letters, he was clearly pleased by Mrs. Bentley's defiant longevity. This volume of letters, well selected and introduced by Jordan Stouck and usefully annotated by David Stouck, will be of great interest to all who have, with Ross, believed in her.

Shore Lines

Joan Thomas
Curiosity: A Love Story. McClelland & Stewart $32.99

Jane Urquhart
Sanctuary Line. McClelland & Stewart $29.99

Reviewed by Beverley Haun

Joan Thomas and Jane Urquhart have each written novels whose characters play out their lives on the shoreline. Yet each has protagonists who turn their backs to the water and, facing inland, dig into the past. Thomas literally, Urquhart figuratively.

Curiosity is largely the fictionalized history of the fossil collector and paleontologist

Mary Anning, a carpenter's daughter in Lyme Regis struggling to support her mother and sister who, during the four decades before Darwin published *On the Origin of Species,* unearthed the first examples of several large dinosaurs of the Jurassic period. It is also the story of Henry De la Beche, a gentleman plantation owner, a slave owner, artist and geologist raised in Jamaica and now living on the Dorset coast. De la Beche created the famous watercolour *Duria Antiquitor, a more ancient Dorsetshire* (1830). It is a drawing based on Anning's discoveries and it graces the cover of the novel. As Thomas says in her author's note, "I wrote *Curiosity* not as a historical argument regarding his relationship with Mary Anning, but as an attempt to imagine what such a romance, so impossible and so full of possibility, would have meant to both of them."

That story is divided into three books. The first alternates between Mary's and Henry's youth, outlining their social advantages and foibles (his mostly) and social disadvantages and oddities (hers), until their shared enthusiasm for fossils brings them together along the Dorset shore. In Book II their lives intersect and diverge as each follows the fossils while struggling against distinctly differing social solidifications. In fact, a central motif of this novel is sedimentation. Layered down over countless ages, the earth holds fossils in place, only releasing them when raging storms violently undermine its hold and give way, creating access, and from access, collection, study and knowledge. So too social structures and conventions in impenetrable layers hold the characters to preordained roles and ideas established over time that impede their ability to break free or think differently about the nature of time, held as they are by the biblical story of Genesis, social class, gender roles, or slavery.

As Book III begins, Mary is predictably abraded by these impenetrable social conventions of thought as she continues to unearth, document, and sell her fossil finds. Published credit is given to those who purchase the fossils from her and not to Mary as their discoverer. She is not able to attend the male-only meeting of the Geological Society in London as a full dinosaur skeleton she has found is unveiled. Mary finds herself unable to join socially with what amount to her male colleagues, nor does she find comfort in her own class, where her autodidactic studies and frequent open air discussions with gentlemen scholars have separated her from her own neighbours. "Courtesies from Miss Philpot raised her in society. Courtesies from Mr. De la Beche dragged her into the mud."

Against these social and scholarly frustrations and excitements, and in the midst of all the historical details of this rich era of Jurassic discovery, Thomas deeply grounds the story in the lives of Mary and Henry. Chapter by chapter, she alternates the narrative point of view between the pair, fully inhabiting each character and richly revealing their inner lives, unspoken emotions, and yearnings towards each other. The novel ends by pulling back from their unrequited love story and offering us a vista of the entire region and the ways, in this particular place and historical moment, that the focus on fossil excavations served to revise so completely our view of the world.

Mary Anning might be quick to agree with the narrator of *Sanctuary Line* that "that what appears to be unknowable is merely that which has not yet been thoroughly examined." *Sanctuary Line* is a contemporary novel narrated in the first person by Liz Crane, an entomologist specializing in Monarch butterflies. She occasionally disconcerts by seeming to speak directly to the reader. The reason eventually becomes clear.

Liz has moved alone to her mother's family home, the Butler house, on what was, until the most recent generation, a Loyalist orchard farm on the north shore of

Lake Erie. Subdivisions now surround the house, reinforcing a feeling of how much has changed and how much has been lost. It is the place where she spent all her summers growing up, playing with her cousins as the work in the orchards, accomplished by Mexican migrant workers, took place around her. It is a place integral to shaping her very being, but also a place that we feel has been very disappointing. Although there are male cousins living their lives elsewhere, and her mother is nearby in a seniors complex, the narrator presents very much as the last keeper of the family flame. There is not so much an urgency to record the past as a need to work with the details of her own story and her family history in order to develop a new understanding of how one has affected the other. It is ultimately a story of lost innocence and a revisitation of events in order to understand them better from an adult perspective. This is not a happy exercise, she observes: "memory is rarely a friend to anyone. Always attended by transience and loss, often by anguish."

Because of the first-person narration, and the fact that she never refers to herself by name, we quickly lose our separation from Liz as a named character and inhabit her mind, moving with her through time and place as she maintains a constant observational monologue about her own and her ancestral past. But it is a purposefully limited narration. We become aware that pivotal events that transpired in the past changed the family dynamic. A fragile tension develops as we wait for the details to unfold.

Urquhart writes calmly, wistfully, inevitably, with a delicate lyricism and a distant focal point. The events of youth are revisited but without immediacy. Emotions are remembered, but not felt anew, as Liz spins the threads of her own story with the family story and with inevitable reflections about Monarch butterflies that, like the farm workers, also winter in Mexico and summer along the shores of Lake Erie, living a precarious existence. Liz has also found life precarious. In the very first chapter she mentions the loss of a childhood friend Teo, the son of one of the Mexican migrant workers, and the recent loss of her cousin Mandy in Afghanistan, as well as the disappearance of her Uncle Stanley. She circles back again and again, adding pieces to these stories and her own, building up a picture of the family history across generations. Urquhart has written a quiet and profound narrative of the nuances of grief as idealized worlds collapse.

Awash in Linguistic (and Intestinal) Doubt

Priscila Uppal, ed.
The Exile Book of Poetry in Translation: 20 Canadian Poets Take on the World. Exile $24.95

Oana Avasilichioaei and Erín Moure
Expeditions of a Chimæra. BookThug $20.00

Reviewed by Christine Stewart

"ON THE TABLE, LANGUAGE MIXED INTESTINAL BETWEEN ALL THAT CURIOSITY"
Recently, I found a moldy copy of Ivan Sergeyevich Turgenev's *First Love* in the free store on Denman Island. I liked its sentences and surfeit of tremulous feelings. But on the second to last page, when Vladamir watches an old woman die in his house, "covered in rags, lying on bare boards, with a sack for a pillow," I was baffled. Who is that old woman? What is she doing dying in Vladamir's house, on his bare floorboards? It wasn't until I read the book's foreword (after I had finished the story) that I learn that Turgenev's own mother owned five thousand serfs, and that there could have been many old women lying about on the floors. In the original Russian, Turgenev uses the word *dacha* for a summerhouse and *dom* for the winter-house in St. Petersburg. He also uses the

German word *Flügel* (wing) for the lodges that Zinaida (Vladamir's "first love") and her mother (a Princess and a member of the declining aristocracy) rent from Vladamir's father (a member of the rising middle class). (Thanks to Anton Nonin for the translations.) The English word *house* glosses over the social and political complexity of Russia in the mid -1800s. But the act of translation also opens language to its own foment. Which is precisely why, in *Expeditions of a Chimæra,* Avasilichioaei and Moure posit the practice of translation as central to a poetic citizenship. To translate is to read and write into both the stillness and the fury that constitutes meaning (and that meaning constitutes). And in such a practice, "no house is innocent." That is, as Avasilichioaei and Moure inhabit the force of our persistent urge to mean, they send words spinning into the catastrophe of history and interpretation. There, in the eye of its storm, borders are un-bordered, language is a crumbling bridge, a crashing sky for a roost (a sack for a pillow). I have heard Avasilichioaei and Moure read together from *Expeditions.* It was fun—meanings collided, spiraled, concurred in a good-natured collaboration. But reading the text now it is the loss, disavowal, violence, and rage that rise (strikingly) to the surface: Celan, Jabès, Notely, Roritoti, Stănescu, the OED. English, Romanian, Galscis. There are no innocent houses/no innocent words.

So, what would it mean to address the text's central concerns: "to unborder a border," to "open our hands justly" when some borders and words might be both unjust and urgent with cultural and legal impact—borders that define spaces, like "Canada," words that define people, like "Indigenous"? Excessive curiosity and relentless translative play will not necessarily make us just and present to each other, nor will it resolve difficult cultural and legal legacies. But it is a practice, a kind of citizenship that wraps us up in the difficult arms of language, that reminds us to consider our own language practices; that is, there could be gas in that camp, poverty in that house; that roosts crash; that doubt and possibility remain.

Priscila Uppal's collection, *The Exile Book of Poems in Translation: 20 Canadian Poets Take on the World,* also gathers itself around the activity and difficulty of translation. It is a wide selection of Canadian poets who translate a poet of their choice, simultaneously defining their own practice of translation. The book is complex in many ways: the notions of translation differ, as do ideas of what constitutes poetry and authorship—from Darren Wershler's translation of Ezra Pound (from English to QR code), to Brossard's French translation of the fictional writer Elisa Sampedrín to George Elliott Clarke's "not (really)" translations of an English translation of Pushkin: "Poet! Damn you if you crave public love!" The book is eclectic and exciting. Like the speaker in Stevan Tontic's translation of Goran Simic's "Border," we wake in "new countries," the pieces move us towards places we have not known: "Lightning fell out of the summer sky, like sparks on the earth from other shovels, working the horizon. Where are you taking me, ditch?' (Barry Callaghan translation of Andrei Voznesensky's "The Ditch"). The translated poetry declares what we can know and what we cannot know: "pourquoi cet oignon passe-t-il tout droit?" (Nicole Brossard's translation of Elisa Sampedrín's "Théâtre de la poitrine"). Overall, like *Expeditions,* this project bears witness to poetic attempts to make sense of the balance between that knowing and unknowing, and, as Uppal writes in the foreword, it *is* interesting to "create a dialogue about translation," to "consider the nature of translation, to create connections between diverse worlds." It is also to be awash in doubt and astonishment. Which is gorgeous and excruciating. Which is why the second half of the title of this collection is incongruous. Why are

translations that shake us in our houses, "Canadian poets taking on the world"? Maybe something more in the spirit of the work in the collection and its foreword (and the translating citizenship of Moure and Avasilichioaei) might be more fitting. Perhaps, *The Exile Book of Poetry in Translation:* ~~Canadian~~ *Poets Interestingly Awash in Linguistic (and Intestinal) Doubt.* That is, "Let['s] rampage [the house]."

Regionalism Lives!

John Warkentin, ed.
So Vast and Various: Interpreting Canada's Regions in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. McGill-Queens UP $34.95

Alvin Finkel, Sarah Carter, and Peter Fortna, eds.
The West and Beyond: New Perspectives on an Imagined Region. Athabasca UP $29.95

Reviewed by George Melnyk

Canadian geographer John Warkentin (*Regional Geography of Canada: Life, Land, and Space*) has collected the works of seven prominent Canadians who wrote about the regional realities of Canada from 1831 to 1977. Beginning with excerpts from Joseph Bouchette's *The British Dominions in North America* (1831) and ending with Thomas Berger's *Report of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry* (1977), Warkentin has collected significant historical texts about Canada's geographic diversity. His selection is meant to inform the reader of how Canada has been constructed as a regional entity over a century and a half. In his introductory essay "Recognizing Canada's Regions," he asks how the designation of Canada's regions came into being. One source is the historical evolution of colonial jurisdictions which gave rise to formal political identities; another is natural geographic diversity and its resulting socio-economic diversity; a third is based in both popular and intellectual cultures that sought to distinguish peoples and places; and finally, there is the scientific impetus to generate "geographic knowledge" by scholars.

The writers that Warkentin selected are important interpreters of Canada's regional identity. For example, he describes Bouchette's 1831 book as "a break-through in regional writing." While most editors would be satisfied to provide direct excerpts with a brief introduction, Warkentin provides insightful summaries and commentaries throughout each selection. As a leading geographer he knows his predecessors and so guides the reader through their worldviews. George R. Parkin's *The Great Dominion: Studies of Canada* (1895) represents a Maritimer's perspective committed to Imperial Federation in the late Victorian period. It also reflects the then-current belief in the determining role of environment in forging national character. Parkin wrote that Canadians were "a people whose northern vigour will give them weight in the world." This viewpoint was part of British imperial ideology of the day.

This nineteenth-century British colonial framing of national identity gave way in the twentieth century to greater intellectual rigour and scientific theory. Harold Innis' 1927 *A History of the Canadian Pacific Railway* (his Ph.D. thesis) is described by Warkentin as "an amazingly concentrated interpretation of where power lies in the Canadian political economy, presented in a spatial/regional reading." As one goes through Innis' text one enters the realm of modernism and its innate confidence in its own clarity. The annotated excerpt serves as an excellent entrée to the remaining texts, especially the journalist Bruce Hutchinson's *The Unknown Country: Canada and Her People* (1942) and *Canada, Tomorrow's Giant* (1957). It is only with Berger's *Report* that we finally move into an early phase of postmodernist thinking in which formerly discounted traditional knowledge is given significant weight.

Warkentin has provided a solid overview without burdening the reader with too many minor texts or writers. His extensive excerpt/commentaries offer substantial depth for the reader to explore. The only regret I have is that he failed, no doubt for reasons of modesty, to include something from his own *Canada: A Regional Geography* (1997) or some other of his important works. By placing his own thoughts in a historical continuum and commenting on its arguments more than a decade after they first appeared, he could show us the evolving nature of geographic thought within the lifetime of a great scholar.

While Warkentin has provided a pan-Canadian reading of regionalism, the editors of *The West and Beyond* are specifically western Canadian in their topic. Their book is the sixth volume in *The West Unbound: Social and Cultural Studies* series published by Athabasca University Press. The book grew out of the "The West and Beyond: Historians Past, Present and Future" conference held at the University of Alberta in 2008, which marked the rebirth of a series of Western Canadian Studies conferences which had been held regularly between 1969 and 1990. This collection reflects the interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary ethos of that tradition, as well as its strong historical focus. The book begins with a synopsis of Western Canadian historiography outlined by the eminent historian, Gerald Friesen, in his keynote address "Critical History in Western Canada 1900-2000." The book contains eighteen essays divided into five parts beginning with Frameworks for Western Canadian History and ending with Cultural Portrayals of the West. In "The Aboriginal West" section an essay by Matt Dyce and James Opp presents a thoughtful analysis of the role of early Western photographers in creating an imagery of the North for southern audiences. The essay makes a strong claim for photography "as a particularly modern discourse."

The section titled "The Workers' West" begins with Jeffrey Taylor's study of capitalist formation using a classic example of a historical materialist analysis. A particularly intriguing section is "Viewing the West from the Margins," with essays on African Canadians in Alberta by Dan Cui and Jennifer R. Kelly, and on queer identity in the same region by Valerie J. Koriner. The concluding section on culture has an essay by Robert Wardhaugh on W.L. Morton and Margaret Laurence as literary icons of Manitoba, and one by Robyn Read on the role of Calgary oilman and collector, Eric Harvie, as a model in Robert Kroetsch's novel *Alibi*.

As with all such volumes, diversity and eclecticism are the norm. What *The West and Beyond* demonstrates is the continuing appeal of the West as a scholarly subject for social, economic, and cultural research. There seems to be no dearth of historical material worth exploring. What this volume says about the West is markedly different from the historical texts presented by Warkentin. Its postmodernist focus on class, gender, aboriginality, and sexual orientation re-creates regionalism in a new idiom for a contemporary generation of scholarly readers. It is surprising how small a role geographic consciousness plays in these essays. It seems to me that the multifaceted defining of region from within as done in this volume remains more inventive than earlier historical texts whose external definitions were based on broader, comparative categories. In *The West and Beyond* we tend to see the value of individual trees, while in *So Vast and Various* we tend to see the importance of forests.

"The world's extremest borne": West Coast Landscapes and the Poetic Works of Edward Taylor Fletcher

James Gifford

Edward Taylor Fletcher is a nearly forgotten nineteenth-century Canadian poet, philologist, and travel writer whose poetic voice was defined by his experiences in Western Canada.[1] His focus on distinctly Western landscapes in his later works anticipates several movements in the arts in Canada that followed. Before Emily Carr turned to bold canvases defined by the land around her, and before the Confederation poets took up rugged poetic depictions of central Canada and the Canadian Shield, Fletcher was moving away from the neo-Classical and Romantic models of the pre-Confederation poets of his youth to a long-poem form based on richly allusive landscapes.[2] Fletcher demonstrated that Classical tropes can be adopted—in his case with the Nile, Atlantis, or *The Mahabharata* dominating a long poem through Classical allusions—while simultaneously adopting the sustained dramatic narrative of the Romantics. Importantly, he explored this Classical and Romantic fusion in the 1880s and 1890s while also anticipating the distinctly Canadian focus on landscapes—the Fraser River provides the descriptive materials for the Nile in his *Nestorius: A Phantasy* while Vancouver Island and the Coastal Mountains provide the resources that become Atlantis and the Himalayas in *The Lost Island*. Fletcher instantiated this trope, in which West Coast terrains are discussed allusively and thereby repositioned in relation to an epic tradition. In this, Fletcher is an exemplar of Susan Glickman's contention that "Canadian poets have consistently transformed their English (and broadly European) literary inheritance to make it speak of their experience in this county—in particular their confrontation with the land" (vii). However, in Fletcher, the twenty-first century reader finds an important transition: this trope is unified with a literary inheritance of the broadest scope, and the landscape imposes itself on the "literary inheritance" rather than the opposite. In Canadian poetry, and particularly that of the nineteenth century, Canadian colonial territories are often subsumed in Classical allusions, such that stunning terrains become comprehensible only through an existing European literary tradition. In Fletcher's later works, the Canadian landscape imposes images of itself onto the tropes of an international literary tradition in a way that prevents that tradition from burying the land under the culture of Europe. This article elucidates Fletcher's too-long neglected instantiation of this transplantation, not translation, of international poetic materials into distinctly Canadian landscapes.

Fletcher and his works run contrary to popular narratives of nineteenth-century

Canada. Poet, philologist, essayist, prominent architect, Surveyor General of Quebec, travel writer, memoirist, translator, historian, geographer, and talented musician, Fletcher first arrived in Canada from Canterbury in 1827, was educated at le Séminaire de Québec (later l'Université Laval), became a celebrated poet, and held a variety of governmental positions until his death in New Westminster in 1897. During his seventy years in a continuously changing Canada, he tied Western landscapes to ancient mythology in his poetry; he approached Canadian culture as multiple and linguistically rich, exploring English, French, the other major shipping languages of Europe, Sanskrit, Latin, Greek, and First Nations languages. He narrated his impressions of "Old Quebec" while in New Westminster. He was Surveyor General of Quebec until his retirement in 1882, after which he moved to the West Coast in 1886 on one of the first transcontinental passenger trains on the CPR, and he then became a poet distinctly of the West Coast during his retirement, integrating West Coast landscapes into his works.

After a long series of literary publications beginning at least as early as 1834, with awards for his poetry and executive positions in learned societies[3] as well as accolades from his peers,[4] his position in Canadian literary and cultural history would have seemed assured. However, as his later works focused increasingly on Western Canadian landscapes and began to more closely reflect the polycultural nature of Canada as a nation, his literary distinction declined quickly and completely. Even Archibald Lampman, who deeply praised Fletcher's late poems as showing a "gift of high imagination and sonorous and beautiful versification," wrote in 1893 that he was "a writer I believe, as a poet, almost unknown to fame" (n. pag.), which shows how rapidly his reputation fell once he moved to the West.[5] Fletcher's "Reminiscences of Old Quebec" was published posthumously in 1913, sixteen years after his death; his sons burned his extensive diaries, of which only two commonplace books survive in my possession,[6] and no work has been in print since.

Background

Landscape, language, and culture are common yet troubling notions in narratives of Canadian identity, yet for Fletcher they are surprisingly plural and distinctly hybrid. The two surviving volumes of his journals work in more than ten languages, his descriptions of place cover the oldest cities in Canada and the newest provinces while integrating ancient allusions, and his autobiographical works include residencies in Canada's major cities and many rural outposts. In addition to all this, his recollections of cultural life across Canada focus on richly overlapping communities rather than imposing a vision of national heterogeneity. Moreover, as the Surveyor General of Quebec, Fletcher was intimately familiar with the Canadian landscape, publishing formal academic work on surveyorship and travel narratives of his journeys—three stand out: "Notes of a Journey through the Interior of the Saguenay Country" (1867), "Notes of a Voyage to St. Augustine, Labrador" (1881), and "Letter on British Columbia" (1892).[7] This background made it possible for Fletcher to uniquely blend the aesthetic traditions in Canadian poetry with a view that privileges landscape over plot and narrative. Another feature of his work prepared Fletcher to anticipate cultural approaches to Canadian identity in the twentieth century: linguistic plurality. Apart from his skills as a Classical philologist (his Latin and Greek were admired by his peers in the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec and the Toronto Literary Association), Fletcher was fluent in English, French, Italian, and German with skills in Sanskrit, Hebrew, Dutch, and Portuguese (Fletcher, Sidney 133). He also completed the first English translation of the *Kalevala*,

the national epic poem of Finland, from the original Finnish.[8] This linguistic richness led to cultural hybridity,[9] and Fletcher would as easily refer to Quebec society as he would Latin or Greek poetry, the *Mahabharata* or *Bhagvatghita*, or Polish folk songs and Icelandic poetry (both of which he also translated), as well as the literary works of his fellow Canadians. In this regard, he was uniquely poised to draw on the European literary tradition to interpret Canadian locales.

Fletcher's late poetry written in British Columbia is richly allusive indeed and draws on polycultural literary traditions far beyond those that we associate with his contemporaries. However, it also marks a striking change in his poetic subjects, a change that developed from his experiences of the West and that anticipates one of the most prominent themes in Canadian literature: place. His poetry from the period of his residence in Western Canada is deeply impacted by Canadian landscapes, which are often elided with Classical subjects relating to the ancient world. His two surviving long poems[10] both come from his residence in Western Canada, and both show a striking increase in his attention to distinctly Canadian landscapes. As narrative poems, *The Lost Island*[11] and *Nestorius: A Phantasy* entail extensive descriptions of the specific territories in which Fletcher resided, moving from images of Vancouver Island through the Fraser Valley and into the British Columbia Interior. These two poems form the primary materials under discussion here. Moreover, Fletcher blurs his previous Classical interests with these landscapes, recasting British Columbia locations through Greek, Roman, Egyptian, and Indic allusions. This blurring becomes a crucial element of his poetic style; however, the locales do not become intelligible through the Indo-European literary tradition so much as this tradition is modified and recast in order to align with the influence of the Western Canadian landscape.

The Lost Island

The Lost Island went through two editions in the space of six years, 1889 and 1895, the latter introduced by Gustavus William Wicksteed. In it, images of the West Coast dominate in sharp contrast to Fletcher's early works. This point is made clear if we juxtapose his earlier essay "The Lost Island of Atlantis" from 1863 with the fifty-six-stanza poem that developed out of the same source materials more than a quarter century later. In the essay, Fletcher pursues philological and Classical interests exclusively, just as his poetry of this earlier period is Classical in nature, tending toward Romantic narrative. His primary concern is with the potential for linguistic recuperations as evidence for a lost civilization as well as a historical survey of Classical references to Atlantis and potential origins. Moreover, his method is primarily academic in this work, rather than an expression of creative energies or an interaction with the environment around him. This importance of Classical allusions and source materials is prominent throughout his life, but only in his last two long poems do these Classical references take a secondary position to a recognizable and important landscape: a landscape that forcefully makes its significant role in the poetry felt by dominating the imagery, and a landscape that should be familiar to Canadian readers from the West. In other words, in Fletcher's late poetry, the learned allusions and contexts deepen. The ancient past is articulated through Canada (rather than vice versa), and Canada is articulated only through this polycultural multiplicity.

For instance, in *The Lost Island*, the reader encounters a type of landscape unprecedented in detail and scope in Fletcher's poetry from the previous fifty years:

> Along the beach, beneath the massy wall,
> The great sea rippled drowsily: afar
> The headland glimmered, like a misty star,
> Wearing a cloud wreath for a coronal;

> And all the air was filled with tremulous sighs
> Borne from the waste of waters, musical,
> Yet dreamy soft, as some old Orphic hymn,
> That floated up, what time the day grow dim,
> From Dorian groves, and forest privacies, (5)

The fog-covered headland matches closely the description given of Victoria and New Westminster in Sir Sandford Fleming's 1876 book *From Westminster to New Westminster* (320).[12] In addition to this possible allusion, "Dorian groves, and forest privacies" that sit adjacent to "The great sea [that] rippled drowsily" recall an image of the Pacific far more readily than any experiences he may have gleaned from Toronto, Quebec City, or Montreal, especially as high mountain ranges become prominent in subsequent stanzas. The image of "Sunshine and clouds, mountains and sea" (8) adjacent to each other recalls the Coast Mountains rising behind Vancouver or south-west of Victoria on the mainland. The phrase itself is nearly a trope of the West Coast tourism industry in the twenty-first century. Furthermore, given the newness of these landscape descriptions to Fletcher's works, images that appear only after his move to Vancouver Island, the distinctly Western Canadian nature of these images caught among Classical allusions is striking when read in context. Moreover, it is the Classical material that is subjected to change here, inheriting as it does a landscape that it cannot recast—the Coast is not cast as *like* Atlantis, but rather, Atlantis adopts the traits of coastal British Columbia.

Furthermore, the two children of the plague-stricken island city of Atlantis, the primary protagonists Eiridion and Thya, retreat from the port of Atlantis to the wilderness of the mainland. This journey leads them to find Classical figures, but they only do so against what appears to be a Canadian backdrop. In the Classical frame,

> Thya exclaimed, "Oh father, oh my lord,
> "What awful shape hangs there, with
> brow all scored,
> "As if with flame of lightning from on high,
> "Yet unsubdued, and wearing as a king
> "The garment of his silent agony?"
> To whom the Marut: "this is Themis' son,
> "The Titan, who, for love to mortals shewn,
> "Is doomed, by Zeus, to penal suffering."
> (*Lost* 15)

Prometheus is clearly the subject, especially through the reference to flame, his silent agony, and his love for mortals. However, to reach this Classical figure, the twins Eiridion and Thya are led by the Marut through a land completely unlike Greece, which Fletcher describes in the thirty-first stanza with their journey through the mountains:

> Far to the North they saw the boundless
> plain,
> Where roved the mammoth. There, in
> dusky bands,
> Innumerable as the ocean sands,
> They wandered, with white tusks and
> shaggy mane,
> Hugest of living beasts that looked on man.
> So came they to a rugged mountain chain,
> Gloomy and dark, a wilderness forlorn,
> So wild, it seemed the world's extremest
> borne,
> Withered and grey with some unending
> ban. (15)

Otto von Kotzebue gave the first descriptions of mammoth skeletons from the west coast of what is now Alaska in 1821, sparking numerous popular images of mammoths in the northern Canadian plains. Moreover, this rugged mountain chain, so like the one Fletcher traversed on the new rail system joining New Westminster to eastern Canada in 1886, has another peculiarly western Canadian association: "With balmy odors of sweet-scented pines; / Where, in clear blue, the white clouds sailed aloft" (8). The Edenic imagery is not new to Fletcher, and even as early as May 1845 in the *Literary Garland* of Montreal, he casts "the glad freshness of that summer dawn" in "Tempe's vale" ("Medea" 228). Yet, the Classical images of Edenic bliss in his early poetry are without

a specific landscape apart from the most general outlines implicit in the allusion. Fletcher's encounter with western Canada, then, appears to have had a marked influence on his later poetic landscapes.

The descriptions in his earlier work instead focus on the metaphoric moon and the emotional state of the dreamer recollecting a "bright land wherein I loved to dwell!" ("Medea" 228). The nature of the loved land is empty, and its landscape is without articulated features. Even in September 1844, in his imaginative inhabitation of Dante's exile from Florence, Fletcher recalls the "shady privacies / Of glen and grove, where formerly abode / Old Tuscan sybils and haruspices" ("Dante in Exile" 412). Yet, this landscape is not allocated the vivid descriptions in his later works written from the coast. The specificity of Florence supplies names and allusions, but the imagined landscape does not interact with the imminence of Fletcher's lived experiences in Canada. More specifically, the Arno of Florence is not transformed into the St. Lawrence, and the potential for a Canadian image of the landscape from the past, or even a connection between Fletcher's experienced and imagined environments, does not occur. The allusions do not lead the reader to more richly inhabit Canadian locales, while this *is* the case in his later works. This blurring of landscape and allusion in his later poetry, with landscape dominating, remains striking even now, more than a century later.

Furthermore, in *The Lost Island*, the Marut who guides Thya and Eiridion in their journey is, as Fletcher explains in his footnotes, tied to India: "The Maruts, gods of the wind, are described in the Veda as Sons of Indra." Likewise, the lake they find in this landscape, a type of landscape Fletcher never described prior to his move to the west coast, is "Manasa, a sacred lake and place of pilgrimage, encircled by lofty mountains and lying between Mount Kaitâsa and the Himalayas. It is frequently alluded to in Hindu poetry" (*Lost* 26). He draws on Prometheus and Ulysses in the same poem, overlapping them with Daitya in the thirty-seventh stanza—"Daitya (a son of Diti): [is] a demon, an enemy of the gods." As Fletcher explains, "The incident here introduced is adapted from an episode of the Mahabharata" (25). This cultural combination of Indian and Greek literary materials is provocative on its own, suggesting as it does a multivocal history, without the further complication of it occurring in contested Canadian terrains that have abundant First Nations heritage that disputes received Western histories. Yet, even before we as readers imaginatively inhabit Canadian locales that are being described contiguously with these allusions, Fletcher has disallowed a culturally univocal discourse about this space. Before we can recognize the landscape as British Columbia, the multiple allusions and references have already made the poem culturally plural. Furthermore, once the landscape takes precedence, we see British Columbia's land altering our vision of an Indo-European literary tradition rather than this tradition obscuring the territory as some kind of screen for the projections of the imagination of the Western viewer.

Perhaps most strikingly, the poem was published after Fletcher came to Victoria on Vancouver Island, crossing Canada by rail to do so. He then moved to New Westminster; with two sons living even further up the Fraser River into the Fraser Canyon, later owning farmland as far as Abbotsford and contemporaneously working in Yale while travelling regularly on the river, he moved through striking landscapes in his daily life. By recognizing this landscape in the published recollections of his family, Fletcher in effect describes his own journey in two stanzas of *The Lost Island* while his allusions have, at the same time, blurred Greek and Indian classical materials with Prometheus near the Indus river,

which is already a culturally provocative overlap:

> Silent in thought, the four held on their way
> Through sandy wastes, past Sindhu's
> rapid stream;
> Till rose, among the hills, the distant gleam
> Of Manasa: and here they made their stay.
> It was a lake secluded, in deep calm,
> From worldly tumult, and the troublous day,
> Where peace unbroken reigned: so still
> and cool,
> Here might repose the heart with anguish
> full,
> And every sorrow here might find its balm.
>
> At length, refreshed with welcome rest,
> they rose,
> Crossing the Hima mountains, home of
> snow,
> The stony girdle of the world, and so
> Entered on Aryavartha's sacred close.
> Land of the marvelous! Here, being's tide
> Swept on exultant, through the long repose
> Of silent centuries: and glowing life
> Came forth, with thousand forms of
> beauty rife,
> On flowery plain and shady mountain-
> side. (17)

This description of travelling up the river to lakes through dense forests closely parallels a journey described by Fletcher's son, Sidney Ashe Fletcher, in his own unpublished autobiography, and also in an article in the *Vancouver Province*. Sidney Ashe Fletcher travelled by canoe on the Fraser River to Seton Lake and Lillooet Lake via Harrison Lake and the Thompson and Lillooet Rivers, and possibly Kamloops Lake (the Lakes Route). Fletcher uses the description of this trip to conclude his unpublished autobiography, in which his then-famous father figures significantly.

The Great River

These scenes are not, however, the only or even the most persuasive instances of Canadian landscapes integrated into Fletcher's Classical poetry, nor is the Fraser River's displacement of the Indus the most striking river image. In his subsequent long poem, *Nestorius: A Phantasy*, from 1892, Fletcher again takes up the trope of a grand river with an aging man contemplating life on its shore, and his descriptions of landscape increasingly clarify his overlapping mixture of lived experiences and allusions. At this time living in New Westminster on West 3rd Avenue, looking down to the Fraser River as an elderly man plagued by gout, Fletcher opens his poem:

> The old Nestorius, worn with many woes,
> Cast out, an exile, from the haunts of men,
> To all a stranger and an alien,
> And seeking only silence and repose,
> Passed to the sands of Egypt.
> Day by day,
> Wrapped in the splendor of the sunlit air,
> Which vestured, there, a world so strange
> and fair,
> He watched the mighty river fade away,
> For ever passing, and for ever there.
>
> Haply he found, in that mysterious stream,
> Some semblance to the current of his life:
> Placid, at first, it rose, and far from strife,
> Cradled in lotus-blossoms, with the gleam
> Of dew-drops sparkling in the morning sun;
> Then through bare rocks of basalt, dark
> and grim,
> Impetuous forced its way, with widened
> brim
> Until, at last, its stormy life-course done,
> It sank in silence. It was so with him.
> (*Nestorius* 5)

The Keatsian deferring of the completion of the independent clause in the first stanza until the fifth line draws attention stylistically to this passage; this should not cause readers to overlook the more basic story of an elderly man relocating to a new land in order to contemplate "the mighty river" as it rises from an Edenic and placid origin, impetuously blasts through basalt and then finds rest in the ocean, like his own spirit. Experienced travellers might notice that the Nile itself does not cut through basalt until far into Upper Egypt and Ethiopia,

away from the ostensive setting of the poem in Lower Egypt. Basalt is also not associated with the Nile in any significant literary way. The basalt used in the construction of the pyramids was quarried from the northern edge of the Fayoum Depression, then shipped by boat across what was once a lake, and only subsequently carried down the Nile. Likewise, most basalt in Egypt is found quite distant from the Nile. However, as Fletcher would have surely known, being a longstanding executive member of the Quebec Geographical Society with demonstrated familiarity with geological discourse, there was another more immediate river that does very visibly cut "through bare rocks of basalt, dark and grim" after rising from placid origins and just before it reaches the ocean. It is a river with which his family was intimately familiar: the Fraser River, from the area of Hope and Yale into the interior. The exposed basalt is perhaps (and in my own experience, it is certainly) the most visually memorable feature of this specific terrain.[13]

In this context, Nestorius, the banished Patriarch whose heresy was to argue the Virgin Mary carried the human Jesus rather than God,[14] has another very West Coast experience. In Egypt, ostensibly, he finds an oasis near the river that cuts though "bare rocks of basalt," although the environment now seems more akin to a lush rain forest:

> Around them closed the tall columnar trees,
> Giants in growth, through whose interstices,
> High-branched, with lofty crowns of foliage,
> Clear moonlight fell, and chequered here and there,
> The heavy gloom with points and lines of light.
> Here they slept, through the soft autumnal night,
> Till morning came. (10)

Again, through the dense allusions to an archaic fourth- and fifth-century heretical Patriarch of Constantinople, which also overlap with a narration of travels through the Nile Basin and ancient Egyptian sites, Fletcher manages to integrate distinctly West Coast landscape images into the Classical preoccupations typical of earlier Canadian poetry *as well as* in the Romantic narrative style of his contemporaries. In addition to this stylistic wedding, he parallels his own autobiographical journey from the "centre" of Canada to its periphery, just as his protagonist departs Constantinople to spend his old age beside another distant river. As with *The Lost Island*'s striking resemblance to Vancouver Island, and the nearest mainland to Atlantis strongly resembling the Coast Mountains, the Nile in *Nestorius* increasingly resembles the Fraser River. Most importantly, however, it is the Fraser that displaces images of the Nile, rather than Classical notions of the Nile that displace the real landscape spread out before the author in his New Westminster home. The Fraser recasts Fletcher's understanding of the Nile in Western literature rather than the typical colonial gesture of Western sites or materials constituting the schema for interpretation.

Conclusion

For Fletcher's works as a whole, this linguistic and cultural plurality via allusion is tied to his experiences of Canadian landscapes and derives from his experiences during the creation of Canada as a modern state. This plural vision is both one to endorse, though not naïvely, and one to recall as a strong voice during the creation of Canada. The implicit deterritorialization of Native lands in the poem, recreated with Greek and Indian mythology, should give us pause.[15] Anachronistically, this places Fletcher's images at the same moment of the expropriation of these lands and their colonization, overlapping with some of Canada's most significant land claims. This is precisely when modern readers would expect to find the deterritorializing trope of an "empty" space that is unintelligible except through

Western narrative conventions, hence justifying colonial acquisitions of a *tabula rasa*. The land, in most examples of this period, would not only be empty but would be most akin to familiar landscapes, such as the Thames or the Seine, and hence amenable to Western control and reconstruction. The most overt instance would be the names of these locations and the imperial inscription that overlays them like a palimpsest: *New* Westminster, as in Fleming's *From Westminster to New Westminster*; Surrey; Abbotsford, which must have brought to mind Sir Walter Scott; Queen's Park, for Queen Victoria; Victoria itself; and so forth. Rather than simply imposing a colonial understanding of the Fraser River through a colonial gaze that reinscribes the Thames over it, Fletcher takes the Nile and re-imagines it through the image of the Fraser.

Fletcher, whether by intention or not, disturbs this very familiar pattern (one that was endemic in his contemporaries). He casts Western narrative conventions, such as Classical texts, as intelligible *only* through a genuine engagement with the foreign landscape and a sincere attempt to see it as it exists without rewriting it via another colonizing culture's position. His landscapes are also inhabited by non-European peoples. For Fletcher's works, this linguistic and cultural plurality is demonstrably tied to his life in Quebec City and his experiences in west coast landscapes, as well as deriving from his experiences during the creation of Canada as a modern state. This gives room for further discussion, but Fletcher's clear desire to include Native languages in this diversity (which notably excludes English myths) also offers a prospect for inclusive dialogue.

Even as Fletcher's own voice was lost to subsequent generations of writers, his role in instigating a literary tradition that developed this notion of familiar landscapes overlaying allusions deserves attention. It holds significance to Canadian literary history, regardless of readers' recognition or misconstruing of its anticipation of William Gibson's "sky . . . tuned to a dead channel" seemingly over Vancouver's rainy vistas (3) or Malcolm Lowry's (S)HELL of Eridanus facing Burnaby Mountain and Simon Fraser University (256).

NOTES

1 This paper develops from my editorial work on Fletcher's collected poems and travel writing.
2 The most obvious points of comparison are with Duncan Campbell Scott and Charles Sangster, though Fletcher focuses largely on different landscapes and shows exceptional poetic technique among his contemporaries. Moreover, his focus on landscape both predates and is significantly distinct from their attempts "to re-create the Canadian landscape in metaphysical terms" (Messenger 304).
3 The Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, the Quebec Geographical Society, and the Toronto Literary Association. The first is the oldest historical body in Canada, founded in 1824 and incorporated by Royal Charter in 1831.
4 Fletcher won several awards for his poetry, and Frederick Würtele commented, after Fletcher had moved to British Columbia, "Mr. Fletcher held a prominent position among the *littérateurs* of Quebec. . . . He was a zealous member of this Society, and in 1853 was awarded the prize medal for the best poem on a subject connected with American History. This poem was called the Lay of Leif Erickson" (64).
5 Lampman's comments are worth quoting in full: "It seems strange that . . . a writer capable of 'The Lost Island' and 'Nestorius' should have reached old age almost unknown as a poet beyond a limited circle of sympathetic friends. Let us do honor to such a poet, who has maintained a reserve so fine and so unusual, who has run so far counter to the clamorous custom of his age as to live out a long life in the tranquil life of books, wisdom and poetry, without caring whether the public buy his photograph or the reviewers blow all their penny whistles in his praise" (n. pag.).
6 These materials are now held in Special Collections in the McPherson Library, University of Victoria, along with the few surviving volumes of Fletcher's personal library.
7 His son, Sidney Ashe Fletcher, followed suit with an autobiography and narratives of his travels in the BC Interior during the 1890s. For further

information, consult the Sidney Ashe Fletcher fonds in the New Westminster Archives.

8 Finnish is an extremely difficult language. Fletcher's translation was published a year too late in 1869 to be the first English translation, but John Addison Porter's 1868 partial translation derives from Franz Anton Schiefner's German translation, which it uses as a bridge. Fletcher's is the first to translate the work into English from the original Finnish, and it includes a significant introduction discussing the poetic structure of the poem, its unique meter, and the linguistic traits of Finnish.

9 He also showed a keen linguistic interest in Canada's Native and immigrant populations, writing briefly on linguistic issues in Aboriginal languages, Cantonese, and Mandarin. With the same linguistic skills, he recounted the cultural life of the cities in which he lived, such as in "Reminiscences of Old Quebec." Fletcher's hierarchical stratification of languages according to their linguistic properties will give pause to modern readers. While he keeps language distinct from race (though not ethnicity), the potential for ethnic and racist prejudice in the hierarchical structure is certainly present.

10 Reports of other long poems exist, but they are likely lost.

11 Alternatively titled *The Lost Island (Atlantis)*.

12 Fletcher met Sir Fleming at the meetings of the Quebec Literary and Historical Society, at which Sir Fleming also spoke. Moreover, the microfilmed copy of Fletcher's *Nestorius* in the CIHM is the copy he inscribed to Fleming in 1892. They also had contact as surveyors, likely prior to their meeting through the Society. By 1886, the *Transactions of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec* listed both Fletcher and Fleming as Honorary Members (24). With regard to the image, Fletcher was between New Westminster and Victoria in 1889 when he wrote and published the poem, having lived on the island for three years already and with family members on the mainland as well.

13 My own childhood included long summers and frequent visits to precisely this area, and the grey basalt, through which the river is at its most violent, dominates life on the Fraser River at this point. No account of Yale would be complete without this image. The dark corners of my own imagination of this river and my recollections of two decades spent on its banks are always turned back to such rocks and a river running impetuously through them, and I conjecture its striking features would catch a poet's attention just as readily.

14 Mary was Christotokos rather than Theotokos. Moreover, it is worth recalling that Theotoki is still a current Greek surname, particularly on the Ionian Islands, about which Fletcher wrote historical comments. My own experiences make me deeply familiar with Theotoki Street in Corfu Town, on which the statue of the first President of modern Greece is impossible to avoid. This theological conflict still simmers near the surface of our modern times.

15 While Fletcher privileged First Nations languages and peoples in his critical and personal writings about west coast cultural life, mythology and narratives from Native traditions do not overtly inform his poetics. Fletcher makes it clear in his writings from British Columbia that he views immigrant and First Nations populations as the most productive and cultured in west coast communities, although he previously made it equally clear that he did not find a linguistic complexity (in a hierarchical structure) in their languages that could stand flatteringly next to Sanskrit, Greek, or Latin. All of these factors should trouble or at least complicate any modern reading of Fletcher's works, especially in view of ongoing political mistreatment of Indigenous populations in the Canadian west. Nonetheless, it is worth adding that Fletcher did not accord English mythology or language the same privileged position he grants to ancient languages, which mitigates to some degree perceptions of his Eurocentric views. This would disrupt any reductive anachronistic or postcolonial readings, even though it certainly does not discount them.

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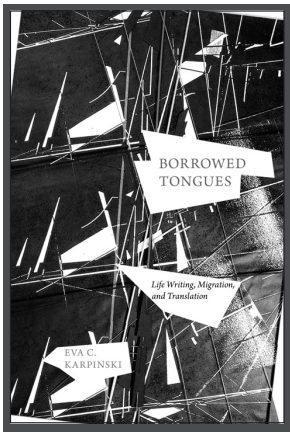
Congratulations, Stephanie Oliver!

Canadian Literature congratulates Stephanie Oliver for winning a **2012 Don D. Walker Prize Honourable Mention** for her essay "Diffuse Connections: Smell and Diasporic Subjectivity in Larissa Lai's *Salt Fish Girl*," which appeared in *Canadian Literature* #208. One reader in the prize committee began her comments on the paper with "I love this piece."



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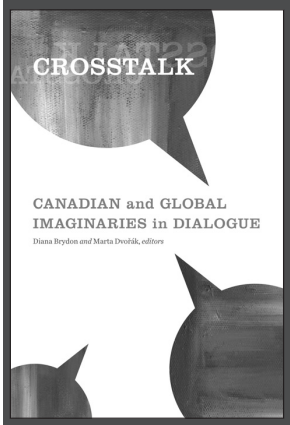

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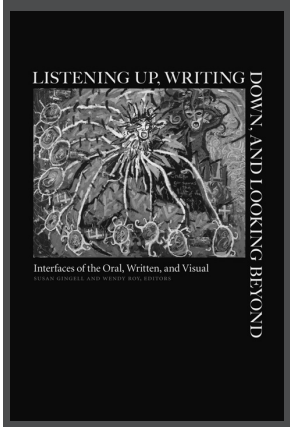

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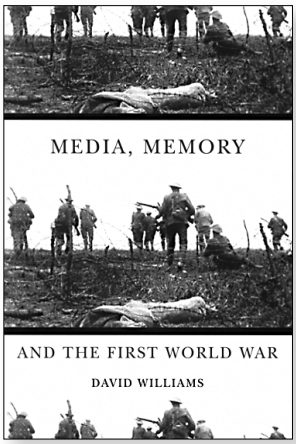

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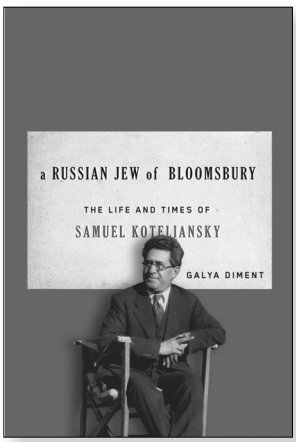

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