

INFORMATION TO USERS

This was produced from a copy of a document sent to us for microfilming. While the most advanced technological means to photograph and reproduce this document have been used, the quality is heavily dependent upon the quality of the material submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help you understand markings or notations which may appear on this reproduction.

1. The sign or "target" for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is "Missing Page(s)". If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting through an image and duplicating adjacent pages to assure you of complete continuity.
2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a round black mark it is an indication that the film inspector noticed either blurred copy because of movement during exposure, or duplicate copy. Unless we meant to delete copyrighted materials that should not have been filmed, you will find a good image of the page in the adjacent frame.
3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., is part of the material being photographed the photographer has followed a definite method in "sectioning" the material. It is customary to begin filming at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. If necessary, sectioning is continued again—beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.
4. For any illustrations that cannot be reproduced satisfactorily by xerography, photographic prints can be purchased at additional cost and tipped into your xerographic copy. Requests can be made to our Dissertations Customer Services Department.
5. Some pages in any document may have indistinct print. In all cases we have filmed the best available copy.

**University
Microfilms
International**

300 N. ZEEB ROAD, ANN ARBOR, MI 48106
18 BEDFORD ROW, LONDON WC1R 4EJ, ENGLAND

7923698

ALTFEST, KAREN CAPLAN
CANADIAN LITERARY NATIONALISM, 1836-1914.
CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK, PH.D., 1979

COPR. 1979 ALTFEST, KAREN CAPLAN
University
Microfilms
International 300 N. ZEEB ROAD, ANN ARBOR, MI 48106

© COPYRIGHT BY
KAREN CAPLAN ALTFEST
1979

CANADIAN LITERARY NATIONALISM, 1836-1914

by

KAREN C. ALTFEST

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate
Faculty in History in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy, The City University
of New York.

1979

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in History in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

31 May 1979
date

May 3, 1979
date

Arthur R. Hays
Chairman of Examining Committee

John L. Hays
Executive Officer

Dorothy O. Kelly
Michael T. Kelly
Supervisory Committee

The City University of New York

ABSTRACT

by

Karen C. Altfest

Adviser: Professor Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.

This dissertation examines Anglo-Canadian literature -- novels, poetry, essays, and letters -- for the years 1836 to 1914, and sets forth evidence of the growth of national consciousness among Canadian writers. National sentiment is shown to have evolved in the literature as it did within Canadian society. Early literature -- that is, before Confederation, 1867 -- often emphasized local or provincial loyalty and allegiance to Britain. Later literature expressed enthusiasm for the young nation, optimism about its future, praise for the "nation-builders," and a new fervor and decisiveness in the wake of political consolidation.

Except for chapter one, which offers some thoughts on nationalism in general -- and Canadian nationalism in particular -- and the relationship of literature to nationalism, and chapter eight, which summarizes and evaluates the findings of the dissertation, this study consists of two main parts.

The first section, chapters two to four, chronologically explores the emergence of nationalism in English-Canadian literature, particularly poems and novels, and

defines pervading issues and themes. Literary nationalism is shown to have emerged as a result of the building of the country and at the same time to have promoted further consolidation. Anti-Americanism is presented as an important factor in Canadian nationalism, as is ambivalence to Britain.

The second section, chapters five to seven, examines the extent of the authors' nationalism and determination as expressed in their nonfictional writings. Chapter five deals with the ongoing debate on whether or not Canada had a distinctive national literature, and the discussion on how literary critics could best fulfil their perceived function. Chapter six takes up the problems of writing in nineteenth and early twentieth century Canada -- getting work published, circumventing the unfavorable copyright laws, attracting readers, and providing means of financial support -- and analyzes some choices writers made. Chapter seven discusses the relationship of authors to each other and to the rest of society. It establishes their sense of duty to their country and maintains that their nationalism, as seen in their writings, was not merely the accidental expression of positive feelings about the beauty, past, or future of their land, but was a fully conscious and deliberate attempt to arouse nationalistic sentiments in their fellow countrymen.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am indebted to many people for help in completing this study. First, I would like to thank my adviser, Professor Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., in whose seminar many years ago I discovered the value of literature as a historical source. Throughout my years of research and writing he has encouraged and guided me; I have benefited greatly from his instruction. I would also like to express my appreciation to Professor Dorothy O. Helly, who has patiently and skilfully counseled me in Canadian studies for many years, always keeping me mindful of the importance of the British connection. Thanks too to Professor Michael Timko for consenting to read this dissertation from his perspective as a professor of literature.

I am grateful for the cheerful and efficient assistance given me by the staffs of the Douglas Library, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario; the Redpath Library, McGill University, Montreal, Quebec; the Public Archives, Ottawa, Ontario; the National Library, Ottawa, Ontario; and the New York Public Library, New York. I would also like to thank the Canadian professors who, over the years, kindly took the time to provide reading lists and advice: Professors John H. Thompson of McGill University, Ian MacPherson of the University of Winnipeg, and Robert L. McDougall of Carleton University.

To those friends who read portions of the manuscript and offered suggestions, Frances Minters and Hadassa Kosak, I am very grateful. I would also like to thank my parents, Betty and Philip Caplan, for their constant encouragement, and my daughter, Ellen W. Altfest, for her interest, understanding and unfailing good humor. Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to my husband, Dr. Lewis J. Altfest, who supported my efforts, read the dissertation numerous times in all its stages, and always insisted that I maintain high standards in my research, writing, and analysis.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT	iv
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	vi
Chapter	
I. LITERATURE AND NATIONALISM	2
II. EARLY LITERATURE 1836-1867	18
III. LITERATURE OF THE MIDDLE PERIOD 1867-1890	51
IV. LATER LITERATURE 1890-1914	107
V. THE EXISTENCE OF CANADIAN LITERATURE	168
VI. DIFFICULTIES OF WRITING IN CANADA	197
VII. CONSCIOUS NATIONALISM	238
VIII. CONCLUSION	269
BIBLIOGRAPHY	275

While the literature of a people
is the expression of the genius of
that people it is, at the same time,
a formative power which moulds and
preserves national character.

--Samuel E. Dawson
Presidential address before
the Royal Society of Canada
May 26, 1908

CHAPTER I

LITERATURE AND NATIONALISM

Characteristics of Nationalism

Nationalism is of necessity a flexible concept. It constantly changes in relation to its time and to its country's stage of growth. At its inception, it may exist simply as a local loyalty; it then may grow to become a more consuming affection for the native land; then finally, in accordance with political, economic and cultural events, it may become full-fledged nationalism, which encompasses several identifiable traits. In its simplest forms, nationalism may be discerned in love of the land, pride in local achievements, admiration for the natural beauty of the area and usefulness of its resources. Later on it may express an interest in the history of the country, a patriotic attachment to the land, a desire to establish viable political institutions and to develop natural resources. A recognition of the place of literature, art, education, history and politics may heighten the national spirit. Such consciousness may stir those who possess it to greater production in these areas, as well as stimulate new contributors to politics, education, and the arts. In its more complex stages, nationalism may encompass nativism, expansionism, competitiveness with other nations, pride in a distinctive national

heritage, the formation of a national myth, an appreciation for national heroes, a desire for national independence, and optimism about the future of the nation. Those differences which set the community apart from other groups may be exaggerated.

Nationalism is a highly subjective concept; it must be recognized as the historian Hans Kohn has remarked, as "first and foremost a state of mind, an act of consciousness."¹ It should, therefore, be examined not as an isolated phenomenon, but as an attitude evolving in response to political, economic, social, and cultural development. As Kohn put it, in "the formation of nationalities, the most essential element is a living and active corporate will. Nationality is formed by the decision to form a nationality."² Kohn's perception of the relationship between nationalism and the nation offers a firm basis for the study of literary nationalism. The nation-state, Kohn wrote, is created because of nationalistic sentiment; at the same time, nationalism is reinforced by the creation of the nation-state:

Nationalism is an idea, an *idée-force*, which fills man's brain and heart with new thoughts and new sentiments, and drives him to translate his consciousness into deeds of organized action. Nationality is therefore not only a group held together and animated by common consciousness; but it is also a group seeking to find its expression in what it regards as the highest form of organized activity, a sovereign state. . . . Nationalism demands the nation state; the creation of the nation-

state strengthens nationalism. Here . . . we find a continuous interdependence and interaction.

(H. Kohn, 1967)³

A continuous interaction can also be shown to exist between the evolution of a nationalistic sentiment and the growth of a distinctive literature. Some writers believe, as did the Canadian poet W. W. Campbell, that "a country only reaches full national consciousness when it has developed a literature."⁴ Yet, it is frequently thought that a native literature can prosper only after a nation has actually come into being and existed for some time. When nationalistic sentiment flourishes, so does a distinctive literature; but the reverse is also true. It is difficult to unravel the causal relationship between them and often to know which precipitated the other. Perhaps the relationship can best be expressed in reciprocal terms, with each at various times stimulating the other.

Literature as a Nationalizing Force

Boyd C. Shafer, in his study of nationalism, wrote that literature is often used as a means of converting citizens to nationalism. Writers, he said, knowingly employ national folklore, poetry, and songs to kindle patriotic feeling:

Sometimes the authors of these works set out directly to make patriots by giving their nations a "pure" language, by exploring the origins and showing the continuity of the national laws, by romantically recovering the folklore which rooted the national character, or by inspiring their countrymen through poem and song.

(B. C. Shafer, 1955)⁵

National literatures are deliberately constructed to arouse patriotic pride. Characteristically, the villains in such nationalistic literature might be "strange-looking foreigners,"⁶ while the heroes in contrast are "tall, strong, and courageous . . . of their own nationality."⁷ Such literature, according to Shafer, can be powerful and often successful in its aims, for

if literate men read chiefly their own national literatures, if they read almost entirely in their national languages, if the sources of their information were almost exclusively national, they could scarcely avoid becoming national patriots.

(B. C. Shafer, 1955)⁸

The importance of literature as a nationalizing force is all the more pronounced, Shafer concludes, because nationalism is not innate; it must be acquired. People "become national patriots because the political, economic, and social conditions and thought of their time make them so."⁹ Literature thus becomes a further significant means of instilling nationalism in a people.

K. R. Minogue has assigned the literature of a nation a crucial role in the development of nationalism:

A nation needs a literature -- including some anonymous saga from bygone days and a gallery of talented writers in more recent time. The centrepiece /sic/ of cultural nationalism is some dominating figure who can be cast in the role of the great national poet. . . . It is no doubt best if your national poet celebrates your national virtues but, in this field, distinction has to be taken where it is to be found, and nationalism takes the form of lopping off unsuitable sentiments here and highlighting convenient ones there.

(K. R. Minogue, 1970)¹⁰

Literature is important because it reveals the values and sentiments found in a society. Bliss Carman, the late-nineteenth century Canadian poet wrote, "All art is just the attempt of man to say what he thinks about life."¹¹ Studying the literature of a particular group of people may reveal their shared concerns and beliefs. As the Canadian essayist Archibald MacMechan wrote, "Literature . . . is the voice of a people. Through its literature, the life, the soul of a people may be known."¹²

This study deals only with Canadian writing in English, for, as the authority on Canadian literature, Claude Bissell, has said, "Canadian writing in French constitutes a distinctive body of literature, and it can be understood and appreciated only in its own cultural and linguistic framework."¹³ Nineteenth century English-Canadian literature provides -- as others have noted -- a valuable source of information about the development of Canadian nationalism:

Generally the views of literary commentators -- novelists -- have been regarded as impractical or irrelevant. Yet Canadian novelists, writing in English, provide an illuminating commentary on prevailing attitudes toward nationality that have evolved in their country since the middle of the eighteenth century.

(F. Birbalsingh, 1974)¹⁴

The Role of Writers

Literature played more than one role in the development of Canadian nationalism.¹⁵ Writers -- poets, novelists, and essayists -- recorded what was happening in Canada. Some, like Thomas Chandler Haliburton, chided their countrymen with wit and humor. Others took a more serious stance, singing the praises of their young country and urging their fellow citizens to serve it with greater devotion. Still others, like Charles Mair, a Canadian nationalist and poet, played a direct role in the politics as well as the literature of the nation.

These writers were aware of the influence they wielded. In the words of Aldous Huxley, "Nations are to a very large extent invented by their poets and novelists."¹⁶ Various Canadian writers set standards of behavior and beauty; thereafter, nature and society seemed to imitate art. In 1903, Rev. Edward Hartley Dewart, the pre-Confederation anthologist, made note of the influence literature had on nationalism:

Too many fail to recognize the inspiring and refining power of poetry, and regard it as the idle dreamings of the imagination when loosed from the control of the reason. And yet, it would be easy to show how in most countries the national poets have strengthened the ties of patriotic unity, and stirred the hearts of the people to deeds of manly daring.

(E. H. Dewart, 1903)¹⁷

In nineteenth century Canada the relationship between literature and nationalism was especially complex. Literature

was a pace setter for nationalistic sentiment and, at the same time, an indicator of the growth of nationalism. Some Canadian writers consciously assumed the role of interpreters of Canadian values; others played that role unconsciously. In nearly all cases, they took the development of the country seriously, and recognized from as early as the 1830s, fully three decades before Confederation (1867), the influence their literature could have on the evolving nation. Many writers thought and wrote in terms of a Canadian nation before Confederation, although they did not generally assign to it all the characteristics of an independent sovereign state. In 1875 Charles Mair, who set out to stimulate Canadian national sentiment, wrote that one of the "infallible signs" of such a national sentiment was

the growth of a national literature. This, to be characteristic, must taste of the wood, and be the genuine product of the national imagination and invention. No nation can be truly great which lacks these faculties, inasmuch as they lie at the root of such human efforts as rise above the satisfaction of ministers of all the higher orders of our pleasures. The contemporary condition of a nation's literature is, of course, the touchstone and gauge of them; but they operate in all directions, cover the entire field of national progress, and more or less inform every branch of human speculation. The genuine and most important result of their operation is the creation of a national idea, or sentiment, which has for its internal condition unity, and for its external aspect force; . . . It may be remarked that this sentiment is generally in advance of everything save its contemporary literature. . . . The fact is that politics almost invariably lag behind the national idea, and those parts of it which obtain

the legislative sanction are merely its refluent waves, waves which are presently taken hold of and petrified into laws.

(C. Mair, 1875)¹⁸

Thomas D'Arcy McGee, the Irish-born Canadian patriot, orator, literary figure, and Father of Confederation, urged in 1867 the creation of a national literature because "mental self-reliance is an essential condition of our political independence."¹⁹ The literature of other English-speaking peoples would not suffice:

The books that are made elsewhere, even in England, are not always the best fitted for us; they do not always run on the same mental gauge, nor connect with our trains of thought; they do not take us up at the bystages of cultivation at which we have arrived. . . . They are books of another state of society, bearing traces of controversies, or directed against errors or evils which for us hardly exist, except in the pages of these exotic books.

(T. D'Arcy McGee, 1867)²⁰

The literature of the United States especially could not provide role models for the Canadian way of life:

It is quite clear to me that if we are to succeed with our new Dominion, it can never be by accepting a ready-made easy literature, which assumes Bostonian culture to be the worship of the future, and the American democratic system to be the manifestly destined form of government for all the civilized world, new as well as old.

(Ibid.)²¹

Canadians were a distinct people with heritage, customs, and problems of their own. They therefore needed their own literature. Writers throughout the century searched for a Canadian identity and created symbols and themes representative of the Canadian nation.

But, as the literary critic Desmond Pacey pointed out, "A good regional literature must precede a good national literature; indeed, it is arguable whether there is any such thing as a national literature apart from its regional components."²² From the 1830s on, therefore, a series of regional literatures developed throughout Canada, from Haliburton's patriotic works about Nova Scotia to Charles G. D. Roberts's and Bliss Carman's enthusiasm for New Brunswick. Upper Canada (Ontario) had many writers celebrating its virtues as, toward the end of the century, did Canada's Northwest. Quebec, too, was celebrated in poems and novels, often in its earlier days as New France. In addition to these provincial divisions, nineteenth century literature was often categorized according to geographical distinctions. There were maritime literature, forest literature, mountain literature, rural literature, and urban literature. There were French-Canadian folklore, Indian folklore, Métis folklore, and pioneer folklore. Many writers attempted not only to establish a local literature, but often to describe and interpret their area to people in other regions of the country.

As the century progressed, nationalistic fervor increased. As Frank Watt has summed it up,

Confederation created a new role for the /Canadian/ writer, the role of nation-builder, and since that time few Canadian writers in English have been able to resist at least a few flourishes in this part. The role required enthusiastic involvement in the geography, history and future prospects of Canada,²³
(F. Watt, 1966)

Literary societies were created, prizes were offered to young writers, the number of literary journals increased, and a campaign began to revise the unfavorable copyright laws. Such evidence serves to emphasize the fact that nineteenth century Canadian intellectuals -- and national leaders as well -- were conscious of the effects of their literature. They wrote historical novels, odes to Canada, and poems about the beauty of their country not only out of aesthetic impulses but equally out of a nationalistic sentiment:

The idea of something in common, the aspiration towards union, and the hope of an eventual federation found expression in the writings of versifiers and essayists long before social and economic conditions made Confederation at first a possibility and eventually a necessity. The ideal of a national -- or rather, perhaps, a continental -- identity was found thrilling by poets, or would-be poets, who hoped that a national bard would rise to hymn the glories of a new nation in the north.
(A.J.M. Smith, 1968)²⁴

Poets and novelists contributed to the creation of the Canadian nation and, in turn, received further impetus from Confederation. In 1880 Canada gained the "national" poet it had been awaiting: Charles G. D. Roberts, who sang the praises of the new nation for many decades. As the century came to an end, the intensity of the literary nationalism increased.

Stages of Nationalism

It has been suggested that nationalism often consists of three stages. The first stage, or "stirrings," involves an awareness of being in some way an oppressed group, a rejection of ways and ideas deemed "foreign," and a "casting around for a cultural identity."²⁵ The stirrings of cultural nationalism do not require the existence of a political nation and may crucially contribute to the formation of a political entity. The second stage, "the centrepiece [sic] of nationalism,"²⁶ is the struggle for political independence. The third stage is the period of national consolidation.

English-Canadian literature seems to have passed through such stages of nationalistic expression between 1836 and 1914. The literature of the early period -- 1836-1867 -- preceded the forming of the nation. Typically, it expressed stirrings of political and cultural nationalism: ambivalence in relations with England, pride in local resources, love of the distinctive natural landscape, and optimism about the future. The early writers were cautious. They recognized Canada's potentialities, but were unwilling to guess just how much Canada might accomplish. They naturally had the least commitment to national identity, were most ambivalent in their loyalty to Canada, and were most dependent on European influence.

Literature of the Confederation era -- 1867-1890 -- concerned itself with the creation of the new nation. The

writings of that time expressed pride in the achievement of political unity, interest in all things Canadian, and praise for the Canadian citizen. Writers sought ways to differentiate their country from the United States, and expressed dissatisfaction with and distrust of their neighbor to the south. Authors recognized that nationhood was in its infancy and were willing to watch it grow to maturity, a development they supposed to be more and more certain. Many of this group tried, through their writing, to help Canada achieve the future they envisioned.

Literature of the third period -- 1890-1914 -- expressed a new fervor and decisiveness in the wake of political consolidation and greater confidence in the development of the young country, soon, the writers supposed, to take its rightful place among the nations of the world. The settlement of Canada's Northwest, the development of its resources, and the urbanization of eastern Canada encouraged such optimism, as did Canada's increased political autonomy and greater participation in world affairs. Writing frequently had as its theme pride in the nation, praise for the nation-builders, the Canadian as hero, favorable comparison to other lands, and the seeking out of new areas of improvement and self-determination.

Nationalism in Canada was future-based rather than past-based. Authors believed in the fulfillment of Canada's

potential. The expression of this belief was crucial to the development of Canadian nationalism. According to Peter Russell, nationalism is a "plea for collective solidarity" which depends on its ability to "inspire its adherents with a belief in its historical destiny."²⁷ Its geography, its natural resources, its people, and its modified British institutions would make Canada a great nation. Canadians might not have shared a common ancestry, but they could all look forward to a noble future together.

Throughout the nineteenth century, then, and into the twentieth, there existed a strand of nationalism, which evolved as the nation developed, and became more ingrained and complex as time passed. Since literary and political nationalism evolved together, deepening as the century progressed, the literature of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century is an important source of information about the development of distinctive nationalism in Canada. This thread of nationalism, as seen in the English-language literature of the time will be carefully examined in its various manifestations throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Such examination will focus on problems of copyright, publishers, literary journals, critics, immigration, and emigration as well as the century-long debate over whether a distinct national literature did in fact exist. Perhaps the most important focus will be on the evidence

indicating the awareness among Canadian writers of the ability of their literature to inspire fellow Canadians to sentiments of nationhood.

Footnotes for Chapter I

¹Hans Kohn, The Idea of Nationalism: A Study in its Origins and Background (New York: Collier Books, 1967) p. 10.

²Ibid., p. 15.

³Ibid., p. 19.

⁴W. W. Campbell, "Mermaid Inn," May 28, 1892 in Lorne Pierce Collection (Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario), Box 21.

⁵Boyd C. Shafer, Nationalism: Myth and Reality (New York: Harcourt Brace & World, 1955), p. 190.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid., p. 191.

⁹Ibid., p. 97.

¹⁰K. R. Minogue, Nationalism (Baltimore: Penguin Books Inc., 1970), p. 26.

¹¹Letter of Bliss Carman, March 11, 1895 in Carman Papers (Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario), Box 3, Coll. 146.

¹²Archibald MacMechan, Headwaters of Canadian Literature (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Publishers, 1924), p. 17.

¹³Claude Bissell, Great Canadian Writing: A Century of Imagination (Toronto: The Canadian Centennial Publishing Co. Ltd., 1966), p. 9.

¹⁴Frank Birbalsingh, "Novelists and the Nation," Canadian Literature no. 61 (Summer, 1974), p. 125.

¹⁵The term "Canada" will hereafter be used to signify the British North American provinces and territories whether before or after they joined the Confederation.

¹⁶Aldous Huxley, Texts and Pretexts (London: Chatto & Windus, 1959), p. 50.

¹⁷Rev. E. H. Dewart, "Charles Sangster," Canadian Methodist Magazine 157, no. 5 (1903), p. 427.

¹⁸Charles Mair, "The New Canada," (Aug., 1875) in The Search for English-Canadian Literature: An Anthology of Critical Articles from the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries, ed., Carl Ballstadt (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), pp. 152-153.

¹⁹Thomas D'Arcy McGee, "The Mental Outfit of the New Dominion," (1867) in Canadian Literature: the beginnings to the twentieth century, ed. Catherine M. McLay (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1974), p. 182.

²⁰Ibid., p. 187.

²¹Ibid.

²²Desmond Pacey, Essays in Canadian Criticism (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1969), p. 103.

²³Frank Watt, "Nationalism in Canadian Literature," Nationalism in Canada, ed., Russell, p. 239.

²⁴A. J. M. Smith, "The Canadian Poet: Part I. To Confederation," Canadian Literature, no. 37 (Summer, 1968), pp. 6-7.

²⁵Minogue, p. 26.

²⁶Ibid., p. 27.

²⁷Peter Russell, ed., Nationalism in Canada (Toronto: McGraw Hill Company of Canada Limited, 1966), p. viii.

CHAPTER II

EARLY LITERATURE 1836-1867

Because many of the early authors had immigrated to Canada from Britain, and most had descended from such immigrants, they felt pride in and loyalty to the British Empire. Some of them continued to think of England as "home" long after they settled in Canada. Yet Canadians were frequently troubled by prevailing British attitudes to the colonies. On the one hand, Canadian writers were proud of Canada's unswerving loyalty to Britain in 1776 and 1812, its British political institutions, and the survival of British customs and traditions on Canadian soil. On the other hand, they resented British condescension, ignorance of life in Canada, interference in local affairs, and absentee rule. Love for British institutions competed with envy of successful economic and political innovations in the United States; allegiance to the distant British monarch conflicted with local loyalties. Canadians were beginning to experience pride in the Canadian land, admiration for the beauty of local nature, and hope for Canada's future. The Canadian literary mind, therefore, existed in a state of ambiguity, conflicting goals, and emotional tensions. These ambivalent feelings led writers to seek to define a distinctive Canadian identity.

Literature and Political Setting

Although settlement was still going on in the early nineteenth century, Canadians had years enough of common history to sustain patriotic feeling. They shared a pride in their rejection of the American Revolution. They had withstood military excursions on Canadian soil, and had remained loyal to the motherland. They were proud too of their military assistance to the British during the War of 1812. Under the leadership of Sir Isaac Brock, the British lieutenant governor, Canadian volunteers had aided the small troop of British regulars in resisting the invasion of the much larger American forces. Novelists and poets attempted to create feelings of camaraderie among the British North Americans by celebrating Canadian accomplishment in defense of the Empire:

Here is the Monument. Immortal Brock,
Whose ashes lie beneath it, not more still
Than is the plain to-day. What have we gained,
But a mere breath of fame, for all the blood
That flowed profusely on this stirring field?
'Tis true, a Victory; through which we still
Fling forth the meteor banner to the breeze,
And have a blood-sealed claim upon the soil.
'Twere better than Defeat, a thousand times.
(C. Sangster, 1856)¹

By the 1830s the Canadian provinces were engaged in a battle for greater political autonomy and reorganization of the existing political system. Joseph Howe (1804-1873), the publisher of the Novascotian, led the movement in Nova Scotia,

Upper and Lower Canada survived rebellions based on economic, political, and ethnic grievances. The unrest resulted ultimately in the winning of responsible government, that is, the adaptation of British political principles -- such as the parliamentary system of government and leadership by a prime minister able to command a majority in the House of Commons -- to Canadian needs in 1848. It united the provinces against British rule and began to crystallize Canadian goals for the future.

In their literature Canadians often avowed their preference for British ways over American. Mixed with these sentiments, however, was an undercurrent of annoyance with the British who, it was believed, did not understand or care about Canada. In 1839 the Literary Garland (Montreal, 1838-1851), said that the rebellions of 1837 would teach the British not to neglect its North American provinces. Canada would not stand idly by while the British enriched themselves at the expense of the colonists: "We are the only judges of our own wants, as we are able and willing to defend ourselves from outrage and aggression; they must learn that WE ARE FREE, and that we know it."²

By the 1850s writers like Joseph Howe, were ready to entertain the idea of further political change in Canada; their literature reflected their new spirit. Howe, who believed reorganization of the British Empire should be the

natural outcome of the political reform of the 1830s and 1840s, wrote:

I do not hesitate to express the hope that from this day she [British North America] will aspire to consolidation as an integral portion of the realm of England, or assert her claims to a national existence. British North America may one day soon cast aside her colonial habiliments, to put on national aspects, to assert national claims and prepare to assume national obligations.

(J. Howe, 1854)³

As early as the 1830s literary magazines were carving out an English-Canadian identity and attempting to develop a distinctive Canadian literature. The Literary Garland, published in Montreal by John Lovell and edited by John Gibson, printed stories about historical events, poems about Canadian nature, and essays encouraging immigrants to come from other lands. Perhaps most important at this stage in Canada's intellectual development, it provided reviews of books by Canadian authors.

The Maple-Leaf or Canadian Annual (1847-1849) was published in Toronto by Henry Rowsell and edited by the Rev. John McCaul. It contained descriptions of everyday scenes in Canadian life, articles of interest to recent immigrants, and poems.

The Anglo-American Magazine, published in Toronto by Thomas Maclear from 1852-1855, contained articles of interest to new settlers. Typical topics were the advantages of the British North American soil and climate, and the superiority of British political institutions. In an attempt to call

attention to the local literature, the journal offered reviews of contemporary Canadian writing.

The British American Magazine; devoted to Literature, Science, and Art, published in Toronto from 1863-1864 had a more nationalistic bent. Founded by Henry Youle Hind (1823-1908) and Graeme Mercer Adam (1839-1912), the British American published works by Canada's finest early writers, including Susanna Moodie, Catherine Parr Traill, and Mrs. J. L. Leprohon. It also published Thomas D'Arcy McGee's pleas for a new Canadian constitution, John Reade's disparagement of the British American residents who looked to other countries for their cultural standards, and Charles Sangster's poems of love for and wonder at the beauties of the new land.

This embryonic nationalism brought a significant collection of national poetry. That anthology, Selections from Canadian Poets (1864), edited by Rev. Edward Hartley Dewart, was divided into three sections: "Sacred and Reflective," "Descriptive and National," and "Miscellaneous Pieces." The "descriptive and national" category occupying a large part of the anthology showed three years before Confederation the close relationship between poems of description and national sentiment.

Attitude toward Britain

Many of English Canada's earliest writers were immigrants, mainly from England or Scotland. Facing the hardships of pioneer life,⁴ still tied to their homelands by family and by childhood memories, they found ways of adjusting to their new homes. Many deliberately celebrated Canada's positive features to describe to their families in Britain, to share with their new countrymen in Canada, and perhaps to reassure themselves that their new life had advantages.

These early writings also displayed a certain ambivalence. Susanna Moodie (1803-1885), nee Strickland, in 1832 left a genteel life in Britain for one of adversity in the Canadian wilderness. Moodie's Roughing it in the Bush Or, Forest Life in Canada (1852), parts of which appeared in the Literary Garland from 1837-1851, was a series of sketches illustrative of her experiences in the Canadian backwoods, interspersed with poems descriptive of the land. Moodie's works -- including some romantic novels -- were more immediately successful in England than in Canada. With the publication of a new edition in 1871 in which Moodie expressed her growing affection for her new home, Roughing it in the Bush became more popular in Canada.

Moodie described Canada as beautiful and glorious, but also blamed the New World for ruining her life. Her intention, she said, was to deter other well-bred British families from immigrating to Canada. She warned them that they would be more

comfortable at home. Of course, Moodie was right: the Canadian wilderness was not the place to seek an easy life. Margaret Atwood, the poet and novelist, had suggested that Moodie was suffering from paranoid schizophrenia, citing Moodie's claims that she was an "ardent Canadian patriot" while at the same time she criticized Canada "as though she were a detached observer, a stranger."⁵ Moodie, according to Atwood, was ambivalent about the Canadian people, the progress of civilization, and the destruction of the wilderness. In the end, Moodie made a satisfactory adjustment, for the longer she lived in Canada, the greater was her attachment to that land and her acceptance of its joys and sorrows. Like so many other pioneers, she was soon won over by the beauty and the potentiality of her new home. Her initial reluctance to change loyalties makes her gradual conversion to Canadian patriotism within the context of loyalty to Britain all the more significant. Moodie often boasted of Canada's "vast resources -- her fine healthy climate -- her fruitful soil -- the inexhaustible wealth of her pine forests -- the untold treasures hidden in her unexplored mines."⁶ She commented on Canada's inherited British institutions:

If an excellent Government defended by wise laws, a loyal people, and a free church, can make people happy and proud of their country, surely we have every reason to rejoice in our new Dominion.

(Moodie, 1852)⁷

She experienced no conflict of loyalties. To Moodie, pride in Canada and love for England were inexorably linked:

Canada! thou art a noble, free, and rising country
 -- the great fostering mother of the orphans of
 civilization. The offspring of Britain, thou must
 be great.

(Ibid.)⁸

Since the colonists had the same monarch, many of the same institutions, and much of the same history as their British relations, loyalty to Canada was one aspect of loyalty to Britain:

Huzza for England! -- may she claim,
 Our fond devotion ever;
 And by the glory of her name,
 Our brave forefathers' honest fame,
 We swear, -- no foe shall sever,
 Her children from their parents' side;
 Though parted by the wave --
 In weal or woe -- whate'er betide,
 We swear to die or save,
 Her honour, from the robber band,
 Whose crimes pollute our injured land.

Let the foe come -- we will not shrink,
 To meet them if they dare;
 Well, must they fight, ere rashly think,
 To rend apart one sacred link,
 That binds our country fair,
 To that dear Isle, from whence we sprung,
 Which gave our fathers birth;
 What glorious deeds our bards have sung,
 The unrivalled of the earth --
 The highest privilege we claim,
 To own her sway -- to bear her name!

(S. Moodie, 1839)⁹

Many immigrant authors settled in Canada rather than in the United States precisely because it was a British colony. The novelist and poet William Kirby (1817-1906), for example,

born in England, journeyed to the United States as a young man but settled in Canada because he felt destined to live under the British flag. He loved Canada as much for her British ties as for her unique qualities. Canada he named "a crowned Dominion, fit for freest men to live the noblest lives!"¹⁰ Canadian men were handsome "as any born of purest English race."¹¹ He even attributed the beauty of Canadian girls to their English heritage:

As is the wont of our Canadian girls,
 Bearing themselves with native grace and ease,
 The old refinement of an epoch rare
 Of honour, loyalty and noble deeds,
 Which gifted them with beauty's heritage
 And all the charming ways of ladyhood.
(W. Kirby, n.d.)¹²

The poet Alexander McLachlan (1818-1896), born in Scotland, immigrated to Canada as a farmer in 1840. His way of uniting the Canadian environment to Ireland, England, and Scotland, through the symbolic plants of those countries was most inventive. His allusion to plants found in Canada and in the British isles conveyed his sense of the blending of various elements into a new young country:

"Behold!" she /the Genius of Canada/ cries, "the hearts we mold
 In land of lakes and pines
 Where Shamrock blows
 And English Rose
 With Scottish Thistle twines."
(A. McLachlan, n.d.)¹³

McLachlan's narrative poem, "The Emigrant" (1861), further describes the ambivalence of new immigrants to Canada.

Yet McLachlan understood that initial homesickness did not prevent many immigrants from developing a genuine affection for their adopted land. They came with nostalgia in their hearts but, as time passed, they made new friends, invested more of their hopes in the new land, and slowly transferred their allegiance to Canada.

Charles Sangster (1822-1893), born in Kingston (Upper Canada), demonstrated that even poets born in Canada sometimes traced Canada's positive aspects to Britain. He united the British connection and Canadian patriotism with promises of a great future in "Song for Canada":

Sons of the race whose sires
 Aroused the martial flame
 That filled with smiles
 The truine Isles
 Through all their heights of fame!
 With hearts as brave as theirs,
 With hopes as strong and high,
 We'll ne'er disgrace
 The honoured race
 Whose deeds can never die.
 Let but the rash intruder dare
 To touch our darling strand,
 The martial fires
 That thrilled our sires
 Would flame throughout the land.

Our lakes are deep and wide,
 Our fields and forest broad;
 With cheerful air
 We'll speed the share,
 And break the fruitful sod;
 Till blest with rural peace,
 Proud of our rustic toil,
 On hill and plain
 True kings we'll reign
 The victors of the soil.

(C. Sangster, 1860)¹⁴

Joseph Howe, the patriotic Nova Scotia poet and politician, intended no lack of faith in his beloved province when he expressed loyalty to the mother country:

All hail to the day when the Britons came over,
 And planted their standard, with sea-foam still
 wet!
 Around and above us their spirits will hover,
 Rejoicing to mark how we honor it yet.
 Beneath it the emblems they cherished are waving,
 The Rose of Old England the roadside perfumes;
 The Shamrock and Thistle the north winds are braving,
 Securely the Mayflower blushes and blooms.
 (J. Howe, n.d.)¹⁵

Like McLachlan, Howe saw the settling of Canada as a transplantation of British life to new and fertile soil.

Yet British ignorance of Canadian affairs continually rankled Canadian writers. Thomas Chandler Haliburton (1796-1865), a Nova Scotia judge with a talent for satire, poked constant fun at the British. While he clearly venerated the British ancestors of North American colonists and revered many of their political institutions, he criticized the contemporary British relationship with their colonies and their reluctance to change that relationship. He accused the British of being "as headstrong as mules, and as conceited as peacocks," as well as "sulky, ugly tempered, vicious critters."¹⁶

A woman novelist imagined a conversation between a British officer and a Canadian girl:

"They say that for eight months the ground /in Canada/ is covered to the depth of four feet with snow and ice, and that everything freezes. How do the unfortunate inhabitants contrive to support nature during that time?"

Antoinette's first feeling of irritation was fast giving place to one of amusement, and she smilingly rejoined:

"Oh, if provisions are very scarce, they eat each other."

(Mrs. J. L. Leprohon, 1864)¹⁷

In the following exchange, the officer is not sure whether the young woman is teasing him or not, when she responds to his question about what Canadian men wear "to protect themselves from the Siberian rigor of the climate":

"Bear skin coats," was the laconic reply.

"And the women -- haw -- I beg pardon, the ladies -- the fair sex, I should have said?"

"Blankets and moccasins," rejoined Antoinette, slightly tossing her pretty little head, for she felt her patience rapidly giving way. The Honorable Percy stared.

Was it really the case; or could this "obscure little colonial girl," as he inwardly characterized her, be quizzing him?

Oh, the latter supposition was improbable -- totally out of the question. It must be that in some of the country parts, the women still wore the singular costume just mentioned, a reminiscence probably of the peculiar customs of their Indian predecessors.

(Ibid.)¹⁸

Finally, the officer realizes that he has been baited and attempts sarcasm, but the Canadian girl still gets the better of him:

"Well yes, Canada is as yet so utterly out of the pale of civilization, that I am not surprised at your tolerating any custom, however barbarous."

"True," serenely replied Antoinette; "we can tolerate everything here but fops and fools."

(Ibid.)¹⁹

Anti-American Feeling

Writers wrote about localities most familiar to them, and early novels depicted the achievement of a particular town or province. For few writers did loyalty extend beyond a town or at most a province. Yet, as Thomas Chandler Haliburton wrote in the 1830s, "Provincialism and nationalism are different degrees of the same thing, and both take their rise in the same feeling, love of country."²⁰

Haliburton, whose Loyalist grandfather had moved to Nova Scotia before the American Revolution, was an educated gentleman with a highly developed sense of responsibility to his country. He had great dreams for Nova Scotia. Looking across the border to his American neighbors, he worried how little the people of Nova Scotia had achieved by comparison. While the United States prospered, Nova Scotia seemed to stand still, for its inhabitants lacked three important qualities Haliburton characterized as "Industry, Enterprise, Economy."²¹ As a spur to action, Haliburton wrote the Sam Slick books. The most popular of the four books was the first, The Clockmaker; or, The Sayings and Doings of Samuel Slick of Slickville, published in 1836. The books, written in anecdotal form, were built around a dialogue between Sam Slick, the traveling clock salesman from the United States, and the Squire, who represented Haliburton himself. As Slick and the Squire traveled around Nova Scotia, Slick,

always observant, pointed out the problems that existed in the province, and proposed methods of improvement. Haliburton sprinkled his criticism and sarcasm with wit and humor. Slick, the archetypal comic Yankee, was boastful, arrogant, and ill mannered, but had some qualities worth emulating. He was a shrewd bargainer and an outstanding businessman. He never ceased to outsmart his simple Nova Scotia customers.

Although Haliburton never wished his countrymen to trade their implied moral superiority for Slick's brashness, he did believe there were things they might learn from him. Haliburton admired Slick's shrewdness, assurance, resourcefulness, frugality, and industry. Local businessmen were so far behind their American counterparts, according to Haliburton, that even American children could teach Nova Scotia adults that hours and minutes were actually dollars and cents. He attacked what he saw as his countrymen's pride, greed, and laziness.

At the same time, Haliburton exhibited a rising distrust of Canada's neighbors in the United States and their boastfulness, deceitfulness, and audacity. For example, Sam Slick was made to admit that Americans considered treaties made to be broken: "As our American citizens are breakin' the treaty all the time, we mustn't sanction it like, openly and officially, but just wink at it, and pass on, as if we didn't see it or know it."²² American politicians tried to fool Britain into trading access to Canadian fisheries for access to

American railroads for Canadian mail: "We /Americans/ must offer something like an omelette soufflé, that looks large though it is only a mouthful of moonshine."²³ Repeatedly Haliburton warned that Americans were interested in developing Canadian resources for their own advantage.

Haliburton was outraged by those Americans who thought it "our duty and our interest . . . to unite as one, and humanize, Christianize, and civilize the whole world."²⁴ He jabbed at American boastfulness:

Their superiority is unquestionable. They have the largest rivers, the highest hills, the widest prairies, the richest soil, the fastest horses, the prettiest galls, /sic/ the best revolvers, cutest lawyers, peowerfullest /sic/ preachers, and smartest generals, that are to be found on the face of the airth /sic/; also dippers that beat all natur /sic/, steamers that streak it off like iled /sic/ lighting, and men that are half horse and half alligator, with a touch of the devil, and a cross of the airthquake /sic/.

Is it any wonder they are 'the greatest nation in all creation?'

(T. C. Haliburton, 1860)²⁵

Haliburton worried that ambitious local youths might seek greater opportunities in the United States, instead of employing their talents for the benefit of their native land. He viewed Canada's southern neighbor as "a great whirlpool" with the "power of suction,"²⁶ drawing the talented out of the British North American provinces:

The old folks say the country is too young, the time will come, and so on; and in the meantime the young folks won't wait, and run off to the States, where the Maxim is "Youth is the time for improvement; a new country is never too young for exertion; push on -- keep movin' -- go ahead.

(T. C. Haliburton, 1836-40)²⁷

In his novels, Haliburton took pride in the natural resources of his own province -- harbors, water-power, minerals, fish, and timber -- and berated his countrymen for not making better use of them. He believed that there were no limits to what a province with such resources might achieve if the people were industrious. The people of the United States, he claimed, would know how to make use of such wealth:

How much it is to be regretted that, laying aside personal attacks and petty jealousies, they /Nova/ Scotians/ could not unite as one man, and with one heart apply themselves sedulously to the internal improvement and development of this beautiful Province. Its value is utterly unknown, either to the general or local government, and the only persons who duly appreciate it are the Yankees. ²⁸
(T. C. Haliburton, 1836-40)

A sense of the American menace prompted frequent Canadian complaints. Some Canadian writers refused to admit that the United States had any advantages over Canada, particularly in natural resources. An anonymous Canadian wrote in 1852:

With reference to soil and climate, I can perceive no advantage which the United States possess in either of these respects, over the British Colonies; nor are they at all richer in mineral resources, which abound in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Canada /Quebec and Ontario/. As to soil, that of the States of Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and even New York, does not equal in fertility that of the British Provinces; and although the spring may open a little earlier south of New England, yet the same bleak and inclement weather everywhere prevails until June, which is experienced in the extreme north of New Brunswick;

and it is not until Mobile and New Orleans are reached, that its chilling influence ceases to be felt.

(Amicus, 1852)²⁹

The American Civil War confirmed Canadian authors in their convictions of moral superiority. They scorned the American tolerance of slavery, and expressed preference for their own British institutions which, they said, allowed all people to be free:

Here, Freedom looks o'er all these broad domains,
And hears no heavy clank of servile chains;
Here man, no matter what his skin may be,
Can stand erect, and proudly say, 'I'M FREE!'
(P.S. Vining, n.d.)³⁰

The fact that Canada provided refuge for American slaves,³¹ validated such accounts as Harriet Beecher Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin, and proved Canada's moral righteousness:

The slave who but her /Canada's/ name hath heard,
Repeats it day and night: --
And envies every little bird
That takes its northward flight!

As to the Polar star they turn
Who brave a pathless sea, --
So the oppressed in secret yearn,
Dear native land for thee!

(H. M. Johnson, n.d.)³²

The Civil War also brought increased fears of American encroachment on Canadian territory. Joseph Howe said he "would resist annexation . . . by all means within my reach."³³ To agree to annexation would be to say to the United States,

our fathers made a great mistake -- they thought their glorious old flag and time-honoured institutions worth preserving: but we, their sons, with a territory larger than yours, and a population larger than you had when you framed your constitution -- with education that our fathers taught us to prize, free of debt and at peace with all the world, are not fit for national existence, are unable to frame a constitution, but come back after a separation of seventy years, and ask to take refuge under the stars and stripes!

(J. Howe, 1854)³⁴

What the United States offered, D'Arcy McGee agreed, simply did not fulfill Canadian needs:

We can hardly join the Americans on our own terms, and we never ought to join them on theirs. A Canadian nationality, not French-Canadian, nor British-Canadian, nor Irish-Canadian -- patriotism rejects the prefix -- is, in my opinion, what we should look forward to, -- that is what we ought to labour for, that is what we ought to be prepared to defend to the death.

(T. D'Arcy McGee, 1862)³⁵

Nature

Early Canadian literature was also much concerned with Canada's natural setting: man battling nature, the hardships and pleasures of the Canadian winter in Canada, the sports -- such as canoeing and tobogganing -- suited to the Canadian environment. Most of these themes were employed to show Canadians as brave, strong people. Their strength, intelligence, and resourcefulness was continuously tested by the environment and by the stereotyped cunning and agile Indians. Even leisure was filled with tests of skill, adventure, and danger.

Charles Sangster's treatment of "The Rapid" is particularly distinctive because of the interjection of French terms as well as of the assumption of the Canadian eagerness to challenge nature. Nature was not always beneficent:

All peacefully gliding,
The waters dividing,
The indolent batteau moved slowly along,
The rowers, light-hearted,
From sorrow long parted,
Beguiled the dull moments with laughter and song:
"Hurrah for the Rapid: that merrily, merrily
Gambols and leaps on its tortuous way:
Soon we will enter it, cheerily, cheerily,
Pleased with its freshness and wet with its spray."
(C. Sangster, 1860)³⁶

But nature was angered by the fact that the canoeists did not take it seriously and Sangster's poem ends in disaster. There is a sense of relief, however, for in death the Canadians are at last one with nature:

More swiftly careering
The wild Rapid nearing,
They dash down the stream like a terrified steed;
The surges delight them,
No terrors affright them,
Their voices keep pace with their quickening speed:
"Hurrah for the Rapid! that merrily, merrily
Shivers its arrows against us in play;
Now we have entered it, cheerily, cheerily,
Our spirits as light as its feathery spray."

Fast downward they're dashing,
Each fearless eye flashing,
Though danger awaits them on every side;
Yon rock -- see it frowning!
They strike -- they are drowning!
But downward they speed with the merciless tide;
No voice cheers the Rapid, that angrily, angrily
Shivers their bark in its maddening play;
Gaily they entered it -- heedlessly recklessly,
Mingling their lives with its treacherous spray!
(Ibid.)³⁷

Many authors believed natural resources assured Canada's future. One writer predicted that Canada would become "a country whose sudden increase in wealth and population, whose astounding progress in railway enterprise and commercial activity, are unmistakable announcements of her social and political progress, and significant indications of her future destiny."³⁸

How fortunate, writers felt, to live in a land so blessed:

Canada is a noble country; and the lover of Nature need not wander into foreign lands to gratify his taste for the sublime and beautiful. All that the regal hand of the Great Author of the Universe has deemed necessary for man are here -- a fine climate, a serene atmosphere, a rich and productive soil. Lofty mountains lift up their craggy crests to heaven, and magnificent woods and waters lie cradled at their feet. Here, flows a mighty river -- there, the silver lake expands into a mimic sea. The cataracts thunder into the dark profound, and the rapid dashes on, bearing its crown of foam far above the course of the tranquil stream. Wild and rugged as when she first emerged from the hand of Nature, there is an awful beauty in her solitary grandeur, which fills the mind with devotional wonder -- an eloquence in the deep silence of her pathless woods.

(Anon., 1843)³⁹

To many Canadian writers nature was an omnipresent force in Canadian lives, that would conquer or would be conquered. Could Canadians build up their country, or must they abandon hope in the face of natural obstacles? The answer lay in the fact that, even though they knew the risk involved, Canadians faced the dangers of nature fearlessly.

The toil-worn peasant looked with eager eyes
O'er the blue waters, to those distant skies;
Where no one groaned 'neath unrequited toil;
Where the strong laborer might own the soil
On which he stood; and, in his manhood's strength,
Smile to behold his growing fields at length; --
Where his brave sons might easily obtain
The love for which their father sighed in vain,
And, in a few short seasons, take their stand
Among the learned and gifted of the land.

(P. S. Vining, 1864)⁴⁰

Evan M'Coll, a poet and customs officer at Kingston who came to Canada in 1831, offered another interpretation of the beauties and dangers of nature. Many Canadian pioneers must have shared his fascination with untamed nature:

Where the Ottawa pours its magnificent tide
Through forests primeval, dark-waving and wide,
There's a scene that for grandeur has scarcely a peer,
'Tis the wild, roaring rush of the mighty Chaudiere.

On, onward it dashes -- an ocean of spray;
How madly it lashes the rocks in its way!
Like the onset of hosts, when spear breaks against
spear,
It is the omnipotent sweep of the might Chaudière.
(M'Coll, n.d.)⁴¹

Winter in Canada was a season whose beauty had to be described, whose hardships had to be endured, and whose pleasures had to be defended. Catherine Parr Traill (1802-1899), the sister of Susanna Moodie, also immigrated to Canada in 1832. Mrs. Traill was initially more optimistic about life in Canada than her sister. She delighted in the beauty of Canadian nature, and, soon after her arrival, she wrote to convince her relatives in Britain of the compensations of a Canadian winter:

You say you fear the rigours of the Canadian winter will kill me. I never enjoyed better health, nor so good, as since it commenced. There is a degree of spirit and vigour infused into one's blood by the purity of the air that is quite exhilarating. The very snow seems whiter and more beautiful than it does in our damp vapoury climate.
(C. P. Traill, 1834)⁴²

Charles Sangster's "The Snows" combines a recognizably Canadian season (winter) with a Canadian occupation (lumberman) and a Canadian mode of transportation (canoe):

Over the snows
Buoyantly goes
The lumberers' bark canoe,
Lightly they sweep,
Wilder each leap,
Rending the white caps through.
Away! away!
With the speed of a startled deer,
While the steersman true,
And his laughing crew,
Sing of their wild career.
(C. Sangster, 1860)⁴³

Canadian writers were proud of the way their fellow Canadians adapted to winter. In editorials as well as in poems writers assured their readers that their winters were special:

Foreigners speak of Canadian winters with an involuntary shiver, and refer to our country as the theatre for the wildest freaks of Jack Frost and all his train. Snow piled, and drifted, and spread throughout the land; rivers and lakes ice bound; the very breath freezing, are features by no means inviting to those who live in a mild climate. . . . We love a genuine cold Canadian winter. In the clear air, the stars, like friendly lights sparkle and twinkle, and seem near to us, icicles festoon the trees, and rivulet and cascade, in fantastic shape, glisten brightly in the sunlight. To our mind the generous hospitality of Canadian indoor social life, the excitement of the sleighing parties, the high health and spirits fostered by long walks over the crusted snow, more than compensate

for the severity of our climate.

(Anon., 1853-54)⁴⁴

Winter activities like sleigh-riding, tobogganning, and skating, were portrayed as representative of life in Canada. John F. M'Donnell, a lawyer born in Quebec in 1838, wrote "The Sleigh-Bell," typical of poems written to suggest a Canadian winter scene:

The eve is clear, and the golden light
Plays on the Winter's robe of white.
Smooth is the road on the dazzling snow,
Lightly the sleighs o'er the deep drifts go; --
Ours is a path as wild and free
As a bounding bark's on the stormy sea.
The sleigh-bells chime on the frosty air,
Like the voice of a spirit chanting there,
The joys of the Winter's festive hour,
Though it brings not fruit, nor blooming flower.
Tinkle, tinkle! -- the sleigh-bell's chime
Mounts on the wings of the frosty air,
Like the song of a bird of a summer clime,
When the woods are green, and the sky is fair.
(J. F. M'Donnell, n.d.)⁴⁵

Canadians were proud of their ability to withstand the severe climate, and of their ability to adjust to the changing seasons. For those who did not like Canadian winters, spring offered a favorable alternative.

Nay, tell me not that with shivering fear,
You shrink from the thought of wintering here;
That the cold intense of our winter time,
Is severe as that of Siberian clime;
And if wishes could waft across the sea,
To-night in your English home you would be.

But tarry till Spring on Canadian shore,
You'll rail at our winters then no more --
New health and fresh life through your veins shall glow,
Spite of piercing winds, spite of ice and snow,
And I'd venture to promise in truth my friend,
'Twill not be the last that with us you'll spend.
(Mrs. J. L. Leprohon, n.d.)⁴⁶

Despite the extremes of weather -- or because of them -- Canadian writers rejoiced in their own land. Characters in Canadian novels, lured by the excitement and sophistication of the European capitals, soon yearned to return to the simplicity of their Canadian homes, as did Arthur de Mirecourt:

But though the splendor of the latter /Paris/ at first dazzled, and its countless attractions fascinated him, the young man soon began to weary of its glittering dissipation, and to long for the simple pleasure, the quiet life of his own land. Despite then the entreaties, the indignant representations of his gay young Parisian friends; despite the reproachful glances of the dark eyed graceful dames who used to shed such pitying glances on him when allusion was made to the land of "snow and savages," he returned to his native country, fonder and more devoted to it than when he had left its shores.

(Mrs. J. L. Leprohon, 1864)⁴⁷

Haliburton similarly expressed his own love for Nova Scotia:

"I think," said I, "this is a happy country, Mr. Slick. The people are fortunately all of one origin; there are no national jealousies to divide, and no very violent politics to agitate them. They appear to be cheerful and contented, and are a civil, good-natured, hospitable race. Considering the unsettled state of almost every part of the world, I think I would as soon cast my lot in Nova Scotia as in any part I know of."

(T. C. Haliburton, 1836-40)⁴⁸

Rev. Edward Hartley Dewart (1828-1903), the Irish-born, Canadian-educated anthologist and editor of the Methodist newspaper the Christian Guardian from 1869-1889, agreed that Canada was a fine place to live and pointed out the advantages it offered to its writers. He suggested that Canadian

poets continue to write about Canadian forests, lakes, rivers, and mountains, taking advantage of the wonders of "external Nature," as well as about human nature which "still presents an exhaustless mine of richest ore, worthy of the most exalted genius."⁴⁹ The following poem showed the proper appreciation of Canadian scenery, and therefore merited a place in Dewart's anthology:

I've wandered in the sunny South,
 Beneath its purple skies;
 And roamed through many a far-off land,
 Where cloudless beauty lies;
 I've breathed the balm of tropic eves,
 Upon the Southern sea;
 And watched the glorious sunset pour
 Its radiance far and free.

But give me still my Northern home, --
 Her islands and her lakes;
 And her forests old, where not a sound
 The tomb-like silence breaks.
 More lovely in her snowy dress,
 Or in her vesture green,
 Than all the pride of Europe's lands,
 Or Asia's glittering sheen.

(J. F. M'Donnell, n.d.)⁵⁰

By the mid-1860s, Canadian writers had developed distinctive national symbols -- the beaver, the maple leaf, the pine tree, and the snow -- and all were celebrated in verse. Thus "The Maple" by Reverend H. F. Darnell:

All hail to the broad-leaved Maple!
 With its fair and changeful dress --
 A type of our youthful country
 In its pride and loveliness;
 Whether in Spring or Summer,
 Or in the dreary Fall,
 'Mid Nature's forest children,
 She's fairest of them all!

(H. F. Darnell, 1863)⁵¹

Another poet found the maple to be useful as well as beautiful:

Dear Maple, that yieldeth a nectar so rare,
 So useful in spring and in summer so fair, --
 Of autumn acknowledged the glory and queen,
 Attendant on every Canadian scene,
 Enshrined in our homes, it is meet thou should'st be
 Of our country the emblem, O beautiful Tree!
 (H. M. Johnson, n.d.)⁵²

Canadians were developing an image of themselves as members of a hearty race, and were thereby creating a myth about the Canadian character. This was important to the development of a sense of nationalism for, as Boyd C. Shafer has pointed out,

It [nationalism] may be in part founded on myth but myths like other errors have a way of perpetuating themselves and of becoming not true but real. The fact is that myth and actuality and truth and error are inextricably intermixed in modern nationalism.
 (B. C. Shafer, 1955)⁵³

Other Canadian Themes

Two recurring themes in Canadian literature were the Canadian past and the Canadian future. Both themes had nationalistic overtones. Canada's history could arouse feelings of pride and worth in her citizens; the unlimited potential of her future could unite all Canadians in a common patriotic goal.

Canada under the French regime was often the setting for historical novels, such as those by Major John

Richardson (1796-1852), and William Kirby. Richardson, born in Upper Canada, was the son of a surgeon who had aided the British during the American Revolution. A professional soldier as well as a writer, Richardson was taken prisoner by the United States during the War of 1812. To both Richardson and Kirby the struggle of the British, the French, and the Indians for British North America emphasized the value of their land. Poets like Charles Sangster celebrated their country's military victories as in his poems "Brock" about the hero of the War of 1812 and "Death of Wolfe" about the British general whose troops wrested Quebec from the French at the Battle of the Plains of Abraham in 1759. Historical figures and events were frequently romanticized:

My footsteps press where, centuries ago,
 The Red-Men fought and conquered; lost and won.
 Whole tribes and races, gone like last year's snow,
 Have found the Eternal Hunting Grounds, and run
 The fiery gauntlet of their active days,
 Till few are left to tell the mournful tale:
 And these inspire us with such wild amaze,
 They seem like spectres passing down a vale
 Steeped in uncertain moonlight, on their way
 Towards some bourn where darkness blinds the day,
 And night is wrapped in mystery profound.
 We cannot lift the mantle of the past:
 We seem to wander over hallowed ground:
 We scan the trail of Thought, but all is overcast,
 (C. Sangster, n.d.)⁵⁴

Canada's future also served as a major theme. Although much of the optimism for Canada's future was initially based on the British connection, as it had been in Susanna Moodie's writings, more writers as the century progressed expressed confidence that Canada had within itself the ingredients

necessary for a glorious destiny. Susanna Moodie was one of the earliest Canadian authors to predict a great future:

Canada, The Blest -- The Free!

With prophetic glance, I see
 Visions of thy future glory,
 Giving to the world's great story
 A page, with might meaning fraught,
 That asks a wider range of thought.
 Borne onward on the wings of Time,
 I trace thy future course sublime;
 And feel my anxious lot grow bright,
 While musing on the glorious sight; --
 Yea, my heart leaps up with glee
 To hail thy noble destiny!

(S. Moodie, 1852)⁵⁵

Canada's French heritage was viewed in a positive light, and not as an impediment to progress. Canada's future would be enhanced by its multiple origins. In 1842 Moodie wrote a poem that expressed her allegiance to the land of her birth, her love for the land of her adoption, and her faith in the future of Canada:

The land of our adoption claims
 Our highest powers -- our firmest trust; --
 May future ages weave our names
 With hers, when we shall sleep in dust.
 Land of our sons! -- last born of earth --
 A mighty nation nurtures thee;
 The first in power and moral worth --
 Long may'st thou boast her sovereignty!

Union is strength -- whilst round the boughs
 Of thine own lofty maple tree,
 The threefold wreath of Britain flows
 Twined with the graceful fleur de lis --
 A garland wove with smiles and tears,
 In which all hues of glory bend;
 Long may it bloom to future years,
 And vigour to thy weakness lend!

(S. Moodie, 1842)⁵⁶

Such verse signaled the changes that were occurring in Canada's relationship with the older nations. Canadians were beginning to think of themselves not merely as colonists but as important members of the British Empire. As the provinces drew closer to Confederation, symbols and themes necessary to the creation of national identity were being tested and gaining acceptance. Typically representative of Canadian people were fishermen, lumbermen, woodsmen, farmers, and trappers. Susanna Moodie glorified the work and skills of the Canadian fishermen:

With spear high poised and steady hand,
 The centre of that fiery ray,
 Behold the skilful fisher stand,
 Prepared to strike the finny prey --
 "Now, now!" the shaft has sped below --
 Transfixed the shining prize we see,
 On swiftly glides the birch canoe --
 The woods send back the long halloo
 In echoes loud and cheerily!

(S. Moodie, n.d.)⁵⁷

Thus, through the literature of the 1830s until the 1860s a growing literary impulse helped prepare the way for Confederation. By selecting material that would arouse patriotic feelings and by creating meaningful symbols and themes, early nineteenth century writers set the intellectual and psychological climate necessary to the acceptance of the new political organization of the British North American provinces.

Footnotes for Chapter II

¹Charles Sangster, "From Queenston Heights," The St. Lawrence and the Saguenay and Other Poems (Kingston: John Creighton and John Duff, 1856), p. 218.

²The Literary Garland I, no. 4 (March, 1839), p. 190.

³Joseph Howe, The Speeches and Public Letters of Joseph Howe, vol. II (Halifax: The Chronicle Publishing Company, Limited, 1909), p. 269.

⁴Pioneer life in many areas of Canada lasted into the twentieth century. Therefore, in pre-Confederation literature especially, it is common to find tales of pioneer existence.

⁵Margaret Atwood, The Journals of Susanna Moodie (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 62.

⁶Susanna Moodie, Roughing it in the Bush Or, Forest Life in Canada (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1923), p. 8.

⁷Moodie, p. 8.

⁸Moodie, p. 79.

⁹Susanna Moodie in The Literary Garland I, no. 6 (May, 1839), p. 36.

¹⁰William Kirby in William R. Riddell, William Kirby (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1923), p. 43.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid., p. 46.

¹³Alexander McLachlan, The Poetical Works of Alexander McLachlan (Toronto: William Briggs, 1900), p. 194.

¹⁴Charles Sangster, Hesperus and Other Poems and Lyrics (Montreal: John Lovell, 1860), p. 86.

¹⁵Joseph Howe, "The Flag of Old England," in A Treasury of Canadian Verse, ed. Theodore H. Rand (Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1969), p. 147.

¹⁶Thomas Chandler Haliburton, The Clockmaker, Or The Sayings and Doings of Samuel Slick of Slickville (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1969), p. 163.

¹⁷Mrs. Leprohon, Antoinette de Mirecourt; or, Secret Marrying and Secret Sorrowing. A Canadian Tale (Montreal: John Lovell, 1864), p. 46.

¹⁸Ibid., pp. 45-46.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 47.

²⁰Thomas Chandler Haliburton, quoted in Frank Birbal-singh, "Novelists and the Nation," Canadian Literature no. 61 (Summer, 1974), p. 126.

²¹Haliburton, The Clockmaker . . ., p. 163.

²²Thomas Chandler Haliburton, Sam Slick's Wise Saws and Modern Instances; Or, What He Said, Did, or Invented (Philadelphia: Blanchard and Lea, 1853), p. 20.

²³Ibid., p. 29.

²⁴Ibid., p. 268.

²⁵Thomas Chandler Haliburton, The Season-Ticket (London: Rich and Bently, 1860), p. 130.

²⁶Haliburton, The Clockmaker . . ., p. 45.

²⁷Ibid., p. 58.

²⁸Ibid., p. 73.

²⁹Amicus, "The Advantages Offered by the Colonies Equal, if not Superior, to those Offered by the United States," The Anglo-American Magazine I, no. 1 (July, 1852), p. 8.

³⁰Pamelia S. Vining in Selections from Canadian Poets: with occasional Critical and Biographical Notes, and an Introductory Essay on Canadian Poetry, ed. Edward Hartley Dewart (Montreal: John Lovell, 1864), p. 105.

³¹For further information see Robin Winks, The Blacks in Canada: A History (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971).

³²Helen M. Johnson in Dewart, Selections from Canadian Poets . . ., p. 82.

³³Howe, Speeches . . ., p. 281.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Thomas D'Arcy McGee, "American Relations and Canadian Duties," (May 10, 1862) in Speeches and Addresses Chiefly on the Subject of British American Union (London: Chapman & Hall, 1865).

³⁶Sangster, Hesperus . . ., p. 94.

³⁷Ibid., pp. 94-95.

³⁸The Canadian Journal, II (August, 1853), p. 1.

³⁹"Introduction to the New Series of the Garland," The Literary Garland, New Series, I (1843), p. 3.

⁴⁰Pamelia S. Vining in Dewart, Selections from Canadian Poets . . ., p. 104.

⁴¹Evan M'Coll, "The Chaudiere Falls," in Dewart, Selections from Canadian Poets . . ., p. 91.

⁴²Catherine Parr Traill, The Backwoods of Canada: Being Letters from the Wife of an Emigrant Officer, Illustrative of the Domestic Economy of British America (London, Nattali and Bard, 1850), pp. 203-204.

⁴³Sangster, Hesperus . . ., pp. 92-93.

⁴⁴The Maple Leaf; A Juvenile Monthly Magazine 2-4 (1853-1854), p. 63.

⁴⁵John F. M'Donnell, "The Sleigh-Bell," in Dewart, Selections from Canadian Poets . . ., p. 155.

⁴⁶Mrs. J. L. Leprohon, in Dewart, Selections from Canadian Poets . . ., pp. 158-160.

⁴⁷Leprohon, Antoinette de Mirecourt . . ., p. 26.

⁴⁸Haliburton, The Clockmaker . . ., p. 80.

⁴⁹Edward Hartley Dewart, in Dewart, Selections from Canadian Poets . . ., p. vii.

⁵⁰John F. M'Donnell, in Dewart, Selections from Canadian Poets . . ., p. 164.

⁵¹The British American Magazine devoted to Literature, Science, and Art, I (October, 1863), p. 567.

⁵²Helen M. Johnson, "The Old Sugar Camp," in Dewart, Selections from Canadian Poets . . ., p. 174.

⁵³Boyd C. Shafer, Nationalism: Myth and Reality (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1955), p. 7.

⁵⁴Charles Sangster, "The Red-Men -- A Sonnet," in Dewart, Selections from Canadian Poets. . ., p. 291.

⁵⁵Moodie, Roughing it in the Bush . . ., p. 16.

⁵⁶Moodie, The Literary Garland, New Series, I., no. 1 (January, 1843), p. 15.

⁵⁷Susanna Moodie in Dewart, Selections from Canadian Poets . . ., p. 145.

CHAPTER III

LITERATURE OF THE MIDDLE PERIOD 1867-1890

In 1867 the enactment by the British Parliament of the British North America Act united Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia in the confederated Dominion of Canada. For the next generation Canadian writers intensified their search for national self-discovery. They had been present at the creation of a new nation; now they sought to identify distinctive national characteristics and develop a national spirit. Two groups labored particularly to create a national sentiment: Canada First and the Poets of the Confederation. The loosely organized members of Canada First attempted to convert their fellow citizens to a form of nationalism suited to the country's new political status. Writers, motivated by the same goal, developed Canadian myths, symbols, and themes and created a distinctively Canadian hero. This nation-builder hero -- often a farmer, lumberman, or fisherman -- could be found in novels and poems. The Poets of the Confederation, unorganized but sympathetic to one another's literary endeavors -- all of whom had been young in 1867 -- joyously celebrated the birth of their country.

One manifestation of the quest for national identity was an increased interest in the United States. Canadians sought

to differentiate themselves from their powerful southern neighbor. On the one hand, they envied the commercial progress and political maturity of the United States. On the other hand, after the Civil War Canadians were convinced that their own institutions were superior. In addition, Canadians feared the military strength of the United States, resented its excessive cultural influence, and were angered by American ignorance of and indifference to Canadian affairs.

Literature and Political Setting

Canadian intellectuals were proud of their new political system, modelled on the British constitution yet adapted to conditions in British North America. Canada's system of government combined both the British parliamentary system -- in which the executive has the confidence of the House of Commons -- and the American federal system -- in which power is divided between the central and local governments.

Nationalism was believed to have been the natural consequence of Confederation:

It is claimed that history must attribute to him /Sir John A. Macdonald/ the honour of founding this Dominion. With him then the /national/ spirit originated. Without confederation it was impossible; of confederation it is the natural outcome.

(G. A. Mackenzie, 1877)¹

The accomplishment of Confederation activated a new generation of outspoken writers. John G. Bourinot (1837-1902), an expert on parliamentary procedure and Clerk of the House of Commons of Canada, wrote in 1880 that,

The Confederation of the Provinces was intended by its very essence and operation, to stimulate, not only the industrial energy, but the mental activity as well, of the different communities that compose the Dominion. A wider field of thought has, undoubtedly, been opened up to these communities.²
(J. G. Bourinot, 1880)

It was to be expected that an event such as Confederation would engender exuberant national verse, such as John Reade's "Dominion Day." Reade (1837-1919), the poet, journalist, and literary editor of the Montreal Gazette, wrote of the birth of the new nation:

For to-day she /Canada/ breathes what to her is
the first of a nation's breath,
As she lies 'neath the gaze of the sun, as a
bride, or a child new-born,
Lies with fair motionless limbs in the beautiful
semblance of death, --
Yet awake with the joy of a bird that awakes
with the whisper of morn.
(J. Reade, 1870)³

In a later verse Reade recalled Canada's dual origins. He reassured both Britain and France that even among political changes and excitements Canada would not forget its heritage:

Cannons boom lustily,
Greet the glad day!
Rose-wreath and fleur-de-lys,
Shamrock and thistle be
Joined to the maple tree
Now and for aye.

(Ibid.)⁴

More than a decade later, the miracle of Confederation remained a cause for joy and song. Agnes Maule Machar (1837-1927), who was born in Kingston, was a frequent contributor to nineteenth century journals. Under the pseudonym Fidelis, she wrote an appreciation of Canada in 1879:

With feu-de-joie and merry bells, and cannon's
thundering peal,
And pennons fluttering on the breeze, and serried
rows of steel
We greet once more the birthday morn of our Canadian
land,
From the Atlantic stretching wide to the far Pacific
strand.

(A. M. Machar, 1879)⁵

After describing the days of New France, the poem continues:

Through the young giant's mighty limbs, that stretch
from sea to sea,
There runs a throb of conscious life, of waking energy;
From Nova Scotia's misty coast to the Pacific shore,
She wakes -- a band of scattered homes and colonies no
more;
But a young nation, with her life full beating in her
breast,
And noble future in her eyes -- the Briton of the West.
(Ibid.)⁶

Confederation provided a focal point for Canadian literary nationalists. It seemed to some of them that now, in addition to love of country, they had a covenant with God, to honor and preserve their young nation:

Not in pride the firm foundations
Of an Empire would we lay;
Trusting in the God of Nations
We would keep our Natal Day;

Trusting that the sacred promise,
Made to all those that believe,
Will not now be wrested from us --
"Ask ye and ye shall receive".

(C. Sangster, n.d.)⁷

Following Confederation new anthologies of poetry were assembled. The title of William Douw Lighthall's volume, Songs of the Great Dominion: Voices from the Forests and Water, the Settlements and Cities of Canada, published in 1889, indicates its patriotic intent. Originally, this anthology was to have been edited by Charles G. D. Roberts. Roberts had to abandon the project because of his other work, but he cautioned Lighthall that "the collection should aim to show the best, as well as the most Canadian, of our poetry!"⁹ Lighthall deliberately planned "to make the collection Canadian in tone throughout."¹⁰ In the introduction, Lighthall affirmed his nationalistic goal:

The poets whose songs fill this book are voice cheerful with the consciousness of young might, public wealth, and heroism. Through them, taken all together, you may catch something of great Niagara falling, of brown rivers rushing with foam, of the crack of the rifle in the haunts of the moose and caribou. . . . The tone of them is courage; -- for to hunt, to fight, to hew out a farm, one must be a man! Through their new hopes, doubts, exultations, questionings, the virility of fighting races is the undertone.

(W. D. Lighthall, 1889)¹¹

The poems were more aggressively nationalistic than those in Dewart's anthology twenty-five years earlier.

Here's to the Land of the rock and the pine:
Here's to the Land of the raft and the river!
Here's to the Land where the sunbeams shine,
And the night that is bright with the North-light's
quiver!

Here's to the Land of the axe and the hoe!
Here's to the hearties that gave them their glory; --
With stroke upon stroke, and with blow upon blow,
The might of the forest has passed into story!
(W. W. Smith, 1889)¹²

New literary periodicals in the decades following Confederation give further proof of a deepening nationalistic spirit. They aimed to provide a forum for specifically Canadian expression and to disseminate information and ideas relevant to the unique Canadian experience. They sought out new Canadian writers, and offered prizes to young authors -- sometimes in lieu of payment, which new journals could not always afford.

The New Dominion Monthly (1867-1879), published in Montreal, dedicated itself to "the general promotion of literary tastes, and the cultivation of an interest in the records of the settlement of British North America, and the hardships which the founders of the Dominion have gone through."¹³

Goldwin Smith's The Bystander, published sporadically in Toronto throughout the 1880s, was an extremely nationalistic journal. Smith (1823-1910), a former Oxford professor of history, had moved to Toronto in 1871. He predicted that Canada would eventually fulfil her continental destiny with the United States in the form of annexation. Smith believed that The Bystander was fulfilling a need "for a monthly survey of current events, Canadian and general, from a Canadian point of view."¹⁴

Smith also founded The Week: A Canadian Journal of Politics, Society and Literature (Toronto, 1883-1896), a magazine

edited in its early stages by the poet Charles G. D. Roberts. Roberts soon left The Week because he could not identify with the continentalist views of its founder. The Week contained poems, essays, current events, as well as articles about the state of Canadian literature and the future of Canada, providing a focal point for Canadian culture for thirteen years. As a particular incentive to Canadian writers, The Week sponsored poetry competitions.

The Canadian Monthly and National Review (Toronto, 1872-1879, continued from 1878-1882 as Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly) aspired to develop "a tone beneficial to the national character and worthy of the nation."¹⁵ Its editor, G. Mercer Adam (1839-1912) was a Scottish born publisher, editor, and essayist, and an ardent Canadian nationalist. Adam, the son-in-law of John Gibson, the publisher of the Literary Garland, also published the British American Review (1865-1867), the Canadian Bookseller (1872), and edited the Canada Educational Monthly and School Chronicle (1879-1884). In 1867 Adam formed the publishing firm of Adam, Stevenson and Company. He intended the Canadian Monthly and National Review to express the views of Canadian nationalists -- such as the Canada Firsters -- and to encourage the growth of the distinctive Canadian literature. This goal could best be accomplished by dealing "with Canadian questions" and by calling "forth Canadian talent."¹⁶ The Canadian Monthly published articles

on Canada's history, future, intellectual condition, and resources, as well as original fiction.

Canada First

Canada First, a small but notable group of intellectuals, was founded soon after Confederation by men who wished to arouse in the Canadian people feelings of nationalism appropriate to their new political status.

The original members of Canada First came together in 1868. They included William A. Foster, a Toronto lawyer and political writer for the Toronto Telegraph, Robert G. Haliburton (1831-1901) a writer of articles on economics, politics, and philosophy and the son of Thomas Chandler Haliburton; Colonel George T. Denison (1839-1925), a military officer and historian, Henry J. Morgan (1842-1913), a clerk in the office of the Secretary of State, who compiled biographies of noteworthy Canadian authors in Bibliotheca Canadensis (1867), wrote the Canadian parliamentary companion from 1862-1876, and founded the Dominion Annual Register in 1878, and Charles Mair (1838-1927), the writer and political activist. Mair, the son of Scottish immigrants to Canada, born in Lanark, Ontario, was an ardent nationalist. As correspondent for the Toronto Globe Mair took up the assignment of interpreting the unknown Northwest to the Canadian people.

Although contemporaries disagreed in their interpretation of the motto of Canada First, some taking it to mean Canada before party interests,¹⁷ while others believed it meant that Canada must consider its own interests before those of the British Empire, all saw it first and foremost as "simply a declaration of patriotism."¹⁸

In 1901 Charles Mair sought to explain the motto and motives of Canada First.

A warm friendship rapidly sprang up and we were a great deal together. Confederation was then a very recent event, and naturally exerted a great influence upon the imagination of young Canadians. We were all about the same age, under thirty, except Haliburton, who was a few years older, and it is an interesting fact that the constant topic of conversation was the future welfare of Canada. This was discussed evening after evening from every point of view, with the result that we made a solemn pledge to each other that we would do all in our power collectively, and individually, to advance the interests of Canada as a primary duty. Shortly afterwards the idea was crystallized in the motto we assumed "Canada First," meaning that Canada as a nation was to be put before party or personal interests.

(C. Mair, 1901)¹⁹

In 1909, Colonel Denison offered his own version of the origins of Canada First. The movement had been founded, Denison said, because

it was apparent that until there should grow, not only a feeling of unity, but also a national pride and devotion to Canada as a Dominion, no real progress could be made towards building up a strong and powerful community. We therefore considered it to be our first duty to work in that direction and do everything possible to encourage national sentiment. History had taught us that every nation that had become great, and had exercised an important influence upon the world, had invariably been noted for a strong patriotic spirit, and we believed in the

sentiment of putting the country above all other considerations.

(G. T. Denison, 1909)²⁰

Of the origin of the name "Canada First," Denison wrote:

Several names were mentioned, and someone said that /James D./ Edgar had made a suggestion. I walked across the hall into Edgar's office, and asked him what he had suggested. He seemed to have forgotten the exact words, but said, 'Canada before all, or Canada first of all.' I said, 'That will do: Canada First,' and went back to my room and proposed it to the others, and after some discussion it was unanimously decided that we should call ourselves the 'Canada First' Party, meaning that we should put Canada first, before every other consideration.

(Ibid.)²¹

The "true interest of Canada," Denison said, was to be "first in our minds on every occasion."²²

The members of Canada First intended, by cultivating a national spirit, to unite the people of the various provinces, thereby safeguarding the integrity of the new nation against "absorption and disunion."²³ They set out to develop national sentiment and to publicize their vision of Canada's future: Canadian autonomy within the British Empire. They all agreed that a national literature was essential to the development of national sentiment. They believed, as had D'Arcy McGee, "that pure literature is as strong an engine of patriotic effort as that more obvious method of furthering a nation's weal, which wins the popular favor and commands the applause of listening senates."²⁴

In 1875, Canada First came to an end when some of the members of the now enlarged movement tried unsuccessfully to make it a political force, but it left its mark on the thinking of the time. According to the Canadian Monthly, the movement

to infuse a national spirit into the policy of our statesman and people . . . has already been crowned with an unexpected measure of success. The working of the national spirit manifests itself in both parties, in a growing indifference to the trifling concerns of party, in the prevailing impatience of old-time dictation, and, above all, in a readiness to discuss principles and measures upon their merits, without regard to the fate of ministries.

(Anon., 1877)²⁵

How ironic that the Canada First movement had been undone by the very "trifling concerns of party" which it had sought to persuade its fellow countrymen to avoid!

One of the legacies of the Canada First movement was the acceptance by Canadian intellectuals of the idea of nationalism, and the determination to discuss it, debate it, and decide how best to foster it. Aspirations to nationalism were now fully conscious.

Poets of the Confederation

After 1880 a new school of poetry arose in response to Confederation with Charles G. D. Roberts (1860-1943) at the center. The school, known as Poets of the Sixties, or Poets of the Confederation, included Bliss Carman (1861-1929),

Archibald Lampman (1861-1899), and Duncan Campbell Scott (1862-1947).

Roberts, the son of an Anglican clergyman, grew up in New Brunswick. A professor of English and economics at King's College in Nova Scotia, Roberts exerted great influence on Canadian literature over the course of his long career as a poet and writer of animal stories. One of the best known Canadian writers at home and abroad, Roberts was knighted in 1935.

Bliss Carman, a cousin of Roberts, grew up in Fredericton, New Brunswick. He studied at Oxford, the University of Edinburgh, and at Harvard. Carman, who remained a bachelor, was well known as a poet of the Canadian landscape and seasons.

Due to financial need, Archibald Lampman, who was born in Ontario, could not devote his time to writing, as did Roberts and Carman. After graduating from Trinity College, Lampman worked as a civil servant in the Post Office in Ottawa; yet he seemed happiest on his trips into the countryside, which inspired his nature poetry. Lampman's career was cut short by his early death.

Duncan Campbell Scott, the son of a Methodist minister, grew up in Ontario and western Quebec. Like his friend Lampman, Scott was a civil servant, working for the Department of Indian Affairs more than fifty years. As Charles Mair had set

out to introduce the undeveloped Northwest to the rest of Canada, so too did Scott seek to interpret the life and customs of the Indians to his fellow Canadians.

These poets painted pictures of the Canadian landscape, and were fascinated by people or groups of people who seemed to be in harmony with the land, as Scott found the Indians to be. In an interview in 1927, Charles G. D. Roberts said that the Group of the Sixties had admired the great writers from the "old world," -- Keats, Shelley, and Arnold in particular -- and had consciously sought to provide Canada with a comparable literature: "We were Canadians and we wished to write about Canadian subjects, but we moulded [sic] ourselves upon the English masters, for style."²⁶

Thus his first book of poetry, Orion and Other Poems,²⁷ published in 1880, greatly moved Archibald Lampman, then a student at Trinity College. "I sat up most of the night," Lampman reported,

reading and rereading "Orion" in a state of the wildest excitement and when I went to bed I could not sleep. It seemed to me a wonderful thing that such work could be done by a Canadian, by a young man, one of ourselves. It was like a voice from some new paradise of art, calling to us to be up and doing.

(A. Lampman, n.d.)²⁸

Lampman gained confidence in his own ability to write because Roberts, a Canadian, "one of ourselves," had produced such fine poetry.

Although Roberts also wrote stories and novels, he excelled in descriptive poems, most specifically about his home province, New Brunswick. His work, such as "The Tan-tramar Revisited," marked a distinct departure from earlier Canadian verse. Roberts described in realistic detail not only the countryside of his youth, but also the activities associated with farm, coast, and village life:

Miles on miles beyond the tawny bay is Minudie.
 There are the low blue hills; villages gleam at their
 feet.
 Nearer a white sail shines across the water, and
 nearer
 Still are the slim, gray masts of fishing-boats dry on
 the flats.
 Ah, how well I remember those wide red flats, above
 tide-mark
 Pale with scurf /sic/ of the salt, seamed and baked in the
 sun!
 Well I remember the piles of blocks and ropes, and
 the net-reels
 Wound with the beaded nets, dripping and dark from
 the sea!

(C. G. D. Roberts, 1886)²⁹

Often Roberts exhibited a consciousness of the national purpose. He did not fear treading on his countrymen's feelings. Therefore, he chose the most forthright way to get his message across:

Awake, my country, the hour is great with change!
 Under this gloom which yet obscures the land,
 From ice-blue strait and stern Laurentian range
 To where giant peaks our western bounds command,
 A deep voice stirs, vibrating in men's ears
 As if their own hearts throbbed that thunder forth,
 A sound wherein who hearkens wisely hears
 The voice of the desire of this strong North, --
 This North whose heart of fire
 Yet knows not its desire
 Clearly, but dreams, and murmurs in the dream.
 The hour of dreams is done. Lo, on the hills the gleam!

Awake, my country, the hour of dreams is done!
 Doubt not, nor dread the greatness of thy fate.
 Tho' faint souls fear the keen confronting sun,
 And fain would bid the morn of splendor wait;
 Tho' dreamers, rapt in starry visions, cry
 "Lo, yon thy future, you thy faith, thy fame!"
 And stretch vain hands to stars, thy fame is nigh,
 Here in Canadian hearth, and home, and name; --
 This name which yet shall grow
 Till all the nations know
 Us for a patriot people, heart and hand
 Loyal to our native earth, our own Canadian land!

O strong hearts, guarding the birthright of our glory,
 Worth your best blood this heritage that ye guard!
 These mighty streams resplendent with our story,
 These iron coasts by rage of seas unjarred, --
 What fields of peace these bulwarks well secure!
 What vales of plenty those calm floods supply!
 Shall not our love this rough, sweet land make sure,
 Her bounds preserve inviolate, though we die?
 O strong hearts of the North,
 Let flame your loyalty forth,
 And put the craven and base to an open shame,
 Till earth shall know the Child of Nations by her
 name!

(C. G. D. Roberts, 1886)³¹

Nature

Nature was closely aligned to the idea, developed in this period, of the nation-builder hero, for it was in a state of nature that heroes were best able to prove themselves. Nature remained a popular subject in part because Canadian authors thought that the natural environment set Canada apart from other nations. It became important to their developing sense of national identity to verbalize these differences.

Writers were fascinated by the awesome beauty and the power of nature, but they did not necessarily trust it:

True are the friends that nature gives,
 Their voices ever are the same;
 The rock, the tree, the streamlet lives --
 Each speaks to him who knows its name.
 But Nature's heart is cold indeed
 To sullen souls that cannot see
 Some comfort in her face, and read
 The warning and the mystery.

(C. Mair, 1868)³²

Yet natural surroundings remained central to the Canadian's pride in and love of his country: "It is in Nature . . . that I can love Canada most and become renewed into efforts for the good of her human sons."³³

Although Canadian authors sometimes viewed winter -- termed by Archibald Lampman "the old Drill-Sergeant of the North"³⁴ -- as a hostile force, outsiders who dared complain about the weather were often reprimanded for not recognizing the beauties and charm of that season:

What! dare to rail at our snow-storms, why
 Not view them with poet's or artist's eye?
 Watch each pearly flake as it falls from above,
 Like snowy plumes from some spotless dove,
 Clothing all objects in ermine rare,
 More sure than the bright robes which monarchs wear.

Have you not witnessed our glorious nights,
 So brilliant with gleaming Northern lights,
 Quick flashing and darting across the sky
 While far in the starry heavens on high
 The shining moon pours streams of light
 O'er the silent earth, robed in dazzling white.
 (Mrs. J. L. Leprohon, 1881)³⁵

Typical of the description of winter is the passage by Ellen Ross:

It came at last -- the pure beautiful snow,
 covering up all foul things with a more gorgeous
 dress than bride ever wore, hiding the dusty grey
 streets, with its trailing white garments, and
 clothing the rough black trunks, bare branches and
 slender twigs of the leafless trees with verdure
 from Heaven's gates.

(Mrs. A. Ross, 1874)³⁶

Other seasons merited the poet's attention as well.
 Canada, it was said, turned into a veritable fairyland in
 autumn:

I have passed the day 'mid the forest gay,
 In its gorgeous autumn dyes,
 Its tints as bright and as fair to the sight
 As the hues of our sunset skies;

And the sun's glad rays veiled by golden haze,
 Streamed down 'neath its arches grand,
 And with magic power made scene and hour
 Like a dream of Faerie Land.

(Mrs. J. L. Leprohon, 1881)³⁷

The national symbols established in earlier years pervaded the later literature. The maple leaf seemed imbued with almost magical powers of enchantment and inspiration:

Beautiful Leaves! maple leaves,
 Child of the dear new world,
 Emblem of right!
 May you lead on the fight,
 When you float on the banner unfurled,
 Wreath of bright maple leaves!

(Mrs. A. Campbell, 1868)³⁸

The maple tree was a symbol of the permanence of the Canadian nation:

O MAPLE tree, O, Maple tree,
 O, thou'rt a pride and joy to me:
 Of all trees of the forest green,
 There's none compares with thee I ween;
 And long may you stand so green and grand,
 The joy and pride of our happy land --

O, Maple tree!

(A. McLachlan, 1874)³⁹

The majestic tree was well-suited to represent the growth of the future leader of modern nations, for its tenacity and continuous regeneration were symbolic of the development of the young country:

Well have Canadians chosen thee,
 As the emblem of their land,
 Thou noble, spreading maple tree,
 Lord of the forest grand;
 Through all the changes Time had made,
 Thy woods so deep and hoar
 Have given their homesteads pleasant shade,
 And beauty to their shore.
(Mrs. J. L. Leprohon, 1881)⁴⁰

Other distinctively Canadian symbols were the pine tree, beavers, moose, the snow-bird, and the Northern lights.

The Nation-Builder Hero

Isabella Valancy Crawford (1850-1887), sometimes considered a Poet of the Confederation, who portrayed individuals against the backdrop of nature, provides in her writing a good example of a new type of Canadian hero. The daughter of an Irish doctor, Crawford immigrated to Ontario with her family. Her life was filled with struggle, illness, and poverty. As a young woman Crawford tried with poor results to support her mother and herself by her writing, but it was not until her Collected Poems were published posthumously in 1905 that her work became widely read in Canada. Yet, despite these hardships, she shared with the

Poets of the Confederation love for Canada, admiration for the land, and confidence in the country's future, as in her narrative poem "Malcolm's Katie":

-- four walls, perhaps a lowly roof;
Kine in a peaceful posture; modest fields;
A man and woman standing hand in hand
In hale old age, who, looking o'er the land,
Say: 'Thank the Lord, it all is mine and thine!'
(I. V. Crawford, 1884)⁴¹

Max, Crawford's hero, was fully aware that by chopping down trees, he was changing more than the face of the Canadian landscape; he was carving out the future of Canada:

Max smote the snow-weigh'd tree and lightly laugh'd.
"See, friend," he cried to one that look'd and smil'd,
"My axe and I -- we do immortal tasks --
We build up nations -- this my axe and I!"
(Ibid.)⁴²

Max -- simple, unpolished, kind, fearless, and strong -- became the prototype for the new Canadian hero. One of Max's most vital characteristics was his sense of duty to -- and joy in -- the building of Canada. From the 1890s on, most notably in the novels of Ralph Connor, the nation-builder hero became as important to Canadian literature as the "yeoman ideal" had been central to mid-nineteenth century American literature.⁴³ The Canadian nation-builder hero had "strong overtones of patriotism,"⁴⁴ as did the American yeoman. The nation-builder hero generated more excitement than did the yeoman farmer, however, because he had great potential as a romantic figure. The Canadian hero quickly became

a symbol of Canadian virtue and the upholder of Canadian ideals. In contrast, those who did not devote themselves to patriotic endeavors suffered misfortune.

Max, who believed in the building of nations, was pitted against the more sophisticated Alfred who lacked Max's rugged manliness and unselfish values. Alfred, who believed that only "dullard sons" would "dream of immortal nations," ⁴⁵ was the suitor Malcolm originally preferred for his Katie's hand. Alfred showed his true character by leaving Max to die under a fallen tree and then telling Katie that Max was not dead, as Alfred supposed, but married to an Indian woman, and the father of her child. Max, who survived the accident, later proved his physical and moral superiority by rescuing Katie from Alfred, who had decided the only way to alleviate Katie's sorrow was to jump into the river with the unconscious heroine. After saving Katie, Max risked his own life to pull Alfred from the raging waters.

Max was rewarded for his bravery and commitment to the building of Canada by winning Katie, Malcolm's approval, and a simple but lovely home in the woods:

Again rang out the music of the axe,
And on the slope, as in his happy dreams,
The home of Max with wealth of drooping vines
On the rude walls, and in the trellis'd porch
Sat Katie, smiling o'er the rich, fresh fields;
And by her side sat Malcolm, hale and strong;
Upon his knee a little, smiling child,
Nam'd -- Alfred, as the seal of pardon set
Upon the heart of one who sinn'd and woke
To sorrow for his sins.

(I. V. Crawford, 1884) ⁴⁶

Katie knew that she had chosen the right husband, for all the material comforts of the cities could not equal the enjoyment of her simple, rustic home.

"I would not change these wild and rocking woods,
 "Dotted by little homes of unbark'd trees,
 "Where dwell the fleers from the waves of want, --
 "For the smooth sward of selfish Eden bowers,
 "Nor -- Max for Adam, if I knew my mind!"
 (Ibid.)⁴⁷

The new Canadian hero and heroine did know their minds. The task of building the nation had devolved upon them, and they accepted that responsibility cheerfully. They appreciated the beauty and resources of their land. They were developing a set of Canadian values: hard-work, courage, loyalty, and honesty. They did so without complaining. They were aware of what they were creating for future generations, and were proud to be the vanguard of the new nation.

Middle period authors realized that what literary material Canada lacked due to its short history could be more than compensated for in the existence of this new hero. They believed, as Alexander McLachlan had written in 1861, that Canada's real battles were fought by man against nature in the backwoods:

Thou art not a land of story;
 Thou art not a land of glory;
 No tradition, tale, nor song
 To thine ancient woods belong;
 No long line of bards and sages
 Looking to us down the ages;
 No old heroes sweeping by
 In their warlike panoply.

Yet heroic deeds are done
 Where no battle's lost or won;
 In the cottage in the woods,
 In the lonely solitudes;
 Pledges of affection given
 That will be redeemed in heaven.

(A. McLachlan, 1861)⁴⁸

Heroes in the literature of this period notably shared an important trait: love of country, and a sense of duty toward it. Ernest Heathcote, for example, the New England born hero of Agnes Maule Machar's For King and Country: A Story of 1812 had become "thoroughly Canadian."⁴⁹ His loyalty to Canada stemmed from the fact that

to Canada belonged all his early memories and associations, -- all the silent influences of solemn forest and changeful lake and quiet dewy country fields, which had interwoven themselves with his impressible nature, and had as much to do with developing his mind and character as his eagerly studied books. All his fair youthful dreams were linked with Canada.

(A. M. Machar, 1874)⁵⁰

Canadians had a fierce sense of duty to their country, according to Machar, and were willing to risk personal needs and safety for the security of Canada. At the start of the War of 1812 Americans had offered Canadians

peace, comfort, security, undisturbed possession of their hardly won homes and their laboriously tilled fields, if they should remain passive: on the other, the too certain prospect of ruinous warfare, devastation, carnage, deadly peril -- of all that makes an invasion terrible, should they firmly take their stand for what they believed the right! They might have been excused for wavering; but they did not waver. "Fiat justitia ruat coelum," was their motto. May the Canada of the future prove a worthy descendant of this young Canada of the past!

(Ibid.)⁵¹

Heathcote responded to Canada's call to duty willingly and was rewarded with the love of Lillias, with whom he lived the rest of his days "not for themselves, but for the true welfare of the country for which he had once been ready to lay down his life."⁵² The moral of Machar's story was provided for the readers who may have missed it: "If 'it is a sweet and a becoming thing to die for one's country' when that is necessary, it is no less becoming and honourable to live to serve it, when God has so ordained."⁵³

The praises of the pioneer as hero were sung by poets, novelists, essayists, and journalists of the nineteenth century. An example of periodical literature praising those who physically built up the country, somewhat more comprehensive than the lists provided by the poets, appeared in the New Dominion Monthly for July, 1870:

Still, we can boast of men who truly earned renown, and they deserve to be had in everlasting remembrance, in the history of this great nation yet to be. Among the number might be named the discoverers of the country, and those who first ascended its rivers, passed over its great lakes, and mapped the outlines of its geographical character. Another class claims notice as the defenders of the soil. Holding not their lives dear unto themselves, they fought, bled and died to retain in their integrity the bounds and government of the country. Nor yet has been wanting the true patriot who has struggled, and not in vain, in the political arena to secure enlarged and enlightened civil and religious liberty. Then we have the industrial heroes -- lionhearted men with strong arms, who fought the battle of the wilderness -- who went up and possessed the land, and bore their part in redeeming the earth from the

dominion of the forest, making the desert places
fruitful as a garden, and aiding to usher in the
time when the earth shall yield increase.
(Anon., 1870)⁵⁴

Pioneers were the earliest nation-builders, and later
nineteenth century Canadians owed them much gratitude. Wil-
liam Douw Lighthall (1857-1954), expressed his appreciation:

Though plain their lives and rude their dress,
No common men were they;
Some came for scorn of slavishness
That ruled lands far away;
And some came here for conscience's sake,
For Empire and King;
And some for Love a home to make;
Their dear ones here to bring.

Each hewed, and saw a dream-like home! --
Hewed on -- a settlement!
Struck hard -- through mists the spire and dome
The distance rim indent!
So honoured be they midst your ease,
And give them well their due;
Honour to those who fought the trees,
And made a land for you!
(W. D. Lighthall, 1889)⁵⁵

Lighthall, a Montreal lawyer and writer who was elected
Mayor of Westmount and in 1918 was president of the Royal
Society of Canada, felt that all Canadians owed a great debt
to those early pioneers:

Where'er we look, their work is there;
Now land and man are free:
On every side the view grows fair
And Eden yet shall be.
The credit's theirs who all day fought
The stubborn giant host,
We have but built on what they wrought;
Theirs were the honour-posts.
(W. D. Lighthall, 1888)⁵⁶

Toward the end of this middle period, it was more and more frequently recognized that the real nation-builders were the common people:

When I go into the country among the farmers, I often think: 'The people are the true nation-makers.

(W. D. Lighthall, 1888)⁵⁷

Many writers echoed Crawford's exclamations of wonder at the building of the nation, as did Lighthall:

The national work will never cease to attract me. Is it not sublime this nation-making? -- that this generation, and particularly a few individuals like you, sir, and myself should be honored by Heaven with the task of founding a people! It is as grand as the nebulous making of stars!

(Ibid.)⁵⁸

By means of the nation-builder hero Canadian writers were, much as Thomas Chandler Haliburton had done earlier through use of satire, urging their countrymen to devote themselves to the development of their new Dominion.

Nonfictional Heroes

In a review of a history text the reviewer for the Canadian Methodist Magazine commented on the importance of historical material:

A familiar acquaintance with the history of our country is the first requisite of an intelligent patriotism. Our school boys are taught the myths and legends of Greece and Rome when they are often ignorant of the authentic records of their own country. They are familiar with the story of Leonidas and Horatius, when the equal heroism of Dulac Des Ormeaux, who with his brave companions, defended with their lives the Thermopylac of Canada

on the Ottawa River, is to many and unfamiliar tale. The heroism of the founders of empire, Champlain and Frontenac; of the adventurous explorers Marquette and La Salle; of the martyr missionaries Brebeuf and Lalement; and of the gallant soldiers De Levis and Montcalm, Wolfe and Brock, present a record of noble exploits not paralleled in the history of any country. It is to be hoped that these magnificent volumes will make Canadian readers more familiar with the story of their native land and the development of those principles of constitutional liberty in which we are surpassed by no nation on earth.

(Anon. 1878)⁵⁹

Some nineteenth century observers, such as G. Mercer Adam, claimed that Canada had no history to invoke in its literature, "no long centuries of rich and varied culture and but few periods of bitter passion and strife to call forth, in intellectual expression, the energies, the heroism, and the national pride of the people."⁶⁰ But many writers found valid historical figures, such as D'Arcy McGee, Maisonneuve, and General Brock. There did exist among most Canadian writers the belief that Canada had an authentic group of heroes, sufficiently inspiring to awaken Canadian nationalism.

George Martin, writing in the 1880s, explained that his poems had

been inspired by the history and scenery of Canada, and in collecting them, and publishing them, the author hopes to put in permanent literary form some of the natural and social aspects which are peculiar to this country.

(G. Martin, 1887)⁶¹

Martin's book, Marguerite; Or, The Isle of Demons and Other Poems (1887), abounds with nature poems, poems about Canadian sports and tales of Canadian heroes who, Martin hoped, would never be forgotten:

Oh never shall Canada coldly forget
Her heroes, whose heart-drops her virgin soil wet;
Their fame shall not suffer eclipse nor decay,
But broaden and brighten as years roll away.
(Ibid.)⁶²

Authors of the middle period continued to celebrate the past when urging Canadians on to a great future. Many journals, such as Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly published articles on historical figures. Writers like the poet Arthur Weir enlisted historical heroes in the struggle for the future. Thus Maisonneuve

triumphed, and behold you! now a country
growing fast,
With a glorious future breaking through the darkness
of the past,
With a host of stout hearts toiling day and night to
make you great,
And a glittering role of heroes worthy of a mighty
state.
Yet you cannot be a nation if your children never
hear
Aught of those whose blood has won the land that
they should hold most dear.
(A. Weir, 1887)⁶³

Other heroes, not known to the Canadian public by name but equally important to the history of Canada, were those engaged in the national objective of opening up the Northwest, and defending it. Of them, in 1885, Agnes Ethelwyn Wetherwald (1857-1940), who conducted the Women's Department in the Toronto Globe under the pen name Bel Thistlewaite,

wrote in appreciation:

Conquering heroes! Yes; what is it they have not conquered?
Wearisome miles on miles up to the far North-West;
Limitless breadths of prairie, like to the limitless ocean.
Endless stretches of distance, like to eternity.

Not alone did they march, our brave Canadian soldiers;
Grim Privation and Peril followed them hand in hand;

Ah! but the brave boys wounded and dead on the field of battle,
Giving their brave young lives for a cause that was dearer than
life.

Say you they who have yielded their all have conquered nothing, --
Nothing remains to them but the sad deep silence of death?
No, a thousand times no! For them are the tears of a nation --
Tears that would fain wash out the pitiful stain of blood.
These are their victories. The love that knows no forgetting,
Measureless gratitude, and the fame that forever endures.

(A. E. Wetherald, 1885)⁶⁴

Politicians of the Confederation era and early Canadian
writers were identified as heroes. George Brown (1818-1880),
the Scottish born Upper Canada political leader who had been
instrumental in the early stages of Confederation, and who
had founded the Toronto Globe in 1843, was memorialized in a
poem by Kate Seymour MacLean:

O Leader fallen by the wayside prone, --
O strong great soul gone forth!
For thee the wide inhospitable north,
And east and west, from sea to sea make moan:
And thy loved land, whose stalwart limbs and brain,
Beneath thy fostering care have thriven and grown
To stately stature, and erect proud head,
Freedom and Right and Justice to maintain
Here in her place inviolate. Without stain
The name and fame which stood for thee in stead
Of titles and omisions: all men's praise,
And some men's hate thou hadst, yet all shall weep thee
dead.
O leader, fallen mid-march in the ways.
Who shall fill up the measure of thy days!

(K. S. MacLean, 1881)⁶⁵

Many poets were actively engaged in creating a suitable past for their country. One man who was often glorified was the Irish born Thomas D'Arcy McGee (1825-1868), one of the Fathers of Confederation and himself a writer and orator. In 1868 he had spoken with characteristic enthusiasm in the Canadian House of Commons:

I have faith in the Confederation for another reason, and I name it with all reverence. I believe that it is the design of Providence that there shall be established on the northern portion of this continent, a nationality and system of government different from that other nationality existing to the south of us, whose system of government has not yet approved itself by the test of time, and I, sir, who have been, and who am still, its warm and earnest advocate, speak here not as the representative of any race or of any Province, but as thoroughly and emphatically a Canadian, ready and bound to recognise the claims of any of my Canadian fellow subjects, from the furthest east to the furthest west, equally as those of my nearest neighbour, or of the friend who proposed me on the hustings.

(T. D'Arcy McGee, 1868)⁶⁶

Soon thereafter McGee was assassinated because he had denounced the Fenians -- a group of Irish revolutionaries who were attempting to involve the United States and Canada in the struggle for Irish independence -- and became something of a legend. The poignant lines of John Reade's "In Memoriam" reminded Canadians of the debt they owed McGee:

O Canada, weep, 'twas for thee that he spoke the
last words of his life!

(J. Reade, 1868)⁶⁷

Canada, according to Reade, had suffered an irretrievable
loss by McGee's death:

He lies bleeding! and with him the heart of the
nation lies bleeding and crushed!

(Ibid.)⁶⁸

Charles Mair, too, wrote of McGee:

For he who knew to touch
Our ears with language such
As charmed the infant earth when time was young;
Which brought us from the night
Of darkness to the light

Wherein a nation into being sprung,
Lies colder than our thoughtful fears,
Born of the madness of these guilty years.

(C. Mair, 1868)⁶⁹

McGee had the ability, Mair wrote, "to lift our hopes unto
the wished-for end."⁷⁰

And in his visions true
There came high forms anew
Dim outlines of a nation yet to stand,
Knit to the Empire's fate,
In power and virtue great,
The lords and reapers of a virgin land.

A mighty realm where Liberty
Shall roof the northern climes from sea to sea.⁷¹
(Ibid.)

Canadians were not, however, shrewd enough to adopt
McGee as a popular martyr-hero. The sense of loss and anger
experienced at his assassination disappeared before the end
of the nineteenth century. Although poets recognized his
importance, national leaders did not perpetuate the memory.

In this search for a heroic past, earlier Canadian writers themselves became the subjects of later literature. In 1870 a poem, written in memory of Thomas Chandler Haliburton, appeared in Stewart's Quarterly:

While Wit and Humour have the power to charm,
 And men their subtle utt'rances admire,
 One great Canadian name shall yet inspire
 His countrymen, and critics arts disarm
 Of power, its fame to lessen or to harm;
 And fill the kindred soul with emulous fire,
 And bid it to sublimer heights aspire.
 He gained his laurels and inscribed his name,
 As only they -- the genius-gifted -- can;
 And Fame -- with herald and with trumpet -- Fame
 Proclaimed him henceforth cosmopolitan,
 And gave the world -- not Canada -- the man.
 Wit, Humorist, Historian -- all in one,
 Acadia proudly calls him still her son.
 (W. A. Calnek, 1870)⁷²

A poem in The Week in 1888 recalled the poet Alexander McLachlan:

The poetry of Nature's sacred fire
 Lives on forever and men's hearts inspire,
 In divers tongues, in sempiternal strain.
 Deep in the solitudes of forests vast,
 Beneath the maple and the lofty pine,
 Whose spreading limbs salute the passing blast,
 We hear they mingling notes in love combine.
 Ring out! to others leave the glorious past;
 To Canada futurity divine.
 (J. A. Currie, 1888)⁷³

In their eagerness to create a great literature for Canada, authors felt the need for a literary tradition. They therefore saluted their predecessors as contributors to the building of the Canadian nation.

Canada's Changing Relationship to Britain

After Confederation, Canadian writers, though still fond of and attached to Britain, began to experiment with alternatives to the established relationship between England and Canada. Political gains, such as the appointment of a High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom in 1880 to provide direct contact between the British and Canadian governments, began to awaken a sense of identity in Canada. This emerging identity necessitated a reevaluation of older ties. Although Canadians did not forget their British origins, they began to feel that the present and the future belonged to Canada. During this middle period, Canadian writers were engaged in the process of transferring their allegiance to the new country:

Though to Britain is due love loyal and true --
 Where the bones of our fathers rest --
 Yet the forest-land, with its rivers grand,
 Is the land that we love the best.
(E. H. Dewart, 1869)⁷⁴

In a great break with tradition, Canadian writers began to believe that Englishmen might willingly exchange the comfort of their homes for the endless possibilities of life in the new land. Canadians had developed much confidence since Susanna Moodie had warned potential settlers of the hardships of life in the Canadian wilderness. On her first journey to Canada an Englishwoman is told of the attractions of Canada:

The times have won a change. Nature no more
 Lords it alone and binds the lonely land
 A serf to tongueless solitudes; but Nature's self
 Is led, glad captive, in light fetters rich
 As music-sounding silver can adorn:
 And man has forged them, and our silent God
 Behind his flaming worlds smiles on the deed.
 "Man hath dominion" -- words of primal might;
 "Man hath dominion" -- thus the words of God.

How sounds my voice, my warrior kinsman, now?
 Sounds it not like to thine in lusty youth --
 A world-possessing shout of busy men,
 Veined with the clang of trumpets and the noise
 Of those who make them ready for the strife,
 And in the making ready bruise its head?
 Sounds it not like to thine -- the whispering vine,
 The robe of summer rustling thro' the fields,
 The lowing of the cattle in the meads,
 The sound of Commerce, and the music-set,
 Flame-brightened step of Art in stately halls, --
 All the infinity of notes which chord
 The diaspason of a Nation's voice?

(I. V. Crawford, n.d.)⁷⁷

Since the British parliament had itself created Canada by means of the British North America Act, most Canadians saw no inconsistencies between Canadian nationalism and British allegiance. Charles Mair had General Isaac Brock reaffirm his faith in Canada's future, and his loyalty to Britain:

For I believe in Briton's Empire, and
 In Canada, its true and loyal son,
 Who yet shall rise to greatness, and shall stand
 At England's shoulder helping her to guard
 True liberty throughout a faithless world.

(C. Mair, 1886)⁷⁸

Indeed, Canada would no longer be content to live in the shadow of the motherland, but rather hoped to achieve equality within the British Empire.

He spoke of the bright blue sky and warm sunshine in Canada rivaling that of Italy, said he knew Montreal well and told me it was a city of churches and convents, from its situation one of the most beautiful of modern cities, being built on the slope of a mountain at the base of which swept one of the largest rivers in the world, prophesying that after having spent two or three years there, which he imagined I intended doing, I would be as unwilling as himself to return to Britain.

(Mrs. A. Ross, 1874)⁷⁵

The British heritage, though still revered, was coming more and more to be viewed as evidence that Canadians possessed the characteristics and the institutions necessary to the creation of a great nation. Britain may have brought Canada to its present development, but Canadians began to conceive of accomplishing greater things on their own:

The Saxon force, the Celtic fire,
These are thy manhood's heritage!
Why rest with babes and slaves? Seek higher
The place of race and age.

I see to every wind unfurled
The flag that bears the Maple-Wreath;
Thy swift keels furrow round the world
Its blood-red folds beaneath.

(C. G. D. Roberts, 1886)⁷⁶

Isabella Valancy Crawford warned that Canada would be England's "serf" no more:

Gone are the days, old Warrior of the Seas,
When thine armed head, bent low to catch my voice,

. . . .

Anti-American Feeling

Despite growing domestic autonomy, Canadian external policy still rested in the hands of Britain. Therefore, relations with their southern neighbor, not of their own making, often proved unsatisfactory to Canadians. For example, Canadians thought the terms of the Treaty of Washington (1871), which had been negotiated by American and British representatives, with Canadian consultation, proved that Americans coveted Canadian resources. In addition, Americans were increasingly seen by Canadian writers as despoilers of the land. The Civil War had pointed up deficiencies in the American system, and American institutions were deemed inferior to those of Canada. The fear still lingered that American manifest destiny really meant the absorption of Canada into the United States with or without the consent of the Canadian people. Numerous incidents during the Civil War had made Canadians wary, and writers were offended by the demands of Canadian merchants and farmers who sought at the very least commercial union with the United States. Canadian nationalists were sure that commercial union would eventually mean loss of Canada's distinct way of life and political institutions.

One poet thought it would be better for "Miss Canada" to remain an old maid than to marry the rich, but unattractive, "Uncle Sam":

And Sam! Why, he's dried-up and lanky and thin,
 And ugly as ugly can be;
 As old as Methiselah /sic/, sallow as sin, --
 What a match for a maiden like me!

He has money, of course, But then, so have I,
 And of poverty I ain't afraid;
 So I'll live all alone till the day that I die
 A jolly and happy old maid!
 (Caret, 1888)⁷⁹

Americans were to be feared and disdained at the same time,
 and were, as Haliburton believed, never to be trusted.
 Charles Mair expressed typical ambivalence -- admiration of
 some American traits, disdain for others:

I cannot say that my opinion of the average American is much elevated by what I have seen of him .
 . . my inherited "hatred" of the Yankees opens me
 to all sorts of prejudices. I wish we had their
 national sport and their liberal appreciative
 literary-minded public. Our cousins are far ahead
 of us in most things -- in many things too far
 ahead for their own welfare.
 (C. Mair, 1887)⁸⁰

Even in matters of literary symbols and themes the
 Americans were thought to be taking what belonged to Canada.
 Canadians were urged to make use of their history, geography,
 and natural surroundings in their literature before the Americans
 could rob the Canadians of their literary sources, as they
 had already begun to do:

Our neglect and remissness in this respect has led
 to the invasion of this rich territory by our
 American friends, who have carried away valuable
 material, not even subject to Customs duties. A
 Parkman has rendered himself famous, a Longfellow
 has sung Nova Scotia's Acadian Valley into a literary
 immortality, Thoreau and Warner have pictured
 our Lower Canadian scenery. Howell's descriptions
 of the St. Lawrence have no doubt been read by a
 score.

(F. Yeigh, 1890)⁸¹

In Tecumseh: A Drama written in 1886 about the War of 1812, Charles Mair exhibited the anti-American bias becoming commonplace in Canadian literature towards the end of the century. He made clear his feelings when he had his hero, General Isaac Brock, ask Americans resident in Canada,

Is land so scarce in the United States?
Are there no empty townships, wilds or wastes
In all their borders but you must encroach
On ours? And, being here, how dare you make
Your dwelling-places harbours of sedition
And furrow British soil with alien ploughs
To feed our enemies? There is not scope,
Not room enough in all this wilderness
For men so base.

(C. Mair, 1886)⁸²

Canadians, according to Mair, would rather die for Canada than live in a land conquered by the Americans. Brock said of his brave Canadian volunteers:

I never led
Men of more cheerful and courageous heart,
But for whose pluck, foul weather and short seas,
'Twere truth to say, had made an end of us.
Another trial will, I think, approve
The manly strain this Canada hath bred.

(Ibid.)⁸³

Mair's choice of Tecumseh and Brock to alert Canadians to the dangers of sharing the continent with a powerful neighbor was not accidental. Mair believed that Tecumseh, the great Indian leader, "flung himself heart and soul into the British interest, and became at once the right arm and strength of Canada on this frontier, and the trusted counsellor & friend of Brock."⁸⁴ He should, therefore prove an

inspiration to all Canadian people. Furthermore, Mair's own loyalty to Canada was as strong as that of Tecumseh to the Indian people:

As Tecumseh was an Indian from crown to sole so am I a Canadian -- conscious of the self-sacrifice which has gone before to enable us to be such, and of what we owe to it. Few men know better than myself what a country we have and what Canada may be if faithful to herself.

(C. Mair, 1888)⁸⁵

Nativism

Anti-Americanism stemmed from real fears about the integrity of the Canadian borders and involved the competition between two national states, but did not signify racial or ethnic hostility. Still the growing anti-Americanism brought in its wake a strain of nativism in Canada.

One of the groups that attracted the wrath of nativists was the Chinese. Because of Canada's small population and the need to develop the resources in the Northwest, Canadians had to consider admitting various immigrant groups into the country. Many Canadians felt that cheap Chinese labor would "arrest or retard"⁸⁶ European immigration. Chinese laborers were thought to be both physically and mentally inferior to European immigrants. It was said that

the Chinaman is endowed with remarkable powers of enduring continuous toil and privation. He can live and work on food which, in quality and quantity, is wholly inadequate to sustain the strength and vigour of the workingman of European origin. But the same comparison holds as between the ass and the horse, yet no one denies that the horse is the superior and more valuable animal of the two.

(J. H. Preston, 1881)⁸⁷

An influx of Orientals, it was feared, would

degrade or destroy the Christian civilization of British America by the substitution or admixture with it of their own inferior civilization, of which they are so proud, and to which they cling with great tenacity.

(Ibid.)⁸⁸

The much-respected Principal George Monro Grant of Queen's University (1835-1902), argued that the Chinese might be useful as laborers in Canada despite their racial inferiority. For why not

have asses as well as horses? If a man cannot afford to buy a horse, why not let him buy an ass? If I desire to till my garden, irrigate my fields, or construct a railroad to carry produce to market, and the descendant of European barbarous tribes refuses to work for less than two dollars a day, why should I be forbidden to employ a sober, industrious, economical Chinaman, who is willing to work for one dollar?

(G. M. Grant, 1881)⁸⁹

Another group that came under the scrutiny of Canadian nativists was the Jews. Jews would not make good Canadian citizens, Goldwin Smith, the editor of the Bystander and The Week warned, because of their "tribal bond, tribal aspirations, and tribal feelings."⁹⁰ The Jews could not blame other groups for their anti-Semitic feelings. Anti-Semitism, Smith claimed, has its roots

in the peculiar character, habits, and position of the Jewish people; in their tribal exclusiveness, their practice of the tribal rite of circumcision, the nature of the trades to which they are addicted, and the relation in which they stand to the native races of the countries wherein they take up their abode as a wandering and parasitic race, without a country, avoiding ordinary labour, and spreading over the world to live on the labour of others by means of usury and other pursuits of the same sort.
(G. Smith, 1882)⁹¹

Jews, therefore, were at once portrayed as backward members of a tribal race and skillful economic manipulators. According to The Week, Jews had only to change their customs, and they "will be in no danger of being persecuted on account of . . . religious creed."⁹²

In the Bystander of 1880,⁹³ the Jewish and Chinese issues were united, because the Jews were said to be of Oriental character, and therefore inferior to Europeans. The Bystander ran many articles attacking the Jews, expressing a preference for immigrants who were chosen by "natural selection"⁹⁴ to settle the Northwest. By 1889 the Bystander⁹⁵ admitted the existence of nativism in Canada, and turned its attention to the new British immigrant, who, it also regarded as an interloper, taking high offices away from native Canadians, and reaping the rewards of other men's work.

In 1884 The Week suggested that one solution to the conflicting problems of the undesirability of Chinese immigrants in Canada and the need for laborers in the Northwest

would be to accept Chinese immigrants on the condition that they "be forwarded straight to their destination, as it were in bond, so that straggling destitution may not be scattered over the eastern cities of the Dominion."⁹⁶ In addition, it was made clear that "We would gladly do almost anything for the Mother Country, but for her pauperism we have no longer any room."⁹⁷

During this period of increasing nativism, it became apparent that English and French Canadians did not really know each other, but generally dealt in stereotypes. Many writers accused French Canadians of standing in the way of progress. A writer in The Week in 1887 said that French Canadians were ignorant, untruthful thieves who lived off the land.⁹⁸ Another writer blamed French Canadians for blocking the consolidation of the British North American provinces into a nation. He characterized Quebec as a "foreign province having laws and institutions peculiar to itself, the seat of a people speaking another tongue, who pride themselves . . . on being scions of old Christian France, implanted and growing into a new France on American soil."⁹⁹ To these English-Canadian writers, French Canadians were as foreign a people as other immigrants, and had little connection with the romanticized heroes of early Canadian literature.

Nonetheless, despite disapproval of various immigrant groups, it was generally recognized that new settlers were necessary to the development of the country. Soon after Confederation one poet eagerly invited all willing immigrants to participate in the opening of the Northwest, though still giving preference to those of northern European background:

Emigrate! emigrate!
 From every foreign state,
 From every clime and isle,
 Come to our virgin soil!
 Emigrate! emigrate!
 Come from the heather hills,
 Highland and Lowland;
 Leave all your mountain rills,
 Flee from your native ills,
 German and Holland.

From Norway to ancient Rome,
 Celtic and Saxon come
 To our new Western home;
 Here mighty lake and stream,
 Living with treasures, teem
 Blessings and pleasure.
 No grinding burdens here,
 No tyranny to fear,
 But every freedom lives,
 That, to pure virtue, gives
 Unbounded measure.

Canada! they realm shall be
 Westward from sea to sea,
 In one great Dominion free,
 Virtuous and great.
 Come then from north and south,
 Come then from east and west,
 Come ye of hungry mouth,
 Down-trodden and oppressed;
 Come to us rich and poor,
 Come to us old and young,
 Millions we have in store
 For the willing and the strong.
 Bring wives and daughters fair,
 Leave none behind you there;
 Come then great men and small,

We have welcome for you all!
 From every clime and isle,
 Come to our virgin soil --
 Emigrate! emigrate!

(Anon., 1870)¹⁰⁰

Charles Mair characterized the Northwest as a land of opportunity. He advocated navigation of Hudson's Bay to facilitate settlement. His poem "Open the Bay!" argued the benefits of migration northward:

Open the Bay, which o'er the northland broods,
 Dumb, yet in labour with a might fate!
 Open the Bay! Humanity intrudes,
 And gropes, prophetic, round its solitudes,
 In eager thought, and will no longer wait!

Open the Bay! Let earth's poor people in!
 What though the selfish interests lie and flout --
 Open the Islet! Let them growl and grin,
 And Power still hobnob with them in their sin --
 Humanity, their master, is about!

It looks abroad, and with purged vision sees
 Man's wily nature bared, not overcast.
 It comes to scatter to the winds his pleas,
 His privilege and bland accessories,
 And with strong arm right the wronged land at last!
 (C. Mair, 1890)¹⁰¹

Myths

As has been pointed out, myths have an important function in the creation of a spirit of nationalism. In addition to the myth of the pioneer hero, there existed in Canadian literature the myth of Canada as a democratizing force. Despite prevalent nativistic sentiments, Canada was now believed to be a land of golden opportunity. It was more and more thought that anyone who worked hard could tame and cultivate the land, and attain, as Crawford's hero Max

had, his own little kingdom:

He's a king upon a throne
Who has acres of his own!

(A. McLachlan, n.d.)¹⁰²

Canadian versions of the Horatio Alger story, such as "The Man Who Rose From Nothing," abounded in poetry as well as in prose. The myth of the self-made man became common in Canadian literature:

In other lands he's hardly known,
For he's a product of our own,
Could grace a shanty or a throne --
This man who rose from nothing.

Here's to the land of lakes and pines,
On which the sun of Freedom shines,
Because we meet on all our lines
The man who rose from nothing.

(Ibid.)¹⁰³

Writers developed the notion of Canada as the great equalizer. Canada's undeveloped resources suggested boundless opportunity. All people who labored for "the common weal"¹⁰⁴ were heroes, all shared the work and could reap the rewards. Canadians, with no class differences, no "stately manors and palaces of England,"¹⁰⁵ and no "titles which few eminent Englishmen now-a-days care about accepting,"¹⁰⁶ were each as worthy as all others and, furthermore, were as good as their British relations. Alexander McLachlan's "Young Canada Or, Jack's as Good's his Master" can be interpreted as a comment on life within Canada as well as on changing relations between Canada and Britain. McLachlan dwelled on

the grandeurs of Canadian scenery, and reiterated the theme of equal opportunity. Although most of the poetry of this period served to remind Canadians of their good fortune and of their responsibilities to their country, this poem might well have been intended as an attempt to interpret Canadian life to those who lived elsewhere:

I love this land of forest grand,
 The land where labor's free;
 Let others roam away from home,
 Be this the land for me!
 Where no one moils and strains and toils
 That snobs may thrive the faster,
 But all are free as men should be,
 And Jack's as good's his master!

Where none are slaves that lordly knaves
 May idle all the year;
 For rank and caste are of the past --
 They'll never flourish here!
 And Jew or Turk, if he'll but work,
 Need never fear disaster;
 He reaps the crop he sowed in hope,
 For Jack's as good's his master.

Our aristocracy of toil
 Have made us what you see,
 The nobles of the forge and soil,
 With ne'er a pedigree.
 It makes one feel himself a man,
 His very blood leaps faster,
 Where wit or worth's preferr'd to birth,
 And Jack's as good's his master.

(A. McLauchlan, n.d.)¹⁰⁷

Visions of the Future

Poets of this middle period wrote of Canada's grand future, as did earlier poets, but their predictions were no

longer so vague. Inspired by the achievement of Confederation, they now had precedents of political action on which to base their trust and hope.

George Monro Grant who accompanied Sandford Fleming's expedition across Canada in 1872 to pave the way for an intercontinental railway, projected a vision of a great Canadian future, based upon his observations of the land. The realization of that potential, however, depended on the people of Canada:

A great future beckons us as a people onward. . . . The battles we have to fight are those of peace, but they are not the less serious and they are surely nobler than those of war. The victories we require to gain over all forms of political corruption, the selfish spirit of separation, and those great material obstacles in the conquest of which the spirit of patriotism is strengthened. It is a standing army of engineers, axemen and brawny labourers that we require, men who will not only give a fair day's work for a fair day's wage, but whose work shall be ennobled by the thought that they are in the service of their country, and labouring for its consolidation.

(G. M. Grant, 1873)¹⁰⁸

Since Canada still maintained many of the vestiges of colonialism -- such as the inability to conduct foreign relations except on the advice of British ministers, the inability to amend the British North America Act of 1867, and the lack of a national flag and national anthem -- many writers looked beyond the present political state to the day when Canada would achieve full nationhood. As Charles Sangster wrote:

For in thy future, lo! I see
 A wide-unfolding destiny
 Thy stature not in youth as now;
 But full-grown, and with lofty brow;
 A calm, majestic air,
 And strength to do and dare.

(C. Sangster, n.d.)¹⁰⁹

In 1874, Agnes Maule Machar wrote "A Birthday Song for Dominion Day," which was published in the Canadian Monthly.

METHOUGHT -- in visions of the night --
 I saw, as in a dream Elysian,
 Our fair Dominion spread in sight,
 As from a prophet's mount of vision.
 From east to west it seemed to be
 Across the continent extended,
 And mighty stream and inland sea
 Gleamed in the sun -- a vision splendid.

(A. M. Machar, 1874)¹¹⁰

Charles G. D. Roberts felt confident that Canada would ultimately achieve greatness. But his fellow countrymen had to be lectured on patriotism, and urged on to action:

O Child of Nations, giant-limbed,
 Who stand'st among the nations now
 Unheeded, unadored, unhymned,
 With unanointed brow, --

(C. G. D. Roberts, 1886)¹¹¹

But thou, my Country, dream not thou!
 Wake, and behold how night is done, --
 How on thy breast, and o'er thy brow,
 Bursts the uprising sun!

(Ibid.)¹¹²

In 1888, William Douw Lighthall, under the pseudonym Wilfrid Chateaucclair, wrote The Young Seigneur; Or, Nation-Making. The book, set in the days of New France, was designed to acquaint Canadians with historical events, to "make some of the atmosphere of French Canada understood by

those who speak English"¹¹³ and, most important, "to map out a future for the Canadian nation, which has been hitherto drifting without any plan."¹¹⁴

Lighthall's hero, Chamilly Haviland, had as his aim the "cultivation of the national spirit."¹¹⁵ He had supreme confidence in the future:

Do not think me too daring if I suggest for a moment that Canada should aim to lead the nations instead of being led. I believe that she can do it, if she only has enough persistence.

(W. D. Lighthall, 1888)¹¹⁶

Haviland, who by way of his mixed English and French ancestry symbolized the unification of the two principle elements in Canada, dreamed of an "Ideal Canada" founded on ethical principles and socialist ideals. He proposed a redistribution of wealth for "patriotic" purposes. His vision was that of a utopia which he compared to the ideal states of the great philosophers:

Simply Ideal Canada, and the vista of her proper national work, the highest she might be, and the best she might perform, situated as she is, all time being given and the utmost stretch of arms. As Plato's mind's eye saw his Republic, Bacon his New Atlantis, More his Utopia; so let us see before and above us the Ideal Canada, and boldly aim at the programme of doing something in the world.

(Ibid., 1888)¹¹⁷

Haviland foresaw beautiful cities

where every home nestles so as one could not conceive it more lovely; that race of heroes and goddesses in strength and thought; those proud

tablets and monuments of national and international honor and achievement and blessing.' And if any say, 'How can we attain to that greatness?' I would write him this amulet. 'Begin at the Possible!'

(Ibid.)¹¹⁸

His vision so captivated his fellow townsmen that they elected Haviland their representative, but the idealistic Haviland refused the position because there had been fraudulent votes cast for his political opponent. Perhaps Lighthall was saying that it is necessary to find the right mixture of idealism and practicality in order to develop a nation. People must maintain their high ideals; yet they must be flexible and work gradually toward their goals.

According to authors of the middle period, happiness, contentment, and plenty rewarded those who invested time and work in the building of the nation. Such European values as class distinctions were of no use in the Canadian forests. And it was from the forests and the untamed land in the Northwest that Canada's future strength would spring. Mid-nineteenth century authors tried to show their countrymen what Canada could become if they would shed their superficial values and work for the good of the community and of future Canadian generations.

Footnotes for Chapter III

¹G. A. Mackenzie, "Nationalism and Reaction," Canadian Monthly XII, no. 6 (December, 1877), p. 596.

²J. G. Bourinot, "The Intellectual Development of the Canadian People, An Historical Review," in Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly and National Review V (December, 1880), p. 633.

³John Reade, "Dominion Day," The Prophecy of Merlin and Other Poems (Montreal: Dawson Brothers, 1870), p. 131.

⁴Ibid., p. 141.

⁵Agnes Maule Machar /Fidelis/, "Dominion Day, 1879" in Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly and National Review, II (July, 1879), p. 8.

⁶Ibid., p. 9.

⁷Charles Sangster, Norland Echoes and Other Strains and Lyrics (Ottawa: The Tecumseh Press, 1976), p. 12.

⁸William Douw Lighthall, Songs of the Great Dominion: Voices from the Forests and Waters, the Settlements and Cities of Canada (London: Walter Scott, 1889).

⁹Letter from Charles G. D. Roberts to William Dous Lighthall, May 23, 1888 in Robert Papers (McGill University, Montreal, Quebec), CM 85, Box VII, III, 46c.

¹⁰Ibid., (September 30, 1888).

¹¹Lighthall, Songs of the Great Dominion . . ., p. xxi.

¹²W. W. Smith in Lighthall, Songs of the Great Dominion . . ., p. 27.

¹³The New Dominion Monthly II, no. 1 (April, 1868), p. 62.

¹⁴The Bystander 1 (January, 1880), p. 1.

¹⁵The Canadian Monthly I, no. 1 (January, 1872), p. 1.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Canadian Monthly 5, no. 1 (January, 1874), p. 68.

- ¹⁸George Grant in Canadian Leaves (1887), p. 247.
- ¹⁹Letter from Charles Mair to Col. G. T. Denison, 1901, in Denison Papers (Public Archives, Ottawa, Ont.), vols. 9 and 10, p. 4324.
- ²⁰Col. George T. Denison, The Struggle for Imperial Unity (Toronto: Macmillan and Co. of Canada Ltd., 1909) pp. 11-12.
- ²¹Ibid., pp. 49-50.
- ²²Ibid., p. 11.
- ²³William A. Foster, Canada First: A Memorial of the late William A. Foster, O.C. (Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Company, 1890), p. 54.
- ²⁴John Reade, "Thomas D'Arcy McGee -- The Poet," The New Dominion Monthly (February, 1870), p. 14.
- ²⁵Canadian Monthly 11, no. 4 (April, 1877), p. 441.
- ²⁶Interview with Charles G. D. Roberts and Lorne Pierce, June 3, 1927, reported by Margaret Lawrence in Lorne Pierce Collection (Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario), Box 75.
- ²⁷Charles G. D. Roberts, Orion and Other Poems (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1880).
- ²⁸Archibald Lampman in D. C. Scott's introduction to Archibald Lampman, Lyrics of Earth: Sonnets and Ballads (Toronto: The Musson Book Company Ltd., 1925), p. 8.
- ²⁹Charles G. D. Roberts, "The Tantramar Revisited," In Divers Tones (Boston: D. Lothrop and Company, 1886), p. 55.
- ³⁰This line is probably a reference to the North West rebellions that shook the nation in the 1880s.
- ³¹Roberts, "An Ode for the Canadian Confederacy," In Divers Tones, pp. 109-110.
- ³²Charles Mair, Dreamland and Other Poems (Montreal: Dawson Brothers, 1868), p. 131.
- ³³Chateaucclair, The Young Seigneur . . ., p. 126.
- ³⁴"December," poem by Archibald Lampman in Lampman Papers (Public Archives, Ottawa, Ontario) File 40/18, Vol. 7.

³⁵Mrs. J. L. Leprohon, The Poetical Works of Mrs. Leprohon (Montreal: John Lovell & Son, Publishers, 1881), p. 58.

³⁶Mrs. Alexander Ross, A Legend of the Grand Gordons, 2nd ed. (Montreal: A. A. Stevenson, 1874), p. 565.

³⁷Leprohon, The Poetical Works . . ., p. 49.

³⁸Mrs. A. Campbell in The New Dominion Monthly III, no. 2 (November, 1868), p. 91.

³⁹Alexander McLachlan, Poems and Songs (Toronto: Hunter, Rose and Company, 1874), p. 159.

⁴⁰Leprohon, "The Maple Tree," The Poetical Works . . ., p. 59.

⁴¹Isabella Valancy Crawford, "Malcolm's Katie," Old Spookses' Pass, Malcolm's Katie, and Other Poems, (1884), p. 43.

⁴²Ibid., p. 66.

⁴³Henry Nash Smith, Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), p. 135.

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵Crawford, Old Spookses' Pass . . ., p. 86.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 85.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 86.

⁴⁸Alexander McLachlan, "The Emigrant," Nineteenth-Century Narrative Poems (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1972), p. 116.

⁴⁹Agnes Maule Machar, "For King and Country: A Story of 1812," Canadian Monthly 5, no. 3 (March, 1874), p. 196.

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 384.

⁵²Ibid., p. 501.

⁵³Ibid.

⁵⁴New Dominion Monthly (July, 1870), p. 1.

⁵⁵William Douw Lighthall, Songs of the Great Dominion . . . , p. 135.

⁵⁶Lighthall, The Week V, no. 14 (March 1, 1888), p. 215.

⁵⁷Wilfrid Chateaucclair /William Douw Lighthall/ The Young Seigneur; Or, Nation-Making (Montreal: Wm. Drysdale & Co., Publishers, 1888), p. 10.

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 19.

⁵⁹The Canadian Methodist Magazine VII (June, 1878), p. 567.

⁶⁰G. Mercer Adam, "An Outline History of Canadian Literature," An Abridged History of Canada, ed., William H. Withrow (Toronto: William Briggs, 1887), p. 179.

⁶¹George Martin, Marquerite; Or, The Isle of Demons and Other Poems (Montreal: Dawson Brothers, Publishers, 1887), preface.

⁶²Ibid., p. 160.

⁶³Arthur Weir, Fleurs de Lys and Other Poems (Montreal: E. M. Renouf, Publisher, 1887), p. 53.

⁶⁴Agnes E. Wetherald, The Week II, no. 34 (July 23, 1885), p. 538.

⁶⁵Kate Seymour MacLean, "George Brown," The Coming of the Princess; and Other Poems (Toronto: Hunter Rose & Company, 1881), p. 165.

⁶⁶Speech by Thomas D'Arcy McGee, April 6, 1868, in Denison Papers (Public Archives, Ottawa, Ontario), Vols. 7 and 8, p. 3069.

⁶⁷Reade, The Prophecy of Merlin . . . , p. 90.

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 89.

⁶⁹Charles Mair, Dreamland . . . , p. 134.

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 138.

⁷¹Ibid., p. 139.

⁷²W. Arthur Calnek, "Distinguished Canadians: Thomas Chandler Haliburton," Stewart's Quarterly IV, no. 1 (1870), p. 58.

⁷³J. A. Currie, "To Alexander Maclachlan," The Week V, no. 32 (July 5, 1888), p. 510.

⁷⁴Dewart, Songs of Life . . ., p. 200.

⁷⁵Mrs. Alexander Ross, A Legend of the Grand Gordons, 2nd ed. (Montreal: A. A. Stevenson, 1874), p. 114.

⁷⁶Roberts, In Divers Tones, p. 3.

⁷⁷Crawford, pp. 236-237.

⁷⁸Charles Mair, Tecumseh: A Drama (Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Company, 1886), p. 101.

⁷⁹Caret, "Miss Canada Cogitates. On Her Twenty-First Birthday, July 1st, 1888," Grip XXX, no. 786 (June 30, 1888), p. 4.

⁸⁰Letter of Charles Mair to Col. Denison, November 23, 1887 in the Denison Papers (Public Archives, Ottawa, Ontario) vols. 3 and 4, p. 837.

⁸¹Frank Yeigh, "Native Literature: A Night with Young Liberals at the Reform Club" in Mair Papers (Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario), Box 9, p. 94.

⁸²Mair, Tecumseh . . ., p. 100.

⁸³Ibid., p. 120.

⁸⁴Letter from Charles Mair to Col. G. T. Denison, Feb. 1, 1888 in Denison Papers (Public Archives, Ottawa, Ontario), Box 837, p. 128.

⁸⁵Ibid., p. 129.

⁸⁶Jasper H. Preston, "The Chinese Question," Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly 7 (July, 1881), p. 82.

⁸⁷Ibid.

⁸⁸Ibid., p. 83.

⁸⁹Principal George Monro Grant, "The Chinese Question," Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly 7 (August, 1881), p. 207.

⁹⁰Goldwin Smith, "The Jewish Question," Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly 8 (February, 1882), p. 199.

- ⁹¹Ibid., p. 200.
- ⁹²The Week, supplement, II, no. 18 (April, 1885) p. 274.
- ⁹³The Bystander 1 (August, 1880), p. 446.
- ⁹⁴The Bystander 2 (June, 1881), p. 296.
- ⁹⁵The Bystander, New Series (December, 1889), p. 88.
- ⁹⁶The Week, supplement I, no. 19 (April 10, 1884), p. 292.
- ⁹⁷Ibid.
- ⁹⁸G. C. C., "The Habitans of Lower Canada," The Week IV, no. 18 (March 31, 1887), p. 297.
- ⁹⁹The Week IV, no. 42 (September 15, 1887), p. 676.
- ¹⁰⁰The New Dominion Monthly (April, 1870), p. 6.
- ¹⁰¹Charles Mair, "Open the Bay," The Week V (1890), p. 263.
- ¹⁰²Alexander McLachlan, The Poetical Works of Alexander McLachlan (Toronto: William Briggs, 1900), p. 201.
- ¹⁰³Ibid., p. 204.
- ¹⁰⁴Ibid., p. 205.
- ¹⁰⁵J. G. Bourinot, "Titles in Canada," The Canadian Monthly and National Review XII, no. 4 (October, 1877), p. 349.
- ¹⁰⁶Ibid., p. 350.
- ¹⁰⁷McLachlan, The Poetical Works . . ., p. 207.
- ¹⁰⁸George M. Grant, Ocean to Ocean: Sandford Fleming's Expedition through Canada in 1872 (Japan: m.g. hurtig ltd., 1967), p. 362.
- ¹⁰⁹Sangster, Norland Echoes, p. 21.
- ¹¹⁰Agnes Maule Machar, "A Birthday Song for Dominion Day," Canadian Monthly 6, no. 1 (July, 1874), p. 45.
- ¹¹¹Roberts, "Canada," In Divers Tones, p. 2.
- ¹¹²Ibid., p. 5.
- ¹¹³Chateauclair, Young Seigneur . . ., p. iii.

¹¹⁴Ibid.

¹¹⁵Ibid., p. 193.

¹¹⁶Ibid., p. 10.

¹¹⁷Ibid., p. 11.

¹¹⁸Ibid., p. 133.

CHAPTER IV

LATER LITERATURE 1890-1914

By the end of the nineteenth century many writers believed that Canada had outgrown its dependence on the mother country. Therefore, a further redefinition of Canada's relation to Britain and the United States seemed appropriate. Writers debated various possibilities for Canada's future. Some believed that imperialism -- a closer alliance with other members of the British Empire -- would serve Canada's needs best; some preferred commercial union or political annexation to the United States; others believed that Canada could best fulfil its potential as an independent nation.

The strengthening of Canadian unity concerned many intellectuals. Writers found a role as interpreters of various parts of the nation. They presented the Indians, Métis, French-Canadians, immigrants, and settlers of the Northwest for closer examination. The plots of the novels and poems as well as the characters reflected a new Canadian self-confidence and optimism. Anything that threatened the unity of Canada was highly suspect; characters who tried to impede the progress of the nation suffered serious consequences. Defenders of the peace -- for example, the North

West Mounted Police -- were romanticized and revered.

Literature and Political Setting

By 1890 the new Canadian nation had begun the industrialization of eastern Canada, the exploration and settlement of the Northwest, and the building of a transcontinental railway. The Métis, descendants of Indian and French-Canadian parents, had recently attempted to establish a Métis nation in western Canada under the leadership of Louis Riel. The success of the Canadian troops in putting down the rebellion engendered pride; but Riel's trial and subsequent execution for treason and murder on November 16, 1885, caused great political and racial divisions within the society. Yet Canada survived these conflicts as well as the drive toward annexation with the United States on the part of some merchants and farmers, and attempts at secession in 1886 on the part of William Stevens Fielding, the prime minister of Nova Scotia. The political institutions of the Dominion had been tested. Reflecting on the progress and potential of Canada, Duncan Campbell Scott wrote:

It may be considered excusable if, upon the approach of a new year, an enthusiastic Canadian, one who believes that his country is the brightest and best on earth, should indulge in a little flaunting of the maple leaf. The time is propitious. Upon the verge of one of those time divisions which serve as mile stones of our progress, we may well pause for a moment, not so much to look back

at what we have passed, as to glance forward at what is to come. We have, during the past few years, heard much of blame at the slowness of our national development from those who expect a nation to spring forth fully armed like Minerva from the head of Jupiter. Our progress has been if slow, at least appreciable; to be remarked chiefly, perhaps, in the growth of interest which Canadians begin to feel in their own affairs and in their position amongst the nations of the earth. This is cheering, for, in national as well as in individual life, all strength and power must come from within. To become worthy to share in the commerce of the earth we must show a commercial spirit equal to our opportunities. And how boundless these opportunities are I need not state; the wealth and productiveness of this land cannot be surpassed by any on the face of the earth. We are often confronted by the statement that the geographical position of our provinces makes it impossible that any vigorous national life can exist, and the failure of our Dominion is prophesied because the success of some country similarly situated cannot be cited to cheer us in our difficult task. But do not doubt; we will serve as the example to the world of a people welded by a national spirit and a national love, although separated by natural barriers. When we have surmounted these difficulties it will be wondered why we considered them as blocking for ever the road to our prosperity.

(D. C. Scott, 1892)¹

Canadian writers also found cause for enthusiasm in Canada's assumption of larger responsibilities in international affairs. The Boer War, in 1899, though it occasioned dissension within Canada, gave writers hope: Canada had proved her maturity by aiding Britain in her time of need, while setting a precedent for Canada's right to independent action. Canada's new involvement in foreign affairs was evident in her direct negotiation of trade treaties with France in 1893 and 1907. Significant too were the appointment

of a Canadian (rather than a British) commander of Canadian military forces in 1904, and the creation of a Canadian navy in 1910. These changes established Canada's new status which was confirmed by Canada's role in World War I: participation in the Imperial War Cabinet, membership on the peace making committees, signatory to the peace treaties, and admission to the League of Nations.

Canada's relations with her American neighbors, however, continued to be a source of dissatisfaction. The Alaska Boundary settlement, 1903, left many Canadian authors further convinced that Americans were infringing on Canadian rights, were coveting Canadian lands, and had found willing allies in the British, who had not yet learned to respect Canadian territorial integrity. Therefore, Canadians must depend more and more on themselves.

Now the impulse for national survival took on new goals: economic growth and development and the advancement of specifically Canadian interests within the British Empire. The sense of pride in the Canadian nation in this period of national consolidation was reflected in the growing number of collections of poetry. Editors gathered verse descriptive of all parts of Canada, and verse pertaining to recent Canadian events -- such as Frederick George Scott's "In Memoriam. Those killed in the North-West, 1885" -- which was included in Lighthall's Canadian Poems and Lays (1893) as well as in Wetherell's Later Canadian Poems (1893).

William Douw Lighthall titled his 1893 anthology Canadian Poems and Lays: Selection of Native Verse, Reflecting the Seasons, Legends, and Life of the Dominion. His purpose was clearly one of spreading his nationalistic fervor and faith in Canada throughout the nation. Lighthall's contemporaries acknowledged that, from "his patriotic standpoint"² he had collected Canada's most important verse. W. W. Campbell did, however, find fault with Lighthall's choices on the basis that they were not "representative of our true nationality" but rather were "all tied together by pseudo-patriotic hurrahs."³ The issue here, apparently, was what constituted true Canadian feeling and true Canadian literature. Lighthall thought Canadian literature should include Indian stories, backwoods tales, and odes to Canada. Campbell believed Canadian literature should encompass "interesting and original fiction"⁴ or poetry of high critical standards. He suggested that "the best work is not that of history and adventure; what we need is more of the really imaginative, of a virile nature, in our fiction."⁵ But what is important is that both Lighthall and Campbell were nationalists, each seeking a suitable means of expression by which to convey the true patriotic sentiments of the Canadian people.

Lighthall divided his book into sections that held special meaning for the Canadian reader -- "The Imperial Spirit,"

"The New Nationality," "The Indian," "The Voyageur and Habitant," "Settlement Life," "Sports and Free Life," "The Spirit of Canadian History," "Places," and "Seasons."

Another anthology, Raise the Flag and Other Patriotic Canadian Songs and Poems, published in 1891, sought to spread "loyal and patriotic sentiments which animated our fathers and helped them to defend and hand down to us the rights and privileges which we now enjoy."⁶ The book took its title from a movement then taking place in Ontario to raise flags on school houses on national anniversaries. The central theme of the book was voiced in E. G. Nelson's poem, "Raise the Flag":

Raise the flag, our glorious banner,
O'er this fair Canadian land,
From the stern Atlantic Ocean
To the far Pacific strand.

(E. G. Nelson, 1891)⁷

Theodore Harding Rand's anthology, A Treasury of Canadian Verse, first published in 1900, was a much more varied collection. Rand (1835-1900), himself a poet, stated that his purpose was to express his feeling of "national pride,"⁸ and to provide Canadian writers with an audience:

I trust that this anthology may serve as an open door through which the voices of Canadian singers may vibrate yet more widely on sympathetic ears both at home and abroad.

(T. H. Rand, 1900)⁹

Rand's book, like the other anthologies, contained many poems about Canadian heroes, Canadian places, and Canadian seasons.

Rand himself wrote a poem that might have been dedicated to Canadian writers:

O bird of the silver arrows of song,
 Shy poet of Canada dear,
 Thy notes prolong, prolong,
 We listen, we hear --
 "I -- love -- dear -- Canada,
 Canada, Canada.

(T. H. Rand, 1900)¹⁰

John Daniel Logan assembled Songs of the Makers of Canada and Other Homeland Lyrics in 1911. His aim, he said, was to promote

sane patriotism (which means respect and love for the history and institutions of one's own country, without implying or fostering disrespect for other civilizations.)

(J. D. Logan, 1911)¹¹

The titles of the poems he chose read like a "Who's Who" of Canadian history: "Cartier: Dauntless Discoverer," "Champlain: First Canadian," "Frontenac: Staunch Warrior," "Brock: Valiant Leader." "Ryerson: Renowned Educator," "Howe: Champion of Self-Government," and "Macdonald: Great Confederationist."¹² Such sentimental interpretations of Canadian history Logan believed to "signalize the Canadian self-consciousness of a pregnant destiny, and envisage the spirit of Canadian democracy."¹³

The dramatic increase in the number of Canadian journals at the end of the nineteenth century registered the burgeoning literary nationalism. American magazines, readily available to the Canadian public, would frequently accept

material from Canadian authors at higher rates than the Canadian journals could generally afford to pay. They were not thought to be suited to the needs of Canadian writers, however, for in addition to the increased competition for acceptance, native authors, "in appealing, by fiction, to foreign audiences," as E. W. Thomson wrote W. W. Campbell, had to eliminate many references to Canadian people, places, and events which would not be understood by readers elsewhere and "also to place ourselves mentally in the place of the foreign reader."¹⁴ This resulted in the dilution of Canadian literature. W. W. Campbell believed that imitative Canadian journals failed to reflect the interests of the Canadian reader:

It is ridiculous for our magazines to try and equal or copy the outside magazines. . . . What we want is something that is purely Canadian, and to do this the Canadian editor wants to be a Canadian in his aims and ideals. He does not want to take the American or English standard or style of periodical . . . and force the work of our writers through such a literary sieve to do this as to produce a Canadian journal or periodical which is a puerile imitation of the foreign type.

(W. W. Campbell, 1892)¹⁵

Canadian editors, therefore, generally tried to get Canadian authors to write for Canadian readers. "The Canadian Courier belongs to this country," wrote the editors of the Toronto journal (1906-1920). "It has its roots right down in Canadian soil from ocean to ocean and as far north as printer's ink goes. It grows on Canadian sunshine and storms. What it brings forth is, Canadian."¹⁶

The growth of the number of Canadian journals at this time was documented in The Canadian Methodist Magazine in 1905:

<u>Journals</u>	<u>1891</u>	<u>1905</u>
Dailies	91	115
Weeklies	580	851
Tri-Weeklies	7	3
Semi-Weeklies	17	35
Bi-Weeklies	--	2
Semi-Monthlies	20	30
Monthlies	119	200
Tri-Monthly	--	1
Bi-Monthly	1	2
Quarterlies	2	10
Semi-Yearly	--	1
	747	1250

(H. P. Moore, 1905)¹⁷

More than schools and churches, the editors believed that these journals might serve as vehicles for creating nationalism in Canada:

With this large number of newspapers and periodicals, spread over the Dominion, the opportunities for advancing Canada's best interests are great indeed. Characterized very generally by the spirit of patriotism to the country in the higher, broader, and better sense: ever ready to right wrongs and advance moral questions, the press of Canada is and will be a power for good in the upbuilding of a great nation. It has the opportunity to pour its ceaseless influence through city, town, village, and hamlet, and is embracing the opportunity fearlessly and intelligently.

(Ibid.)¹⁸

The Canadian Methodist Magazine edited by William H. Withrow (1839-1908), provided a forum for Canadian writers from 1875 until 1906. Despite its sectarian title, it was concerned with Canadian literature, Canadian patriotism, and

current Canadian events. It contained book reviews, and in the 1890s ran a series about the founders of Canada. Withrow, a Toronto born minister, was a historian and writer of travel books who wrote A popular history of the Dominion of Canada from the discovery of America to the present time (1878).

Massey's Magazine (Toronto), originated in 1896, was a literary monthly created in response to "a positive demand in the field of Canadian literature and art."¹⁹ Its first issue consisted of 20,000 copies sold in advance by subscription and to newsdealers and agents. It included among its pages art, literature, current topics, travel accounts, and examples of upright moral behavior. By May 1896 the magazine was successful enough to offer cash awards for the best short stories it received. The editors expressed a preference for Canadian stories, but opened the competition to writers from all countries.²⁰ The editors did hope that Canadian writers would "submit to us their best work before sending it abroad,"²¹ even though in its infancy the magazine could not compete with American rates of payment. In July, 1897, Massey's Magazine merged with The Canadian Magazine (Toronto, 1893-1939), whose avowed purpose was to promote patriotism.

Redefinition of Canada's Relation to the United States and Britain

Hans Kohn wrote that "each national idea gains its emphasis by contrasting itself with and differentiating itself from another concept; in the case of America, this concept was Europe."²² In the case of Canada, the differentiating concept was both the United States and Britain. As Kohn pointed out, the French Revolution had confirmed American nationalism. So too had the American Civil War confirmed Canadian nationalism.

Seymour Martin Lipset, the political scientist, has said that "Canadians . . . are the world's oldest and continuing anti-Americans."²³ Anti-Americanism, however, was a natural result of the evolution of nationalism in nineteenth century Canada. It contained elements of admiration, distrust, envy, dislike, and fear based on Canada's political and economic interaction with the United States, American opinion of Canada, and memories of hostility between the two nations. The fear of the Americans engendered by the need to protect Canada's borders, the competition for the Northwest, the desire for commercial intercourse, and the envy of the more developed and more independent country to the south all made anti-Americanism an important part of Canadian nationalism.

Many writers of this period still accepted the stereotype of the shrewd but callous American businessman created

in the 1830s by Haliburton. Some were defensive about Canada's slower economic development. Sara Jeannette Duncan (1861-1922), a journalist and novelist from Ontario, carefully portrayed life in a small Ontario town at the turn of the century in The Imperialist (1904). She wrote: "Perhaps Americans have got more style . . . but Canadians are much better form."²⁴

Charles G. D. Roberts feared -- as had Charles Mair -- that Americans, under the guise of manifest destiny, aspired to occupy all of the North American continent. The Monroe Doctrine, he believed, could pave the way for absorption of Canada into the United States. However, he found reasons why annexation must never occur:

Our growth has been on different lines from theirs, our aspirations and political ideas are not theirs, our very existence as a people has its root in a sharp divergence from their principles. As the sentiment of Canadian nationalism deepens year by year, we realize that to sink our life in another's, to have our country torn apart and swallowed up as so many additional states of the American Union, would be a burning ignominy. It would make vain all the sacrifices of our fathers, all the blood they shed in their country's cause. We should be no longer worthy of the great nation into whose bosom we should carry our sordid purposes and craven hearts. The name of Canada would cease to shine across the continent; and in vanishing it would leave but a humiliating memory. It is safe to conclude that absorption by the United States, commonly known as Annexation, is not likely to be the fate of Canada.

(C. G. D. Roberts, 1897)²⁵

Annexation might come in one of many different forms. As Charles Mair wrote in 1902,

the danger I see ahead now is that the Yankees, having tried threats, intimidation and high tariffs in vain, may try the other tack -- of giving access to their markets. . . . Commercialism and the money power cannot dethrone sentiment, but they are enemies to be feared.

(C. Mair, 1902)²⁶

In 1896, George Monroe Grant, the educator and clergyman wrote:

I do not think that the talk in the U.S. about annexation will do us anything but good. It only rasps our people and they are none the worse of Cans. . . . People hate being always misunderstood.

(G. M. Grant, 1896)²⁷

Canadians were, by this time, developing a concept of national interest. They wished to protect their sovereignty from real or imagined threats of American encroachment, and resented American attempts at exploitation of Canadian resources. Sara Jeannette Duncan lectured her fellow countrymen on making the most of their opportunities, as Haliburton had some seventy years earlier:

We often say that we fear no invasion from the south, but the armies of the south have already crossed the border. American enterprise, American capital, is taking rapid possession of our mines and our water power, our oil areas and our timber limits . . . when the Dominion of Canada has paid the hundred million dollars she has just voted for a railway to open up the great lone northern lands between Quebec and the Pacific, it will be the American farmer and the American capitalist who will reap the benefit. They approach us today with all the arts of peace, commercial missionaries to the ungathered harvest of neglected territories; but the day may come when they will menace our coasts to protect their markets -- unless by firm, resolved, whole-hearted action now, we keep our opportunities for our own people.

(S. J. Duncan, 1904)²⁸

However, despite their desire to establish a separate identity, many Canadians continued to feel that their future lay either with Britain or with the United States. In Duncan's The Imperialist, Elgin, the town, was divided between Imperialists (that is, supporters of the British Empire), or Annexationists (that is, supporters of union with the United States). Imperialism meant to them, "Common interest, common taxation for defence, common representation, domestic management of domestic affairs, and you've got a working Empire."²⁹ Interpreted in this sense, Imperialism was a positive good. Those who advocated closer ties between Canada and Britain thought of themselves as nationalists, promoting the interests of Canada by suggesting she become an equal partner in the British Empire, at the same time protecting Canada from further involvement with the United States. Other Canadian nationalists, intent on preserving integrity and separateness of their country, viewed the concept of Imperialism with distrust and alarm.

Many in Duncan's town leaned toward "imperialism" simply to thwart the United States:

The more I notice the Yankees making propositions to get us away from it /Imperialism/ the more I want to see it come through.

(S. J. Duncan, 1904)³⁰

Competition with the United States was so keen that Lorne, Duncan's hero, felt, "I suppose it's unreasonable, but there's nothing I hate so much as to hear Englishmen talk of settling in the United States."³¹

Ultimately, Canadian writers made very clear their preference for life in Canada. On a visit to St. Paul, Minnesota in 1892, Charles Mair wrote,

I was never cut out for an American, I see that. They are all Esaus -- every man trying to gouge his fellow.

(C. Mair, 1892)³²

Americans had to be made to understand, George R. Parkin (1846-1922), wrote:

We are as much attached to our nation as the people of the United States are to theirs. The attachment to their nation does our neighbours honour, and intelligent men amongst them cannot regard otherwise our attachment to our nation. As no commercial, or other material advantage, real or supposed, would induce the people of the United States to change their allegiance, so neither, I hope, will the prospect of some material advantage induce Canadians to change their allegiance to the Empire.

(G. R. Parkin, 1892)³³

Parkin, the teacher of both Charles G. D. Roberts and Bliss Carman, had been influential in introducing them to literature. An imperial federationist of the type Duncan wrote about, Parkin viewed allegiance to Canada and allegiance to the British Empire as the same thing.

Duncan praised her character who had chosen to remain in Canada despite greater opportunity for material prosperity in the United States:

He was fond of explaining, in connection with an offer once made him to embark his capital in Chicago, that he preferred a fair living under his own flag to a fortune under the Stars and Stripes. . . . With this position understood, he was prepared to take you up on any point of comparison between the status and privileges of a subject and a citizen -- the political morale of a monarchy and

a republic -- the advantage of life on this and the other side of the line. . . . His ideal was life in a practical, go-ahead, self-governing colony, far enough from England actually to be disabused of her inherited anachronisms and make your own tariff, near enough politically to keep your securities up by virtue of her protection. He was extremely satisfied with his own country.³⁴
(S. J. Duncan, 1904)

Just as some Canadian authors showed approval of characters who had chosen Canada over life in the United States, so did others for those who preferred Canada to Britain. Pierre, the character created by Horatio Gilbert Parker (1860-1932), rejected the social life of England for the challenge of life in the Canadian backwoods:

I was born for a free, strong life; the prairie on the wild wood, or else to live in some far castle in Welsh mountains. . . . I was born -- I know not how! but so longing for the sky, and space, and endless woods.

(G. Parker, 1898)³⁵

Although Britain had for more than a century set the standards for life in Canada, times, as Lorne pointed out, had changed. Gone were the days when Canadians would at their first opportunity, leave Canada and settle in England. Actually, a trip to Britain now often made Canadians more appreciative of their own country:

"But you will be leaving for Great Britain very soon now, Mr Murchison," said Miss Filkin.
"Leaving Elgin and all its beauties! And I dare say you won't think of them once again till you get back!"

"I hope I shall not be so busy as that, Miss Filkin."

"Oh, no, I'm sure Mr. Murchison won't forget his native town altogether," said Mrs Milburn, "though perhaps he won't like it so well after seeing dear old England!"

"I expect," said Lorne simply, "to like it better."

(S. J. Duncan, 1904)³⁶

The new relationship between Canada and Britain was outlined by Lorne Murchison in The Imperialist:

"Doesn't there come a time in the history of most families," Lorne replied, "when the old folks look to the sons and daughters to keep them in touch with the times? Why shouldn't a vigorous policy of Empire be conceived by its younger nations -- who have the ultimate resources to carry it out? We've got them and we know it -- the iron and the coal and the gold, and the wheat-bearing areas. I dare say it makes us seem cheeky, but I tell you the last argument lies in the soil and what you can get out of it. What has this country [England] got in comparison? A market of forty million people, whom she can't feed and is less and less able to find work for. Do you call that a resource? I call it an impediment -- a penalty."

(Ibid.)³⁷

The British, it seemed, were no more to be trusted than were the Americans. Writing soon after the unfavorable settlement of the Alaska Boundary dispute, Duncan believed "Great Britain had sold them [Canadians] before, and she would sell them again."³⁸ Therefore, a reminder to the British was sometimes necessary:

It has daily become more and more apparent that nearly all the affairs of our people are such as only we and none others can possibly manage for us. The separation of our territory by the seas from the rest of the Empire, renders us a self-contained community, whose interests cannot be understood, nor practically handled, by any others than ourselves.

(W. D. Lighthall, 1904)³⁹

Some poets still chose to recall Canada's ties to Britain, as had Canada's earliest poets, but few wrote in simple praise of Britain. Even this poem by W. W. Campbell, the landscape poet and advocate of closer ties among the nations of the British Empire, seems to suggest a widening gap. Campbell, who was born in Ontario and educated in Toronto and Cambridge (his date of birth is given by different authorities as 1858 or 1861, and he died in 1918) gave up his calling as an Episcopalian clergyman in 1891 to devote his time to literature. He worked in the Dominion Archives Bureau in Ottawa.

Show the way, England!
 We are your children,
 Pass us not by; --
 Full five million
 Children of Canada
 True as of yore; --
 Blood of your blood and
 Core of your core; --
 Speak not the treason,
 Write not the lie,
 Bred of the blood of you,
 We are not alien,
 Pass us not by.

(W. W. Campbell, 1905)⁴⁰

When Canadian poets praised Britain, it was -- in a sense -- a way of expressing hope and admiration for Canada. Agnes Maule Machar, for example, wrote of the British immigrants to Canada who

Might found in these our western wilds
 New Britains, not unworthy of the old!

(A. M. Machar, 1899)⁴¹

Canadians were still upset by Britons who knew little about Canada, or who, as in Duncan's book, mistook Canadians for Americans. Writers expended much energy convincing other national groups that Canadians had a distinct national identity. On a visit to London, Duncan's hero -- Lorne Murchison --

felt a little surly himself after a while, when they asked him, as they nearly always did, if he wasn't an American. "Yes," he would say in the end, "but not the United States kind," resenting the necessity of explaining to the Briton beside him that there were other kinds. (Duncan, 1904)⁴²

More than anything, Canadians were still angered by people who knew little about their culture. As recently as 1909, the physician and essayist Sir Andrew MacPhail (1864-1938), who was editor of the University Magazine (Montreal) from 1907-1920, found it necessary to comment on misconceptions about the Canadian identity:

It is worth correcting the impression which was prevalent, at least up to a few years ago, that a Canadian is a kind of a Yankee, or an Indian, or even necessarily a person living in America who speaks French. There is nothing very profound in this observation, but it is as well that the fact should be established.

(A. MacPhail, 1909)⁴³

Machar wrote The Heir of Fairmont Grange in part to dispel misconceptions held by the British about Canada as a dull land of ice and savages. Her heroine is told,

"Yes, my dear, there is no lack of that /beauty/ here, as I have often told the people at home /Britain/, though they never seemed to take it in. When I first married Mr Aylmer, who was then only a poor young lawyer, one would have thought I was going to bury myself in the wilds of Africa, judging by the compassion that was lavished upon me! But, as I have told you, I have been very happy here. No woman could ask to be happier!"

(A. M. Machar, 1899)⁴⁴

It was often difficult to remain polite to those who, through ignorance, insulted Canada. However, if the party at fault was a charming young British woman, the ignorance might have seemed amusing, as in the following exchange:

"I didn't know you had a country, distinct from Britain," said Miss Howard. Kavanagh laughed as he replied:

"Oh, I assure you many of us think we have! When you live in a country that stretches across a continent, over a few millions of square miles, you may be excused for thinking it a country, and not merely a colony. We have a considerable party looking towards independence, sooner or later, you know.

(Ibid.)⁴⁵

The British, according to many authors, were not suited to life in Canada. British immigrants were often made to look foolish, their manners and customs, polite language, and neat, stylish dress irrelevant in North America. There was particularly no place for Britons who thought themselves too refined for physical labor. Duncan looked down on "those gentlefolk of reduced income who wander out to the colonies with a nebulous view to economy and occupation, to perish of the readjustment."⁴⁶

British characters were often introduced in Canadian novels to make the Canadian characters, by contrast, appear more resourceful, self-reliant, and relevant to the world they lived in. Hesketh, the Briton in The Imperialist, looked foolish next to the practical Canadians. Although the hero, Lorne Murchison, envied Hesketh's refined manners and smooth talk, the readers were led to believe that Lorne was a man of character, while Hesketh was nothing more than form. In a vein of irony, Hesketh was chosen as the husband of the pretty, but silly, Dora, thus saving the impressionable Lorne Murchison from wasting his idealism, high principles, and courage on a foolish woman.

Whatever the future might bring many Canadians now believed it would involve a new relationship with the motherland. As Duncan's Lorne Murchison declared, Canada had all the advantages: resources, youth, opportunity. Britain, on the other hand, was growing stale. The New World might, for the first time, exert its influence on the Old World. A new relationship with Britain would signal Canada's maturity to the world.

Preservation of Canadian Unity

By the end of the nineteenth century concern about Canada's destiny was so prevalent that writers took offense

at anything that threatened to disturb the unity of Canada or to mar the way to achievement. Maintenance of law and order was an important issue, especially in the lawless areas of northwestern Canada. In many novels, the villains were consistently prevented from upsetting the status quo and disturbing the peace by officers of the law, or by others who represented the establishment, such as politicians. Canadians had worked hard at creating a new order, and were determined to protect their system. In Gilbert Parker's novel, When Valmond Came to Pontiac, for example, an outsider tried to rouse the peaceful, contented citizens of a French-Canadian village to war with France for his own personal ends. He came close to permanently disrupting the village, but was killed just before the French-Canadians took that irrevocable step.

When Lorne Murchison, in Sara Jeannette Duncan's book, The Imperialist, attempted to convert his fellow townsmen to the idea of a new Imperialistic commercial alliance he was defeated both politically and socially. More successful politicians explained to him that he had erred in appearing to be willing to sacrifice Canada's interests for the sake of principle:

"The popular idea seems to be," said Mr. Farquharson judicially, "that you would not hesitate to put Canada to some material loss, or at least to postpone her development in various important directions, for the sake of the imperial connection."

"Wasn't that," Lorne asked him, "what, six months ago, you were all prepared to do?"

"Oh, no," said Bingham, with the air of repudiating for everybody concerned. "Not for a cent. We were willing at one time to work it for what is /sic/ was worth, but it never was worth that, and if you'd had a little experience, Murchison, you'd have realized it.

(S. J. Duncan, 1904)⁴⁷

Lorne had gone too far and alarmed his countrymen. With a fear about their American neighbors, and the feeling that they couldn't always trust the British, Canadians wanted politicians on whom they could rely. Therefore, when they doubted Lorne's intentions, they abandoned him.

In Ralph Connor's novel, The Foreigner, when a Russian tried to take justice into his own hands in an immigrant community in Canada, even though morally right he could not be permitted by the author to successfully challenge the Canadian system of justice. Connor was a pseudonym for the Rev. Charles William Gordon (1860-1937), the Ontario-born Presbyterian minister who lived in the Northwest, writing about life among miners, lumbermen, and settlers. He believed there could be no exceptions to the rule of Canadian law. All newcomers had to be taught to adhere to the established legal and political systems. The Russian's case was presented sympathetically, but in the end he was shot by an officer of the law.

As defenders of the law, the North West Mounted Police were romanticized and heroized. In "The Riders of the

Plains" E. Pauline Johnson said that their purpose was to "keep the peace of our people and the honor of British laws."⁴⁸ Johnson (1860-1913), the daughter of a Mohawk chief and a British mother, was born on a reservation near Brantford, Ontario. She made her reputation by dressing in Indian costumes and reciting her poems and stories throughout Canada. Of the North West Mounted Police, who patrolled the areas where the Indians lived, Johnson wrote:

These are the fearless fighters, whose life in
the open lies
Who never fail on the prairie trail 'neath the
Territorial skies,
Who have laughed in the face of the bullets and
the edge of the rebels' steel,
Who have set their ban on the lawless man
with his crime beneath their heel;
These are the men who battle the blizzards,
the suns, the rains,
These are the famed that the North has
named the "Riders of the Plains,"
And theirs is the might and the meaning
and the strength of the bulldog's jaw,
While they keep the peace of the people
and the honor of British law.

These are the men of action, who need not
the world's renown.
For their valor is known to England's throne
as a gem in the British crown;
These are the men who face the front, whose
courage the world may scan,
The men who are feared by the felon, but
are loved by the honest man.

(E. P. Johnson, 1903)⁴⁹

Distinctive Canadian Characters

Toward the end of the nineteenth century writers began to interpret various parts of Canada to the rest of the country, as Charles Mair had earlier, in order to repair divisions within the nation and promote unity. In a land so vast, with climate and terrain so diverse, peopled with immigrants from so many countries, Canadians had to be introduced to their fellow countrymen, and helped to understand one another. Gilbert Parker wrote about Métis; Ralph Connor wrote about eastern European immigrants who settled the Canadian Northwest; E. Pauline Johnson wrote nostalgic poems about Canadian Indians. Johnson admired the Indians as well as the North West Mounted Police, because they understood the laws of nature and lived in harmony with the land. In his "Indian Place-Names" Duncan Campbell Scott also pondered the Indian legacy:

The race has waned and left but tales of ghosts,
That hover in the world like fading smoke
About the lodges: gone are the dusky folk
That once were cunning with the throng and snare
And mighty with the paddle and the bow;
They lured the silver salmon from his lair,
They drove the buffalo in trampling hosts,
And gambled in the tepees until dawn,
But now their vaunted prowess all is gone,
Gone like a moose-track in the April snow.
But all the land is murmurous with the call
Of their wild names that haunt the lovely glens
Where lonely water falls, or where the street
Sounds all day with the tramp of myriad feet;
Toronto triumphs; Winnipeg flows free,
And clangs the iron height where gaunt Quebec
Lies like a lion in a lily bed,

And Restigouche takes the whelmed sound of sea,
 Meductic falls, and flutes the Mirimichi;
 Kiskisink where the shy mallard breeds
 Breaks into pearls beneath his whirling wings,
 And Manitowaapah sings;
 They flow like water, of like wind they flow,
 Waymoucheeching, loon-haunted Manowan,
 Far Mistassini by her frozen wells,
 Gold-hued Wayagamac brimming her wooded dells:
 Lone Kamouraska, Metapedia,
 And Metlakahtla ring a round of bells.
 (D. C. Scott, n.d.)⁵⁰

William Henry Drummond (1854-1907), a Montreal doctor who lived and worked among French-Canadians, wrote poetry in a French-Canadian dialect in order, as he said in his preface, to explain the French-Canadian character, language, and customs to English-speaking Canadians:

I have felt that while many of the English-speaking public know perhaps as well as myself the French-Canadian of the cities, yet they have had little opportunity of becoming acquainted with the habitant, therefore I have endeavored to paint a few types, and in doing this, it has seemed to me that I could best attain the object in view by having my friends tell their own tales in their own way, as they would relate them to English-speaking auditors not conversant with the French tongue.

(W. H. Drummond, n.d.)⁵¹

Drummond took pains to remind the English-Canadian reader that the French-Canadians, whom they might at times deride, came from honorable stock:

Remember when these tales you read
 Of rude but honest "Canayen,"
 That Joliet, La Verandrye,
 La Salle, Marquette, and Hennepin
 Were all true "Canayen" themselves --
 And in their veins the same red stream:

The conquering blood of Normandie
 Flowed strong, and gave America
 Coureurs de bois and voyageurs
 Whose trail extends from sea to sea!

(Ibid.)⁵²

Drummond's portrayal of the French-Canadians was intended to be good-natured -- though French-Canadians of today might find it patronizing -- and he took pains to exhibit the French-Canadians' zest for life and sense of humor. Although the French-Canadians had not developed some of the traits that English-Canadians valued, such as promptness and efficiency, they had other admirable characteristics, one of which was loyalty to their nation:

An' onder de flag of Angleterre, so long as dat
 flag was fly --
 Wit' dier English broder, les Canayens is satisfy
 leev an' die.

(Ibid.)⁵³

Drummond's characters valued home, family, and country, in contrast to others who ventured far from home seeking personal gain or adventure. Those who did stray regretted their decision. Drummond, suppressing any underlying conflict, always gave his characters an opportunity to redeem themselves by returning home, as for example, Bateese, who came back much wiser after a sojourn in the United States:

I see Bateese de 'oder day -- he's works hees
 fader's place,
 I t'ink meseff he's satisfy -- I see dat on hees
 face.
 He say 'I got not use for State, Mon Cher Napoleon,
 Kebeck she's good enough for me -- Hooraw pour
 Canadaw!

(W. H. Drummond, 1896)⁵⁴

Drummond's lengthy narrative poems stressed the values he admired -- honesty, attachment to the land, love of family, and patriotism -- under the guise of humor. Lest the amusing story and dialect cloud his message of brotherhood and nationalism, however, he occasionally shed his French-Canadian dialogue and characters to use his own voice in straightforward, patriotic verse. He addressed his message to potential divisions within the Canadian society:

Our fathers came to win us
 This land beyond recall --
 And the same blood flows within us
 Of Briton, Celt, and Gaul --
 Keep alive each glowing ember
 Of our sireland, but remember
 Our country is Canadian
 Whatever may befall.
 So line up and try us,
 Whoever would deny us
 The freedom of our birthright
 And they'll find us like a wall --
 For we are Canadian, Canadian forever,
 Canadian forever -- Canadian over all.
 (W. H. Drummond, n.d.)⁵⁵

Canadian writers in this later period consciously sought contemporary heroes who could serve as role models for the Canadian public. The myth of the common man as nation-builder, developed earlier in the century, became the prime focus. Heroes were those whose lives were devoted to building the Canadian nation, usually at personal sacrifice:

Canada is prolific in heroes of her own; men who venture out into the wilderness, perhaps with little save an ax and a determined will, and hew their way to independence. Almost every locality can

point to some hero of this kind, who overcame difficulties and dangers with a determination which, in a wider sphere, would have commanded the admiration of the world. They were energetic, inventive, sleepless souls, who fought with wild nature, cleared seed-fields in the forest, built mills, schools and churches, where, but a few years before, naught was heard save the howl of the wolf and the whoop of the Indian. Such gathered, perhaps, a little community of hardy pioneers around them, to whom they were carpenter, blacksmith, architect, miller, doctor, lawyer, judge -- all in one.

(Anon., 1900)⁵⁶

Dedication to Canada was considered any man's noblest duty. Two of Sara Jeannette Duncan's most admired characters were men who had come to Canada

to add their labour and their lives to the building of this little outpost of Empire. It was the frankest transfer without thought of return; they were there to spend and be spent within the circumference of the spot they had chosen, with no ambition beyond. In the course of nature, even their bones and their memories would enter into the fabric. The new country filled their eyes; the new town was their opportunity, its destiny their fate. They were altogether occupied with its affairs, and the affairs of the growing Dominion.

(S. J. Duncan, 1904)⁵⁷

Even though both of Duncan's characters retained some allegiance to Britain, that did not mar their total dedication to Canada, but actually contributed to it. They loved Canada all the more because of its British inheritance. Here Duncan was dealing with a sentiment similar to that of the earlier nineteenth century immigrant authors.

Writers of this later period were aware that a nation was being built around them. They wanted to impress upon

their readers the urgency and nobility of that task. Canada, it was believed, had a rare opportunity to start on a clean slate and create a unique nation. Ralph Connor won acclaim and a large audience because he wrote about people absorbed in the creation of their nation. He identified this theme in the preface to his novel, The Foreigner:

In Western Canada there is to be seen to-day that most fascinating of all human phenomena, the making of a nation.

(R. Connor, 1909)⁵⁸

Sare Jeannette Duncan expressed her perception of being at "the making of a nation."⁵⁹ Those involved in nation-building were viewed as very fortunate:

"It is a fine thing," said Marjorie, "to have a country to be made, and it is fine to be a man and have a part in the making of it."

(R. Connor, 1909)⁶⁰

Writers expressed pride in the achievements of the nation-builders and encouraged their further enterprise. According to Agnes C. Laut (1871-1936), a journalist and novelist with a particular interest in the Northwest, writing in 1900,

Our men have transformed a wilderness into an empire. They have blazed a path from Labrador on the Atlantic to that rock on the Pacific, where my esteemed kinsman, Sir Alexander MacKenzie, left his inscription of discovery.

(A. C. Laut, 1900)⁶¹

The public was so receptive to this theme that writers felt free to present with no disguise of plot or setting

patriotic, heroic tales of life in Canada. Nationalistic motives were always apparent. For example, although Ralph Connor was concerned with the religious and moral aspects of human character, he was equally interested in how those qualities related to the making of the Canadian nation. His aim was to foster the development of a Canadian nation of high moral fiber. He dedicated his novel Black Rock in 1898 "To the men of Glengarry who in patience, in courage and in the fear of God are helping to build the empire of the Canadian West."⁶² Agnes Laut dedicated her book, Lords of the North, in 1900 "To the Pioneers and their Descendants whose Heroism won the Land."⁶³

Robert Service (1874-1958), the poet who had been born in England and who had moved to Canada in 1894, was equally explicit in his praise for the settlers of the Northwest:

These silent, patient, toiling ones were the
Conquerors of the Great White Land; the Men of the
High North, the Brotherhood of the Arctic Wild. No
saga will ever glorify their deeds, no epic make
them immortal. Their names will be written in the
snows that melt and vanish at the smile of Spring;
but in their works will they live, and their
indomitable spirit will be as a beacon-light,
shining down the dim corridors of Eternity.
(R. Service, 1910)⁶⁴

To some authors the politician, too, was a modern nation-builder and hero, as he had been for writers immediately after Confederation. Sara Jeannette Duncan wrote of one government minister,

He was the sum of all ambition and the centre /sic/ of all importance; he was held to have achieved in the loftiest sense, and probably because he deserved to: a kind of afflatus sat upon him. They paid him real deference and they flocked to hear him.
(S. J. Duncan, 1904)⁶⁵

Many writers continued to write about common men -- villagers, miners, lumbermen, farmers, and newspaper editors. Duncan captivated her audience with accurate portrayals of local politicians, businessmen, and social and family life in a small Ontario town. In Duncan's book the lovers were a teacher and a minister. Farmers were sometimes portrayed as heroes who could accomplish the miracle of growth:

And, O! the myriad miracle of the grain
Cresting the hill, brimming the level plain,
The miracle of the flower and milk and kernel,
Nurtured by sun-fire and frost-fire supernal,
Until the farmer turns it in his hand,
The million-millions miracle of the land.
(D. C. Scott, n.d.)⁶⁶

Although historical novels remained popular, Canadians increasingly enjoyed seeing in their literature a reflection of themselves, or a portrayal of what they might, as a nation, become. Characterizations of ordinary people were realistic rather than romantic. Although Gilbert Parker, who was interested in the French-Canadians and the Métis, sometimes placed his characters in earlier times, he was generally provided realistic characterizations. More important than whether Parker's works actually were or were not representative of Canadian life at the turn of the century is the fact that accuracy was one major criterion on which works of the time were judged.

The Immigrant in Canadian Literature

There were two prevailing attitudes toward immigrants in late nineteenth and early twentieth century literature. Both were reactions to Prime Minister Laurier and minister of the interior Clifford Sifton's efforts to attract settlers to Canada's West. (From 1897-1912 Canada admitted 961,000 immigrants from Britain, 594,000 immigrants from Europe, and 784,000 from the United States.) The first attitude, an extension of nativist thought, assumed that most immigrants were inferior to Canadians and would introduce undesirable foreign ways, and therefore should be kept out or restricted to certain areas. In 1892, for example, Charles Mair complained that "this country is overrun with foreigners of all degree of ignorance and vanity each striving to keep up its own beggarly nationality . . . and succeeding too."⁶⁷ L. M. Montgomery (1874-1942), wrote her highly successful Anne of Green Gables in 1908. Like her heroine, Montgomery was an orphan who grew up in Prince Edward Island. In Anne of Green Gables, the Cuthberts, when about to adopt a child, expressed their preference:

Give me a native born at least. There'll be a risk, no matter who we get. But I'll feel easier in my mind and sleep sounder at nights if we get a born Canadian.

(L. M. Montgomery, 1908)⁶⁸

The second -- and more prevalent -- attitude was that since expansion into the Northwest required more manpower

than was available in Canada, immigrants were necessary and, if not desirable, had at least to be accepted. Rather than being divergent these two attitudes were complementary. Immigrants, a necessary evil, were to be tolerated, particularly if they were European and white. Hopefully, under the pressure of environment and institutions, they would soon adapt to the Canadian way of life. In 1896, the editors of Massey's Magazine outlined the need:

It seems to us the one thing that Canada needs more than anything else is an aggressive emigration /sic/ policy. There are acres upon acres of the best farming land in the world to be had for the asking in the Canadian North-West, and if European emigrants /sic/ were but posted as to advantages which this country possess for the raising of cereals, there is no doubt that a large proportion of those who, at present, are going to other parts of the world, would turn their faces to Canada. The greatest drawback with which this country has had to contend all along, has been its small population in ratio to the wide extent of territory which it covers. The Government which succeeds in filling up the North-West will be doing the greatest good for Canada possible. This country needs more farmers; there has been altogether too much flocking to the cities of late. There is more money to be made in wheat raising in the North-West than in any other single line of business that we know of. If our own people in Canada have not the sense to see this, it is time an alien population were imported to take advantage of the opportunity. . . . The filling up of the North-West with a progressive agricultural population, would be one of the greatest boons this country could enjoy.

(Anon., 1896)⁶⁹

Those who argued in favor of immigrants often concentrated on the Canadianizing power of Canadian institutions,

climate, and citizens to absorb new ethnic groups into the mainstream of Canadian life. Sara Jeannette Duncan felt that schools were the best possible agency of Canadianization:

The Collegiate Institute was a potential melting-pot; you went in as your simple opportunities had made you; how you shaped coming out depended upon what was hidden in the core of you. You could not in any case be the same as your father before you; education in a new country is too powerful a stimulant for that, working upon material too plastic and too hypothetical; it is not yet a normal force, with an operation to be reckoned on with confidence. It is indeed the touchstone for character in a new people, for character acquired as apart from that inherited; it sometimes reveals surprises.

(S. J. Duncan, 1904)⁷⁰

Ralph Connor selected as "those greatest of all Canadianising [sic] influences, the school and the mission."⁷¹ In those institutions immigrants could learn Canadian manners, values, customs, speech, and mode of dress, and rid themselves of undesirable European habits, such as poor health practices. Since Connor, a minister, encouraged his readers to adhere to a moral way of life, many critics have recognized only his moral overtones, without acknowledging the national theme -- not that Connor himself separated them. The goal of Canadian institutions was, he wrote, to teach children to be "good Christians and good Canadians, which is the same thing."⁷²

Immigrants had to be carefully regulated, however, for their foreign habits and ideas could be disruptive to Canadian society. Therefore, law enforcement in immigrant

communities was especially important. An immigrant who was successfully Canadianized, Connor felt, would blend into the Canadian scene, "distinguished from his cosmopolitan fellow citizen only by the slight difficulty he displayed with some of the consonants of the language."⁷³ Immigrants were important to the development of the West, and the West was of great importance to the future of Canada, Connor wrote. "There is no doubt," he continued, "that as far as Canada is concerned the greater part of it is going to be west of Winnipeg -- but it is hard to get some things into eastern people's heads, and I have almost broken my heart trying to prove to the eastern people of Canada the importance of the West."⁷⁴

Connor, like other writers of this later period, also believed that, just as man was transforming nature in Canada, nature had the ability to transform man. Sophisticated European manners and complex skills were of little use in the wilderness. An instinct for survival and a respect for the natural surroundings were a person's best resources. Connor described the effects of the rugged Northwest on the young immigrants from a more civilized life in Britain:

Well born and delicately bred in that atmosphere of culture mingled with a sturdy common sense and a certain high chivalry which surrounds the stately homes of Britain, these young lads, freed from the constraints of custom and surrounding, soon shed all that was superficial in their makeup and stood forth in the naked simplicity of their native manhood. The West discovered and revealed the man in them, sometimes to their honor, often to their shame.

(R. Connor, 1899)⁷⁵

There was a reverse superiority in Connor's belief that even British immigrants could not fare as well as could native born Canadians in the rugged Canadian environment.

The effects of nature on man could be seen most clearly in the persons of European immigrants who settled in the Canadian Northwest.

Out of breeds diverse in traditions, in ideals, in speech, and in manner of life, Saxon and Slav, Teuton, Celt and Gaul, one people is being made. The blood strains of great races will mingle in the blood of a race greater than the greatest of them all.

(R. Connor, 1909)⁷⁶

Although the settlers had varied origins, they soon grew into a homogeneous group:

Among the [Canadian ranchers] are to be found the most enterprising, the most daring, of the peoples of the old lands. The broken, the outcast, the disappointed, these too have found their way to the ranches among the Foothills.

(R. Connor, 1899)⁷⁷

After a short stay in the Canadian wilderness, Connor believed that even immigrants who had no experience working the land would flourish. Those who survived were transformed into rugged individuals Canada was proud to claim as her own.

What a hardy-looking lot they were! Brown, spare, sinewy and hard as nails, they appeared like soldiers back from a hard campaign. They moved and spoke with an easy, careless air of almost lazy indifference, but their eyes had a trick of looking straight out at you, cool and fearless, and you felt they were fit and ready.

(Ibid.)⁷⁸

Duncan wrote of another process of integration --
inter-marriage:

Their grandsons married the daughters of well-to-do persons who came from the north of Ireland, the east of Scotland, and the Lord knows where. It 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.

(S. J. Duncan, 1904)⁷⁹

One measure of how successful the assimilation process had become was the creation of a gulf between the older generations -- born out of the country -- and their children -- born or raised in Canada. Significantly, this same situation might be said to have applied to the relationship between England and Canada at the turn of the century. As Duncan reported,

As in all new societies, between the older and the younger generation there was a great gulf fixed, across which intercourse was difficult. The sons and daughters, born to different circumstances, evolved their own conventions, the old people used the ways and manners of narrower days; one paralysed the other.

(Ibid.)⁸⁰

Connor was awed by the miracle of Canadianization. His heroine in The Foreigner exclaimed:

How wonderful the power of this country of yours to transform men! It is a wonderful country Canada.

(R. Connor, 1909)⁸¹

Connor rewarded the hero of the novel, who had himself achieved Canadianization, with the regard of his peers and the love of a good woman:

"Yes," continued Brown in a reminiscent manner, "I seem to recall how a certain young lady into these ears made solemn declaration that never could she love one of those foreigners."

"Ah," said Marjorie with sweet and serious emphasis, "but not my foreigner, my Canadian foreigner."

(Ibid.)⁸²

Canada's Future

Now Canadian literature, more than ever before, expressed confidence in the country's future. Canada had been established in the midst of disputes among its provinces. It had endured international events -- such as the Alaska Boundary dispute -- and had survived internal stress -- such as the Riel Rebellion. It was developing economically and its population was growing. Its great resources, its noble heritage, and its patriotic citizens all would be factors in the realization of its potential.

Sir James David Edgar (1841-1899), Speaker of the House of Commons, wrote that although Canada was young and did not have a history to match that of the older nations, no other country could compete with Canada's youth and eagerness:

Let other tongues in older lands
 Loud vaunt their claims to glory,
 And chaunt in triumph of the past,
 Content to live in story.
 Tho' boasting no baronial halls,
 Nor ivy-crested towers,
 What past can match thy glorious youth,
 Fair Canada of ours?
 Fair Canada,
 Dear Canada,
 This Canada of ours!

(J. D. Edgar, 1893)⁸³

Rev. Edward Hartley Dewart, the anthologist, shared J. D. Edgar's conviction that the relative lack of history would not affect Canada's future prospects:

No proud historic names have we,
 Whose memory thrills the heart --
 No scenes embalmed by Poesie --
 No hoary castles grand to see --
 The pride of ancient art.

But though the Past has records few,
 In battle, song, or story,
 The Future rises, fair to view,
 Gleaming with morning's youthful dew,
 And bright with coming glory.

(E. H. Dewart, 1893)⁸⁴

Charles G. D. Roberts believed that because of Canada's rich heritage, "material, intellectual, spiritual,"⁸⁵ the possibilities were endless:

Boundless are the possibilities of that future upon which the eyes of Canada are now fixed with confident but questing hope. We feel dimly the movement of great forces, our veins thrill with the impulse of an eager national life, and the figure of our destiny looms splendid and mysterious before us.

(C. G. D. Roberts, 1897)⁸⁶

More important, Canada presumably had been chosen for greatness by those powers that control the fate of the world:

Thus, peculiarly favoured by the God of Nations, we stand with our feet on the threshold of the future. . . . We feel that these are great and significant days. We seem to ourselves the children of Destiny.

(Ibid.)⁸⁷

The novelist, Gilbert Parker compared Canada's development to that of a child into an adult.

You are playing on the shores of life, and so am I.
 You are beginning to think and dream, and so am I.
 We are only children till we begin to make our
 dreams our life. So I am one with you, for only
 now do I step from dream to action.

(G. Parker, 1898)⁸⁸

Sara Jeannette Duncan expressed the potential of Canada as "the sum of its possibilities"⁸⁹ and offered her opinion that "it is only a question of time."⁹⁰ Sometimes having a limited history could be an advantage. Her hero, Lorne Murchison, said proudly and eagerly,

Oh, yes, there is something in a fresh start:
 we're on the straight road as a nation, in most
 respects; we haven't any picturesque old pre-
 scribed lanes to travel.

(S. J. Duncan, 1904)⁹¹

Ralph Connor's characters similarly believed Canada would have a great future. All that Canada might achieve was not yet even dreamed of:

No man can tell, for no man knows the magnificence
 of its possibilities. We have only skirted round
 the edge and scratched its surface.

(R. Connor, 1909)⁹²

James Ernest Caldwell, in his book of poems, Songs of the Pines, promised his country a fine future:

My country, my Country,
 Thy life line readeth true --
 There's not a land in all the earth
 Shall triumph over you.

(J. E. Caldwell, 1895)⁹³

William Douw Lighthall attributed to the people of Canada characteristics befitting the rich potential of their physical environment:

We love our fascinating, generous land, which produces no poor or oppressed; and our open-hearted people, who are going forward to a future so magnificent as our present seems to paint. We rejoice in our descent from the highest races of the world; in our history, our freedom, our progress, our opportunities of education; the strength, the courage and the limitless resources which promise so much. We have each our dream of what shall be when that promise is fulfilled, of the limitless prairies populated, all the forests put to use, and all the gigantic mines developed, of a majestic nation more great than any now upon the globe, -- of order, peace and happiness to hundreds of millions.

(Ibid.)⁹⁴

Lighthall projected the same vision of the Canadian future into his poetry:

Young Man.

What are the Vision and the Cry
That haunt the new Canadian soul?
Dim grandeur spreads we know not why
O'er mountain, forest, tree, and knoll,
And murmurs indistinctly fly. --
Some magic moment sure is nigh.
O Seer, the curtain roll!

Seer.

The Vision, mortal, it is this --
Dead mountain, forest, knoll, and tree
Awaken all endued with bliss,
A native land -- O think! -- to be --
Thy native land -- and ne'er amiss,
Its smile shall like a lover's kiss
From henceforth seem to thee.

The Cry thou couldst not understand,
Which runs through that new realm of light,
From Breton's to Vancouver's strand
O'er many a lovely landscape bright,
It is their waking utterance grand,
The great refrain, "A NATIVE LAND!"
Thine be the ear, the sight.

(W. D. Lighthall, 1893)⁹⁵

Andrew MacPhail, the essayist, took a less idealistic but equally optimistic view of Canada's future:

Here we are outstretched three thousand miles between two oceans, squeezed in between the frozen North and a nation from which we must differentiate ourselves, unless we are content merely to cast our lives into that welter of humanity. We are an aggregate of elements sufficiently diverse, separated from each other by mountains and wilderness, by language, and theological dogma. But the difficulties are not insurmountable if we address ourselves to them with honesty and sweetness of temper. It will take a long time -- if we measure time by the life of man -- to compose our differences and grow together; a short time if we measure time by the life of a nation.

(A. MacPhail, 1909)⁹⁶

Nature

Since it was on the bounty of nature that much of their optimism was based, Canadian authors continued to celebrate the natural beauties of their country. Far from growing tired of the theme of Canadian nature, writers expanded it to include new locales. As in other areas of literature, the changes in writing about nature corresponded to actual experiences. With the settling of the Northwest, writers discovered the Canadian Rockies, the Yukon, and the Northwest Territories.⁹⁷ "We have a great field for our story writers and poets in the Northwest," wrote William Alexander Fraser (1859-1933), journalist and writer of animal stories, in 1899.

There is local colour in abundance, and the colour of God which is the beauty of the universe. I have been in many parts of the world, the Orient and the Occident; I have seen beautiful places and magnificent parks; but let me tell you, gentlemen, that the most beautiful spot on this round earth is the valley of the Northern Saskatchewan, in this strong, rugged country that stands as a rampart between the Atlantic and Pacific. Go there, gentlemen, in August and September, and you will see God's own garden stretching mile on mile, from silver stream to the eternal blue of the distant "Rockies."

If our young writers wish for a true literature, let them go there, out into the open, into the university of God, even as Moses did for forty years.

(W. A. Fraser, 1899)⁹⁸

The beauty of Canadian nature was cause for rejoicing -- in itself and as a metaphor for the Canadian people. Archibald Lampman, the young poet who lived in Ottawa, wrote in 1891 that the Canadian seasons helped mold the national character:

Our seasons are seasons of glittering splendour and incomparable richness of colour. At the same time we have the utmost diversity of scenery, a country exhibiting every variety of beauty and grandeur. A Canadian race, we imagine, might combine the energy, the seriousness, the perseverance of the Scandinavians with something of the gayety, the elasticity, the quickness of spirit of the south. If these qualities could be united in a literature, the result would indeed be something novel and wonderful.

(A. Lampman, 1891)⁹⁹

Writers were more concerned with the effects of nature on character. They credited winter especially with fostering heartiness, resourcefulness, and other desirable traits:

I sat within my window, and looked forth
Upon a scene of cold magnificence.

Winter was come -- Canadian winter -- keen,
 Rough, hardening, maker of sturdy men,
 And women fairer than the south wind knows.
 (W. Kirby, 1894)¹⁰⁰

The Canadian spectacle lent a sense of vastness and awe, a feeling of oneness with nature:

Before us lay the hills, curving softly like the shoulders of great sleeping monsters, their tops still bright, but the separating valleys full of shadow. And there, far beyond them, up against the sky, was the line of the mountains -- blue, purple, and gold, according as the light fell upon them. The sun had taken his plunge, but he left behind him his robes of saffron and gold. We stood long without a word or movement, filling our hearts with the silence and the beauty, till the gold in the west began to grow dim.
 (R. Connor, 1899)¹⁰¹

Many writers thought also of the usefulness of nature. William Douw Lighthall marvelled at the resources of Canada. There seemed to be no end to Canada's bounty:

Every little while we are astonished by some fresh discovery of national wealth: -- at one time it is the Fertile Belt; at another, the Peace River country; at another, our Golden Klondike; the pre-eminent lumber wealth of British Columbia; the coal of Vancouver. . . . the unexplored forests and mines of Labrador and Hudson's Bay; the control of the world's supply of nickel; the Clay Belt of Ontario, the enormous value of our water powers, and a hundred other discoveries of the same prodigious nature, full of wonder and of satisfaction. This is our Golden Age.

(W. D. Lighthall, 1904)¹⁰²

The emerging cities provided proof that nature, combined with Canadian intelligence and labor, could create something admirable and distinctive. To Lampman, no city could match the beauties of nature; yet Ottawa had a majestic bearing and a certain enchantment:

A CITY set like a star
 Of stone on a soft grey hill,
 A river that shineth afar,
 A serpent silver still.

(A. Lampman, n.d.)¹⁰³

Duncan Campbell Scott shared Lampman's admiration of that city:

CITY about whose brow the north winds blow,
 Girdled with woods and shod with river foam,
 Called by a name as old as Troy or Rome,
 Be great as they, but pure as thine own snow;
 Rather flash up amid the auroral glow,
 The Lamia city of the northern star,
 Than be so hard with craft or wild with war,
 Peopled with deeds remembered for their woe.

Thou art too bright for guile, too young for tears,
 And thou wilt live to be too strong for Time;
 For he may mock thee with his furrowed frowns,
 But thou wilt grow in calm throughout the years,
 Cinctured with peace and crowned with power sublime,
 The maiden queen of all the towered towns.
 (D. C. Scott, n.d.)¹⁰⁴

The writers of the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries considered nature not only in itself but also as a force with which Canadians had to contend. Nature could be beneficent or threatening. On a smaller scale, the battle between man and nature symbolized the struggle Canadians faced in the creation of their nation. As nature stood in the way of the settler, so too did Britain, the United States, and the old economic order inhibit Canada's progress.

Man competing against unpredictable nature became a common theme. To Robert Service, whose poems documented the gold rush in the Yukon, nature was always "the foe," constantly challenging and testing man. Only the brave and quick-thinking would survive.

With the raw-ribbed Wild that abhors all life,
 the Wild that would crush and rend,
 I have clinched and closed with the naked
 North, I have learned to defy and defend;
 Shoulder to shoulder we have fought it out --
 yet the Wild must win in the end.
 (R. Service, 1907)¹⁰⁵

But there were rewards of material prosperity and the forging of a great nation to be reaped. What was needed were men who were a match for nature, "with the hearts of vikings, and the simple faith of a child."¹⁰⁶ Service pointed out the hazards and potential profits of life in the undeveloped northern country in "The Law of the Yukon":

This is the law of the Yukon, and ever she makes
 it plain:
 "Send not your foolish and feeble; send me your
 strong and your sane --
 Strong for the red rage of battle; sane, for I
 harry them sore;
 Send me men girt for the combat, men who are grit to
 the core;
 Swift as the panther in triumph, fierce as the
 bear in defeat,
 Sired of a bulldog parent, steeled in the furnace
 heat.
 Send me the best of your breeding, lend me your
 chosen ones;
 Them will I take to my bosom, them will I call my
 sons;
 Them will I guild with my treasure, them will I
 glut with my meat;
 But the others -- the misfits, the failures -- I
 trample under my feet.
 Dissolute, damned and despairful, crippled and
 palsied and slain,
 Ye would send me the spawn of your gutters --
 Go! take back your spawn again."
 (Ibid.)¹⁰⁷

Nature, Service's message was, had to be treated with respect. The laws of nature were not, in the end so different from those of civilization. The greedy, the criminal, the base could not survive the wilderness. But the hard-working and the well-intentioned would be rewarded with "cities leaping to stature," and with "fame like a flag unfurled."¹⁰⁸ Nature, ultimately, wanted to be tamed, but only by those worthy of its riches. Service's poems echoed much turn-of-the-century thought, particularly Darwinian natural selection and rejection of effete cosmopolitan values. The demands of nature called forth the true self in every person.

Despite the perils, however, Service spoke for those who would not settle for any other way of life:

No! There's the land. (Have you seen it?)
 It's the cussedest land that I know,
 From the big dizzy mountains that screen it
 To the deep, deathlike valleys below.
 Some say God was tired when He made it;
 Some say it's a fine land to shun.
 Maybe; but there's some as would trade it
 For no land on earth -- and I'm one.
 (R. Service, 1907)¹⁰⁹

Although the gold might provide the initial incentive, the thrill of becoming part of the grandeur of nature became for many an end in itself:

There's gold and it's haunting and haunting
 It's luring me on as of old;
 Yet it isn't the gold that I'm wanting
 So much as just finding the gold.

It's the great, big, broad land 'way up yonder,
 It's the forests where silence has lease;
 It's the beauty that thrills me with wonder,
 It's the stillness that fills me with peace,
 (Ibid.)¹¹⁰

The symbols of Canadian nature used in literature since the early part of the nineteenth century were still popular, because they were important not only to the expression of national identity, but also to the development of a literary tradition. In 1897 the following passage appeared in the Canadian Magazine:

Again, nature presents to the people of Canada a face which is unlike the face she presents to any other of the world's nations. The pine, the maple, the beaver -- are not these exclusively ours? Other nations may have flowers and trees and animals, but they are not Canadian; they may have an autumn of their own, but they can never have one similar or equal to ours; they may have rivers or lakes, but they have no Canadian rafts and Canadian canoes.
 (J. A. Cooper, 1897)¹¹¹

Odes to Canada

In addition to the nature poems which were, in a sense, all odes to Canada, there was an increasing flow of patriotic doggerel. This sphere of literature was not reserved to established writers. Ordinary Canadians, who had never written professionally, felt moved by patriotic sentiment to record the beauties of their land or the intensity of their love for Canada. National holidays always brought forth much verse of this kind. It often seemed that a poem to be popular merely had to contain the word "Canada" at crucial

intervals. The satirical journal, Grip, parodied the growing literary patriotism:

I am a literary man,
 I'm anxious all should know it.
 Can I write verse? I think I can --
 Why, then, I'll be a poet.
 I'll get me out a book of rhymes
 Like this -- or even neater,
 On subjects suited to the times,
 In easy flowing metre.
 I rather think I know the trick,
 The patriotic racket,
 I'll plaster 'loyalty' on thick,
 There's no one dare attack it.
 I'll work Canadian spirit in,
 'Twill be appreciated,
 And though the thing's a trifle thin,
 My fame will be created.

(Anon. 1889)¹¹²

One enthusiastic poet, Robert Reid, wrote a joyful descriptive poem about Canada's rivers, mountains, forests, and prairies which began,

Sing me a song of the great Dominion!
 Soul-felt words for a patriot's ear!
 Ring out boldly the well-turned measure,
 Voicing your notes that the world may hear;
 Here is no starveling -- Heaven-forsaken --
 Shrinking aside where the Nations throng;
 Proud as the proudest moves she among them --
 Worthy is she of a noble song!

(R. Reid, n.d.)¹¹³

Poets frequently expressed pride in all that Canada had accomplished since the days when it was founded as a French colony. George Washington Johnson's "This Canada of Ours" lists some of Canada's accomplishments:

We have made us a Dominion
 In this region of the west;
 And this Canada of ours
 Is the land we love the best;
 For our homes are halls of plenty,
 We have peace on every hand,
 And our people are as noble
 As the lords of any land.

(G. W. Johnson, 1893)¹¹⁴

Charles G. D. Roberts wrote many poems of love to his native land. He expressed his hopes for Canada, his faith, and his conscious feelings of nationalism in "Collect for Dominion Day":

Father of nations! Help of the feeble hand!
 Strength of the strong! to whom the nations kneel!
 Stay and destroyer, at whose just command
 Earth's kingdoms tremble and her empires reel!
 Who dost the low uplift, the small make great,
 And dost abase the ignorantly proud,
 Of our scant people mould a mightystate,
 To the strong, stern, -- to Thee in meekness bowed!
 Father of unity, make this people one!
 Weld, interfuse them in the patriot's flame, --
 Whose forging on thine anvil was begun
 In blood late shed to purge the common shame;
 That so our hearts, the fever of faction done,
 Banish old feud in our young nation's name.

(C. G. D. Roberts, 1901)¹¹⁵

John Daniel Logan (1869-1929), a Nova Scotia born poet, critic, and educator, was an associate archivist for the Public Archives of Canada, as well as a professor at various times at Dalhousie University, the State University at South Dakota, and Marquette University. Logan included in his 1911 anthology, Songs of the Makers of Canada and Other Homeland Lyrics, a poem entitled simply, "Ode to Canada":

Thy fame has reached the Nations' ears;
 They watch thee in amaze
 Who knew thy weakling days,
 And wonder at thy fruitful years
 And thy swift, virile ways.
 They know not yet the might thou hast;
 They dream of glories that are past,
 And deeds of long ago.
 But thou, my country, Canada,
 Be Strong, -- and grow!

(Anon., 1911)¹¹⁶

Many authors of this later period felt, as did Sara Jeannette Duncan's hero, Lorne Murchison, that Canada was even more desirable after a trip abroad. Authors frequently expressed dread at the prospect of leaving their homeland, and happiness when they once again sighted the Canadian shore:

You know the joy of coming home,
 After long leagues to France or Spain;
 You feel the clear Canadian foam
 And the gulf water heave again.

(D. C. Scott, 1902)¹¹⁷

William Douw Lighthall, in his poem "My Native Land," wrote that the spirit and memory of Canada accompanied him wherever he journeyed:

Rome, Florence, Venice -- noble, fair and quaint,
 They reign in robes of magic round me here;
 But fading, blotted, dim, a picture faint,
 With spell more silent, only pleads a tear.
 Plead not! Thou hast my heart, O picture dim!
 I see the fields, I see the autumn hand
 Of God upon the maples! Answer Him
 With weird, translucent glories, ye that stand
 Like spirits in scarlet and in amethyst!
 I see the sun break over you; the mist
 On hills that lift from iron bases grand
 Their heads superb! -- the dream, it is my native
 land.

(W. D. Lighthall, n.d.)¹¹⁸

Archibald MacMechan (1862-1933), the essayist who was born in Ontario but moved to Nova Scotia, associated grey clouds and dreary days with travel away from home, and sunshine, pretty houses, and complete joy with return to his native land. Seeing the land of his birth "refreshes the eyes . . . and the spirit of gladness so plain in earth and sky has touched my heart and stirred my pulses."¹¹⁹ His description of the ride home, and of the contrast between foreign country and native land was moving:

Yesterday and all last night, I was travelling by train through an alien country; at daybreak, I crossed the frontier, and awoke in my own. Yesterday was dreary: the road ran through a wilderness of rock and scrub and lingering snow, overhung by motionless grey cloud. But this May morning, the sun is shining brightly in a sky of fleckless, stainless blue. Through the car-window, I look out upon white villages and farm-houses dotting acres of cultivated land. Between yesterday and to-day the contrast is complete in weather and in landscape,
(A. MacMechan, 1901)¹²⁰

Toward the end of the passage, MacMechan could no longer restrain the excitement he felt on approaching his home. He burst into exclamations of joy:

My country! Mine, mine, mine, my own! This land brought me forth, bred me, gives me the means of living. However poor, it is still mine. I am part of it and of no other. My country, mine!
(Ibid.)¹²¹

His enthusiasm extended to his mother's grave, which seemed to bind him ever more firmly to the land:

It is my own by the graves within it. My dead are
here, my country, mine!

(Ibid.)¹²²

Bliss Carman, in a poem written toward the end of the nineteenth century, expressed a desire to go once more to his Canadian homeland in death, if not during his lifetime:

Comrades, comrades, have me buried
Like a warrior of the sea,
With the flag across my breast
And my sword upon my knee.

Steering out from vanished headlands
For a harbor on no chart,
With the winter in the rigging,
With the ice-wind in my heart,

How I wander in my dreaming!
Are we nothing nearer home,
Or outbound for fresh adventure
On the reeling plains of foam?

North I think it is, my comrades,
Where one heart-beat counts for ten,
Where the loving hand is loyal,
And the women's sons are men;

Where the red auroras tremble
When the polar night is still,
Lighting home the worn sea farers
To their haven in the hill.

(B. Carman, 1893)¹²³

Carman shared with Robert Service the desire to be one with nature. For many writers, the most powerful and easily recognizable Canadian literary symbol was the vast, beckoning land itself.

Footnotes for Chapter IV

¹Duncan Campbell Scott, December 31, 1892 in At the Mermaid Inn conducted by A. Lampman, W. W. Campbell, Duncan C. Scott. Being Selections from Essays on Life and Literature, which appeared in the Toronto Globe 1892-1893, ed. Arthur S. Bourinot (Ottawa: by the Editor, 1958), p. 72.

²W. W. Campbell, December 8, 1892 in Bourinot, ed., At the Mermaid Inn . . ., p. 68.

³Ibid.

⁴W. W. Campbell, August 6, 1892 in Bourinot, ed., At the Mermaid Inn . . ., p. 45.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Raise the Flag and other Patriotic Canadian Songs and Poems (Toronto: Rose Publishing Company, 1891), preface.

⁷E. G. Nelson, "Raise the Flag," Ibid., p. 7.

⁸Theodore H. Rand, ed., A Treasury of Canadian Verse (Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1969), p. xii.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Rand, "The Whitethroat," Ibid., p. 1.

¹¹John Daniel Logan, ed., Songs of the Makers of Canada and Other Homeland Lyrics (Toronto: William Briggs, 1911), p. 12.

¹²Ibid., pp. 37-47.

¹³Ibid., p. 11.

¹⁴Letter of E. W. Thomson to W. W. Campbell, April 27, 1891, in the Campbell Papers, Lorne Pierce Collection (Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario), Box 9.

¹⁵W. W. Campbell, August 6, 1892 in Bourinot, ed., At the Mermaid Inn . . ., pp. 45-46.

¹⁶Canadian Courier XXI, no. 22 (April 28, 1917), p. 3.

¹⁷H. P. Moore, "Canadian Journalism: Its Opportunities and Responsibilities," Canadian Methodist Magazine 62, no. 3 (September, 1905), p. 240.

¹⁸Ibid., pp. 240-241.

¹⁹"Editorial Notes," Massey's Magazine I, no. 1 (January 1896), p. 63.

²⁰Massey's Magazine I, no. 5 (May, 1896), p. 288.

²¹Letter of Fred W. Falls to W. W. Campbell, December 17, 1895, in the Campbell Papers, Lorne Pierce Collection (Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario), Box 9.

²²Hans Kohn, The Idea of Nationalism: A Study in its Origins and Background (New York: Collier Books, 1967), p. 292.

²³Seymour Martin Lipset, The First New Nation: the United States in Historical and Comparative Perspective (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1963), p. 256.

²⁴Sara Jeannette Duncan, The Imperialist (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1968), p. 99.

²⁵Charles G. D. Roberts, A History of Canada (Boston: Lamson, Wolfe, and Company, 1897), pp. 439-440.

²⁶Letter of Charles Mair to Col. G. T. Denison, Good Friday, 1902, in the G. T. Denison Papers (Public Archives, Ottawa, Ontario), Vols. 9 and 10, p. 4502.

²⁷Letter of George M. Grant to Col. G. T. Denison, September 17, 1896, in the G. T. Denison Papers (Public Archives, Ottawa, Ontario), Vols. 7 and 8, p. 3103.

²⁸Duncan, p. 232.

²⁹Ibid., p. 129.

³⁰Ibid., p. 170.

³¹Ibid., pp. 123-124.

³²Letter of Charles Mair to Col. G. T. Denison, February 10, 1892, in the G. T. Denison Papers (Public Archives, Ottawa, Ontario), Vols. 5 and 6, p. 2157.

³³George R. Parkin, Imperial Federation: The Problems of National Unity (London: Macmillan and Co., 1892), pp. 132-133.

- ³⁴Duncan, p. 51.
- ³⁵Gilbert Parker, Pierre and His People: Tales of the Far North (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1898), p. 54.
- ³⁶Duncan, p. 96.
- ³⁷Ibid. p. 122.
- ³⁸Ibid., p. 210.
- ³⁹William Douw Lighthall, Canada A Modern Nation (Montreal: Witness Printing House, 1904) p. 10.
- ⁴⁰Wilfred Campbell, "Show the Way, England," The Collected Poems of Wilfred Campbell (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1905), p. 305.
- ⁴¹Agnes Maule Machar, Lays of the 'True North' and other Canadian Poems (Toronto: The Copp, Clark Co., Limited, 1899), p. 5.
- ⁴²Duncan, p. 118.
- ⁴³Andrew MacPhail, Essays in Politics (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1909), p. 37.
- ⁴⁴Machar, p. 108.
- ⁴⁵Ibid., p. 93.
- ⁴⁶Duncan, p. 29.
- ⁴⁷Duncan, p. 262.
- ⁴⁸E. Pauline Johnson, "The Riders of the Plains," Canadian Born (Toronto: George N. Morang & Co., Limited, 1903), p. 27.
- ⁴⁹Ibid., pp. 28-29.
- ⁵⁰Duncan Campbell Scott, "Indian Place Names," Canadian Poems 1850-1952, eds. Louis Dudek and Irving Layton (Toronto: Contact Press, 1953), p. 48.
- ⁵¹William Henry Drummond, Dr. W. H. Drummond's Complete Poems (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1926), p. xxvii.

- ⁵²Ibid., p. 1.
- ⁵³Ibid., "The Habitant's Jubilee Ode," p. 117.
- ⁵⁴William Henry Drummond, "How Bateese Came Home," Massey's Magazine I, no. 1 (January, 1896), p. 42.
- ⁵⁵Drummond, "Canadian Forever," Complete Poems, p. 356.
- ⁵⁶Editors, Alexander McLachlan, The Poetical Works of Alexander McLachlan (Toronto: William Briggs, 1900), p. 278.
- ⁵⁷Sara Jeannette Duncan, The Imperialist (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1968), p. 21.
- ⁵⁸Ralph Connor /Charles William Gordon/ The Foreigner: A Tale of Saskatchewan (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1909), preface.
- ⁵⁹Duncan, p. 110.
- ⁶⁰Connor, The Foreigner, p. 378.
- ⁶¹Agnes C. Laut, Lords of the North (New York: J. F. Taylor & Company, 1900), p. 10.
- ⁶²Ralph Connor, Black Rock (New York: Thomas Crowell and Company, 1898), dedication.
- ⁶³Laut, dedication.
- ⁶⁴Robert Service, The Trail of '98: A Northland Romance (New York: Grosset & Dunlap Publishers, 1910), p. 117.
- ⁶⁵Duncan, p. 226.
- ⁶⁶Duncan Campbell Scott, The Poems of Duncan Campbell Scott (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Publishers, 1926), p. 11.
- ⁶⁷Letter of Charles Mair to Col. G. T. Denison, November 11, 1892, in G. T. Denison Papers (Public Archives, Ottawa, Ontario), Vols. 11 and 12, p. 4748.
- ⁶⁸L. M. Montgomery, Anne of Green Gables (Boston: L. C. Page & Company, 1908), pp. 8-9.
- ⁶⁹"Current Comment. Editorial," Massey's Magazine II, no. 5 (November, 1896), p. 366.

- ⁷⁰Duncan, p. 76.
- ⁷¹Ralph Connor, The Settler: A Tale of Saskatchewan (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1909), p. 123.
- ⁷²Ibid., p. 198.
- ⁷³Connor, The Foreigner, p. 157.
- ⁷⁴Charles W. Gordon, "Romance and Reality of North-West Missions," Canadian Methodist Magazine 57, no. 3 (March, 1903), pp. 252-253.
- ⁷⁵Ralph Connor, The Sky Pilot (New York: Grosset & Dunlap Publishers, 1899), pp. 26-27.
- ⁷⁶Connor, The Foreigner, preface.
- ⁷⁷Connor, Sky Pilot, p. 12.
- ⁷⁸Ibid., p. 25.
- ⁷⁹Duncan, p. 47.
- ⁸⁰Ibid., p. 52.
- ⁸¹Connor, The Foreigner, p. 378.
- ⁸²Ibid., p. 384.
- ⁸³James David Edgar, "This Canada of Ours, A National Song," This Canada of Ours and Other Poems (Toronto: William Briggs, 1893), p. 5.
- ⁸⁴E. H. Dewart, "God Bless Canada," Patriotic Recitations and Arbor Day Exercises, ed., George W. Ross (Toronto: Warwick Bros. & Rutter, 1893), p. 56.
- ⁸⁵Roberts, History . . ., p. 437.
- ⁸⁶Ibid.
- ⁸⁷Ibid., p. 438.
- ⁸⁸Gilbert Parker, When Valmond Came to Pontiac (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1898), p. 19.
- ⁸⁹Duncan, p. 80.

- ⁹⁰Ibid.
- ⁹¹Ibid., p. 110.
- ⁹²Connor, The Foreigner, p. 378.
- ⁹³James Ernest Caldwell, Songs of the Pines (Toronto: William Briggs, 1895), p. 14.
- ⁹⁴Lighthall, Canada . . ., p. 7.
- ⁹⁵William Douw Lighthall, "The Confused Dawn," Canadian Poems and Lays: Selections of Native Verse, Reflecting the Seasons, Legends, and Life of the Dominion (London: Walter Scott, Limited, 1893), pp. 18-19.
- ⁹⁶MacPhail, Essays . . ., p. 46.
- ⁹⁷Charles William Gordon chose as his pseudonym the name Cannor, an abbreviation for Canadian North West, but it was misconstrued by his publisher as Connor.
- ⁹⁸W. A. Fraser, "Literature," Canadian Magazine XIII (May 1899) reprinted in The Search for English-Canadian Literature: An Anthology of Critical Articles from the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries, ed., Carl Ballstadt (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), p. 158.
- ⁹⁹Archibald Lampman, "Two Canadian Poets: A Lecture by Archibald Lampman," University of Toronto Quarterly XIII, no. 4 (July, 1944), p. 408.
- ¹⁰⁰William Kirby, Canadian Idylls (Welland, Ontario: 1894), p. 137.
- ¹⁰¹Connor, Sky Pilot, p. 50.
- ¹⁰²Lighthall, Canada . . ., p. 26.
- ¹⁰³Archibald Lampman, At the Long Sault and other new poems (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1943), p. 20.
- ¹⁰⁴Duncan Campbell Scott, "Ottawa," The Poems of . . . p. 136.
- ¹⁰⁵Robert Service, "The Heart of the Sourdough," The Spell of the Yukon and Other Verses (New York: Barse & Hopkins Publishers, 1907), p. 21.

- ¹⁰⁶Service, "The Law of the Yukon," Ibid., p. 29.
- ¹⁰⁷Ibid., pp. 24-25.
- ¹⁰⁸Ibid., p. 30.
- ¹⁰⁹Service, "The Spell of the Yukon," Ibid., p. 15.
- ¹¹⁰Ibid., p. 18.
- ¹¹¹John A. Cooper, "Should Our Literature Be Canadian?" Canadian Magazine VIII (April, 1897) reprinted in The Search for English-Canadian Literature . . ., ed. Ballstadt, p. 108.
- ¹¹²"Manufacturing Native Literature," Grip XXXIII, no. 9 (August 31, 1889), p. 134.
- ¹¹³Robert Reid, "A Song of Canada," A Treasury of Canadian Verse, ed., Rand, pp. 290-292.
- ¹¹⁴G. W. Johnson, "This Canada of Ours," Patriotic Recitations . . ., ed. Ross, p. 50.
- ¹¹⁵Charles G. D. Roberts, "Collect for Dominion Day," Poems (New York: Silver, Burdett and Company, 1901), p. 63.
- ¹¹⁶"Ode to Canada," Songs of the Makers of Canada and Other Homeland Lyrics, ed., John Daniel Logan (Toronto: William Briggs, 1911), p. 34.
- ¹¹⁷Duncan Campbell Scott, "Off Rivière du Loup," Poets of the Younger Generation, ed., William Archer (London: John Lane, The Bodley Head, 1902), p. 385.
- ¹¹⁸William Douw Lighthall, "My Native Land," Rand, ed., Treasury . . ., p. 186.
- ¹¹⁹Archibald MacMechan, "My Own Country," The Porter of Bagdad and Other Fantasies (Toronto: George N. Morang, 1901), p. 43.
- ¹²⁰Ibid., p. 41.
- ¹²¹Ibid., p. 43.
- ¹²²Ibid.
- ¹²³Bliss Carman, "The Last Watch," Later Canadian Poems, ed., J. E. Wetherell (Toronto: The Copp, Clark Company, Limited, 1893), pp. 56-58.

CHAPTER V

THE EXISTENCE OF CANADIAN LITERATURE

Throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth Canadians debated whether or not Canada had a national literature. The debate -- at first merely a series of comments on the state of Canadian literature, later an extensive and continuing discussion -- gathered intensity as the century progressed. The increase in the number of literary journals toward the end of the century enlarged the forum for Canadians engaged in the search for a distinctive literature. As Archibald Lampman said, "A country only reaches full national consciousness when it has developed a literature."¹ Other writers agreed that "when a people comes to have a literature of its own, produced by itself and of itself, it has become a nation, and is no longer a minor in the Councils of the world."²

The ongoing debate registered a certain disagreement over what constituted a national literature. The problem was more complex than simply reaching an acceptable literary definition. Some Canadian writers had been born outside of the country; others, born and bred in Canada, had pursued their literary careers elsewhere. The debate necessarily involved the question of which writers were to be considered "Canadian." Charles G. D. Roberts addressed the issue when he

generously defined Canadian literature as "a body of work in prose and verse, produced by writers who are either (a) Canadians by birth and breeding (and therefore inescapably a product of the soil) or (b) Canadians whose adoption is so complete that their subconscious impulses tend to make them think and feel as Canadians."³

The Debate

"We are ignored," Sara Jeannette Duncan wrote in 1886, "and we ignore ourselves."⁴ Many writers felt that way; but in fact much time and effort were expended deploring the lack of -- or slow development of -- a native literature, in defending the literature that did exist, and in trying to arouse general interest in the topic.

Those who subscribed to the theory that a Canadian literature did exist documented their arguments with statistics on Canadian journals, books published in Canada, books written by Canadian authors, and writers living in Canada.

Those who doubted that Canada had a national literature cited the dearth of major Canadian writers, the large number of writers in Canada born in other lands, and the number of native-born authors who had left Canada to write elsewhere. Stylistically, they said, Canadian authors had added nothing by way of an innovative literary style to English-language literature; they had merely borrowed their literary techniques

from British and American schools of literature. Furthermore, they had rarely bothered to adapt those borrowed techniques to Canadian subjects. These skeptics had their own nationalistic motives. They used their articles, much as Haliburton had his writings, to goad Canadians on to creating the distinctive national literature they felt did not yet exist.

The vindicators of a national literature habitually dated its beginnings as just before their own entry onto the scene. In the 1840s, the editors of the Literary Garland attested to the existence of a native literature, which, they claimed, had not existed twenty years earlier. The proof, they suggested, lay in the favorable reception given their journal, and the cause in the progress of settlement:

The industry of the older settlers has placed many of them in easy circumstances, and the wealth which their hands have earned has supplied them with the wished-for leisure. They have opportunities to cultivate their mental powers, and they are not backward in availing themselves of the blessed privilege.

(Anon., 1843)⁵

The Literary Garland assured its readers in 1843 that since the "corner stone"⁶ of Canadian literature had already been laid, it would not be long before Canada would be known as "a literary country."⁷ By the 1860s many others agreed that a Canadian literature, though still, like Canada itself, in its infancy, did exist:

Hard as Canada has had to toil, in developing her great natural resources and laying the foundations of strength and freedom, she has already begun to wreath the practical prose of her energetic and forceful young life with the flowers of fancy and song.

(Anon., 1863)⁸

In 1872 a columnist for The Canadian Monthly and National Review announced that Canada at last had a literature, one which had evolved only within the previous decade:

Until the last decade, the Canadian publishing trade had no existence worthy of the name. The pamphlets and treatises of former days fell still-born from the press. The reading public was too limited to warrant the risking of capital in so precarious a venture. With the exception of a few standard works of a religious character, our books, generally professional, with a dash of popular poetry, were invariably American reprints. Meanwhile, as wealth accumulated, opportunities for culture presented themselves to a large number of those who, by taste or ability, were inclined to literary pursuits. Thence arose the intellectual life among us.

(Anon., 1872)⁹

The 'eighties discovered a native literature all over again. "It is encouraging," Rose Belford's Canadian Monthly said in 1881,

. . . to perceive the increase, a considerable one during the last five years, of volumes of poetry, which, if they do not rise to the higher regions of Parnassus, at least are considerably above the flat prosaic level. This, at all events, shows that a graceful command of expression and of literary form is spreading among a wide circle and not merely through a clique in Canada. Our readers may observe that the poems in the CANADIAN MONTHLY, are signed with names or noms de plume dating from all quarters of the Dominion, Winnipeg, New Brunswick, Kingston, Montreal, Halifax, and even from a place so remote from civilization as Yorkville itself!

(Anon., 1881)¹⁰

John Charles Dent (1841-1888), the journalist and historian who was born in England and educated in Canada, said the same year:

It is encouraging to note, however, that while our literature and journalism do not smack so essentially of our Canadian soil as to be spoken of as distinctively home productions, there has of late years been a very perceptible advance in the character of both. . . . At the present day we have in our midst several authors -- their name is not legion, but they have an actual potential existence -- who have received their educational training solely in Canadian schools, whose experience of life has been gained solely on Canadian ground, whose aspirations do not extend beyond our own boundaries, and who nevertheless can so write the English language that no monthly or quarterly reviewer need blush to acknowledge the product as his own.

(J. C. Dent, 1881)¹¹

At the end of the 'nineties, however, Charles G. D. Roberts traced the beginnings of Canadian literature back to political developments in 1848. His view was unusual: not only did he acknowledge the beginnings of a Canadian literature in earlier times, but he also recognized the impact political events had on the nation's cultural and intellectual development:

The real beginnings of a literary spirit in Canada may be said to date from the triumph of Responsible Government. That struggle had broadened men's minds and taught them to think for themselves. With consciousness of power came the desire for expression. Good work was done in the newspapers, chiefly, of course, on political questions. Patriotic poems and essays were written.

(C. G. D. Roberts, 1897)¹²

By the turn of the century observers were reporting an increase both in the production of Canadian literature and in the interest of the Canadian public in that literature. "The scales have been gradually dropping from the eyes of the intelligent Canadian reader," Lawrence J. Burpee (1873-1946), the historian, geographer, and bibliographer wrote in 1899,

and he is beginning to realize that something of literary merit may really come out of Canada. In no other country has the literary aspirant been compelled to struggle against such heavy odds; but, happily, the dawn of a brighter day is breaking; and as the prospect of appreciation in his native country grows more encouraging, he is entering with enthusiasm into the wide field of fiction.

During the autumn of 1898 there were published -- some in Canada, some in England, and several in the United States -- at least a score of novels by Canadian authors, most of whom were new to the reading public. These books are of varying merit; but, taken as a whole, they give promise of strong and wholesome quality, and show a finished style of workmanship.

(L. J. Burpee, 1899)¹³

Toward the end of the nineteenth century people began to document the existence of Canadian literature. John G. Bourinot, for example, confirmed that there had been a "rapid growth of the classes who live by mental labour" in Canada by citing 590 "artists and littératures /sic/" numbered among the 40,000 members of professional classes in all provinces in 1870,¹⁴ together with an unknown number of journalists.

In 1887 G. Mercer Adam noted in his "history" of Canadian literature:

Gradually, however, our writers are directing their attention to the rich stores of history, legend, and adventure in their own country, and are more and more seeking in native fields themes for their pen and the inspiration that should come, and must best come, from local sources. Already we have no little to boast of in the literature of both languages; and were public appreciation of native literary undertakings more hearty and pronounced, and the pecuniary rewards more substantial, the field would be still more fully occupied. Each year the area widens which is treated of by native writers, historical and descriptive; and each year, also, sees the various interesting periods of the native history more fully discussed, and the social and political questions of the past made subjects of keener criticism and of ampler elucidation.

(G. M. Adam, 1887)¹⁵

Adam's "history" of literature which appeared as part of the 1887 edition of William H. Withrow's An Abridged History of Canada was intended to provide a brief sketch of Canadian literature and writers; yet by placing together the names of nineteenth century English and French writers, the titles of their works, and brief descriptions of them, Adam demonstrated the existence of a notable amount of Canadian literature. Adam condemned those writers who, he felt, had a "denationalizing habit of discrediting the past"¹⁶ by saying that Canada had no literature and no history.

Prerequisites for National Literature

If Canadian literature had been slow in developing, there were reasons for that delay. In a new country, the Canadian Monthly observed in 1872, people busied themselves with physical and material pursuits, battling the environment, clearing the land, building towns, developing industry and commerce, and creating means of transportation:

In point of time, the material progress of every country necessarily precedes the intellectual; indeed, they stand to one another somewhat in the relation of cause and effect. Whether the settler values or despises mental culture, let him only be industrious and provident, and he will be an unconscious instrument in its advancement.

(Anon., 1872)¹⁷

Archibald Lampman, the poet, agreed that in 1891 a national literature required wealth and leisure:

Our country is still in the house-building, land-breaking stage, and all its energies must go to the laying of a foundation of material prosperity upon which a future culture may be built. Those capable minds, which in old and long-civilized countries might be drawn into literature, in Canada are forced into the more practical paths. They are engaged in making fortunes and founding families. Their descendants, the people who shall inherit the fortune, leisure, station, secured by them, will be the writers or the readers of the age when a Canadian literature comes to be. At present our people are too busy to read, too busy at least to read with discernment, and where there are no discerning readers there will be no writers. Also our educational institutions -- even our best universities -- are yet too raw to develop a literary spirit. . . . As we advance in age and the settled conditions of life, these things will gradually change. There will arise a leisured class, a large body of educated people, who will create a market for literature and a literary

atmosphere. And when that happens a literature will be produced for them. If our country becomes an independent, compacted, self-supporting nation, which is, or ought to be, the dream of all of us, its social and climatic conditions will in the course of time evolve a race of people having a peculiar national temperament and bent of mind, and when that is done, we shall have a Canadian literature.

(A. Lampman, 1891)¹⁸

Charles G. D. Roberts made the same argument in 1897.¹⁹

Although most people by the turn of the century admitted to the existence of books on Canadian history, descriptions of Canada, pamphlets, and journals, they were not convinced that these constituted a distinct literature.

Lawrence J. Burpee argued in 1903 that Canadian literature was still "rather practical and utilitarian than intellectual." What counted, he said, was imaginative writing.

Going back to the earliest beginning of our literary history, we find, first, certain rough and ready accounts of explorers and navigators, descriptions of the country, its natives, etc. Then, books of advice (wise or otherwise) to immigrants, and other things of the kind. Following these, we come upon a mass of controversial matter, pamphlets, broadsides, early newspapers, and the like, contemporary narratives, etc., all of which eventually become the happy hunting ground of the national historian. Afterwards the half-fledged offspring of the Colonial Muse appears, singing in halting measure the simple but sincere songs of the new land of promise. And, finally, come the novelists, product of a period when the colony is developing into something like nationhood; when the stress and strain of frontier life has worn off, and men have time and inclination to write and read fiction. This literary development is not, of course, as distinct and arbitrary as the statement would imply. We shall discover one or two premature

novelists in the earlier periods of our history, but nevertheless anything like a general development in the writing of fiction or the appearance of a recognized group of Canadian novelists is not to be found except within the last decade or two.
(L. J. Burpee, 1903)²⁰

Other writers emphasized the significance of a political identity as a precondition for a national literature. The culture of a British colony, one writer in The Week reasoned, must be always a derivation of British culture:

A number of writers in our newspapers and periodicals glibly speak of "Canadian Literature" as if we really did have a literature that might be said to be Canadian. There is no Australian Literature, no Heligoland Literature, no Rock-of-Gibraltar Literature: neither is there a Canadian Literature. A number of books have been written by English-speaking colonists here, but the majority of them have the tone of the kitchen of the empire: the histories are the record of happenings which are regarded only with respect to their relation to the Motherland; the fiction and belles-lettres, generally, have the limits of the municipality and the flavour of the log-hut.
(J. E. Collins, 1884)²¹

Sara Jeannette Duncan agreed that literature would not prosper until political maturity was attained:

A nation's development is like a plant's, unattractive under ground. So long as Canada remains in political obscurity, content to thrive only at the roots, so long will the leaves and blossoms of art and literature be scanty and stunted products of our national energy.
(S. J. Duncan, 1886)²²

In addition to stifling Canadian creativity, dependence on foreign nations could, Charles G. D. Roberts

maintained, limit Canada's productivity for other reasons.

"The need of literary expression," he said, "could not arise very early in a people whose . . . cravings for intellectual food had the literatures of France and England to satisfy them."²³

What Canadian writers needed, said G. Mercer Adam, was encouragement:

We have a literature, or, to be critical, the fair beginnings, at least, of one. How much of it is known to those who ought to know it, we shall not dare say. If there is ignorance of it, let us not be told that it doesn't exist. It is bad enough to hear the question asked, "Who reads a Canadian book in English?" but how much more discouraging is it to reflect how few are the readers of a native work in Canada. And here is the trouble: if we have not the literature we desire and might have, it is because to such as we have we extend scant favour. This attitude, if maintained, can only retard its progress, dwarf the national spirit, and depress the literary calling. On the other hand, were Canadian literature encouraged, it would take a more prominent place among the intellectual agents of the higher life in Canada; interests and sympathies, now dormant, would be aroused; and a more distinctively national and higher literary work would be created. To this end, let us first silence the depreciators, and pay fitting respect to the literary toilers of the past. To the young Canadian who wants to know his country's history and light the flame of his patriotism, we would ask him to become acquainted with his country's authors and take stock of their literary achievements. When he has got that length, it will be time to hear of limits and defects.

(G. M. Adam, 1887)²⁴

Comparisons to Literary Development in Other Nations

In literature as elsewhere, Canadians were ambivalent about Britain and the United States. On the one hand, they resented Anglo-American condescension toward Canadian literature. Particularly annoying were references to "colonial" literature:

It is still a current belief abroad -- at least in Europe -- that we are all so much occupied with the care of our material interests, that we are so deeply absorbed by the grosser conditions of existence in a new country, that we have little opportunity or leisure to cultivate those things which give refinement and tone to social life. Many persons lose sight of the fact that Canada, young though she is compared with the countries of the Old World, has passed beyond the state of mere colonial pupillage.

(J. G. Bourinot, 1880)²⁵

Sara Jeannette Duncan took issue with Americans and Englishmen who offered unsolicited opinions about the qualities of Canadian existence that had allegedly led to a void in the cultural life. If Canadians could not discover the reason for the relatively meagre amount of literature in their country, how presumptuous it was for outsiders to offer their suggestions!

And we look blankly at each other at every new and vain adjustment of the telescope to the barren literary horizon, and question 'Why?' And our American cousins with an indifferent wonder, and a curious glance at our census returns, make the same interrogatory; whereupon one of them tarries in Montreal for three days, ascertains, and prints in Harper's Magazine that it is our arctic temperature!

And in England, if our sterile national library excites any comment at all, it is only a semi-contemptuous opinion that it is all that might be expected of 'colonials.'

(S. J. Duncan, 1886)²⁶

On the other hand, Canadian writers admired and often imitated British and American authors and envied their larger readership. One writer found in American recognition proof of the progress of Canadian literature:

Until recently we had not in Canada a poetical literature. . . . But within the last few years a younger race of singers has arisen, which has been more largely influenced by poetry of the modern school, and has felt the inspiration of the national life that is beginning to be developed in our country. . . . Some from this younger band have won recognition outside of Canada and even outside of America. The names of Charles G. D. Roberts, Bliss Carman, Archibald Lampman, W. W. Campbell, Duncan Campbell Scott, and Miss A. M. Machar, are frequently found in the New York and Boston monthlies of the highest class.

(M. R. Knight, 1891)²⁷

Canadians, eager to account for discrepancies between literary development in the United States and Canada, reminded their neighbors to the south that it had not been so long since the United States had been without a literature of its own. The Literary Garland told its readers in 1843 that not very long before an English critic had asked, "Who reads an American book?"²⁸ "For many years," added a writer for The Canada Educational Monthly and School Chronicle in 1892, "the adjective 'American' was enough to condemn a book unread."²⁹ "It [Canadian literature] is immeasurably

richer than anything that the great kindred republic to the south of us could boast, till more than half a century of national life had given her a population five times as numerous as ours,"³⁰ said Charles G. D. Roberts in 1897.

Canada's literary accomplishments were also compared to those of Britain in earlier times. In 1884, J. W. Longley (1849-1922), the biographer of Joseph Howe, said that Canada's scanty literature was not due to its small population, because Shakespeare had written for a smaller population; nor was it due to a lack of wealth, for Canada was then more prosperous than Elizabethan England had been. Rather, Longley suggested that Canada needed one outstanding writer to demonstrate the potential of literary achievement.³¹

Another writer suggested that if literature was not in great evidence, or if it paid very poorly in Canada, "It is the same in every country. The only difference is, that in other countries a few men have not only made a great name but also a great fortune by their literary efforts, but no Canadian in Canada has yet done so."³²

In 1900 it was noted that the greatest British writers -- Shakespeare, Milton, Goldsmith, and Burns -- had not been appreciated by their contemporaries. Therefore, lack of recognition in Canada did not necessarily connote lack of worthwhile literature. Actually, Canada -- with its colorful history and natural beauty -- was "the land of the poet's dream!"³³

The Duty of Critics

A discussion on the function of literary critics accompanied the debate on Canadian literature. Some thought critics could best foster the growth of literature by praising Canadian writing. Those who thought the primary function of literature was to arouse national sentiment often judged a work on the patriotism of its author, and on the Canadian content of the theme and setting rather than on its literary merit. Book reviews were consequently unreliable sources of information:

Little discrimination is shown in criticism. Flattering and fulsome praise is so recklessly bestowed upon very commonplace people and their works, that when some person or thing far above the average appears, the journalistic vocabulary of laudatory phrases is already exhausted, and merit receives no adequate reward. Until such time as criticisms are written by capable men who have read the books they review, not simply glanced at the title pages, and with a view to give a correct idea of the merit of the work, and not as a mere bookseller's advertisement, book reviews will be as reliable as patent medicine advertisements, and probably as fostering to good literature.

(B. Dane, 1884)³⁴

Canadian writers, therefore, were often judged not on their literary merits, but in direct proportion to the amount of attention they gave to their homeland. For example, in a review by Arthur J. Stringer, Archibald Lampman was singled out of a group of late nineteenth century poets not because he was the most original, the most

prolific, or the most competent of the poets, but because he "is the most thoroughly Canadian, and in Canada the most popular."³⁵

Some critics were reluctant to express honest criticism because it was not, they found, what their readers wanted:

Canadians are so eager for a national literature that it is a somewhat delicate task to frankly criticise /sic/ Canadian poetry.

(G. Waldron, 1896)³⁶

Fearful about hindering the growth of Canadian literature, critics often felt compelled to find something positive to say about every Canadian book. The reviews of The St. Lawrence & the Saguenay and Other Poems by Charles Sangster (1856) illustrate many of the deficiencies of the reviews. One reviewer, in the Kingston News, praised Sangster's choice of themes, if not his writing ability:

A Canadian Poet, whose Poems are far above Mediocrity -- whose songs are of Canada -- her mountains, maidens, manners, morals, lakes, rivers, valleys, seasons, woods, forests, and aborigines, her faith and hope, merits encouragement.

(Anon., n.d.)³⁷

The Ottawa Union urged Canadians to read Sangster because his book was redolent of the Canadian land:

Canadians should welcome enthusiastically this excellent production of a native poet -- Mr. Sangster deserves all the encouragement his countrymen can bestow upon him. His book is truly racy of the soil. Amidst the scenery and the people of this country this poet has chosen his inspiration.

(Anon., n.d.)³⁸

The reviewer for the Huron Signal was pleased to acknowledge a new work by a Canadian author, yet complained that Sangster was "not Canadian enough in his subjects. . . . Surely there is sufficient variety in Canada and Canadian life to afford material for national poetry."³⁹ The reviewer suggested that future poets make greater use of Canada's "tales, legends, scenes, feats, customs and occurrences as would truly represent the country and secure the prejudices, feelings and sympathies of her people."⁴⁰ Another reviewer, who apparently did not care for Sangster's poems, softened his criticism on the ground that the book was a first attempt:

We do not like to damn with faint praise the first production of a Canadian Poet, singing sweetly as he does of our own lakes, rivers, flowers and scenery; and not a little of the Poet's constant theme, LOVE. We shall only say then, that this, the first instalment of his muse, should be in the possession of everyone, that they may be able to contrast it with the maturer effects of his genius, and see how he shall have improved, if he continues to cultivate the taste for poetry which he, undoubtedly, largely possesses.
(Anon., n.d.)⁴¹

Only a reviewer in the Montreal Gazette had the courage to criticize Sangster's poems outright, commenting that he should have paid more attention to the quality of his poems and less to the quantity.⁴²

Charles Mair's Tecumseh, published in 1886, fared as well in its reviews. G. Mercer Adam considered it "a great and permanent gain to Canadian literature" because of its

"lessons of the highest patriotism."⁴³ Furthermore, Mair was to be thanked

for thus elevating and extending the somewhat narrow domain of Canadian poetry, and for giving to the Canadian people an imperishable record of a stirring period in the nation's annals.

(G. M. Adam, 1886)⁴⁴

The Toronto Evening Telegram praised Mair's work because it was written on a Canadian subject, and expressed pride that

our country possesses at least one poet who has the dramatic and poetic instinct capable of dealing with a lofty historical subject in a suitable language. The life of Tecumseh is one closely united with our Canadian history, and his services to this country were probably the cause of Canada being still a portion of the empire. We are glad to see that Mr. Mair has chosen 'The Most Glorious Period of Our History' as the subject of a poem which breathes Canadian patriotism throughout.

(Anon., 1886)⁴⁵

Even at the close of the nineteenth century, Canadian content was frequently judged to be the most important measure of the value of a Canadian book. With the increase in the number of literary journals, book reviews became common items, but the reviewers' comments varied little. Often the reviews could easily have been applied to any number of books on Canadian themes. Some expressions, such as "patriotic," "virile Canadian verse," "thoroughly Canadian," and "a valuable contribution to the literature of our country" appeared frequently. One reviewer admitted that

more important than the form is the spirit of his verse. It is in the first place thoroughly Canadian, and has a patriotic ring that is very gratifying in these days, when we hear so much of a contrary character.

(Anon., 1892)⁴⁶

In a review of Charles G. D. Roberts' A History of Canada, the reviewers stated frankly their hopes that the book would make its readers more patriotic:

Professor Roberts, one of our most distinguished Canadian poets, has treated this noble theme with sympathetic touch, patriotic feeling and poetic insight. The first condition of a rational patriotism is an acquaintance with the history of the land in which we live. This book will make its readers more loyal and patriotic Canadians.

(Anon., 1898)⁴⁷

One essayist, journalist, and poet, Dr. Thomas O'Hagan (1855-1939), was said in a review of his Canadian Essays, Critical and Historical to be a "patriotic Canadian" who "has rendered important service to his country by this admirable volume on Canadian subjects."⁴⁸ Ralph Connor's The Sky Pilot was acclaimed as "a tale of Canadian life in the Selkirks," and praised as "a strong, virile story, one of the best-written by a Canadian on a Canadian theme."⁴⁹

As by the end of the century it had become common practice for critics to coddle patriotic literary works in the hopes of creating a national audience and encouraging authors, so too did reviewers feel justified in criticizing those authors who, they thought, lacked patriotic sentiment. G. Mercer Adam, for example, expressed extreme annoyance with

George Bryce who had not, he felt, included in his A History of the Canadian People, a patriotic interpretation of the literature of Canada. Bryce's chapter on native literature was, Adam wrote,

the least satisfactory section of the book. From his remarks on Anglo-Canadian literature we infer that Professor Bryce is either indifferently read in the literary history of Canada, or utterly lacks sympathy with the aims and achievements of native authors. Dr. Bryce's cynical and unpatriotic reference to Canadian periodical literature, and his feigned consideration in abstaining from mentioning the names of what he is pleased to term 'untimely and unproductive enterprises,' are not creditable to him as a Canadian writer.
(G. M. Adam, 1887)⁵⁰

Many critics felt enthusiastic praise for all Canadian writers was justified because of the obstacles with which Canadian authors had to contend. Their patriotism, it was thought, should be duly rewarded, if not with financial support or with a large readership then by means of critical approval:

They /writers/ receive little financial encouragement in Canada, yet there is no doubt that their work, in its patriotism . . . and its poetic quality . . . has done service to their country.
(A. B. De Mille, 1897)⁵¹

Another critic, John Daniel Logan, recalled that in 1909, when editor of the Toronto Sunday World, he had deliberately written favorable reviews in order to encourage the appreciation of Canadian literature. He wrote,

I had been doing a great deal of constructive literary criticism towards promoting the systematic study and appreciation of Canadian literature,
(J. D. Logan, 1923)⁵²

Poets and novelists themselves had very definite ideas of what constituted good reviews. Recognizing flattery for what it was, many writers found they were able to ignore it. Charles G. D. Roberts felt that a writer might be able to take the words of a reviewer lightly, but "the praise of our fellow-craftsmen is that which really elates us."⁵³ Archibald Lampman denied the use of the term "critics" to those reviewers who

greet every new production of whatever merit or demerit with the same ridiculous praises decked out in the same fulsome and meaningly phraseology.

(A. Lampman, 1892)⁵⁴

He felt the need for a fair-minded press that would review all works on the basis of individual merit and thereby encourage Canadian writers to adhere to high literary standards:

There could be no sounder stimulus to the young talent of Canada than the knowledge that its work would be seriously examined and honestly ranked by competent authority, instead of meeting either with the inert neglect or the spasmodic and senseless eulogy which are its lot to-day.

(Ibid.)⁵⁵

W. W. Campbell agreed that "we ought to be very careful how we praise Canadian work merely because it is Canadian."⁵⁶ He believed that categorizing the work of a writer was potentially harmful:

What we need, therefore, today is local criticism on the same standards, and not mere senseless gush or brutal abuse or mean insinuations, as we now have it. . . . Literary supremacy in the true

sense is something for the future to decide so far as Canada is concerned. To judge our poets as patriotic poets or human poets or nature poets or poet artists, or as disciples of this or that school, is both unnatural and absurd.

(W. W. Campbell, 1892)⁵⁷

Another writer warned that although indiscriminate praise would soon become meaningless, and might result in the lowering of the standards of literature, it would be equally harmful to be reluctant to praise worthy authors in an attempt to reverse the process:

We must not condemn poems or authors merely because they happen to belong to our own time and country. . . . But to praise immoderately and without discrimination, to call that excellent which is only middling or even inferior, to give the rank of poet to men who are scarcely even smooth versifiers, is to destroy all belief in excellence or desire for it, in both reader and writer, and to prolong in consequence that very literary mediocrity against the change of which we so indignantly protest.

(J. Marshall, 1901)⁵⁸

Some felt that writers could best serve the interests of Canadian literature by holding it to the highest standards. The satirical journal, Grip, suggested that, a critic, to be successful, had merely to praise all Canadian literature. Since writers often reviewed each other's material, there was ample opportunity for returning such favors:

I want to write an article
Over my well-known name.
Not that I care a particle
For literary fame;
But literature must be sustained
In this our native land;

Even though no reward be gained,
 My task is truly grand.
 Whatever shall I write about?
 I really do not know.
 Oh, yes! There's Jiggins' book just out,
 It's got to have a show.
 It's overpowering rot, that's sure,
 As every critic knows,
 But then it's native literature,
 And what's Canadian goes.

(Anon., 1889)⁵⁹

But harsh criticism was not always appreciated:

It is altogether too much the fashion to depreciate native productions to the advantage of foreign talent, simply because we are personally acquainted with the authors and elbow them in the round of their everyday duties.

(J. Lesperance, 1879)⁶⁰

These debates on the existence of Canadian literature and the proper duty of critics reflected a preoccupation with the establishment of a culture that would be uniquely characteristic of the Canadian nation and also universal enough to be recognized as legitimate by other nations. In time writers began to weary of the debate. Arthur J. Stringer (1874-1950), a magazine writer, poet, and novelist, found the discussion distracting, sterile, and an impediment to the further production of literature.

So much has been written and so much has been said concerning Canadian literature that there are many who are beginning to doubt the existence of such a thing -- contending that if a literature really exist /sic/ in Canada, it would not be necessary to indulge in the prevalent, and perhaps too blatant, trumpeting of our heretofore necessarily meagre accomplishments. An earnest and patriotic, but, at the same time, an unhappy attempt, has been made to "boom" our literature. Like all "booms" it has proven unsatisfactory and unprofitable, fatuous and illusory. We are beginning to realize that to scream at one another that

we have a literature is not going to give us one.
We are beginning to see that this state of self-
consciousness is hampering and confining; that it
cannot admit of literary freedom and activity. ⁶¹
(A. J. Stringer, 1894)

Footnotes for Chapter V

¹Archibald Lampman, May 28, 1892, in At the Mermaid Inn conducted by A. Lampman, W. W. Campbell, Duncan C. Scott. Being Selections from Essays on Life and Literature, which appeared in the Toronto Globe 1892-1893, ed. Arthur S. Bourinot (Ottawa: By the editor, 1958), pp. 29-30.

²Review of Charles Mair's Tecumseh from the Orillia Packet, March 26, 1886 in the Mair Papers (Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario), Box 9.

³Charles G. D. Roberts, "What is 'Canadian Literature'?" in the Roberts Papers, Lorne Pierce Collection (Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario), Box 75.

⁴Sara Jeannette Duncan, "Saunterings," The Week III, no. 44 (September 30, 1886), p. 708.

⁵Ibid.

⁶"Introduction to the New Series of the Garland," Ibid., p. 3.

⁷Ibid.

⁸"Canadian Poetry and Poets," The British American Magazine I (August, 1863), p. 416.

⁹"Literary Notes," The Canadian Monthly I, no. 1 (January, 1872), p. 94.

¹⁰Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly 7 (October, 1881), p. 438.

¹¹John Charles Dent, The Last Forty Years: Canada Since the Union of 1841 II (Toronto: George Virtue, 1881), pp. 556-557.

¹²Charles G. D. Roberts, A History of Canada (New York: Lamson, Wolfe, and Company, 1897), p. 423.

¹³Lawrence J. Burpee, "Recent Canadian Fiction," The Forum XXVII (August, 1899), p. 754.

¹⁴John G. Bourinot, "The Intellectual Development of the Canadian People. An Historical Review," Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly 5 (December, 1880), p. 633.

¹⁵G. Mercer Adam, An Outline History of Canadian Literature (Toronto: William Briggs, 1887), p. 183.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 186.

¹⁷"Literary Notes," The Canadian Monthly and National Review I, no. 1 (January, 1872), p. 93.

¹⁸Archibald Lampman, "Two Canadian Poets: A Lecture by Archibald Lampman," University of Toronto Quarterly XIII, no. 4 (July, 1944), pp. 407-408.

¹⁹"In a new country, like Canada, material must precede intellectual progress. The first makes possible the second. In the beginnings of settlement, and for long afterwards, the energies of a pioneer people are absorbed in the conquest of the wilderness. There are fields to be cleared; houses to be built; roads, canals, railways, dikes to be constructed. The labour of the mine, the toil of the fur-trade and the fishery, these occupy the busy year. The hand is called upon rather than the brain; the axe is busier than the pen. There is little time to think of adorning the mind, while yet the bear and the wolf prowl nightly about the cabin. But while the struggle for existence is still keen comes the desire for education, and schoolhouses spring up at many a lonely cross-road. Swiftly civilization wins, the wilderness is subdued, farm and village thrust back the forest, the land takes on a new face. But the thoughts and tastes of the people are still altogether practical. Science is the first of intellectual pursuits to find favour in their eyes. It shows new ways of making nature yield tribute to man's needs. It arms him for fresh conquests over earth. It teaches him to tunnel mountains, open mines, cut canals, and spread his shining rails like giant gossamers over the land. So comes wealth, and with wealth leisure; and with leisure the desire for things and thoughts not altogether concerned with bread and butter, but beautiful in themselves and ennobling to the spirit. At this stage come literature and art, the choice fruits of civilization." (Roberts, A History of Canada, pp. 417-418.

²⁰Lawrence J. Burpee, "Canadian Novels and Novelists," Sewanee Review XI, no. 4 (October, 1903), pp. 385-386.

²¹J. E. Collins, "English-Canadian Literature," The Week I (August 28, 1884), p. 614.

²²Duncan, "Saunterings," The Week III, no. 44 (September 30, 1886), p. 708.

- ²³Roberts, History of Canada, p. 423.
- ²⁴Adam, An Outline History . . ., p. 187.
- ²⁵John G. Bourinot, "The Intellectual Development . . .," pp. 628-629.
- ²⁶Duncan, "Saunterings," The Week III, no. 44 (September 30, 1886), p. 707.
- ²⁷Matthew Richey Knight, "Poets and Poetry of Canada," The Canadian Methodist Magazine 33 (January, 1891), p. 44.
- ²⁸"Introduction to the New Series of the Garland," Literary Garland, New Series I, no. 1 (January, 1843), p. 3.
- ²⁹Josiah A. Penniman, "Literature in America," The Canada Educational Monthly and School Chronicle XIV, no. 11 (November, 1892), p. 337.
- ³⁰Roberts, History of Canada, p. 423.
- ³¹J. W. Longley, "A Field for Canadian Achievements," The Week I, no. 31 (July 3, 1884), p. 485.
- ³²B., "The Wages of Literature," The Week V, no. 30 (June 21, 1888) p. 480.
- ³³Lilian Jory, "Some Canadian Poets," The Canadian Methodist Magazine 51, no. 5 (May, 1900), p. 425.
- ³⁴Barry Dane /John E. Logan/, "National Literature," The Week I (September 4, 1884), p. 633.
- ³⁵Arthur J. Stringer, "A Glance at Lampman," The Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, Art and Literature II, no. 5 (March, 1894), p. 545.
- ³⁶Gordon Waldron, "Canadian Poetry," The Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, Art and Literature VIII, no. 2 (December, 1896), pp. 107-108.
- ³⁷Book review in the Kingston News in the Sangster Papers (McGill University, Montréal, Quebec).
- ³⁸Book review in the Ottawa Union in the Sangster Papers (McGill University, Montréal, Quebec).

³⁹Book review in the Huron Signal in the Sangster Papers (McGill University, Montreal, Quebec).

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹Book review in the Montreal Transcript in the Sangster Papers (McGill University, Montreal, Quebec).

⁴²Book review in the Montreal Gazette in the Sangster Papers (McGill University, Montreal, Quebec).

⁴³G. Mercer Adam article in Varsity, February 27, 1886 in the Mair Papers (Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario), Case 9.

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵Article in The Evening Telegram, February 25, 1886, in the Mair Papers (Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario), Case 9.

⁴⁶"Book Notices," The Canadian Methodist Magazine 35, no. 2 (February, 1892), p. 208.

⁴⁷"Book Notices," The Canadian Methodist Magazine 47, no. 2 (February, 1898), p. 195.

⁴⁸"Book Notices," The Canadian Methodist Magazine 54, no. 3 (September, 1901).

⁴⁹"Book Notices," The Canadian Methodist Magazine 51, no. 4 (April, 1900), p. 387.

⁵⁰G. Mercer Adam, "A History of the Canadian People," The Week IV, no. 21 (April 21, 1887), p. 341.

⁵¹Prof. A. B. De Mille, "Canadian Poetry -- A Word in Vindication," The Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, Art and Literature VIII, no. 5, (March, 1897), p. 433.

⁵²J. D. Logan in the Bridgewater Bulletin, May 29, 1923, reprinted in Arthur S. Bourinot, Five Canadian Poets (Montreal: Quality Press Limited, 1954), p. 16.

⁵³Letter of Charles G. D. Roberts to William Douw Lighthall, May 23, 1888, in Roberts Papers (McGill University, Montreal, Quebec), CM 85 Bd, Box VII.

⁵⁴Lampman, March 19, 1892 in Bourinot, ed., At the Mermaid Inn, p. 14.

⁵⁵Ibid, pp. 14-15.

⁵⁶W. W. Campbell, April 23, 1892 in Bourinot, ed., At the Mermaid Inn, p. 25.

⁵⁷Campbell, December 10, 1892, Ibid., p. 70.

⁵⁸John Marshall, "Archibald Lampman," Queen's Quarterly IX, no. 1 (July, 1901), pp. 64-65.

⁵⁹Grip XXXIII, no. 9 (August 31, 1889), p. 134.

⁶⁰John Lesperance, "American and Canadian Sonnets," Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly 3 (November, 1879), p. 453.

⁶¹Stringer, "A Glance at Lampman," p. 545.

CHAPTER VI

DIFFICULTIES OF WRITING IN CANADA

An examination of authors' papers and articles makes it evident that Canadian writers labored under unfavorable conditions well into the twentieth century. "In fact I am dropping literature," Charles Mair wrote G. T. Denison in 1891.

It doesn't pay by a long shot, and I have my family to think of and a large property to manage, and owing to failures in harvests things are not quite flourishing in the North West; . . .

As regards Canadian literature I have given more time and labor to it than it deserves. Canadians are mainly barbarians and consist 99 out of a 100, of backs & stomachs. To expect our polished boors to enjoy art in any of its developments is too much. I am done with the "Canadian public", which consists of mere cattle, or worse. It will take a hundred years to lift such swine as compose it out of the ruts and troughs and swill they delight in. It only pretends to enjoy art; because its betters really do comprehend its aims and objects it thinks it does so too; but its true and only enjoyment (the heights of Canadian ambition in fact) are guzzling and drinking and rotten politics. Good bye to it! Good bye Canadian public! What an exhibit at Ottawa! Paugh! Dirty, dishonest Canada, what is to become of thee? But I could rail in this way for an hour. Nothing can save us but our schoolchildren.

(C. Mair, 1891)¹

An analysis of the difficulties writers encountered, of the options available to them, and of the choices they made illuminates further the extent of nationalism in nineteenth century Canada.

Discriminatory Copyright Laws

Canadian authors and publishers had to function within the inequities of the Imperial Copyright Act of 1842, amended in 1847. This law, by disallowing the reprinting of British books in Canada, meant that cheap American reprints of British books flooded the Canadian market. A more favorable act passed by the Canadian parliament in 1875 was repealed in London because it conflicted with the British act. Americans who established temporary residence in Canada could, by having a few copies of their books published first in England, guard their work from being pirated in Canada. Canadian authors, however, received no such protection for their books, which were frequently reprinted by the "piratical presses of the United States."² The Chace Act passed in the United States in 1891 did not provide security for Canadian authors because it required foreign books, in order to be protected, to be manufactured in the United States.

A case in point is that of William Kirby. His book The Golden Dog, after rejection by a British publisher, was issued in 1877 by Lovell, Adam, Messon & Co., a Montreal publishing firm that established a branch at Rouses Point, New York in 1872 in order to circumvent the unfavorable Canadian copyright laws. Because the novel was published in the United States before its Canadian printing, it was not eligible for a Canadian copyright. After Lovell's company

failed in 1878, his creditor, R. Worthington, took the plates and brought out a new edition of The Golden Dog. By the 1880s, pirated American editions were selling by the thousands in the United States and Canada, but Kirby received no compensation. In 1897, L. C. Page, a Boston publishing house, published a condensed edition of The Golden Dog, but this edition did not contain the author's revisions; and, although L. C. Page issued about twenty editions of the book within twenty years, Kirby, who died in 1906, received less than \$100 in total remuneration from the substantial sales of his popular novel.³

Canadian writers and editors were quick to oppose the inequities of the British and American copyright laws. As early as 1843 the editors of the Literary Garland suggested that the British copyright discouraged literary production in Canada, and called for the prohibition of "illicit importation"⁴ of foreign reprints.

Authors puzzled over the problems of copyright. It was clearly unjust, S. E. Dawson wrote in 1885, that "a work copyrighted in the United Kingdom is copyright in Canada, but a Canadian copyright holds only for Canada."⁵ Charles G. D. Roberts, considering the publication of a new volume of poetry in 1885, wrote that "the States give you a larger market, but I lose possibility of copyright in Canada."⁶

A writer for The Week complained:

We do a little ineffectual piracy of American books on our own account, but Canada is largely a competing ground for the sale of booty taken by English and American presses. . . . We protect the interests of the British author by excluding the American depredator in so far as a fifteen per cent. duty will exclude him, and discourage stolen goods from England to the same extent. But no barrier is effectual against the tide of cheap literature which steadily advances from England, and overwhelms us from across the border line.
(Anon., 1887)⁷

"We are no advocate of Protection," suggested G. Mercer Adam in 1889, "but if the principle is to be applied to other industries, why is book-publishing in Canada exempt from its operation?"⁸ Adam pointed out that Canada's postal tariff charged American magazines only one cent per pound weight, thus making it cheaper to import American magazines -- often pirated from British journals -- than to produce Canadian journals.

Archibald Lampman advised his American publishers, Copeland and Day in 1896,

As to a Canadian Edition of "Lyrics of Earth", I do not see that there would be any advantage in arranging for one. It is not a book likely to be pirated, and in order to obtain copyright it would be necessary to print as well as bind it in this country /Canada/.

(A. Lampman, 1896)⁹

In 1911, Britain finally allowed Canada to make its own copyright laws and protect its writers. In 1924, Canada adhered to the Berne Convention, giving its authors protection in all signatory nations. It was not until 1954 and 1962 respectively, however, that the United States and

Canada agreed to the Universal Copyright Convention of the United Nations, finally putting an end to literary piracy.

Canadian Publishers

Despite these problems a surprising number of publishing houses, located in Montreal and later in Toronto,¹⁰ which soon became the English language publishing center of Canada, sprang up in the nineteenth century -- a testimony to the desire for native expression. But financial difficulties, inability to compete with the better-established firms in the United States, the unfavorable copyright laws, and too small a domestic market doomed most of these firms to a short life.

One Montreal publisher, Armour and Ramsay, founded by Andrew H. Armour, the editor of the Montreal Gazette (1827-1836), and Hew Ramsay, published works by Major John Richardson in the 1830s and 1840s. However, this house had its main success with English reprints. For Armour and Ramsay, as for many other Canadian publishers, book publishing was secondary to their main business, usually newspaper or journal publishing, bookselling, importing, or reprinting.

John Lovell (1810-1893), who published the Literary Garland which was edited by his brother-in-law John Gibson, was another Montreal publisher. His house published Canadian novels and poetry, including works by William Kirby and

Charles Sangster, gaining access to both American and Canadian markets by publishing at their branch at Rouses Point, New York, rather than in Canada. In addition, Lovell published Canadian school textbooks and directories.

One of the longest-lived publishing houses was Hunter, Rose and Company of Toronto, begun in the mid-nineteenth century by Robert Hunter and George Maclean Rose who bought the firm from their employer, Samuel Thompson. Hunter, Rose, which was bought by Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons in 1948, published books by Alexander McLachlan, Charles Mair, and other Canadian authors.

Perhaps Canada's most successful publisher was the Methodist Book and Publishing House, which exists today as McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, begun in 1829 by Egerton Ryerson (1803-1882), a Methodist minister and educator who edited The Christian Guardian and the Journal of Education (1848-1876). Three editors -- Dr. W. H. Withrow, Dr. E. H. Dewart, and Dr. J. Carroll -- contributed to the growth of the firm. Under the Reverend William Briggs' (1836-1922) direction, from 1879-1918, the Methodist Book and Publishing House, which later became Ryerson Press, published works by some of Canada's finest nineteenth century authors, such as William Kirby, Charles G. D. Roberts, W. W. Campbell, and Charles Mair. Yet up to 1895 it published "only about one Canadian novel or romance a year; from 1895 to 1920 it

published on the average three or four a year, mostly of a religious or moral tone."¹¹ During the years 1879-1918 the Methodist Book and Publishing House published 800 books, many of which were reprints of British books.¹²

G. Mercer Adam, who edited and published many nineteenth century journals, including the British American Review and the Canadian Monthly and National Review, founded the firm of Adam, Stevenson & Co. with his partner John H. Stevenson in Toronto in 1867. The firm served as agents for British publishers and published legal, educational, and religious books until it went bankrupt in 1876. Another firm whose primary interest was school texts was Copp, Clark and Company, begun in Toronto in 1869 by W. Walter Copp, Henry Copp, and Henry J. Clark. Copp, Clark, which grew out of a bookselling business, is still in existence today.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries several new publishing houses appeared. George N. Morang and Company, Limited, of Toronto, established by George N. Morang (1866-1937), an American who came to Canada in 1888 as a Canadian agent for American publishers, published works by Archibald Lampman, E. Pauline Johnson, Archibald MacMechan, and Duncan Campbell Scott. In addition, Morang published the Makers of Canada series, a landmark in Canadian history. The Musson Book Company Limited, also of Toronto, begun in 1894

and still in existence today, published works by William Douw Lighthall, E. Pauline Johnson, and W. W. Campbell.

The financial risks involved led Canadian publishers to take great care in accepting material for publication. History, current events, text books, religious books, and travel books generally found a larger sale than fiction or poetry. As Thomas D'Arcy McGee wrote in 1858, many publishers had been discouraged by poor sales of books with high prices, and "the publisher will not risk in a matter which may affect his purse."¹³ Duncan Campbell Scott confirmed in 1896 that "Canadian publishers are notoriously cautious and it is almost impossible to make any arrangements with them."¹⁴

Reluctant as they were to risk publishing a novel, they were even more skeptical about poetry. Most publishers agreed with W. W. Campbell that poetry was not "in any age of the world a marketable article."¹⁵ In 1901 George N. Morang and Company Limited wrote to Charles Mair:

Replying to your interesting letter of March 16th, we are perfectly well aware of the merits of your poetry, and of your position in the judgment of the discerning fraction of the book buying public, but when you say 'will you undertake the risks of publication,' we are obliged, on due consideration of the matter, and on investigation as to the results of previous ventures in publishing verse, to say that we are not prepared to do this. Our experience in the sale of poetical works has been exceedingly discouraging. We much regret that we cannot offer you an affirmative, and must apologise [sic] for the delay that has occurred.¹⁶
(Anon., 1901)

G. Mercer Adam blamed publishers for stunting the growth of literature in Canada:

Another result of indifference to the native literary calling is the growing hopelessness of inducing Canadian publishers to take up literary enterprises which might bring honour as well as profit to the country. . . . There are few of us, we venture to say, who have not approached a publisher with some literary project or other, at which, however promising its results, he has shaken his head, confessing ruefully that there was no market to be depended on in Canada to warrant him in assuming the risk of publication. Thus is the native literature restricted, and talent and industry are dormant for want of the publishing facilities and other incentives of literary work.

(G. Mercer Adam, 1889)¹⁷

The Reading Public

For several reasons, Canadian writers could expect only a small readership. Archibald Lampman attributed the slow development of Canadian literature to Canada's "scanty . . . population, scattered at great distances over so vast a country."¹⁸ Canada's population in 1871 was 3,485,761;¹⁹ in 1901 it had increased to 5,371,315.²⁰ Of the latter, 278,449 were foreign-born, about half coming to Canada from the United States. Canada's population seemed dwarfed by that of the United States, whose population was 38,558,371 in 1870 and 76,303,387 in 1900.²¹ Furthermore, English-speaking Canadians shared their language with their American neighbors. Could the North American continent support two English-language literatures? The potential Canadian reading public was further limited because about one third of

Canada's population was not English-speaking. Moreover, not all those who spoke English were literate. Women, for example, often received scant education and sometimes left "book knowledge"²² to the men in their families.

The Canadian reading public²³ was not at any time during the nineteenth century large enough to support Canadian authors. Writers, editors, and journalists pleaded for readers, but in vain. Favorable notices did not ensure a large readership. In 1860, for example, Charles Sangster's Hesperus and other Poems had encouraging reviews in Canada, England, and the United States, but demand for Sangster's work was, as Edward Hartley Dewart later reported, "discouragingly small."²⁴ The scant sales of the volume did not even cover the cost of publication. Others who were critically well received were often not supported by a large audience. For example, although one reviewer praised Duncan Campbell Scott's work and ranked him "not far behind the greatest of living writers,"²⁵ he acknowledged that "even yet he is far from being appreciated at his true worth."²⁶ Nor was Isabella Valancy Crawford appreciated by her contemporaries. Lawrence J. Burpee wrote in 1902, fifteen years after her death, that "her poetry is absolutely unknown to all but a few curious readers in her own country," even though Burpee felt Crawford "more nearly approached the rank of genius than any other poet to whom Canada has yet given birth."²⁷

Crawford died in poverty, one of many Canadian writers whose contributions to Canadian literature were not acknowledged until long after her death.

In 1864 Edward Hartley Dewart attempted to explain why Canadian writers were often not appreciated by their contemporaries:

Let any Canadian bard presume to think that the wild-flowers which formed the garlands of his sunny childhood, the sweet songbirds that sang him to sleep in infancy, or the magnificent lakes, forests, and rivers of his native land, are as worthy of being enshrined in lyric members, and capable of awakening memories of days as bright, associations as tender, and scenery as beautiful, as ever was sung by hoary harper of olden time, and he is more likely to secure contempt than sympathy or admiration. Things that are hoary with age, and dim in their distance, from us, are more likely to win veneration and approval, while whatever is near and familiar loses in interest and attraction. . . if a Milton or Shakspeare /sic/, was to arise among us, it is far from certain that his merit would be recognized. The mass of readers find it easier and safer to re-echo the approbation of others, -- to praise those whom all praise, -- than to form an intelligent and independent judgment of their own.

(E. H. Dewart, 1864)²⁸

In 1867 Thomas D'Arcy McGee said that the truthful answer to "Who reads a Canadian book?" would have to be "Very few, for Canadian books are exceedingly scarce."²⁹ Especially disappointing was the preference still given to foreign books. This preference was attributed by some to Canada's colonial status, which implied that cultural standards were set in Britain rather than at home. In 1889, G. Mercer Adam

wrote that although in early times the public was not to blame "for the want of interest it . . . manifested in the native literature" because the literature was of a poor quality, such an excuse could not be accepted by 1889,

for it now finds a readymarket, and meets with cordial acceptance in other lands. If at home its acceptance is slow and begrudging we must remember that it has to contend, not against just appraisal, but against inherited disesteem and indifference. These must at last go, however. Or if we cannot eradicate them, we can at least prevent their being reinforced. Nor is there an excuse for the undue and, as we deem it, unpatriotic preference of our people for the foreign product.

(G. Mercer Adam, 1889)³⁰

Only Canadian readers, said Nicholas Flood Davin (1843-1901), the Irish born journalist and Canadian member of parliament, could encourage the development of an indigenous literature: "We have plenty of literary talent amongst us, both French and English. What we need is an audience."³¹

Some writers, however, were encouraged by the belief that by the end of the nineteenth century the Canadian readership was increasing. "Any publisher who undertakes to issue a Canadian magazine at this date," Archibald Lampman wrote in 1892,

must remember that there is a Canadian public, as yet not very large, but rapidly growing, which will inevitably apply to it the very highest and broadest standard of taste and will not be satisfied with anything jejune or provincial. . . . People will not buy a third or fourth rate article because it is Canadian; and there would be no patriotism in their doing so, as some of our fellow-countrymen seem to think. On the contrary it seems to us that a man will best show his patriotism by doing what he can to suppress such things as tend to misrepresent and disgrace his native land.

(A. Lampman, 1892)³²

Some Canadian authors began to do well. Ralph Connor had none of the problems that plagued other Canadian authors. About Connor's novel, Black Rock, George H. Doran, the publisher, recalled in 1935, "The success in Canada was instant and considerable."³³ Connor reported that, "The first edition I am glad to think, was published in Canada and reached the hitherto unapproached figure of 5,000 copies."³⁴ Pirated editions soon appeared in the United States, where Connor's success was also immediate:

While the author and the authorized publisher derived no revenue from these pirated books, the sale of millions of copies made Ralph Connor a household name in the United States and prepared a large public for his later books.

(G. H. Doran, 1935)³⁵

Subsequent books also did very well. The Sky Pilot, according to Doran, had an immediate sale of 250,000 copies and a total sale of over 1,000,000 copies.³⁶ Connor attributed his success to the fact that his books provided an

authentic picture of life in the great and wonderful new country in Western Canada, rich in color and alive with movement, the stamping ground of the buffalo and his hunters, the land of the trapper, the Mounted Police and the virile race of men and women, the first pioneers who turned the wild wilderness into civilization.

(C. W. Gordon, 1938)³⁷

Others who quickly met with great financial success were Sir Gilbert Parker and, later, L. M. Montgomery. Most successful writers chose to publish with American or British firms because they had better marketing facilities and could pay larger royalties.

Even some writers who had little trouble getting their works published, however, could not earn a living solely by writing. Bliss Carman, who usually used American publishers, owed his landlord so much money that he feared in 1901 that he would be evicted.³⁸ Although his books sold well, he often found himself in debt to his publishers. An invoice dated July 1, 1901, showed Carman's dealings with Small, Maynard & Company:

Credit by		
Reading Manuscript	\$15.00	
204 Copies Songs from Vagabondia	15.29	
163 Copies More Songs from		
Vagabondia	12.24	
271 Copies Last Songs from		
Vagabondia	20.21	
14 Copies Low Tide	2.63	
17 Copies Behind the Arras	3.19	
9 Copies By the Aurelian Wall	1.69	
19 Copies Lost Haven	3.56	
14 Copies Winter Holiday	1.06	\$174.87

Debit	
Balance as per itemized account	
submitted Feb. 1, 1901	385.29
Interest to April 6, 1901 on	
Lamson Wolfe note	12.50
Mrs. Mary P. King's circulars	14.50
March 14 Merchandise	5.10
April 12 Bill of press clippings	
sent to Mrs. King	2.50
	<u>419.89</u>

Debit balance	345.02 ³⁹

Alternatives Available to Writers

Writers often found it so difficult to get published that they would agree to any terms the publisher proposed. Thus Major John Richardson wrote John Philipport, an editor, in 1845 that "Mr Richardson [sic] leaves it entirely to the liberality of the Editor to determine the amount of remuneration."⁴⁰ When faced with a poor offer from a publisher, Archibald Lampman was also forced to agree to whatever terms were offered. In 1896 he wrote:

I will close with Mssrs. Copeland and Day on the terms they offer. We poor devils are lucky to get anyone to take our stuff at all and relieve us of the trouble and cost of doing our own publishing,
(A. Lampman, 1896)⁴¹

Most writers had to spend their time and energy earning money at jobs they considered dull or unpleasant. George Stewart, Jr., the editor of Stewart's Quarterly (1867-1872) and later of Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly, wrote in 1887:

No one has been able in Canada, to make the writing of books his sole means of living. We have had to write our books under our breath, as it may be said, and the marvel is that we have been able to produce, under such depressing circumstances, so many works of even respectable merit. The Canadian author is either a professional or a business man, and his literary work must be done, almost as an accomplishment, during the leisure moments which may be snatches from the exacting occupations of real life.

(G. Stewart, Jr., 1887)⁴²

Yet Charles Sangster found he was unable to continue his writing while engaged in other work. In 1888 he wrote

to William Douw Lighthall, "I have written comparatively nothing for the past 20 years -- I might say positively nothing." He found that he had "no time either to publish, or to add anything to it /his manuscript/ for all that time, so steady were my duties, and so much did they unfit me for any, Even /sic/ the slightest, literary Endeavor /sic/." ⁴³

The Civil Service, in which Sangster was employed -- as were Archibald Lampman, W. W. Campbell, and Duncan Campbell Scott -- was particularly harmful to writers:

When they get a man into the Civil Service, their first duty is to crush him flat, and if he is a fool of a Poet, or dares to think of any nonsense of that kind, draw him through at /sic/ knot or a gimlet hole a few times, pile with agony of toil, toil, toil until his nerves are flattened out, all the rebound knocked out of him, and then -- superannuate him on what he can squeeze out of him thro' /sic/ friends or Enemies /sic/, and tell him he should be thankful for small favors of the most microscopic pattern.

(C. Sangster, 1888) ⁴⁴

As a result, Sangster said, his "stay at Ottawa has utterly destroyed my literary chances -- or any that some people choose to say I have shown, or might have had under different aspects." ⁴⁵

"If a man is forced to live by his pen in Canada, or wilfully /sic/ determines to do so," Duncan Campbell Scott wrote in 1892,

there is only one refuge for him -- journalism -- and if all my journalistic friends tell me is true, even that field is not covered very thickly

with clover. So that it happens that all our country can bestow upon her writers is in some cases only a very modest (or, perhaps, a prudish would be the better word) income, in others, no income at all.

(D. C. Scott, 1892)⁴⁶

Some observers expected authors to assume responsibility for the publication of their work:

If a clever and successful writer wants to put forth a book, he ought to have pride and trust enough to do it, at least partially, out of his own pocket, with the chances all in his favour that he shall reap a measure of fame and profit therefrom.

(Anon., 1889)⁴⁷

In 1883, Charles Mair decided to publish his Tecumseh privately

in fear and trembling for I have a sense of insufficiency, and forebodings which are very painful sometimes. . . . There is but one thing I am sure of and that is that I shall lose money. Our sweet Canadian public will take care of that. But I can afford to lose it better than in '68 -- which is a comfort in its way, and I should rather be the author of a really good Canadian poem than anything else under the cape of our northern skies.

(C. Mair, 1883)⁴⁸

Although Mair's play was a popular success, it was far from profitable. "The play cost me \$10,000.00 and brought me in \$500.00 so that I have bled for my country with a vengeance,"⁴⁹ wrote Mair in 1890. Its author took comfort in the fact that it was well-received.

It is inspiring to think that Canadians are proud of a Canadian book and are buying it. It repays me for many dreary hours and gloomy forecasts.

(C. Mair, 1886)⁵⁰

His work was written for his fellow countrymen. He said he would have been "quite content with a Canadian audience big or little."⁵¹

Charles G. D. Roberts initially had problems getting published as well. He paid \$300 to have his first book printed, an act he considered necessary for an unknown writer in Canada.⁵² Archibald Lampman also encountered much difficulty in getting his poems published. Though he had only meager earnings with which to support his family, he reluctantly resorted to publishing his works himself:

Copeland & Day having backed out of publishing for me this autumn, I am thinking of going into the publishing business again myself. I can sell enough copies in 6 month's /sic/ to pay the cost and then, if anything comes in, it is mine. Besides I shall not feel myself under any obligation to a publisher who is losing on my account. I shall get my book printed and bound in Edinburgh.

(A. Lampman, 1897)⁵³

Lampman felt exceedingly "tired of spending postage and expressage to & /sic/ from publishers."⁵⁴ He resented the need to work at the Post Office when he would have preferred devoting his full energy to writing. At times he claimed not to care whether anyone read his poetry or not, yet the publishers' rejection of his work caused him to doubt his talent:

I find myself for the first time in my life approaching a condition of philosophy. In a little while I shall no longer care whether people pay any attention to me or not, whether those I love return any affection or not, whether publishers

accept my books or whether anyone reads them when they are published. When I have actually reached that point I believe I shall be happy. I have already well begun the process of self abnegation. I no longer grumble at the civil service for I have given up for good and all the notion of writing anything large and important. Hereafter I shall be well content to produce such things as the nature of my gift and the circumstances of my life permit.

(A. Lampman, 1896)⁵⁵

In a sympathetic letter to Lampman, E. W. Thomson expressed feelings that must have been shared by many a rejected Canadian writer:

The Canadian publishers are . . . such a lot of dunderheads as to refuse your book. . . . You should have been born an American, or an Englishman.

(E. W. Thomson, 1895)⁵⁶

Emigration

Alternatively, writers might develop connections to American or British publishers. Because, according to George Stewart, Jr., "the market in Canada is limited, and, as a general thing, if a Canadian book is published in Canada, little can be realized out of the venture," many authors find it to their advantage to publish in England or in the United States."⁵⁷

Since literary endeavors were not rewarded in Canada, W. W. Campbell warned that young writers would have to find other outlets:

The older Canadians may think the younger men are fools, but the result must be that in a shorter time than most dream we either must take the position in our own land that is due to us, or else we will go where we can at least get fair play and a chance to develop.

(W. W. Campbell, 1892)⁵⁸

L. M. Montgomery, the author of Anne of Green Gables (1908), when offered a chance to publish with William Briggs of Toronto, wrote that she had prior obligations,

but even if I were free I wouldn't give the M.S. to a Canadian firm. It is much better financially to have it published in the States.

(L. M. Montgomery, 1908)⁵⁹

Writers living in Canada were at a disadvantage in vying for the attention of American or British publishers. It was difficult to compete from so far away. Lampman complained:

My publishing prospects appear to be below the sea-line altogether. I begin to think that, situated as I am, I shall never find a publisher. Why is it that these people cannot recognise /sic/ any merit in a man who lives five hundred miles from their offices, but they discern much more than the merit of stuff concocted under their noses.

(A. Lampman, 1895)⁶⁰

For purposes of maintaining close relations with their publishers and becoming part of an active intellectual community, many writers chose to emigrate to lands in which their writing was more likely to gain acceptance. In 1884 The Week ran several articles about Canadian emigration to the United States:

The truth of the assertion that the young men of Canada are emigrating in scores to seek a fortune in the bordering country cannot be gainsaid by anyone who has been giving the matter the slightest attention. The cleverer the young man is, the more does the desire grow on him to emigrate to a country where he thinks his ability will be appreciated, and once there, he seldom, if ever, returns to 'settle down' again in Canada.

(J. H. S., 1884)⁶¹

One novelist and journalist, Robert Barr (1850-1912), who was born in Scotland and raised in Canada, accused Canadians of spending their money on liquor rather than on books. Canada, he wrote in 1899, "prefers to inflame its stomach, rather than inform its brain."⁶² Barr, who emigrated to London in 1881 at the age of thirty-one, had this advice for aspiring Canadian writers:

Get over the border as soon as you can; come to London or go to New York; shake the dust of Canada from your feet. Get out of a land that is willing to pay money for whiskey, but wants its literature free in the shape of Ayer's Almanac, in my day the standard work of reference throughout the rural districts, because it cost nothing. Vamoose the ranch. Go back when all the rest of the world is acquainted with you, and you may find that Canada has, perhaps, some knowledge of your existence. Anyhow, when you return you will have a good time, for there are some of the finest people in the world in Canada.

(R. Barr, 1899)⁶³

It was commonly recognized, as Duncan Campbell Scott said, that "when a man feels that letters is his calling he must depart from our shores and be a sojourner in an alien land."⁶⁴

In 1889 G. Mercer Adam explained that "recognition abroad" drew the Canadian writer

to the centres in which he is appreciated, and where he is sure to find both congenial and remunerative employment. Canada has no such literary markets as are found in London, New York, or Boston. She has not such as are to be met with even in Philadelphia, Cincinnati, or Chicago.

(G. Mercer Adam, 1889)⁶⁵

Adam, who had devoted his career to encouraging the growth of a Canadian literature, emigrated to the United States in 1892. He was connected with the United States Book Company -- an outgrowth of John Lovell's publishing house -- and edited Self-Culture Magazine in Chicago from 1896. Adam died in New York in 1912.

It was only natural, Sara Jeannette Duncan agreed, that the Canadian litterateur, ignored in his own country,

turns with comfort to the half score of New York publications . . . where his chance is indeed better. . . . The market for Canadian literary wares of all sorts is self-evidently New York, where the intellectual life of the continent is rapidly centralising /sic/.

(S. J. Duncan, 1887)⁶⁶

In 1896 Duncan moved to India, where her husband, Charles Everard Cotes, was curator of the Indian Museum at Calcutta. After World War I, Duncan and her husband retired to England.

In addition to recognition, writers were vulnerable to the temptations of riches and glamor:

The United States, with its fabulous wealth and large population, presents the same attractions to the ambitious Canadian. He reads of the Astors and the Vanderbilts, the Goulds and the Carnegies, and the immense fortunes they have rolled up in a few years. He knows they were poor boys with no

capital, and relying only on energy, pluck, and mother wit, and he believes he can follow their footsteps. His chances of success are at least as good there as they are at home. He knows of Canadians who have made their mark. The stories of Erastus Wiman and others read like fairy tales. They throw their glamour over him, and draw him -- sometimes to success, and sometimes, it is true, to bitter disappointment.

(K. L. Jones, n.d.)⁶⁷

In 1895 George R. Parkin, the essayist who had been the teacher of Charles G. D. Roberts and Bliss Carman, attributed emigration to the fact that Canada produced a "higher class of workers"⁶⁸ than did the United States. "It is," he wrote,

the natural penalty which Canada pays for being a northern country with those rigorous conditions of life which develop a strong type of character and physique. . . . A climate which tends to produce a hearty race, a Puritan turn of mind which gives moral strenuousness, good schools, the leisure of winter for thought and study -- all these tend to produce men likely /sic/ to go abroad to win their way by their wits.

(G. R. Parkin, 1895)⁶⁹

Recognizing Canadian superiority, Americans, according to Parkin, offered Canadians great rewards to make their homes in the United States. Parkin himself, long an advocate of closer ties to the British Empire, moved to London to work for the Imperial Federation League from 1889-1895, then returned to Canada. In 1902 Parkin became the organizing secretary of the Rhodes Scholarship Trust, for which he traveled throughout the world for almost two decades. In 1920 he retired to England.

Some of Canada's best known authors chose to emigrate. Thus Major John Richardson moved to New York in 1848 in hopes of reaping greater profit from his works. His dreams, however, were unrealized; he died in New York City in poverty in 1852. Thomas Chandler Haliburton, whose books were more popular in Britain and the United States than in Canada, moved to London as a member of parliament in 1859 and remained there until his death in 1865. Bliss Carman settled in New York City after a brief time as a student at Harvard in 1886; Charles G. D. Roberts moved to New York in 1897, although he did not give up his legal residence in Fredericton; Gilbert Parker moved to London in 1893; and Robert Service moved to Brittany in 1913. Roberts -- who returned to Toronto in 1925 -- said in 1927 that he had moved to New York thirty years earlier in order to

be in a larger community. I wanted to get out of the parochial rut. It was not for markets. I could sell all that I wanted to from Fredericton. After my first book my work stood on its own feet financially.

(C. G. D. Roberts, 1927)⁷⁰

Whether desire for intellectual stimulation was Roberts' sole motivation is questionable. In 1900, Lilian E. Jory had written in the Canadian Methodist Magazine that Roberts had moved to New York to find what he could not get in Canada, "a true and just appreciation of his work, and the remuneration for that work which will enable him to devote his life to literature."⁷¹ This evaluation of Roberts' motives must be

considered seriously in view of a poem published in 1886
 urging Canadian poets to seek their fortune where they would
 best be appreciated:

Dear Poet, quit your shady lanes
 And come where more than lanes are shady.
 Leave Phyllis to the rustic swains
 And sing some Knickerbocker lady.
 O hither haste, and here devise
 Divine ballades before unuttered.
 Your poet's eyes must recognize
 The side on which your bread is buttered!

Dream not I tempt you to forswear
 One pastoral joy, or rural frolic.
 I call you to a city where
 The most urbane are most bucolic.
 'Twill charm your poet's eyes to find
 Good husbandmen in brokers burly; --
 Their stock is ever on their mind;
 To water it they rise up early.

Things you have sung, but ah, not seen --
 Things prosper to the age of Saturn --
 Shall greet you here; for we have been
 Wrought quaintly, on the Arcadian pattern.
 Your poet's lips will break in song
 For joy, to see at last appearing
 The bulls and bears, a peaceful throng,
 While a lamb leads them -- to the shearing!

And metamorphoses, of course,
 You'll mark in plenty, à la Proteus;
 A bear become a little horse --
 Presumably from too much throat-use!
 A thousandfold must go untold;
 But, should you miss your farm-yard sunny,
 And miss your ducks and drakes, behold
 We'll make you ducks and drakes -- of money!

Greengrocers here are fairly read.
 And should you set your heart upon them,
 We lack not beets -- but some are dead,
 While others have policemen on them.
 And be the dewfall dear to you,
 Possess your poet's soul in patience!
 Your notes shall soon be falling dew, --
 Most mystical of transformations!

Your heart, dear Poet, surely yields;
 And soon you'll leave your uplands flowery,
 Forsaking fresh and bowery fields,
 For "pastures new" -- upon the Bowery!
 You've piped at home, where none could pay,
 Till now, I trust, your wits are riper.
 Make no delay, but come this way,
 And pipe for them that pay the piper!
 (C. G. D. Roberts, 1886)⁷²

Yet Roberts, whose wanderlust led him to many large Canadian, American, and European cities, yearned poetically for the simple life of his childhood seaside home:

Out of this night of lonely noise,
 The city's crowded cries,
 Home of my heart, to thee, to thee
 I turn my longing eyes.
 (C. G. D. Roberts, 1901)⁷³

He often compared the cities in which he lived to his "ideal" rural home:

The city's clamour died in calm;
 And once again I heard
 The moon-white woodland stillnesses
 Enchanted by a bird.

The wash of far remembered waves;
 The sign of lapsing streams;
 And one old garden's lilac leaves
 Conferring in their dreams.

A breath from childhood daisy fields
 Came back to me again,
 Here in the city's weary miles
 Of city-wearied men.

(C. G. D. Roberts, 1901)⁷⁴

Other Canadian expatriates found too that life in the United States was not without problems. E. W. Thomson, the poet and former editor of the Toronto Globe emigrated to the United States where he became the Canadian correspondent for

the Boston Transcript. He tried unsuccessfully to persuade Archibald Lampman to join him in Boston, yet he complained in 1892 that "I still like Boston but don't get any wealthier here than in Canada."⁷⁵ Thomson found himself frequently lonely, especially on Canadian national holidays:

Because this is the Queen's birthday, the sun rose gloriously this morning and has shone pretty steadily all forenoon -- for the first time in ten days or so. Yet the people here are not celebrating to any great extent -- rebels! What a sense of exile in seeing no Union Jacks nor hearing any fire crackers or anvils to-day! I feel the strangeness of this land to-day more than ever before.

(E. W. Thomson, 1892)⁷⁶

Publishers also chose to pursue their careers in the United States. George H. Doran (1869-1956) was not content with being merely a Canadian bookseller or an importer of foreign books. He later recalled:

Publishing, the real objective of my life, was too limited in Canada. Beyond schoolbooks and church hymn-books, there were no publications of quality or quantity. The United States offered a great opportunity, so I arranged an appointment with Fleming H. Revell.

(G. H. Doran, 1935)⁷⁷

Although largely responsible for the publication of Ralph Connor's successful novels, Doran found it difficult to adjust to the business and social life of his new home, and reported that he generally "suffered from nostalgia."⁷⁸

The change in residence was not necessarily accompanied by a change of allegiance. Many felt their "Canadianness"

more keenly. Those who emigrated to the United States out of financial need usually continued to perceive themselves as Canadian and to concern themselves with Canadian issues. The fact that American cities were often viewed as decadent (Bliss Carman referred to "the deadly blight of New York, . . . that gangrene of politics on the body of democracy")⁷⁹ and useful only for purposes of fame and fortune allowed many a Canadian writer to remain rhetorically loyal to his native land. They frequently associated with other Canadian expatriates, celebrated Canadian (and British) holidays, wrote on Canadian topics, vacationed in Canada, and consciously sought to retain their Canadian identity. But they had found no place for themselves in a country that did not value art or literature. Some expatriates struggled for a long time with the dilemma of individual versus nationalistic priorities; others did not leave Canada until they were older and less idealistic, and frequently when their most productive time was behind them.

Gilbert Parker wrote many of his French-Canadian stories from London. Although some critics thought Parker had lost his realistic touch after he had moved away, others maintained that his "literary work rings true and shows that he has always had and still has his finger on the pulse -- the throbbing heart-beat of this land of amplest heritage."⁸⁰ Bliss Carman and Charles G. D. Roberts continued to write poems about the Canadian countryside from their homes in the

United States. Carman claimed never to have lost his "enthusiasm for Canada." Rather, he wrote that "the heart within him is much divided in affection."⁸¹

After Carman's death in 1929, Roberts set out to clarify his cousin's feeling toward his native land:

Until with the last ten years or so, at any rate, it has been taken for granted in America, and to some extent conceded, however reluctantly, in Canada, that Carman had been quite Americanized by his prolonged sojourning among our cousins to the south and by the influence of the close intimacies which he had formed there. He was claimed by the Americans as an American poet, in spite of the evidence afforded by the inclusion of his work in authoritative English and Canadian Anthologies. There were several long periods in his life during which his wanderings never led him back to his native fields and streams. There were periods when the atmosphere and background of many of his poems were those of New York's literary Bohemia, of the Catskills, of that New England sea-and-country side with which he had an inherited kinship, rather than of his own northern land, -- even as so much of Shelley and of Browning superficially took on the colouring of that Italy in which they chose to dwell.

But all these things were mere extraneous facts, accidents of time and circumstance, not rooted in the fibre of Carman's being. If he was claimed as an American poet it would never occur to him to publicly correct the mistake. He would never take the trouble to protest against any adverse criticism even, let alone against a mistake that was wholly a tribute and a compliment. It was enough for him that his intimates should know he was a Canadian and would never entertain any thought of changing his allegiance. His ineradicable Canadianism was too well understood and respected among his friends for him to feel the need of asserting it.

(C. G. D. Roberts, n.d.)⁸²

Carman's Canadianism could be confirmed by the reading of his poetry. Roberts continued:

As for the general atmosphere, background, landscape of Carman's poetry, no one surveying that poetry as a whole could have any doubt as to his nationality. The savour of Canada permeates it. The colour and the scent of that section of Canada which bred him, -- the Maritime Provinces, -- cling to him imperishably, however far afield he may have wandered in the choosing of his themes. . . .

Throughout his periods of richest productivity his themes themselves are so predominantly native. Canadian place-names are continually singing through his lines. And the most important book of his latest period, "Far Horizons", contains comparatively little that is not purely Canadian alike in matter, manner and inspiration. In that hauntingly musical and wistful poem, "Rivers of Canada", . . . he fervently proclaims himself the child and lover of Canada.

O all the mighty rivers beneath the Polar Star,
They call me and call me to follow them afar.

Peace and Athabasca and Coppermine and Slave,
And Yukon and Mackenzie -- the highroads of the brave.

Saskatchewan, Assiniboine, the Bow and the Qu'Appelle,
And many a prairie river whose name is like a spell.

They rumour through the twilight at the edge of the unknown
'There's a message waiting for you and a kingdom all your own

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

O well remembered rivers that sing of long ago
A-journeying through summer or dreaming under snow.

Among the meadow islands through placid days they glide,
And where the peaceful orchards are diked against the tide.

Tobique and Madawaska and shining Gaspereaux,
St. Croix and Nashwaak and St. John whose haunts I used to
know.

And all the pleasant rivers that seek the Fundy foam,
They call me and call me to follow them home.

(Charles G. D. Roberts, n.d.)⁸³
(Poem by Bliss Carman)

In a poem written for the Montreal Star while he was at Harvard, Carman expressed his love for the maple leaf, the symbol of his native land:

Love you? Forever in my heart's deep hold,
As fields the sun, since first your light became
Its quickening life; remembering as of old
On brave Canadian hill-fronts how you flame!

Wear you? Forever in my heart alone!
And so I shall be fearless, free from blame,
Through alien lands remembering our own
Fair North Canadian valleys whence we came.
(Bliss Carman, n.d.)⁸⁴

A writer in The Week in 1884 attested to the enduring patriotism of Canadian expatriates by claiming that out of 500,000 Canadians living in the United States not one fifth had been naturalized because, simply, "they love Canada."⁸⁵ The emigration of so many writers, however, caused many Canadians great alarm. Even Goldwin Smith, the founder of The Week, who thought in terms of Canada's continental destiny with the United States, warned in 1894 that Canada must compete with other countries or lose even its most loyal writers:

The breasts of some of our Canadian birds of song
throb with patriotism, but on opening an American
magazine you will find them, at least as soon as
they are feathered, warbling on a foreign bough.
(Goldwin Smith, 1894)⁸⁶

W. W. Campbell felt that "it is a disgrace to Canada to say that our young men have to go over to the 'much-abused neighboring republic' to win recognition in the higher pursuits." He warned his fellow countrymen that

We will never have a true nationality while this miserable condition of things lasts. And those who desire to build up Canada's future as an independent nation may see too late the folly of ignoring her rising men, while our universities are being stocked with old country professors and tutors who can have no real interest in or knowledge of our nationality and literature.

(W. W. Campbell, 1892)⁸⁷

Countermeasure designed to keep Canadian intellectuals in Canada were frequently contemplated. G. Mercer Adam hoped that "a just pride in Canadian letters and an ardent public interest in the national advancement" would prevent further emigration. He wrote,

the native writer who has not these patriotic influences at his back is at an especial disadvantage, for, in the absence of other incentives, they are as the breath in his nostrils to encourage and inspire him in his work. We may found new magazines and set on foot whatever other literary enterprises we like, but without patriotic feeling, or any well-defined national sentiment to support them and bid them god-speed, they are in danger of sharing the fate of their ill-starred predecessors, and unless exceptionally well-endowed are likely to come to naught.

(G. Mercer Adam, 1889)⁸⁸

By the 1890s the consequences of the talent drain were discussed in the Canadian parliament. Alexander McNeill, the member of parliament for North Bruce, suggested that W. W. Campbell be honored in Canada, rather than ignored, so that the poet would not "be forced to leave the country to seek appreciation and support elsewhere."⁸⁹ McNeill proposed appointing Campbell, who was then employed in the Department of Railways and Canals at a salary of \$1.50 per day, superintendent of belles lettres in the library of Parliament.

Some writers became more conscious of their commitment to their homeland as their colleagues emigrated. Archibald Lampman, for example, warned his colleagues that financial ease could destroy the poetic impulse:

What do poets want with gold,
 Cringing slaves and cushioned ease;
 Are not crusts and garments old
 Better for their souls than these?

Gold is but the juggling rod
 Of a false usurping god,
 Graven long ago in hell
 With a sombre stony spell,
 Working in the world forever.

. . . .

Poets speak of passion best,
 When their dreams are undistressed,
 And the sweetest songs are sung,
 E'er the inner heart is stung.
 Let them dream; 'tis better so.
 Ever dream, but never know.
 If their spirits once have drained
 All that goblet crimson-stained,
 Finding what they dreamed divine,
 Only earthly sluggish wine,
 Sooner will the warm lips pale,
 And the flawless voices fail,
 Sooner come the drooping wing,
 And the afterdays that bring,
 No such songs as did the spring.

(A. Lampman, 1888)⁹⁰

The poet, William Wye Smith, offered his reasons for remaining in Canada:

I looked upon Lake Erie,
 Before I looked on thee;
 And I'll not leave it for thy gold
 That lies beyond the sea!
 Its waves come leaping to my hand,
 As if they feared I'd go --
 I looked upon Lake Erie,
 And my heart gives answer, "No!"

Upon the shores of Erie
My cradle-song was sung;
And round its coves and o'er its deeps
My childish shoutings rung; --
Nor think my heart can e'er forget
The old love and the true --
Upon the shores of Erie,
That round its magic threw.

Thou bid'st me seek some other land
Away beyond the line,
Where gold is like the river sand,
And spice grows like the pine; --
I hear it; but my native strand
Has earned so well my love,
That when I seek some other land
'Twill be a land Above!

(W. W. Smith, 1888)⁹¹

Footnotes for Chapter VI

¹Letter of Charles Mair to George T. Denison, July 17, 1891, in the George T. Denison Papers (Public Archives, Ottawa, Ontario), vols. 3 and 4, p. 2031.

²The Bystander, New Series (November, 1889), p. 70.

³"Literary Review of the Publications of William Kirby's 'Le Chien d'Or' or 'The Golden Dog' from Actual Data in the Hands of the Late Author's Estate," 1925, in William Kirby Papers, Lorne Pierce Collection (Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario), Box 41.

⁴"Colonial and Home Library," Literary Garland I, no. 11 (November, 1843), p. 528.

⁵S. E. Dawson, "Copyright in Canada," The Week II, no. 52 (November 26, 1885), p. 826.

⁶Letter of Charles G. D. Roberts to Mr. Dawson, October 19, 1885 in Charles G. D. Roberts Papers (McGill University, Montreal, Quebec), CM 85 Bd, Box VII.

⁷The Week IV, no. 28 (June 9, 1887), p. 449.

⁸G. Mercer Adam, "Literature, Nationality, and the Tariff," The Week VII (December 27, 1889) reprinted in The Search for English-Canadian Literature: An Anthology of Critical Articles from the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries, ed. Carl Ballstadt (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), p. 28.

⁹Letter of Archibald Lampman to Copeland & Day, March 18, 1896 in Archibald Lampman Papers, Lorne Pierce Collection (Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario), Box 47.

¹⁰Publishing houses located in other areas, notably the Maritime Provinces, usually dealt with material specifically of local interest.

¹¹Carl F. Klinck, (ed.), Literary History of Canada, vol. I, 2nd ed., (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), p. 284.

¹²Lorne Pierce, The House of Ryerson 1829-1954 (Toronto: The United Church Publishing House, 1954), p. 19.

¹³Thomas D'Arcy McGee, "Protection for Canadian Literature," The New Era (April 24, 1858) reprinted in Ballstadt, ed., The Search for English-Canadian Literature . . . p. 23.

¹⁴Letter of Duncan Campbell Scott to Copeland & Day, March 13, 1896 in Duncan Campbell Scott Papers, Lorne Pierce Collection (Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario).

¹⁵W. W. Campbell, May 21, 1892 in At the Mermaid Inn conducted by A. Lampman, W. W. Campbell, Duncan C. Scott. Being Selections from Essays on Life and Literature, which appeared in the Toronto Globe 1892-1893, ed. Arthur S. Bourinot (Ottawa: by the Editor, 1958), p. 29.

¹⁶Letter of George N. Morang and Company Limited to Charles Mair, May 10, 1901 in the George T. Denison Papers (Public Archives, Ottawa, Ontario), vols. 9 and 10, p. 4360.

¹⁷G. Mercer Adam, "Literature, Nationality, and the Tariff," op. cit., pp. 26-27.

¹⁸Archibald Lampman, March 19, 1892 in Bourinot, ed., At the Mermaid Inn . . ., p. 14.

¹⁹Canadian Monthly and National Review 5, no. 1 (January, 1874), p. 1.

²⁰Canadian Methodist Magazine 62, no. 1 (July, 1905), p. 33.

²¹U.S. Census Reports (Washington: U.S. Census Office, 1900) p. xvii.

²²The Maple Leaf: A Juvenile Monthly Magazine 4 (1853-54), p. 190.

²³Since records from nineteenth century Canadian publishing houses are almost nonexistent today, the size of the reading public can best be surmised from nineteenth century journals, personal and business letters, records of libraries, and records of literary societies.

²⁴E. H. Dewart, "Charles Sangster, The Canadian Poet," The Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, Art and Literature VII, no. 1 (May, 1896), p. 31.

²⁵Review of Duncan Campbell Scott's Via Borealis from A Canadian Souvenir (1900) reprinted in Duncan Campbell Scott, Via Borealis (Toronto: William Tyrell & Co., 1906).

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Lawrence J. Burpee, "Some Canadian Poets," Canadian Methodist Magazine 55, no. 2 (February, 1902), p. 154.

²⁸Edward Hartley Dewart, Selections from Canadian Poets; with occasional Critical and Biographical Notes, and an Introductory Essay on Canadian Poetry (Montreal: John Lovell, 1864), pp. xiv-xv.

²⁹Thomas D'Arcy McGee, "The Mental Outfit of the New Dominion," in Canadian Literature: the beginnings to the 20th century, ed. Catherine M. McLay (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1974), pp. 186-187.

³⁰G. Mercer Adam, "Literature, Nationality, and the Tariff," op. cit., p. 27.

³¹Nicholas Flood Davin, "The Future of Canada," Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly 6 (May, 1881), p. 494.

³²Archibald Lampman, February 20, 1892 in At the Mermaid Inn . . ., p. 8.

³³George H. Doran, Chronicles of Barabbas 1884-1934 (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1935), p. 2021.

³⁴Charles W. Gordon, Postscript to Adventure: The Autobiography of Ralph Connor (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1938), p. 149.

³⁵Doran, op. cit., p. 202.

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷Gordon, op. cit., p. 150.

³⁸Letter of Bliss Carman to Tom Meteyard, September 16, 1901, in the Bliss Carman Papers (Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario), Box 1, Coll. 146.

³⁹Invoice from Small, Maynard & Company to Bliss Carman, February 1, 1901-July 1, 1901 in the Bliss Carman Papers (Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario), Box 44, Series VII.

⁴⁰Letter of John Richardson to Mr. John Philipport, March 22, 1845 in the John Richardson Papers, Lorne Pierce Collection (Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario), Box 72.

⁴¹Archibald Lampman, October 7, 1896 in Archibald Lampman's Letters to Edward William Thomson (1890-1898), ed. Arthur S. Bourinot (Ottawa: by the Editor, 1956), p. 33.

⁴²George Stewart, Jr., "Literature in Canada," Canadian Leaves: History, Art, Science, Literature, Commerce -- A Series of New Papers read before the Canadian Club of New York, ed. G. M. Fairchild, Jr. (New York: Napoleon Thompson & Co., 1887), p. 131.

⁴³Letter of Charles Sangster to William Douw Lighthall, July 8, 1888 in the Sangster Collection (McGill University, Montreal, Quebec).

⁴⁴Letter of Charles Sangster to William Douw Lighthall, November 15, 1888 in the Sangster Collection (McGill University, Montreal, Quebec).

⁴⁵Letter of Charles Sangster to William Douw Lighthall, July 18, 1888 in the Sangster Collection (McGill University, Montreal, Quebec).

⁴⁶Duncan Campbell Scott, September 24, 1892 in Bourinot, ed., At the Mermaid Inn . . ., p. 57.

⁴⁷"Our National Literature," The Dominion Illustrated II, no. 28 (January 12, 1889), p. 19.

⁴⁸Letter of Charles Mair to George T. Denison, November 23, 1883 in George T. Denison Papers (Public Archives, Ottawa, Ontario), vols. 3 and 4, p. 1490.

⁴⁹Letter of Charles Mair to George T. Denison, November 3, 1890 in George T. Denison Papers (Public Archives, Ottawa, Ontario), vols. 3 and 4, p. 1871.

⁵⁰Letter of Charles Mair to George T. Denison, March 6, 1886 in George T. Denison Papers (Public Archives, Ottawa, Ontario), vols. 3 and 4, p. 1490.

⁵¹Letter of Charles Mair to George T. Denison, March 3, 1886 in George T. Denison Papers (Public Archives, Ottawa, Ontario), vols. 3 and 4, p. 1487.

⁵²Interview of Charles G. D. Roberts with Lorne Pierce, June 3, 1927, reported by Margaret Lawrence in Charles G. D. Roberts Papers, Lorne Pierce Collection (Queen's University Kingston, Ontario), Box 75.

⁵³Letter of Archibald Lampman to E. W. Thomson, November 2, 1897 in Archibald Lampman Papers (Public Archives, Ottawa, Ontario), vol. 1, p. 364.

⁵⁴Letter of Archibald Lampman to E. W. Thomson, July 5, 1893 in Archibald Lampman Papers (Public Archives, Ottawa, Ontario), vol. 1, p. 126.

⁵⁵Archibald Lampman, February 11, 1896 in Archibald Lampman's Letters to Edward William Thomson . . ., p. 33.

⁵⁶E. W. Thomson, March 16, 1895 in The Letters of Edward William Thomson to Archibald Lampman (1891-1897), ed. Arthur S. Bourinot (Ottawa: by the Editor, 1957), p. 19.

⁵⁷George Stewart, Jr., op. cit., p. 141.

⁵⁸W. W. Campbell, March 12, 1892 in Bourinot, ed., At the Mermaid Inn . . ., p. 13.

⁵⁹L. M. Montgomery, December 22, 1908 in The Green Gables Letters, ed., Wilfrid Eggleston (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1960), p. 80.

⁶⁰Archibald Lampman, March 25, 1895 reprinted in Archibald Lampman: Selected Prose, ed., Barrie Davis (Ottawa: The Tecumseh Press, 1975), pp. 119-120.

⁶¹J. H. S., "Emigration of the Young Men of Canada to the United States," The Week I, no. 23 (May 8, 1884), p. 361.

⁶²Robert Barr, "Literature in Canada," The Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, Art and Literature XIV, no. 1 (November, 1899), p. 5.

⁶³Ibid., pp. 6-7.

⁶⁴Duncan Campbell Scott, January 7, 1893 in Bourinot, ed., At the Mermaid Inn . . ., p. 74.

⁶⁵G. Mercer Adam, "Literature, Nationality, and the Tariff," op. cit., p. 25.

⁶⁶Sara Jeannette Duncan, "American Influence on Canadian Thought," The Week IV, no. 32 (July 7, 1887), p. 518.

⁶⁷K. L. Jones, "Causes of the Canadian Exodus," in the Charles Mair Papers (Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario), Box 9.

⁶⁸George R. Parkin, The Great Dominion: Studies of Canada (London: MacMillan and Co., 1895), p. 216.

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 215.

⁷⁰Interview of Charles G. D. Roberts, op. cit.

⁷¹Lillian E. Jory, "Some Canadian Poets," Canadian Methodist Magazine 51, no. 5 (May, 1900), p. 423.

⁷²Charles G. D. Roberts, "The Poet is Bidden to Manhattan Island," In Divers Tones (Boston: D. Lothrop and Company, 1886), pp. 130-132.

⁷³Charles G. D. Roberts, "A Nocturne of Exile," Poems (New York: Silver, Burdett and Company, 1901), p. 111.

⁷⁴Roberts, "The Ideal," Poems, p. 105.

⁷⁵E. W. Thomson, March 5, 1892 in The Letters of Edward William Thomson . . ., p. 7.

⁷⁶Ibid., May 24, 1892, p. 7.

⁷⁷George H. Doran, op. cit., p. 13.

⁷⁸Ibid., p. 16.

⁷⁹Bliss Carman, "Contemporaries - V. Mr. Charles G. D. Roberts," The Chap-Book II, no. 4 (January, 1895), p. 169.

⁸⁰William N. Ponton in the Gilbert Parker Papers, Lorne Pierce Collection (Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario), Box 72.

⁸¹Article by Bliss Carman, September 12, 1896 in Bliss Carman's Scrapbook, in the Carman Papers, Lorne Pierce Collection (Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario), Box 48: ix.

⁸²Charles G. D. Roberts, "Carman and his Own Country," in the Charles G. D. Roberts Papers, Lorne Pierce Collection (Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario), Box 75.

⁸³Ibid., Poem, "Rivers of Canada," by Bliss Carman.

⁸⁴Bliss Carman, "The Maple Leaf," in the Bliss Carman Papers, Lorne Pierce Collection (Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario).

⁸⁵A Canadian Nationalist, "The Progress of the National Idea," The Week I, no. 27 (June 5, 1884), p. 421.

⁸⁶Goldwin Smith, "What is the Matter with Canadian Literature?" The Week XI (August 31, 1894), p. 88.

⁸⁷W. W. Campbell, March 12, 1892 in the Campbell Papers, Lorne Pierce Collection (Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario), Box 21: VII.

⁸⁸G. Mercer Adam, "Literature, Nationality, and the Tariff," op. cit., p. 25.

⁸⁹Official Report of the Debates of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada XXXIII, First Session, Seventh Parliament (September 28, 1891), p. 6264.

⁹⁰Archibald Lampman, "What do Poets Want with Gold?" in Among the Millet and Other Poems (Ottawa: J. Durie & Son, 1888), pp. 58-59.

⁹¹William Wye Smith, The Poems of William Wye Smith (Toronto: Dudley & Burns, 1888), pp. 53-54.

CHAPTER VII

CONSCIOUS NATIONALISM

In order to understand the quality of Canadian literary nationalism, it is important to consider why so many Canadian writers, despite numerous hardships and frustrations, chose to persevere in writing -- and in Canada. How did the writers conceive their duty to their native land? How did they expect to achieve their goals? How were their intentions reflected in their literature? What influence did they think their literature would have? This chapter contends that the nationalistic content of nineteenth and early twentieth century novels and poems did not consist merely of random comments on Canada's beauty, history, or destiny, but rather was carefully designed to foster Canadian nationalism.

Sense of Mission

Canadian writers of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries quite commonly believed that they had a mission to perform. It was their duty, they supposed, to create a native literature and thus foster Canadian nationalism. Charles Sangster wrote Edward Hartley Dewart, "Fame is dross to me. I write because I believe it to be a duty."¹ In the words of Agnes Maule Machar, the novelist, put into the mouth of one of her characters:

I believe Canada has a destiny of her own to work out, and I think it more likely, more in accordance with experience, that she will achieve her destiny as an independent nationality, than as a part of any great nation. . . . Whatever her ultimate destiny may be, she will be best fitted to fulfil it as she grows into a healthy national spirit now. That is all I care about.

(A. M. Machar, 1895)²

Charles G. D. Roberts believed strongly (in words that anticipated John F. Kennedy's inaugural address) that

our poets and our artists should concern themselves with what they could do for their country /rather/ than with what their country should do for them. It has always seemed to me that whatever we can do for the country we love, the country which breeds and nurtures us, is no more than our country's due.

(C. G. D. Roberts, n.d.)³

Roberts was willing to accept his responsibility, to be "a voice crying in the wilderness."⁴ He confided to William Douw Lighthall in 1888 that he planned to produce "more Canadian nationalistic & aspirational work."⁵ According to Archibald Lampman, Roberts "has said to himself that there ought to be a prophet, and he will be that prophet at whatever cost of effort."⁶

Looking back over his career, Roberts said in 1927 that he had sought to involve his readers in the struggle for a Canadian national spirit. In answer to the question, "Were you conscious then /as editor of The Week, 1883/ of the rise of the spirit of Canadianism?" Roberts replied, "I knew what I was trying to do."⁷

"The true mission of the man of letters," wrote J. W. Longley, "be he poet, novelist or philosopher, is to pour forth in burning words the regnant aspirations of the mass of society -- to put in tangible and glowing form the distinctive qualities and attributes of the national mind, so that all can grasp them, and form their hopes and aspirations in accordance therewith."⁸

John George Bourinot, the authority on Canadian constitutional history, agreed that a writer had a duty to present material that would be both "inspirational" and "commemorative."⁹ Similarly, in 1900 Lilian Jory explained that the writers' mission was to instruct the reader. "Our poets of Canada," she wrote, "therefore, are worthy of their great mission -- to open the eyes of men and women that they walk not through this great Palace Beautiful asleep."¹⁰

Writers who did not use their literature to foster nationalism would be shirking their responsibility to Canada. For, according to the poet W. W. Campbell, "No man or class of people in a community can be exempt from the sacred responsibility of patriotism on which both the happiness and lives of the whole country depends."¹¹ The development of the country could be accomplished, Campbell said, only by the achievement of three principles. First, the nation must be self-sustaining, in terms of resources. Second, the

country must have "a people of so national or patriotic a spirit that they value and husband those resources."

Finally, the country must be willing and able to protect its resources. In other words, the citizens must desire the continued existence of the nation.¹²

G. Mercer Adam felt that, since Canadian writers were so neglected by the public, they could only be motivated to write out of a sense of patriotism and duty:

Is it not true, moreover, that there are many easier paths to distinction than Canada offers to her literary men? Why then -- save that they love their country and their art, not wisely but too well -- should they work on in the face of almost uniform neglect and within hearing of the frequent gibe of the scoffer?

(G. Mercer Adam, 1888)¹³

According to John Daniel Logan, what impelled Canadians to write was "an inexpugnable Faith in ourselves." All Canadian literature, Logan said, contained an

undertone of a consciousness of self-controlled destiny, which passes from Cheerful Faith (before Confederation) to Triumphant Exultation (since Confederation). It was this Faith that stayed our pioneer forefathers amidst a thousand hardships in the wilds. It was this Faith that kept our minds sane in days of political turmoil and evil insurrection. And it is this Faith which now guides us, with undoubted energy and serenity, onward to a humane and happy federation of many races in a land still unassailed and free. Our poetry may not be great in finished perfection of form, in subtle nuances of thought and emotion; but it is of high rank in these social qualities, -- sane and cheerful Faith in our ideals, restrained but inexpugnable Self-confidence in our power eventually to effect, undirected and unassisted by

others, a genuinely mundane, human, and practical Democracy, and Courage to undertake the accomplishment of our predestined task.

(J. D. Logan, 1911)¹⁴

Writers shared the responsibility for their task with other public figures. Mackenzie reported on the nationalists of the 1870s:

There are such people; they are found in both political parties. They hold that this idea of a distinctive nationality of this Dominion, of which we are the founders and originators, which it is for us to weld together -- to allow ourselves to be absorbed into in fact is an entirely necessary one; that it should be in every way countenanced, encouraged, and fostered. In other words, they say that a Canadian national spirit should be cultivated.

(G. A. Mackenzie, 1877)¹⁵

Public men, themselves, had a duty to perform. The writer J. W. Longley outlined that duty:

It is the highest duty of our public men to seek to cultivate a strong feeling of patriotism as opposed to mere loyalty. Canadians must learn to realize and feel that they have a great country, and are destined to become a great nation. This is the future that should be always kept in view. Not Colonialism -- not Annexation, but Canada an independent State -- the youngest and most promising among the nations of the earth.

(J. W. Longley, 1882)¹⁶

In this task, writers could be very helpful:

The Canadian man of letters or journalist . . . has . . . a plain duty to perform. If Canada is destined to be a nation, we must all wish both that she should have a national literature, and that her public men and her citizens generally should be trained, so far as the press can train them, not in mere party tactics, but in politics worthy of the name.

(Anon., 1884)¹⁷

Samuel E. Dawson (1833-1916), a Montreal publisher and bookseller, thought in terms of a partnership between statesmen and writers:

During the last twenty-five years the idea of a Canadian nationality has been rapidly growing, and the change is reflected in our literature, especially in our poetry. To weld all Canada into one nation is an arduous task, and the statesmen will need the aid of the writers of Canada.

(S. E. Dawson, 1908)¹⁸

The members of Canada First had, in the 1860s and 1870s, pioneered in fostering nationalism through literature. In 1874, Edward Blake, a member of Canada First and later the leader of the Liberal Party (1880-1887), defined national spirit as "some common ground on which to unite, some common aspiration to be shared."¹⁹ On the cultivation of such a spirit, Blake believed, depended the future of Canada. Blake grew impatient with those who agreed that a national spirit was necessary, but did little to encourage it. "But how long is this talk in the newspaper and elsewhere . . . of the desirability, aye, of the necessity of fostering a national spirit among the people of Canada," he asked, "to be mere talk?"²⁰ Of George Foster, one of the founders of Canada First, Charles Mair said in 1884:

I am extremely glad to hear of Foster and his fortunes. He is content now, I suppose to leave the creation of a national sentiment in Canada to the next generation (which may throw off our swaddling clothes.)

(C. Mair, 1884)²¹

George M. Grant, the principal of Queen's University, thought that by 1887 -- twenty years after Confederation -- all Canadians should be "Canada-first men." For,

duty demands that we shall be true to our history.
Duty also demands that we shall be true to our
home. . . . Think what a home we have. Every
province is fair to see. Its sons and daughters
are proud of the dear natal soil. Why then should
not all taken together inspire loyalty in souls
least capable of patriotic emotion!

(G. M. Grant, 1887)²²

Means of Fulfilling the Mission

From the early part of the nineteenth century the power of literature to transform and inspire people was generally accepted by writers as fact. The best techniques for accomplishing these goals had yet to be discovered. It was important to "secure and foster the very best agencies for the promotion of a thorough and widespread mental culture." There should be little difficulty since, it was presumed,

the Canadian people are descendants of some of the most intellectual races of the world. They have free access to the literary stores of both hemispheres. Situated well up in the temperate zone, their climatic conditions are such as have usually proved most favourable to mental as well as physical development.

(J. E. Wells, 1875)²³

Thomas Chandler Haliburton confessed that he had attempted to awaken his countrymen in an inoffensive yet effective manner:

It has been my object therefore, to convey to the public some important truths, under a humorous cover, which, without the amusement afforded by the wrapper would never be even looked at.

(T. C. Haliburton, 1843)²⁴

The development of literature was often compared to the flowering of a young plant that had to be given special care and nourishment. Henry J. Morgan, the editor of the Dominion Annual Register, wrote of literature:

It becomes every patriotic subject who claims allegiance to this our new northern nation to extend a fostering care to the native plant, to guard it tenderly, to support and assist it by the warmest countenance and encouragement.

(H. J. Morgan, 1867)²⁵

National sentiment had therefore to be cultivated and made to bear fruit:

Young Canada has come to the front, and we are now a nation, with a nation's duties to perform, privileges to maintain, and honour to protect. That national sentiment which has yet to defend the meteor flag from the Atlantic to the Pacific, is opening amongst us like a flower. All true men will carefully water the plant; all wise men will assiduously nourish its growth. Its vegetation has, indeed been slow. . . . But its power and cohesiveness are being felt at last, and already it is binding the scattered communities of British America together in the bonds of a common cause, a common language, and a common destiny.

(C. Mair, 1875)²⁶

For the cultivation of the national spirit G. A. Mackenzie recommended a technique that many writers adopted:

Before a principle will grow it requires to be asserted, and by constantly asserting and reasserting the principle, both in words and deeds, you do advance its growth immensely.

(G. A. Mackenzie, 1877)²⁷

Literature was intended to instruct, to uplift, and to unite the people of Canada. In addition to fiction and poetry, various other literary forms could accomplish the intended goal:

After all, History is the highest and noblest species of literature! and as such, is the one best adapted to our present intellectual necessities. Here we find united entertainment and instruction -- the curious and the philosophic. History is defined to be 'philosophy teaching by examples.' He who delights in the romantic, need not suppose it is alone contained in the fiction!
(W. P. C., 1848)²⁸

G. Mercer Adam agreed that invoking the past could foster a national spirit in Canada:

To what other influence, may we ask, can we point which will do more for Canada than literature and the enshrined story of the bustling fateful past? What is more calculated to stir the pulse, if it does fire the brain, than the impassioned recital of the stirring deeds of an earlier time? In Canada we have a history full of adventure, replete with dramatic incident, thrilling in many passages in the career of the two great nations that contended for the prize of the continent, and heroic in its record of missionary enterprise and the relations of the priest and early pioneer with the dispossessed Indian. . . . And in the latter day development of our wide domain . . . the imagination might riot in depicting the country's boundless future. In all this, were knowledge of it more general, and the literary spirit better encouraged to depict it with the glow of patriotic enthusiasm, what aid might be given to the nationward impulses, and how much would it tend to weld together the loose and disintegrating sections of the Canadian people.

(G. Mercer Adam, 1888)²⁹

Writers should, John George Bourinot said, make use of Canada's natural resources and heroic history in their work. This task would be made easier for Canadian writers since "the Canadians have behind them a history which is well calculated to stimulate writers to give utterance to the national sentiment. I mean national in the sense of being thoroughly imbued with a love for the country, its scenery, its history and its aspirations."³⁰

Historical writing, said a reviewer of W. H. Withrow's A Popular History of the Dominion in Canada in 1878, might arouse

an intelligent patriotism in its readers and better prepare them for the duties of citizenship. . . . If it shall kindle in the hearts a glowing affection for the noble country which is theirs, an unconquerable resolve to cherish its best interests, to promote its material, intellectual and moral progress, to live worthy of the goodly inheritance they have received . . . this book shall not have been written in vain.

(Anon., 1878)³¹

George Monro Grant gave his reasons for editing Pictu-
resque Canada: The Country as it Was and Is, a very influential book that described the geography, climate, and industry of Canada:

I was reluctant to undertake the editorship, but consented because, being in sympathy with Canadian aspirations and knowing Canada from ocean to ocean, I believed that a work that would represent its characteristic scenery and the history and life of its people would not only make us better known to ourselves and to strangers, but would also stimulate national sentiment and contribute to the rightful development of the nation.

(G. M. Grant, 1882)³²

By recalling the heroes of the past, and pointing out the possibilities of the future, poets could strengthen patriotic feelings. Of the heroes who fought in the Northwest, for example, James Ernest Caldwell wrote,

Oh! who but a traitor can think of their rush
On the grim hidden foe at the back of Batoche;
Or of Otter's bold march into Poundmaker's den,
And love not the land that could nourish such men!
(J. E. Caldwell, 1895)³³

Educational Literature

Writers, among them Ralph Connor and Sara Jeannette Duncan, believed that schools provided an ideal instrumentality for the inculcation of national values. Many decried the practice of teaching children the literature, history, and geography of foreign lands while neglecting that of Canada:

While numerous discoverers have penetrated the jungles of Africa and every school-boy knows about the Congo, it is rather humiliating that our knowledge of our own great northern country is practically nil. Every school-boy is drilled on every river of any importance in Europe, Asia, and Africa, while in our own country we have a river /the Mackenzie/ greater than any river in these three Continents, but about which our average school-boy scarce knows the name. . . . it can perhaps scarcely be wondered at if there is found a lack of national spirit in young Canadians when they are taught in our schools, where above all things relating to our own country, a national spirit ought to be inculcated, to believe that the greater portion of our country is an uninhabitable, barren, icy-cold region.

(J. Dryden, Jr., 1888)³⁴

In the same spirit, George W. Ross (1841-1914) compiled his anthology, Patriotic Recitations and Arbor Day Exercises, for school children. Ross, an educator and politician, served as the minister of education from 1883-1899, as the premier of Ontario from 1899-1905, and as the leader of the opposition from 1910-1914. He believed that nationalism could be instilled in very young children:

Every pupil in the schools of Canada should be thoroughly instructed in Canadian history and made fully acquainted with the extent and resources of his own country. . . . A Canadian sentiment we must have, if we are to develop the great forces which make for national life.

(G. W. Ross, 1893)³⁵

"At the present crisis of Canadian history, when we are assuming our place among the nations of the world and have become the cynosure of other lands," J. E. Wetherell agreed,

it is proper that the pupils of our schools should become well acquainted with our patriotic songs. It would be a mere platitude to speak of the vastness of our country and the richness and variety of our resources. Every schoolboy knows of these things. What is to be aimed at by the teachers of the Dominion is to give those under their charge the enthusiastic spirit which those who know our country best have not failed to catch.

(J. E. Wetherell, 1905)³⁶

Kate Seymour Maclean called for new textbooks:

Why should not our National School Readers, whose very words will remain imprinted indelibly upon the memories of our children long after they have ceased to be taught and have themselves become the teachers and the actors, why should not these pages be made the vehicle . . . of exalted and noble sentiments.

(K. S. Maclean, 1881)³⁷

G. Mercer Adam, then the editor of The Canada Educational Monthly and School Chronicle, asked for school books written

from a Canadian point of view. We should, of course, have primers of Canadian history, and our reading books should enshrine such models of literary or oratorical composition as Canadian writers and publicists can be said . . . to have given us. Recent years have added much to the native literature of Canada, which it would be well to bring to the notice of our youth; and it would be a substantial stimulant of Canadian patriotism and citizenship could such material be garnered into our reading books and histories.

(G. Mercer Adam, 1879)³⁸

Furthermore, Adam felt that,

if as a people we are ever to grow out of our colonial swaddling-clothes, and to fit ourselves some day for assuming any higher role in national existence . . . it is not too soon to imbue our youth with that amor patriae which familiarity with the history and traditions of the past, and the expression of intelligent aspirations for the future, will best inculcate.

(G. Mercer Adam, 1879)³⁹

Most important, according to Adam, would be to teach the children about "our own beloved Canada."⁴⁰

"The young," said William Douw Lighthall, "should be taught this passion to serve the state, and the pure happiness that lies in that passion. Then only shall we be able to move securely on in the task of building up the Modern Nation."⁴¹

Institutions of higher education were especially valuable, wrote John William Dawson (1820-1899), the geologist,

natural scientist, and principal of McGill College, in 1855,
in

young and growing countries, where all is in a state of growth and transition, where boundless industrial resources are waiting to be drawn forth, where new social and political institutions are to be built up; and above all in a free country, where every one must think and act for himself.

(J. W. Dawson, 1855)⁴²

Dawson's goal was to establish schools so good

that no Canadian may be able justly to complain that he is under the necessity of going beyond his native Province for an education that will enable him to take his place side by side with the best educated men of other countries.

(Ibid.)⁴³

The poet, W. W. Campbell expressed his views on higher education in Canada in 1892:

We all know that the ideal university ought to be the centre of the best culture and aspirations of the growing national life. . . . I would like to ask some of our most ardent patriots -- some of those who are so sure of our "certain glorious future" -- do they know how many professors of literature and history there are in our many colleges who are deeply imbued with the national spirit; who are truly Canadians in birth, hope, sympathy and education. If we have not been merely playing at nation-building this is a grave and all-important question, and will go far towards solving the much bemoaned question -- the Canadian contempt and lack of feeling for a Canadian literature and nationality. The Canadian soil will be put off no longer. . . . Canada for the Canadians must be the first thing now.

(W. W. Campbell, 1892)⁴⁴

Towards the end of the nineteenth century authors who had previously written for adults, such as Charles G. D.

Roberts, turned to children's books. Many of their tales had weak story lines as if the plots were only pretexts to provide information about Canada. Agnes Maule Machar, for example, was said to write children's stories with the intention of "quicken[ing] and strengthen[ing] our national life."⁴⁵ J. Macdonald Oxley's The Boy Tramps was an ode to Canada. Its purpose was to instill in its readers a sense of pride at all that Canada had accomplished and awe at the great wonders of their northern homeland.⁴⁶ Oxley (1855-1907), who was born in Halifax, became known in Britain and the United States as well as in Canada as a writer of adventure stories for boys.

Interdependency of Literature and Nationalism

Most writers believed that literature could influence national sentiment. "It is descending to the hackneyed," wrote J. W. Longley, "to demonstrate that the literature of a country has a vast influence upon its developments. Its politics are moulded [sic] as much by its poetry as its poetry is tinged by its political institutions."⁴⁷ This belief motivated the members of Canada First and the Poets of the Confederation, as well as many pre-Confederation authors. As a writer in the Varsity magazine said,

I think that a National Literature tends to develop and perpetuate those loyal and patriotic sentiments which are essential to the prosperity of every nation. In fact, I believe that no nation ever yet attained to any high position without the aid of such a literature, either handed down in the shape of oral traditions, or bequeathed in the form of written historical records.

(J. B. Pyke, 1886)⁴⁸

Literature could surely create "a universal and controlling national sentiment" Kate Seymour MacLean said, in Canada as it had in the United States. Then Canada, too, could possess a strong "assimilating power," which would unite "this vast mass of differing, and often conflicting, social and civil forces,"⁴⁹ of immigrants to Canada.

Wilfrid Laurier, the Prime Minister, agreed "there could . . . be no national life without literature, art and science." Therefore, Laurier proposed making Ottawa, the national capital, "the seat of learning, arts and letters for the Dominion."⁵⁰

Other writers thought what was required in Canada was "not so much a national literature that will develop a national sentiment as a national sentiment that will force the growth of a national literature."⁵¹ They agreed with Bliss Carman that "Canada's national literature . . . must depend on her trend and growth in nationhood."⁵² By consciously promoting nationalism in their writing, therefore, these writers were serving their own interests as well as those of the nation.

Only a native literature, written with the history, geography, and customs of the nation in mind, could serve to arouse the pride of the citizens. Writers of other lands, no matter how refined their style and how universal their message, could not serve the needs of the Canadian public:

Not all the fire of Burns, the mind of Scott,
 The stern and holy human zeal of Knox,
 Nor that wise lore which human life unlocks
 Of Magic Shakespeare, Bacon's subtlest thought,
 Nor Milton's lofty line sublimely wrought,
 Not gentle Wordsworth 'mid his field and flocks,
 Nor mystic Coleridge of the wizard locks,
 Hath power to raise us to our loftiest loft.

But that rare quality, that national dream,
 That lies behind this genius at its core,
 Which gave it vision, utterance, evermore,
 It will be with us, as those stars that gleam,
 Eternal, hid behind the lights of day,
 A people's best, that may not pass away.
 (W. W. Campbell, 1905)⁵³

Charles Mair, for one, hoped he had adapted his style to his subject matter. Referring to a review in which it had been said that he wrote in the style of the "Old World," Mair reported that he soon after "discarded the mannerism and welcomed my own native Canadian instincts however."⁵⁴ Because he was a "staunch Canadian,"⁵⁵ Charles G. D. Roberts, too, had struggled to achieve "the expression of purely Canadian themes."⁵⁶

In 1858, almost a decade before Confederation, Thomas D'Arcy McGee had written that if a country wanted "to preserve a distinct individuality from other nations," it must "create and foster a National Literature." Without such a literature, he warned,

the distinctive character and features of a people must disappear; they cannot survive the storms of time and the rude blasts of civil commotion. The popular mind must be trained and educated according to the physical appearances and social conditions of the country; and the people who are so unfortunate as to possess no fountain from which they can procure the elixir of their existence, will soon disappear from the face of the earth, or become merged in some more numerous or powerful neighbour.

(T. D'Arcy McGee, 1858)⁵⁷

McGee believed that the creation of a national literature was a noble and necessary pursuit:

Of all the forms of patriotism, a wise, public-spirited patriotism in literature, is not the least admirable. It is, indeed, glorious to die in battle in defense of our homes or altars; but not less glorious is it to live to celebrate the virtues of our heroic countrymen, to adorn the history, or to preserve the traditions of our country.

(T. D'Arcy McGee, 1858)⁵⁸

McGee did himself aid in the creation of a national sentiment, both by example and by encouragement. According to John Reade, his contemporary, if McGee had lived longer he would "have done his full share in endowing the literature of the Dominion with its chief want -- a thorough national tone."⁵⁹

G. Mercer Adam believed that what Canadian literature needed was,

a greater infusion into it of patriotic feeling, and among the people, a wider diffusion of national sentiment. Through no influence more potent than literature and the literary spirit can the nationalizing of the Dominion effectively operate. Nothing will better contribute to the welding process, or be more efficient in bringing about

homogeneity, and the consolidating influences the country so urgently needs, than a healthy native literature and an ardent national sentiment. With these, and due encouragement to their exercise, we may see the various Provinces of the Dominion knit together in the bonds of a common nationality, and sectionalism and disruptive influences dispelled as things of alien growth.

(G. Mercer Adam, 1887)⁶⁰

Adam stressed that literature was capable of "evoking patriotic feeling and fostering national sentiment."⁶¹ Of the forces that were shaping Canada's destiny, he said, "not the least helpful and perhaps the most benign, is Literature."⁶²

A Group Apart

Nineteenth and early twentieth century Canadian writers viewed themselves as members of a group, set apart from the rest of society by their literary talent, their awareness of the need for national consciousness, and their direct involvement in the creation of that consciousness. Letters were exchanged, visits arranged, and financial, moral, and literary assistance was given. Although sometimes personal grievances could not be repressed -- as in W. W. Campbell's attack on Bliss Carman in 1895 for Carman's supposed plagiarism -- writers generally supported one another, always keeping their ultimate objective in sight.

Writers sometimes thought of ways to provide financial help to a needy colleague. For example, Archibald Lampman and Duncan Campbell Scott proposed "The Mermaid Inn," a weekly column in the Toronto Globe in 1892 to aid their

colleague, W. W. Campbell. "Campbell is deplorably poor," Lampman wrote a friend.

In comparison with him I am a small croesus. . . . Partly in order to help his pockets a little Mr. Scott and I decided to see if we could not get the Toronto Globe to give him space for a couple of columns of paragraphs and short articles weekly at whatever pay we could get from them. They agreed to it and Campbell, Scott and I have been carrying on the thing (several weeks now).

(A. Lampman, 1892)⁶³

The column continued until late 1893, with each of the three writers contributing on a rotating basis.

Nationalism was a general purpose. George T. Denison and Charles Mair conducted a lengthy correspondence, keeping each other informed about developments in nationalism and Canadian literature. Charles Mair advised Colonel George T. Denison to urge Charles G. D. Roberts "to try his powers on some purely Canadian theme, and so help to build up our imaginative literature out of our own timber."⁶⁴ In the same vein, after reading a draft of Mair's Tecumseh, Denison urged Mair, "Give this Canadian national tone to it -- as Shakespeare breathed forth the national spirit of England in Henry Vth and other plays let you give voice to it for Canada."⁶⁵ Mair apparently acted on Denison's advice for in 1886 William Kirby, referring to Tecumseh, praised Mair's efforts "to make Canadians proud of their country and of the great men who have lived and died among us."⁶⁶ And in an obituary of Charles Mair in 1927, the Victoria Daily Times said,

Charles Mair was a great Canadian . . . there flowed from his unusual talent many fine works of prose and verse marked by a stirring spirit of Canadianism. He understood Canada in all its moods.

(Anon., 1927)⁶⁷

Charles G. D. Roberts and his cousin Bliss Carman depended on each other for encouragement. Roberts was on friendly terms with many other writers as well. He actively encouraged young writers, and at one point, when a professor at King's College, he tried to find W. W. Campbell a similar position. In 1888 when Roberts found himself unable to edit a volume of Canadian poetry due to other commitments, he arranged for William Dow Lighthall to edit the collection. F. W. Thompson and Archibald Lampman exchanged letters and personal thoughts over a period of many years. The lines of communication ran back and forth across the continent and did not end even when some writers emigrated to other countries.

For many writers casual relationships were no substitute for organized intellectual interchange. Archibald Lampman complained about the isolation of the Canadian writer:

Those who do accomplish anything in literature in this country have, at any rate, the grim satisfaction of knowing it is not what they might have done under more favourable circumstances, it is at least the product of a sheer natural talent. . . . Our only remedies for this want is an occasional

visit to the American literary centres, or to London if we are fortunate enough to have the means of getting there, and the friendly help of books. . . . For the rest, we shall have to do our best to create by degrees what we so much feel the need of now, by drawing toward one another as much as possible, and bridging the long distances that separate us by friendly and helpful correspondence.

(A. Lampman, 1892)⁶⁸

"The Canadian litterateur," Archibald Lampman wrote, "must depend solely upon himself and nature. He is almost without the exhilaration of lively and frequent literary intercourse -- that force and variety of stimulus which counts for so much in the fructification of ideas."⁶⁹ Charles G. D. Roberts also cited the need for sympathetic literary circles as one of the reasons he moved to New York.

There had been early attempts to provide places for meetings. In 1843 the Literary Garland reported the existence of the Natural History Society, intended to supply information about the colonies; the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, which was "a beacon light for those who hope to see the Colony one day occupy its proper sphere in the world, as a country where the arts and sciences are cultivated and flourishing;" the Mechanics' Institute, which offered lectures for mental improvement and library facilities; and the Mercantile Library Association whose aim was to increase "respectability and usefulness" among its members.⁷⁰ Many of these societies, however, served the needs of the public rather than those of the writers.

In 1893, John G. Bourinot was able to cite the existence of more than twenty Canadian scientific and literary societies associated with the Royal Society of Canada, which had been created in 1882.⁷¹ J. William Dawson, the first president of the Royal Society, reported that the first meeting was a

gathering of scientific and literary men . . . most of them known to me personally, but many previously unknown to each other, and yet all ready to co-operate cordially in the work proposed for the society.

(J. W. Dawson, 1901)⁷²

The goals of the Royal Society, Dawson said, were to establish "a bond of union between the scattered workers, now widely separated in different parts of the Dominion," to stimulate the "discussion and interchange of ideas, which tend so much to correct, as well as to encourage," to "remedy the evils of isolation,"⁷³ and to publish transactions of the society in an effort to promote research among young scientists and authors.⁷⁴ Although the Royal Society elected some of Canada's best-known writers -- such as Charles Mair, William Kirby, John Reade, and Charles G. D. Roberts in 1892, W. W. Campbell in 1894, Archibald Lampman in 1895, and Duncan Campbell Scott and W. H. Drummond in 1899 -- it did not satisfy the need for regular meetings among the intellectual community.

By the 1890s, numerous societies and libraries operated in every province. Some writers tried to foster literary nationalism within the existing societies. As Charles G. D. Roberts wrote about the Haliburton Society at King's College, "I talk Canadianism all the time to the members."⁷⁵ Others preferred to agitate for new organizations. In 1892, W. W. Campbell advocated the formation of an association of Canadian writers, similar to the American Authors' Association.

We have many writers, and we have no association to bring them together, or develop and encourage our literary spirit. . . . No class of literary workers in the world to-day need so much encouragement as do the Canadians. We have an uphill fight. . . . Therefore Canadian writers would do well to band together on a practical basis of a common fellow-feeling. And such an association . . . might be of great benefit as a stimulus to the whole country.

(W. W. Campbell, 1892)⁷²

Although the expression of nationalism in Canadian literature was not unbroken during the years 1836-1914, it was consistent and did steadily increase. Nationalism in literature did respond to the pressures and political developments in the nation; yet it possessed a vitality of its own, growing more self-confident as the nineteenth century progressed. With the coming of World War I, Canada's writers shifted their attention to Canada's role in international events. They expressed pride in their nation, and worked at making Canada's intellectual and cultural life

reflect the measure of national maturity which Canada's participation in World War I and the Versailles Peace negotiations would confirm.

Footnotes for Chapter VII

¹Letter from Charles Sangster reprinted in Rev. E. H. Dewart, "Charles Sangster," The Canadian Methodist Magazine 57, no. 5 (November, 1903), p. 431.

²Agnes Maule Machar, The Heir of Fairmont Grange (Toronto: The Copp Clark Co., Limited, 1895) pp. 93-94.

³Charles G. D. Roberts, "Carman and His Own Country," p. 5 in the Roberts Papers, Lorne Pierce Collection (Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario), Box 75.

⁴Archibald Lampman, November 19, 1892 in At the Mermaid Inn conducted by A. Lampman, W. W. Campbell, Duncan C. Scott. Being Selections from Essays on Life and Literature, which appeared in the Toronto Globe 1892-1893, ed. Arthur S. Bourinot (Ottawa: by the Editor, 1958), p. 66.

⁵Letter of Charles G. D. Roberts to William Douw Light-hall, September 30, 1888 in the Roberts Collection (McGill University, Montreal, Quebec), CM 85. Bd., Box VII.

⁶Archibald Lampman, November 19, 1892 in Bourinot, ed., At the Mermaid Inn . . ., p. 66.

⁷Interview with Charles G. D. Roberts and Lorne Pierce, June 3, 1927, reported by Margaret Lawrence in the Roberts Papers, Lorne Pierce Collection (Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario), Box 75.

⁸J. W. Longley, "A Field for Canadian Achievements," The Week I, no. 31 (July 3, 1884), p. 485.

⁹John G. Bourinot, Our Intellectual Strength and Weakness (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973).

¹⁰Lilian Jory, "Some Canadian Poets," Canadian Methodist Magazine 51, no. 5 (May, 1900), p. 425.

¹¹W. W. Campbell, "Our National Inheritance," p. 27 in the Campbell Papers, Lorne Pierce Collection (Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario), Box 19.

¹²Letter of W. W. Campbell, March 12, 1904 in the Campbell Papers, Lorne Pierce Collection (Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario), Box 8.

¹³G. Mercer Adam, "Native Literature and the Scoffing Spirit," January, 1888 in The Search for English-Canadian Literature: An Anthology of Critical Articles from the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries, ed. Carl Ballstadt (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), p. 50.

¹⁴John Daniel Logan, Songs of the Makers of Canada and Other Homeland Lyrics (Toronto: William Briggs, 1911), pp. 28-29.

¹⁵G. A. Mackenzie, "Nationalism and Reaction," Canadian Monthly and National Review XII, no. 6 (December, 1877), pp. 594-595.

¹⁶J. W. Longley, "The Future of Canada," Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly 8 (February, 1882), p. 154.

¹⁷A Bystander, "Current Events and Opinions," The Week I, no. 27 (June 5, 1884), p. 418.

¹⁸Samuel E. Dawson, "A Plea for Literature," May 26, 1908 in Ballstadt, ed., The Search for English-Canadian Literature . . ., p. 172.

¹⁹Edward Blake, "Aurora Speech," 1874 in Canadian Historical Review II, no. 3 (September, 1921), p. 256.

²⁰Ibid., p. 255.

²¹Letter of Charles Mair to George T. Denison, January 6, 1884 in the Denison Papers (Public Archives, Ottawa, Ontario), vols. 3 and 4, p. 837 /957.

²²George M. Grant quoted by Fidelis /Agnes Maule Machar, "Prominent Canadians," The Week IV, no. 47 (October 20, 1887), p. 758.

²³J. E. Wells, "Canadian Culture," Canadian Monthly and National Review VIII, no. 6 (December, 1875), p. 460.

²⁴Thomas Chandler Haliburton, The Attache; or, Sam Slick in England (n.d.), p. 114.

²⁵Henry J. Morgan, Bibliotheca Canadensis; or A Manual of Canadian Literature (Ottawa: G. E. Desbarats, 1867), p. viii.

²⁶Charles Mair, "The New Canada: Its Resources and Productions," Canadian Monthly and National Review VIII (August, 1875), p. 163.

²⁷G. A. Mackenzie, "Nationalism and Reaction," op. cit. p. 597.

²⁸W. P. C., "Our History Present and Prospective," 1848, in Ballstadt, ed., The Search for English-Canadian Literature . . ., p. 14.

²⁹G. Mercer Adam, "Nationalism and the Literary Spirit," The Week V, no. 8 (January 19, 1888), p. 119.

³⁰J. G. Bourinot, Our Intellectual Strength . . ., p. 25.

³¹Review of W. H. Withrow's A Popular History of the Dominion in Canada in Canadian Methodist Magazine 8 (September, 1878), pp. 286-287.

³²George Monro Grant, ed., Picturesque Canada; The Country as it Was and Is, vol. I (Toronto: Belden Bros., 1882), p. iii.

³³James Ernest Caldwell, "A Song of the Brave," in Songs of the Pines (Toronto: William Briggs, 1895), p. 90.

³⁴J. Dryden, Jr., "Canada's Great Reserve," The Week V, no. 36 (August 2, 1888), p. 572.

³⁵George W. Ross, Patriotic Recitations and Arbor Day Exercises (Toronto: Warwick Bros.: Rutter, 1893), p. 7.

³⁶J. E. Wetherell, Poems of the Love of Country (Toronto: Morang and Co., Limited, 1905), p. 9.

³⁷Kate Seymour MacLean, "Education and National Sentiment," Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly 6 (February, 1881), p. 192.

³⁸G. Mercer Adam, "Our School Manuals," The Canada Educational Monthly and School Chronicle I, no. 1 (January, 1879), p. 35.

³⁹Ibid., pp. 35-36.

⁴⁰G. Mercer Adam, "Our Country," The Canada Educational Monthly and School Magazine IX, nos. 8 and 9 (August-September, 1887), p. 278.

⁴¹William Douw Lighthall, Canada: A Modern Nation (Montreal: Witness Printing House, 1904), p. 11.

⁴²J. William Dawson, On the Course of Collegiate Education Adapted to the Circumstances of British North America (Montreal: H. Ramsay, 1855), p. 4.

⁴³Ibid., p. 25.

⁴⁴W. W. Campbell, March 12, 1892 in the Campbell Papers, Lorne Pierce Collection (Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario), Box 21: VII.

⁴⁵A. Ethelwyn Wetherald, "Some Canadian Literary Women. -- II," The Week V, no. 19 (April 5, 1888), p. 301.

⁴⁶J. Macdonald Oxley, The Boy Tramps or Across Canada (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., Publishers, 1896).

⁴⁷J. W. Longley, "A Field For . . .," p. 485.

⁴⁸John B. Pyke, "Our National Literature," The Varsity VII, no. 7 (December 4, 1886), p. 74.

⁴⁹Kate Seymour MacLean, "Education and National . . .," p. 100.

⁵⁰Letter of Charles Mair to George T. Denison, 1896, in the Denison Papers (Public Archives, Ottawa, Ontario), vols. 7 and 8, p. 3088.

⁵¹"Native Literature: A Night with Young Liberals at the Reform Club," 1889, p. 93 in the Charles Mair Papers (Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario).

⁵²Letter of Bliss Carman to Dear Sir, March 11, 1895, in the Carman Papers (Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario) Box 3.

⁵³W. W. Campbell, "Our Heritage," The Collected Poems of Wilfred Campbell (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1905), p. 273.

⁵⁴Letter of Charles Mair to George T. Denison, March 21, 1901 in the Denison Papers (Public Archives, Ottawa, Ontario) vols. 9 and 10, p. 4317.

⁵⁵Interview with Charles G. D. Roberts and Lorne Pierce, op. cit.

⁵⁶Ibid.

⁵⁷Thomas D'Arcy McGee, "Protection for Canadian Literature," 1858, in Ballstadt, ed., The Search for English-Canadian Literature . . ., pp. 21-22.

⁵⁸McGee, Canadian Ballads, and Occasional Verses (Montreal: John Lovell, 1858), pp. vii-viii.

⁵⁹John Reade, "Thomas D'Arcy McGee -- The Poet," The New Dominion Monthly, (February, 1870), p. 14.

⁶⁰G. Mercer Adam, An Outline History of Canadian Literature (Toronto: William Briggs, 1887), p. 184.

⁶¹G. Mercer Adam, "Literature, Nationality, and the Tariff," 1889 in Ballstadt, ed., The Search for English-Canadian Literature . . ., p. 30.

⁶²Ibid.

⁶³Letter of Archibald Lampman to E. W. Thomson, February 16, 1892 in Bourinot, ed., At the Mermaid Inn . . . p. 1.

⁶⁴Letter of George T. Denison to Charles Mair, January 31, 1884 in the Mair Papers (Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario).

⁶⁵Letter of Charles Mair to George T. Denison, March 1, 1884 in the Denison Papers (Public Archives, Ottawa, Ontario), vols. 3 and 4, p. 864.

⁶⁶Letter of William Kirby to Charles Mair, March 4, 1886 in the Mair Papers (Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario).

⁶⁷Obituary of Charles Mair in the Victoria Daily, July 8, 1827 in the Denison Papers (Public Archives, Ottawa, Ontario), vol. 44.

⁶⁸Archibald Lampman, August 27, 1892 in Archibald Lampman: Selected Prose, ed. Barrie Davies (Ottawa: The Tecumseh Press, 1975), p. 66.

⁶⁹Archibald Lampman, August 27, 1892 in Bourinot, ed., At the Mermaid Inn . . ., p. 50.

⁷⁰"Literary Societies," Literary Garland, New Series I, no. 1 (January, 1843), p. 48.

⁷¹John G. Bourinot, Our Intellectual Strength . . ., p. 84.

⁷²Sir J. William Dawson, Fifty Years of Scientific & Educational Work in Canada (London: Ballantyne, Hanson & Co., 1901), p. 180.

⁷³Ibid., pp. 189-190.

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 192.

⁷⁵Letter of Charles G. D. Roberts to William Douw Light-hall, n.d. in the Roberts Papers (McGill University, Montreal, Quebec) CM 85, Bd. Box VII.

⁷⁶W. W. Campbell, June 4, 1892 in Bourinot, ed., At the Mermaid Inn . . ., p. 32.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

The large body of writing in Canada that dealt with Canadian themes, developed Canadian characters, incorporated Canadian history, and took place in Canadian settings, is evidence that a national literature did in fact exist well before the close of the nineteenth century. In Canadian literature, as in Hans Kohn's definition of nationalism, the expression of nationalism was an "act of consciousness."¹ Even more than their novels and poems -- which may, in some instances, lend themselves to various interpretations -- the authors' essays and letters indisputably show their nationalistic intent. As early settlers had been pioneers in the material world, nineteenth century writers were pioneers in the intellectual sphere.

The gradual evolution of the country as well as its geography, history, culture, and ethnic make-up gave Canadian nationalism its particular character. The waves of immigration led Canadian nationalists to develop a theory of the power of their country to transform disparate settlers into a new breed of North American. The Canadian experience, they felt -- the settlement of a small population along the border of a vast and largely uninhabited country -- placed a premium on hardihood, resourcefulness and self-reliance.

The Canadian will to develop as a nation separate from outside influences -- particularly the influence of the United States and Britain -- encouraged anti-American and anti-British tendencies in Canada's nationalism. Yet there were also contradictory feelings of admiration toward those two countries. Distrust and dislike of the Americans mingled with envy of their expansion and economic development; loyalty to the British Empire competed with an increasing desire for autonomy in political, intellectual, and cultural affairs:

Nothing is more striking in the history of Canada the /sic/ the recent development of a new sense of nationality such as we have never felt before. This is not the growth of a day, but is like the flowering of an aloe, toward which preparation has been making for years. The British recognition of the splendid position of Canada as the keystone of the Imperial arch which spans the world, has much to do with it. But we must not depend on help from abroad. We must rely on our own resources. The unfriendly response of our American neighbours towards our overtures for reciprocity have thrown us more upon our own resources.

(Anon. 1897)²

This ambivalence gave Canadian nationalism a special flavor.

By articulating common experiences, hopes, and fears, nineteenth and early twentieth century writers gave the Canadian community the opportunity to confront its problems, gain perspective, and explore solutions. The writers developed Canadian symbols, expressed Canadian feelings, created

Canadian heroes, and proposed a vision of Canada's future. They were concerned with Canada's unique characteristics: its size, its geography, its resources, its beauty, its history, its pattern of settlement, and its traditions. Aware that not all readers were interested in "literary verse,"³ they frequently concealed nationalistic messages in "poems distinctive of the country -- its sports, seasons, hunting and other life, legends, etc. -- especially those relating telling incidents,"⁴ as well as in novels, histories, and essays. They urged the creation of a culture representative of their developing nation. In short, they provided leadership to Canadians in search of a collective national identity.

As the nation matured, Canadian authors molded the image of the national ideal to fit the needs of the time, and their readers responded. Canadian authors became selective in their use of material. Positive stages in the nation's growth were highlighted; unfavorable incidents were either ignored or used as negative examples.

Writers took their roles as interpreters of the nation very seriously. They aroused the interest of their fellow-citizens and called attention to the dangers of indifference. They gave examples of patriotism in their works and, often, in their lives.

"I think it would be impossible," Duncan Campbell Scott wrote, "to find a more loyal group of men in Canada than her writers." Though life for literary men was rarely rewarded, Scott continued, "the desertions from her ranks of the men of letters have been small indeed, and, where they have occurred, probably the severance was not of the spirit at all."⁵

By the time of World War I Canada was no longer a colony; Canadian literature was no longer that of a colonial nation. Culturally, the most important change was one of attitude. Canadians, helped by their literature, had altered their self-image and expectations:

What were then /fifty years earlier/ the disunited provinces of Canada are now parts of a mighty Confederation, a national spirit prevails where sectionalism then reigned, and to-day Canada stands before the world as a young giant. That the work of Canadian writers both in verse and prose has been a most important factor in the fostering of a national spirit, and that it will be more and more so, is indisputable.

(J. Boyd, 1911)⁶

For much of the nineteenth century literature had preceded nationalism; writers had shown Canadians how things should be. By 1914 the relationship between literature and nationalism was changing. National growth had assumed the lead, and literature now followed fact.

The expression of nationalism in Canadian literature, 1836-1914, had been an attempt to create an identity to fill

the gap that existed in Canada as a result of the diverse origins of its settlers and of the gradual evolution of the nation. Canada's writers had succeeded in giving Canadians a sense of belonging to a distinctive national group and had left their imprint on the development of an unmistakably Canadian identity.

Footnotes for Chapter VIII

¹Hans Kohn, The Idea of Nationalism: A Study in its Origins and Background (New York: Collier Books, 1967), p. 10.

²"Canada's New Nationalism," Canadian Methodist Magazine 46, no. 5 (November, 1897), p. 472.

³William Douw Lighthall, The Week V, no. 35 (July 26, 1888), p. 557.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Duncan Campbell Scott, September 24, 1892 in At the Mermaid Inn conducted by A. Lampman, W. W. Campbell, Duncan C. Scott. Being Selections from Essays on Life and Literature, which appeared in the Toronto Globe 1892-1893, ed. Arthur S. Bourinot (Ottawa: by the Editor, 1958), p. 57.

⁶John Boyd in John Daniel Logan, Songs of the Makers of Canada and Other Homeland Lyrics (Toronto: William Briggs, 1911), foreword, p. 9.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Books

Adam, G. Mercer. An Outline History of Canadian Literature. Toronto: William Briggs, 1887.

Ballstadt, Carl, ed. The Search for English-Canadian Literature: An Anthology of Critical Articles from the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975.

Bourinot, Arthur S., ed. At the Mermaid Inn conducted by A. Lampman, W. W. Campbell, Duncan C. Scott. Being Selections from Essays on Life and Literature, which appeared in the Toronto Globe 1892-1893. Ottawa: By the Editor, 1958.

_____. Some Letters of Duncan Campbell Scott, Archibald Lampman & Others. Ottawa: By the Editor, 1959.

Bourinot, John George. Our Intellectual Strength and Weakness. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973.

Dawson, Sir J. William. Fifty Years of Scientific & Educational Work in Canada. London: Ballantyne, Hanson & Company, 1901.

_____. On the course of Collegiate Education adapted to the Circumstances of British America. Montreal: H. Ramsay, 1855.

Denison, Colonel George T. The Struggle for Imperial Unity. Toronto: Macmillan and Co. of Canada, Ltd., 1909.

Dent, John Charles. The Last Forty Years: Canada Since the Union of 1841, vols. I and II. Toronto: George Virtue, 1881.

Doran, George H. Chronicles of Barabbas 1884-1934. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1935.

Fairchild, G. M., Jr., ed. Canadian Leaves: History, Art, Science, Literature, Commerce -- A Series of New Papers read before the Canadian Club of New York. New York: Napoleon Thompson & Company, 1887.

- Foster, Hon. George E. Canadian Addresses, ed. Arnold Winterbotham. London: Herbert Jenkins Limited, 1914.
- Gordon, Charles W. /Ralph Connor/. Postscript to Adventure: The Autobiography of Ralph Connor. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1938.
- Grant, Rev. George Monro. Ocean to Ocean: Sandford Fleming's Expedition through Canada in 1872. Japan: m. g. hurtig limited, 1967.
- _____. Picturesque Canada; The Country as it Was and Is, vol. I. Toronto: Belden Bros., 1882.
- Howe, Joseph. The Speeches and Public Letters of Joseph Howe, vols. I and II. Halifax: The Chronicle Publishing Company, Limited, 1909.
- Lampman, Archibald. Archibald Lampman's letters to Edward William Thomson (1890-1898), ed. Arthur S. Bourinot. Ottawa: by the Editor, 1956.
- _____. Archibald Lampman: Selected Prose, ed. Barrie Davies. Ottawa: The Tecumseh Press, 1975.
- Lighthall, William Douw. Canada A Modern Nation. Montreal: Witness Printing House, 1904.
- MacPhail, Andrew. Essays in Politics. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1909.
- Montgomery, L. M. The Green Gables Letters, ed. Wilfrid Eggleston. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1960.
- Moodie, Mrs. Susanna. Roughing it in the Bush Or, Forest Life in Canada. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1923.
- Morgan, Henry J. Bibliotheca Canadensis: or A Manual of Canadian Literature. Ottawa: G. E. Desbarats, 1867.
- Parkin, Sir George R. The Great Dominion: Studies of Canada. London: MacMillan and Co., 1895.
- _____. Imperial Federation: The Problem of National Unity. London: Macmillan and Co., 1892.
- Roberts, Sir Charles G. D. A History of Canada. Boston, New York, London: Lamson, Wolffe, and Company, 1897.

- Scott, Duncan Campbell. More Letters of Duncan Campbell Scott, ed. Arthur S. Bourinot. Ottawa: by the Editor, 1960.
- Thompson, Samuel. Reminiscences of A Canadian Pioneer for the Last Fifty Years (1833-1883). Toronto/Montreal: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1968.
- Thomson, Edward William. The Letters of Edward William Thomson to Archibald Lampman (1891-1897), ed. Arthur S. Bourinot. Ottawa: by the Editor, 1957.
- Traill, Catherine Parr Strickland. The Backwoods of Canada: Being Letters from the Wife of an Emigrant Officer, Illustrative of the Domestic Economy of British America. London: Nattali and Bond, 1850.
- Young, George Renny. On Colonial Literature, Science and Education; Written With a View of Improving the Literary, Educational, and Public Institutions of British North America. Halifax: J. H. Crosskill & Co., 1842.

Novels

- Chateaucclair, Wilfrid /William Douw Lighthall/. The Young Seigneur; Or, Nation-Making. Montreal: Wm. Drysdale & Company, Publishers, 1888.
- Connor, Ralph /Rev. Charles William Gordon/. Black Rock. New York: Thomas Crowell and Company, 1898.
- _____. The Foreigner: A Tale of Saskatchewan. New York: H. Doran Company, 1909.
- _____. The Prospector: A Tale of the Crow's Nest Pass. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1904.
- _____. The Settler: A Tale of Saskatchewan. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1909.
- _____. The Sky Pilot. New York: Grosset & Dunlap, Publishers, 1899.
- Duncan, Sara Jeannette /Cotes/. The Imperialist. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1968.

- Ferguson, Emily. Janey Canuck in the West, 2nd ed. London, New York, Toronto, Melbourne: Cassell and Company, Limited, 1910.
- Fraser, W. A. The Outcasts. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901.
- Haliburton, Thomas Chandler. The Attache; or, Sam Slick in England. (n.d.)
- _____. The Clockmaker or The Sayings and Doings of Samuel Slick of Slickville (First series). Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1969.
- _____. Sam Slick, ed. Ray Palmer Baker. New York: George H. Doran Company, 1923.
- _____. Sam Slick's Wise Saws and Modern Instances; Or, What He Said, Did, or Invented. Philadelphia: Blanchard and Lea, 1853.
- _____. The Season-Ticket. London: Richard Bentley, 1860.
- Kirby, William. The Golden Dog: A Romance of the Days of Louis Quinze in Quebec. Boston: L. C. Page and Company, 1897.
- Laut, Agnes C. Lords of the North. New York: J. F. Taylor & Company, 1900.
- Leprohon, Mrs. /Miss Rosanna Eleanor Mullins/. Antoinette de Mirecourt; or, Secret Marrying and Secret Sorrowing. A Canadian Tale. Montreal: John Lovell, 1864.
- Lighthall, William Douw. The Master of Life: A Romance of the Five Nations, and of Prehistoric Montreal. Toronto: The Musson Book Co. Limited, 1908.
- McClung, Nellie L. Sowing Seeds in Danny. Toronto: William Briggs, 1910.
- MacMechan, Archibald. The Porter of Bagdad and Other Fantasies. Toronto: George N. Morang, 1901.
- Machar, Agnes Maule. The Heir of Fairmount Grange. Toronto: The Copp, Clark Co., Limited, (n.d.)
- _____. Marjorie's Canadian Winter. Toronto: William Briggs, 1906.

Malcolm /Coll McLean Sinclair/. The Dear Old Farm: A Canadian Story. St. Thomas, Ontario: The Journal, Publishers, 1897.

Montgomery, L. M. Anne of Green Gables. Boston: L. C. Page & Company, 1908.

Oxley, J. Macdonald. The Boy Tramps or Across Canada. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Company Publishers, 1896.

Parker, Sir Gilbert. An Adventurer of the North: Being a Continuation of the Histories of "Pierre and His People," and the Latest Existing Records of Pretty Pierre. New York: Stone & Kimball, 1896.

_____. Pierre and His People: Tales of the Far North. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1898.

_____. The Translation of a Savage. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1893.

_____. When Valmond Came to Pontiac. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1898.

Richardson, Major John. Wacousta or The Prophecy. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1967.

Roberts, Sir Charles G. D. The Backwoodsmen. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1921.

_____. In the Deep of the Snow. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. Publishers, 1907.

Ross, Mrs. Alexander. A Legend of the Grand Gordons. Montreal: A. A. Stevenson, 1874.

Service, Robert W. The Trail of '98: A Northland Romance. New York: Grosset & Dunlap Publishers, 1910.

Seton, Ernest Thompson. Two Little Savages: Being the Adventures of Two Boys Who Lived as Indians and What They Learned. New York: Doubleday Page & Company, 1903.

Thomson, Edward William. Old Man Savarin Stories: Tales of Canada and Canadians. New York: George H. Doran Company, 1917.

Weir, Arthur. A Canuck down South. Montreal: John Lovell & Son, 1898.

Poetry

Archer, William, ed. Poets of the Younger Generation. London & New York: John Lane, 1902.

Caldwell, James Ernest. Songs of the Pines. Toronto: William Briggs, 1895.

Campbell, Wilfred. The Collected Poems of Wilfred Campbell. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1905.

Carman, Bliss. Low Tide on Grand Pre -- A Book of Lyrics, 4th edition. Boston: Small Maynard and Company, 1899.

_____. Poems, Vols. I and II. Boston: L. C. Page & Company, 1905.

_____. Songs from a Northern Garden. Boston: L. C. Page & Company, 1904.

Carman, Bliss and Lorne Pierce, eds. Our Canadian Literature: Representative Verse English and French. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1935.

Campbell, Wilfred. A Sheaf of Winter Lyrics. Ottawa: By the author, 1907.

Coleman, Helena. Songs and Sonnets. Toronto: William Briggs, 1906.

Crawford, Isabella Valancy. The Collected Poems of Isabella Valancy Crawford. Toronto: William Briggs, 1905.

_____. Old Spookses' Pass, Malcolm's Katie, and Other Poems. 1884.

Dewart, Edward Hartley, ed. Selections from Canadian Poets; with occasional Critical and Biographical Notes, and an Introductory Essay on Canadian Poetry. Montreal: John Lovell, 1864.

_____. Songs of Life: A Collection of Poems. Toronto: Dudley & Burns, Printers, 1869.

Drummond, William Henry. Dr. W. H. Drummond's Complete Poems. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1926.

- _____. The Great Fight: Poems and Sketches. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1908.
- Dudek, Louis and Irving Layton, eds. Canadian Poems 1850-1952. Toronto: Contact Press, 1953.
- Edgar, J. D. This Canada of Ours and Other Poems. Toronto: William Briggs, 1893.
- Howe, The Honorable Joseph. Poems and Essays. Montreal: John Lovell, 1874.
- Johnson, E. Pauline. Canadian Born. Toronto: George N. Morang & Co., Limited, 1903.
- _____. Flint and Feather: The Complete Poems of E. Pauline Johnson. Toronto: The Musson Book Co., Limited, 1917.
- Kirby, William. Canadian Idylls, 2nd. ed. Welland, Ontario: 1894.
- Lampman, Archibald. Among the Millet and Other Poems. Ottawa: J. Durie & Son, 1888.
- _____. At the Long Sault and other new poems. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1943.
- _____. Lyrics of Earth: Sonnets and Ballads. Toronto: The Musson Book Company Ltd., 1925.
- _____. The Poems of Archibald Lampman. Toronto: George N. Morang & Co., Limited, 1900.
- Lighthall, William Douw, ed. Canadian Poems and Lays: Selections of Native Verse, Reflecting the Seasons, Legends and Life of the Dominion. London: Walter Scott, Limited, 1893.
- _____. Songs of the Great Dominion: Voices from the Forests and Waters, the Settlements and Cities of Canada. London: Walter Scott, 1889.
- Logan, John Daniel. Songs of the Makers of Canada and Other Homeland Lyrics. Toronto: William Briggs, 1911.
- McGee, Thomas D'Arcy. Canadian Ballads, and Occasional Verses. Montreal: John Lovell, 1858.
- McLachlan, Alexander. Poems. Toronto: John C. Geikie, 1856.
- _____. Poems & Songs. Toronto: Hunter, Rose and Company, 1874.

- _____. The Poetical Works of Alexander McLachlan.
Toronto: William Briggs, 1900.
- MacLean, Kate Seymour. The Coming of the Princess; and
Other Poems. Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Company, 1881.
- Machar, Agnes Maule /Fidelis/. Lays of the 'True North' and
other Canadian Poems. Toronto: The Copp, Clark Co.,
Limited, 1899.
- Mair, Charles. Dreamland and Other Poems. Montreal: Dawson
Brothers, 1868.
- _____. Tecumseh: A Drama. Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Com-
pany, 1886.
- Martin, George. Marguerite; Or, The Isle of Demons and
Other Poems. Montreal: Dawson Brothers Publishers,
1887.
- Moffatt, Warneford. New Canadian Poems Composed at Various
Times. London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co.,
Ltd., 1914.
- Mullins, Miss R. E. /Mrs. Leprohon/. The Poetical Works of
Mrs. Leprohon. Montreal: John Lovell & Son, Publish-
ers, 1881.
- Raise The Flag and other Patriotic Canadian Songs and Poems.
Toronto: Rose Publishing Company, 1891.
- Rand, Theodore Harding, ed., A Treasury of Canadian Verse.
Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1969.
- Reade, John. The Prophecy of Merlin and Other Poems. Mont-
real: Dawson Brothers, 1870.
- Roberts, Sir Charles G. D. In Divers Tones. Boston: D.
Lothrop and Company, 1886.
- _____. Orion and Other Poems. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippin-
cott & Company, 1880.
- _____. Poems. New York: Silver, Burdett and Company, 1901.
- Ross, George W., ed. Patriotic Recitations and Arbor Day
Exercises. Toronto: Warwick Bros. & Rutter, 1893.

Sangster, Charles. Hesperus, and Other Poems and Lyrics.
Montreal: John Lovell, 1860.

_____. Norland Echoes and Other Strains and Lyrics.
Ottawa: The Tecumseh Press, 1976.

_____. Our Norland. Toronto: The Copp, Clark Company
(Limited), 1896.

_____. The St. Lawrence and the Saguenay and Other
Poems. Kingston, C.W.: John Creighton and John Duff,
1856.

Scott, Duncan Campbell. The Poems of Duncan Campbell Scott.
Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, Publishers, 1926.

_____. Via Borealis. Toronto: Wm. Tyrrell & Co., 1906.

Service, Robert W. Ballads of a Cheechako. New York: Barse
& Hopkins Publishers, 1909.

_____. The Spell of the Yukon and Other Verses. New
York: Barse & Hopkins Publishers, 1907.

Smith, William Wye. The Poems of William Wye Smith. Tor-
onto: Dudley & Burns, 1888.

Weir, Arthur. Fleurs de Lys and Other Poems. Montreal:
E. M. Renouf, Publisher, 1887.

Wetherell, J. E., ed., Later Canadian Poems. Toronto: The
Copp, Clark Company, Limited, 1893.

_____. Poems of the Love of Country. Toronto: Morang &
Co., Limited, 1905.

Articles

Adam, G. Mercer. "Nationalism and the Literary Spirit."
The Week V, no. 8 (January 19, 1888), pp. 118-119.

_____. "Our School Manuals." The Canada Educational
Monthly and School Chronicle I, no. 1 (January, 1879),
pp. 33-38.

- Barr, Robert. "Literature in Canada." The Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, Art and Literature XIV, no. 1 (November, 1899), pp. 3-7.
- Blake, Edward. "Notes and Documents: Edward Blake's Aurora Speech, 1874," Canadian Historical Review II (September, 1921), pp. 249-271.
- Bourinot, John G. "The Intellectual Development of the Canadian People. An Historical Review." Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly and National Review 5 (December, 1880) pp. 628-637 and 6 (January, 1881), pp. 3-14, and 6 (March, 1881), pp. 219-234.
- Burpee, Lawrence J. "Canadian Novels and Novelists." The Sewanee Review XI, no. 4 (October, 1903), pp. 385-411.
- _____. "Recent Canadian Fiction." The Forum XXVII (August, 1899), pp. 752-760.
- "Canadian Poetry and Poets." The British American Magazine I (August, 1863), pp. 415-419.
- Carman, Bliss. "Contemporaries - V. Mr. Charles G. D. Roberts." The Chap-Book II, no. 4 (January, 1895), pp. 163-173.
- Collins, J.E. "English-Canadian Literature." The Week: A Canadian Journal of Politics, Society and Literature I (August 28, 1884), pp. 614-615.
- Dane, Barry /John E. Logan/. "National Literature." The Week . . . I (September 4, 1884), pp. 632-633.
- Davin, Nicholas Flood. "The Future of Canada." Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly and National Review 6 (May, 1881), pp. 490-498.
- DeMille, A. B. "Canadian Poetry -- A Word in Vindication." The Canadian Magazine of . . . VIII, no. 5 (March, 1897), pp. 433-438.
- Dewart, E. H. "Charles Sangster, The Canadian Poet." The Canadian Magazine of . . . VII, no. 1 (May, 1896), pp. 28-34.
- Duncan, Sara Jeannette /Cotes/. "American Influence on Canadian Thought." The Week IV, no. 32 (July 7, 1887), p. 518.

- _____. "Saunterings." The Week III, no. 44 (September 30, 1886), pp. 707-708.
- Jory, Lilian E. "Some Canadian Poets." The Canadian Methodist Magazine 51, no. 5 (May, 1900) pp. 421-427.
- Lampman, Archibald. "Two Canadian Poets: A Lecture by Archibald Lampman." University of Toronto Quarterly XIII, no. 4 (July, 1944), pp. 406-423.
- Longley, J. W. "A Field for Canadian Achievements." The Week I, no. 31 (July 3, 1884) pp. 485-486.
- McGee, Thomas D'Arcy. "A Further Plea for British American Nationality." The British American Magazine I (October, 1863), pp. 561-567.
- _____. "A Plea for British American Nationality." The British American Magazine devoted to Literature, Science and Art I (August, 1863), pp. 337-345.
- _____. "The Mental Outfit of the New Dominion." Canadian Literature: the beginnings to the 20th century, ed. Catherine M. McLay. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1974.
- Mackenzie, G. A. "Nationalism and Reaction." The Canadian Monthly and National Review XII, no. 6 (December, 1877), pp. 594-601.
- Maclean, K. Seymour. "Education and National Sentiment." Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly and National Review 6 (February, 1881), pp. 190-194.
- Marshall, John. "Archibald Lampman." Queen's Quarterly IX, no. 1 (July, 1901), pp. 63-79.
- Preston, Jasper H. "The Chinese Question." Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly and National Review 7 (July, 1881), pp. 81-83.
- Rayson, Ethel and F. A. Hadland. "A Glance at the Literature of Canada." The Living Age, Eighth Series, IV, no. 3774 (November, 1916), pp. 284-289.
- Roberts, Sir Charles G. D. "Mr. Bliss Carman's Poems." The Chap-Book I (1894), pp. 53-57.

Stringer, Arthur J. "A Glance at Lampman." The Canadian Magazine of . . . II, no. 5 (March, 1894), pp. 545-548.

Troop, Carter. "Canadian Opinion." The Week IV, no. 21 (April 21, 1887), pp. 331-332.

Waldron, Gordon. "Canadian Poetry." The Canadian Magazine of . . . VIII, no. 2 (December, 1896), pp. 101-108.

Journals

Anglo-American Magazine, The (Toronto, 1852-1855).

British American Magazine, The; devoted to Literature, Science, and Art (Toronto, 1863-64).

Bystander, The (Toronto, 1880-1, 1883, 1889-90).

Canadian Journal, The; A Repertory of Industry, Science, and Art; and a Record of the Proceedings of the Canadian Institute (Toronto, 1853-1854).

Canadian Methodist Magazine Devoted to Religion, Literature, and Social Progress, The (Toronto, 1875-1906).

Canadian Monthly and National Review, The (Toronto, 1872-1878).

Dominion Annual Register (Montreal, 1878-1883).

Literary Garland, The; A Monthly Magazine devoted to the Advancement of General Literature (Montreal, 1838-1851).

Maple Leaf or Canadian Annual, The: A Literary Souvenir (Toronto, 1847-49).

Massey's Magazine (Toronto, 1896-1897).

New Dominion Monthly, The (Montreal, 1867-1879).

Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly (Toronto, 1878-1882).

Stewart's Literary Quarterly (Saint John, 1867-1872).

Week, The: A Canadian Journal of Politics, Society and Literature (Toronto, 1883-1896).

Unpublished Papers

Kingston, Ontario, Queen's University. Lorne Pierce Collection. Papers of Archibald Lampman.

- _____. Papers of Duncan Campbell Scott.
- _____. Papers of Major John Richardson.
- _____. Papers of Sir Charles G. D. Roberts.
- _____. Papers of Sir Gilbert Parker.
- _____. Papers of William Kirby.
- _____. Papers of W. W. Campbell.

Kingston, Ontario, Queen's University. Papers of Bliss Carman.

- _____. Papers of Charles Mair.

Montreal, Quebec, McGill University. Collection of Charles Sangster.

- _____. Papers of Duncan Campbell Scott.
- _____. Papers of Sir Charles G. D. Roberts.
- _____. Papers of William Dow Lighthall.

Ottawa, Ontario. Public Archives. Papers of Archibald Lampman.

- _____. Papers of Bliss Carman.
- _____. Papers of Colonel George T. Denison.
- _____. Papers of John Hunter-Duvar.
- _____. Papers of Sir Charles G. D. Roberts.

Public Documents

Official Report of the Debates of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada. First Session, Seventh Parliament, XXXIII (September 28, 1891). Ottawa: Brown Chamberlin, 1891.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. Compendium of the Ninth Census:
1870.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. Reports: 1900.

Secondary Sources

Books

- Atwood, Margaret. The Journals of Susanna Moodie. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1970.
- _____. Survival: A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature. Toronto: Anansi, 1972.
- Baker, Ray Palmer. A History of English-Canadian Literature to the Confederation: Its Relation to the Literature of Great Britain and the United States. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1920.
- Berger, Carl. The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism 1867-1914. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971.
- Bissell, Claude. Great Canadian Writing: A Century of Imagination. Toronto: The Canadian Centennial Publishing Co., Ltd., 1966.
- Brady, Alexander. Democracy in the Dominions: A Comparative Study in Institutions, 3rd ed. Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1955.
- Brown, E. K. On Canadian Poetry. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1943.
- Cappon, James. Bliss Carman and the Literary Currents and Influences of His Time. New York and Montreal: Louis Carrier & Alan Isles, Inc., 1930.
- _____. Charles G. D. Roberts. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1924.
- Chittick, V. L. O., Thomas Chandler Haliburton ("Sam Slick"): A Study in Provincial Toryism. New York: Columbia University Press, 1924.
- Clark, Aubert J. The Movement for International Copyright in Nineteenth Century America. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1960.

- Collin, W. E. The White Savannahs. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1936.
- Connor, Carl Y. Archibald Lampman: Canadian Poet of Nature. New York & Montreal: Louis Carrier & Co., 1929.
- Eggleston, Wilfrid. The Frontier & Canadian Letters. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1957.
- Fox, Harold G. A Synopsis of the Canadian Law of Copyright. Toronto: The Canadian Arts Council, 1949.
- Friden, Georg. The Canadian Novels of Sir Gilbert Parker: Historical Elements and Literary Technique. Upsala, Sweden: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri AB, 1953.
- Ghent, Percy. John Reade and His Friends. 1925.
- Gundy, H. Pearson. Book Publishing and Publishers in Canada Before 1900. Toronto: The Bibliographical Society of Canada, 1965.
- Guthrie, Norman Gregor. The Poetry of Archibald Lampman. Toronto: The Musson Book Company Limited, 1927.
- Hale, Katherine /Mrs. John Garvin/. Isabella Valancy Crawford. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1923.
- Huxley, Aldous. Texts and Pretexts. London: Chatto & Windus, 1959.
- Jones, D. G. Butterfly on Rock: A Study of Themes and Images in Canadian Literature. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970.
- Kedourie, Elie. Nationalism. London: Hutchinson University Library, 1971.
- Klinck, Carl F., ed. Literary History of Canada: Canadian Literature in English, 2nd ed., Vol. I. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976.
- _____. Wilfred Campbell: A Study in Late Provincial Victorianism. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1942.
- Kohn, Hans. The Idea of Nationalism: A Study in its Origins and Background. New York: Collier Books, 1967.

- McCourt, Edward A. The Canadian West in Fiction. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1949.
- Macdonald, J. F. William Henry Drummond. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1924.
- McDougall, Robert L., ed. Our Living Tradition (fifth series). Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965.
- MacMechan, Archibald. Head-Waters of Canadian Literature. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Publishers, 1924.
- McRae, Walter. Pauline Johnson and Her Friends. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1947.
- Mandel, Eli, ed. Contexts of Canadian Criticism. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971.
- Miller, Muriel. Bliss Carman: A Portrait. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1935.
- Minogue, K. R. Nationalism. Baltimore: Penguin Books Inc., 1970.
- Moss, John. Patterns of Isolation in English Canadian Fiction. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1974.
- O'Hagan, Thomas. Intimacies in Canadian Life and Letters. Ottawa: The Graphic Publishers, Limited, 1927.
- Pacey, Desmond. Creative Writing in Canada: A Short History of English-Canadian Literature. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1961.
- _____. Essays in Canadian Criticism 1938-1968. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1969.
- Pierce, Lorne. The House of Ryerson. Toronto: The United Church Publishing House, 1954.
- _____. An Outline of Canadian Literature (French and English). Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1927.
- _____. William Kirby: The Portrait of a Tory Loyalist. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1929.
- Pomeroy, E. M. Sir Charles G. D. Roberts: A Biography. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1943.

- Rashley, R. E. Poetry in Canada: The First Three Steps. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1958.
- Riddell, William Renwick. John Richardson. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1923.
- _____. William Kirby. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1923.
- Ridley, Hilda M. The Story of L. M. Montgomery. Toronto: George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd., 1956.
- Russell, Peter, ed. Nationalism in Canada. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Company of Canada Limited, 1966.
- Shafer, Boyd C. Nationalism: Myth and Reality. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1955.
- Shrive, Norman. Charles Mair: Literary Nationalist. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965.
- Smith, A. J. M., ed. Masks of Fiction: Canadian Critics on Canadian Prose. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1961.
- _____. Masks of Poetry: Canadian Critics on Canadian Verse. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1962.
- Smith, Anthony D. Theories of Nationalism. London: A Torchbook Library Edition (Harper & Row Publishers), 1971.
- Stephens, Donald. Bliss Carman. New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1966.
- Story, Norah. Oxford Companion to Canadian History and Literature. London: Oxford University Press, 1967.
- Thomas, Clara. Our Nature -- Our Voices: A guidebook to English-Canadian Literature, vol. I. Toronto: new press, 1972.
- Van Steen, Marcus. Pauline Johnson: Her Life and Work. Toronto: Musson Book Company, 1965.
- Watters, Reginald. A Checklist of Canadian Literature and Background Materials 1628-1960. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972.

Willison, Sir John. Sir George Parkin: A Biography. London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1929.

Woodcock, George, ed. Colony and Confederation: Early Canadian Poets and Their Background. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1974.

Articles

Allison, W. T. "William Wilfred Campbell." Canadian Bookman I (April, 1919), pp. 65-66.

Arnason, David. "Canadian Literary Periodicals of the Nineteenth Century." Journal of Canadian Fiction II, no. 3 (Summer, 1973), pp. 125-128.

Bailey, Alfred G. "Creative Moments in the Culture of the Maritime Provinces." The Dalhousie Review XXIX, no. 3 (October, 1949), pp. 231-244.

_____. "The Historical Setting of Sara Duncan's The Imperialist." Journal of Canadian Fiction II, no. 3 (Summer, 1973), pp. 205-210.

_____. "Literature and Nationalism after Confederation." University of Toronto Quarterly XXV, no. 4 (July, 1956), pp. 409-424.

Beckow, S. M. "From the watch-towers of patriotism: theories of literary growth in English Canada 1864-1914." Journal of Canadian Studies IX, no. 3 (August, 1974), pp. 3-15.

Birbalsingh, Frank. "National Identity and the Canadian Novel." Journal of Canadian Fiction I, no. 1 (Winter, 1972) pp. 56-59.

_____. "Novelists and the Nation." Canadian Literature, no. 61 (Summer, 1974), pp. 125-128.

Bissell, Claude T. "Haliburton Leacock and the American Humorous Tradition." Canadian Literature, no. 39 (Winter, 1969), pp. 5-19.

_____. "Literary Taste in Central Canada During the Late Nineteenth Century." The Canadian Historical Review XXXI, no. 3 (September, 1950), pp. 237-251.

- Brown, E. K. "The Development of Poetry in Canada, 1880-1940." Poetry 58 (April, 1941), pp. 34-47.
- Brown, Mary. "The Literary Garland and A Case of Literary Larceny." Journal of Canadian Fiction II, no. 3 (Summer, 1973), pp. 65-68.
- Browne, P. W. "The Poet of the Habitant." The Catholic Educational Review XXXV, no. 7 (September, 1937) pp. 406-416.
- Cappon, James. "Bliss Carman's Beginnings." Queen's Quarterly 36 (Autumn, 1929), pp. 637-665.
- Careless, J. M. S. "Mid-Victorian Liberalism in Central Canadian Newspapers, 1850-1867." The Canadian Historical Review XXXI, no. 3 (September, 1950) pp. 221-236.
- Collin, W. E. "Archibald Lampman." University of Toronto Quarterly 4, no. 1 (October, 1934), pp. 103-120.
- Davies, Barry. "A Lampman Manuscript." Journal of Canadian Fiction I, no. 2 (Spring, 1972) pp. 55-58.
- Dudek, Louis. "Nationalism in Canadian Poetry." Queen's Quarterly LXXV, no. 4 (Winter, 1968), pp. 557-567.
- Edgar, Pelham. "Sir Charles G. D. Roberts and His Time." University of Toronto Quarterly XIII, no. 1 (October, 1943), pp. 117-126.
- Elson, John Mebourne. "Who's Who in Canadian Literature: William Douw Lighthall." The Canadian Bookman XII, no. 8 (August 1930), pp. 151-154.
- French, Donald G. "Who's Who in Canadian Literature: Ralph Connor (Rev. Charles W. Gordon)." The Canadian Bookman XII, no. 4 (April, 1930), pp. 77-79.
- Gairdner, William D. "Traill and Moodie: The Two Realities." Journal of Canadian Fiction I, no. 2 (Spring, 1972), pp. 35-42.
- Gerson, Carole. "Duncan's Web." Canadian Literature no. 63 (Winter, 1975), pp. 73-80.
- Harvey, D.C. "The Centenary of D'Arcy McGee." The Dalhousie Review V (1925), pp. 1-10.

- Hathaway, R. H. "Bliss Carman: An Appreciation." Canadian Magazine 56, no. 5 (March, 1921), pp. 521-536.
- Klinck, C. F. "Early Creative Literature of Western Ontario: Some books of the first fifteen years, 1828-1843." Ontario Historical Society: Papers & Records: Ontario History XLV, no. 4 (Autumn, 1953), pp. 155-163.
- Knister, Raymond. "The Poetry of Archibald Lampman." The Dalhousie Review VII (1927), pp. 348-361.
- Logan, J. D. "Joseph Howe." The Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, Art & Literature LXII, no. 1 (November, 1923), pp. 19-25.
- McCourt, Edward A. "The Canadian Historical Novel." The Dalhousie Review XXVI, no. 1, (April, 1946), pp. 30-36.
- McKillop, A. B. "Nationalism, Identity and Canadian Intellectual History." Queen's Quarterly 81, no. 4 (Winter, 1974), pp. 533-550.
- MacPhail, Sir Andrew. "Sir Gilbert Parker: An Appraisal." Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Section II, Series III, XXXIII (May, 1939), pp. 123-135.
- Martin, Mary F. "The Short Life of Isabella Valancy Crawford." Dalhousie Review 52, no. 3 (Autumn, 1972), pp. 390-400.
- Mathews, Robin. "Charles G. D. Roberts and the Destruction of Canadian Imagination." Journal of Canadian Fiction I, no. 1 (Winter, 1972), pp. 47-56.
- _____. "Susanna Moodie, pink toryism, and nineteenth century ideas of Canadian identity." Journal of Canadian Studies X, no. 3 (August, 1975), pp. 3-15.
- Moss, John G. "Canadian Frontiers: Sexuality and Violence from Richardson to Kroetsch." Journal of Canadian Fiction II, no. 3 (Summer, 1973), pp. 36-41.
- Muddiman, Bernard. "Archibald Lampman." Queen's Quarterly XXII, no. 3 (January, 1915), pp. 233-243.
- _____. "Duncan Campbell Scott." The Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, Art and Literature XLIII, no. 1 (May, 1914), pp. 63-72.

- _____. "The Immigrant Element in Canadian Literature." Queen's Quarterly XX, no. 4 (April-June, 1913), pp. 404-415.
- _____. "William Wilfred Campbell." Queen's Quarterly XXVII, no. 2 (December 1919), pp. 201-210.
- Pacey, Desmond. "Bliss Carman: A Reappraisal." Northern Review 3, no. 1 (October-November, 1949), pp. 2-10.
- _____. "The Canadian Writer and his Public." Studia Varia: Royal Society of Canada Literary and Scientific Papers, ed. E. G. D. Murray. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957, pp. 10-20.
- Pierce, Lorne. "English-Canadian Literature, 1882-1932." Fifty Years Retrospect. The Royal Society of Canada, 1932, pp. 55-62.
- _____. "Sir Gilbert Parker: An Appraisal." Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Series 3, Section II, XXXIII (May, 1939), pp. 123-135.
- Roberts, Sir Charles G. D. "Bliss Carman." Dalhousie Review IX, no. 4 (January, 1930), pp. 409-417.
- Smith, A. J. M. "The Canadian Poet: Part I. To Confederation." Canadian Literature no. 37 (Summer, 1968), pp. 6-14.
- _____. "The Canadian Poet: Part II. After Confederation." Canadian Literature, no. 38 (Autumn, 1968), pp. 41-49.
- _____. "Colonialism and Nationalism in Canadian Poetry before Confederation." The Canadian Historical Association Report of the Annual Meeting Held at Montreal, June 1-2, 1944, pp. 74-85.
- _____. "Nationalism and Canadian Poetry." Northern Review 1, no. 1 (December 1945-January 1946), pp. 33-42.
- _____. "Our Poets: A Sketch of Canadian Poetry in the Nineteenth Century." University of Toronto Quarterly 12 (October, 1942), pp. 75-94.
- _____. "The Poetry of Duncan Campbell Scott." The Dalhousie Review XXVIII, no. 1 (April, 1948), pp. 12-21.

Thomson, J. Lee and John H. Thompson. "Ralph Connor and the Canadian Identity." Queen's Quarterly LXXIX, no. 2 (Summer, 1972), pp. 159-170.

Watt, F. W. "Western Myth: The World of Ralph Connor." Canadian Literature I (1959), pp. 26-36.

Pamphlets

Beck, J. Murray. Joseph Howe Anti-Confederate. Ottawa: The Canadian Historical Association, 1965.

Bourinot, Arthur S. Five Canadian Poets. Montreal: Quality Press Limited, 1954.

Dawson, Dr. Samuel E. The Prose Writers of Canada. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1900.

Marquis, T. G. George Monro Grant. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, n.d.

Pierce, Lorne. Thomas Chandler Haliburton (Sam Slick). Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1926.

_____. Three Fredericton Poets: Writers of the University of New Brunswick and the New Dominion. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1933.

Unpublished Papers

Beckow, Stephen Mark. "A Majestic Story of Orderly Progress: English Canadian Novelists on Canadian Society 1896-1900." Unpublished M.A. thesis, Carleton University, 1970.

McDougall, Robert Law. "A Study of Canadian Periodical Literature of the Nineteenth Century." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1950.