

The South African War (1899-1902) and the
Transperipheral Production of Canadian Literatures

by

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Abstract

This dissertation explores the South African War (1899-1902) and Canadian literary production. I examine newspapers, periodicals, and books published during and shortly after the War to argue that early articulations of Canadian identity, settler colonial discourses of whiteness and gender, and ideas about national literature were informed by Canada's participation in a conflict in a distant settler colony.

In chapter one, I study how *The Canadian Magazine* produced a nationally-identifiable image of the volunteer soldier and the mounted policeman. This construction of a soldierly figure occurred when the emergence of a "modern realism" in literature was debated. In this period often characterized by romantic nationalist discourse, I identify a contiguous materialization of a form of realism in the pages of the *Canadian Magazine*, as editors and writers portrayed the War.

In chapter two, I turn to the understudied participation of forty Canadian school teachers in War internment camps and reveal how the women were constructed as models of Canadian femininity through national media coverage. I study E. Maud Graham's writing and recuperate uncollected letters by Florence Randal Livesay to argue that their narratives, rather than benevolent feminized observations, enacted a settler femininity that was not simply British, but British Canadian.

In the final two chapters, I trace how the War occupies a complicated place in an ambivalent literary memory. I examine fiction by Gilbert Parker, Stephen Leacock, and Sara Jeannette Duncan. Parker's imperial romance centring Britain is a model that Leacock and Duncan resist; they use the romance as a foundational genre to represent

Canadian experience in a triangulated relationship with South Africa and Britain. I trouble Leacock's representation of South Africa as a romantic space that exposes, by contradictorily silencing, criticism of war and settler violence. I reveal how Duncan depicts Canadian experience as resisting the lingering effects of martial imperialism in order to centre women in future imperial projects. I argue that the settler race-making enacted in the texts I examine depends on an emergent realism that, produced by the discursive and material transperipheral connections of the War period, registers the insufficiency of the romance and its binary structures.

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Introduction. The South African War in Personal, Canadian, and Literary Memory

This dissertation is a response to the incorrect assumption I once held that the South African War has a seminal place in the Canadian literary canon.¹ As a new Canadian immigrant, I enrolled in night classes to upgrade my South African Bachelor of Arts degree to one with Canadian Honours standing in English, and I had to add a number of courses in North American Literature to fill the “gaps” in my knowledge that was predominated by African literatures. I tackled Canadian Literature first. This year-long course ran as most survey courses do, providing historical context to inform the fast-paced format that allows students to engage with “canonical” Canadian texts. I read Sara Jeannette Duncan’s *The Imperialist* in which the protagonist, Lorne Murchison, appeals to a Canadian victory—and the first British victory of the War—at the battle of Paardeberg in his rousing election campaign speech. I encountered Stephen Leacock’s *Sunshine Sketches* that told the story of fictional Neil Pepperleigh who died serving Canada in the “Boer War.”² And in a poem “The March of the Dead,” Robert Service, the

¹ I use the term South African War throughout this dissertation. Previous terms such as the “Anglo-Boer War” and the “Second War for Liberation,” suggest the war was fought only between two warring races, the British and the Boers. In fact, the conflict between the British Empire and the two Boer republics, the South African Republic (also known as the Transvaal) and Orange Free State, implicated all the inhabitants of South Africa, settler and Indigenous. Throughout, the term “South Africa” refers to terrain contested during the war: the two republics and the two British colonies of the Cape Colony and Natal Colony, all of which were British by war’s end (Omissi and Thompson viii).

² The word “Boer” literally translates as “farmer,” and was used during the war to describe the settler population descended from the Dutch who had landed in the Cape in 1652. I use “Boer” throughout this dissertation to reflect usage during the war in the texts I examine. I also refer to the Dutch descendants as “Afrikaners” and their language as “Afrikaans,” which are in use today. It must be noted that during the War the term “Boer” was not always seen as neutral. E. Maud Graham (1905) notes how “the educated classes resented the term ‘Boer,’ which they said meant a peasant” (59).

“Bard of the Yukon,” commemorated the returned soldiers wherein the speaker is haunted by the dream memory of the dead who were left behind in South Africa.

As a landed immigrant seeking to re-orient and re-educate herself in a new literary and geographical landscape, I was desperately seeking threads that would bind me from South Africa to Canada. The Canadian literary texts that alluded to the South African War left me with the impression that much Canadian writing was influenced by this event at a critical time in the Dominion’s self-articulation. I inferred that South Africa reverberated in a large way in the Canadian literary imagination. I mistakenly imagined that in addition to these survey-course references to the War peppering Canadian texts, scholarship on this event must abound. I was wrong. Canadian understanding of South Africa, in fact, was frequently framed in the context of apartheid, the racist policy that had discriminated against and separated races from 1948-1994. As I learned about Canada’s official policy of multiculturalism, I perceived that Canada was a morally-superior British offshoot, which presented a picture of racial tolerance to the world at a time when black South Africans were waging an intense anti-apartheid struggle, with strong international support, against the National Party’s racist regime. The racial conflict is prominent in many Canadians’ understandings of South Africa, but few, if any, knew that Canada had fought in a war in the distant colony against a competing, white settler population at the start of the twentieth century. The impression I gained as a naïve settler scholar has led me in search of an answer to the question: what *was* the War’s effect on Canadian literary production? I echo the narrator in Margaret Atwood’s *Cat’s Eye* (1988) who, when passing the prominent War memorial on Toronto’s

University Avenue, remarks: “This monument is in honour of the South African War, ninety years ago, more or less. I wonder if any one remembers that war . . . ?” (331).

The South African War occupies an ambivalent if not contentious place in official Canadian history. A 2005 *Ottawa Citizen* article reveals the graves of “more than 250 who fell in South Africa” to be “crumbling” (Heartfield A11). While Canada spends more than \$70 per grave each year on the graves of the “110,000 Canadian war dead in 74 other countries,” the total spent is less than “\$10” per grave in South Africa (Heartfield A11). When the Conservative Government planned celebrations of the “Boer War’s” 110th anniversary in 2012, then Veterans Affairs minister Steven Blaney would only, ironically, discuss the War “peripherally” in his commemoration speech because, as a civil servant explained, “This is a somewhat sensitive war” (Canadian Press). The Veterans Affairs’ approvals co-ordinator clarified this sensitivity: “It was fought primarily over British imperialism. Canada was divided on the war. Quebec in particular wanted no part of it” (Canadian Press). Bruce Cheadle, a reporter covering the commemorative event, suggests the War was characterised by a “British imperialist conflict on the other side of the globe that marked the modern innovation of brutal concentration camps for civilian populations” (“Boer War”).³ The categorization of the War as a “sensitive” issue is in line with Phillip Buckner’s argument that the War was “unjust” and “poorly conducted” because the British adopted inhuman and extreme measures, and participating in a war fought along racial lines generated tension between English and French Canadians. Buckner describes it as a war many would prefer to forget

³ These war camps were commonly called concentration camps or refugee camps. The word “concentration” had not yet been associated with the horrors of the camps in the Second World War. I use the terms refugee or internment camps, but make recourse to “concentration camp” to reflect the nomenclature of the war period.

as an “inglorious and divisive episode” in Canadian history (233). Ian McKay and Jamie Swift in *Warrior Nation* relate that not even the “most ardent of imperialists” could argue that Canadian interests were “directly at stake in this distant African war” (55).

Despite these hesitations over the War’s anniversary, and the contentious historical events that have the potential to revive division, Veterans Affairs Canada commemorated the War by publishing an online exhibition that curated material from the Canadian War Museum and Library and Archives Canada to provide “educators and youth with the opportunity of learning about the important role played by Canada in the South African War” (“The South African War”). These lessons include learning that during Canada’s wars, many Canadians “put their lives on the line,” and specifically that “the origins of our country’s tradition of international military service and sacrifice can be traced back to the South African War . . . This conflict in a distant land so different from our own was the first time large numbers of Canadian soldiers served overseas” (“Canada in the South African War”). The web page explains that Canadian service was “impressive,” and the “skill, courage and sacrifice demonstrated by those Canadians so long ago would be seen time and again in the years to come” (“Canada in the South African War”). Two years after this national digital commemoration, on Remembrance Day in 2014, the National War Memorial in Ottawa was rededicated to include inscriptions commemorating the South African War and the campaign in Afghanistan.

While contemporary memorialization may be hesitant, or even ambivalent, the South African War was a major imperial conflict that drew on Canadian soldiers in the Dominion’s first international war to support British soldiers fighting against another settler population in a distant territory few had visited and even fewer could imagine.

Canadian historian Carman Miller argues that in 1899, for three years, the distant War “occupied a central place in many Canadians’ private and public discourse, engaged their imaginations, and claimed their time and resources” (*Painting* xi). It especially “influenced literature and music” (Miller, *Painting* xi). Miller further asserts that until overshadowed by the Great War (1914-18), it was the “most significant public event of the twentieth century” (xi). McKay and Swift, like Miller, cite the centrality of literature in constructing it as a cause white, English Canadians could support: “Canada as Warrior Nation appealed to young men steeped in the romantic, war-glorifying literature of the time” who “yearned for adventure,” and “newspapers transformed a complicated little war into a grand crusade for freedom” (58). War reports, widely circulated in daily newspapers, also constructed the enemy Boers as uncivilized and backward. These racial tropes would become precedent setting for the wars of the twentieth century. McKay and Swift highlight how the South African War established a “pattern” to which many contemporary connections can be made: “A conflict is initially seen . . . as a toss-up between two relatively similar sides. Yet once war is engaged, the enemy is progressively demonized and racialized—even if, as in the case of the Boers, and later the Germans, that enemy looks as white as most of their British opponents” (56-7). McKay’s and Swift’s *Warrior Nation* revisits these past military engagements to argue that the former Conservative government under Stephen Harper revived militarist themes, and reiterated the strength of the ‘Anglosphere’ (the Anglo-American alliance that embodies Western civilization), to portray Canada as a “virtuous nation of warriors” (11-12). In this government “rebranding” exercise, the military was “central” to a Canada whose “past and present” is “centrally about war” (15). This dissertation follows critiques such as

McKay's and Swift's and is interested in the cultural production of the South African War and a memory of how the War was created in literature. I am not recovering the South African War, however, to participate in, or revive, a memory of Canada as a military nation. Despite historians' critical work on the precedent-setting aspects of the War, there has been little scholarship on the ways that the South African War shaped literary discourses—its themes, its genres, and its tropes. My dissertation rectifies this neglect.

I am interested in the depiction of the South African War in various forms of literature (articles, reports, memoirs, letters, fiction) and the conditions and concerns that occupied writers who chose to portray Canada and Canadian experience to English readers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. I argue that early conceptions of Canada as a settler nation, and its role in the world, were shaped by imperial actions in South Africa. My central research question is to examine how Canadian writers constructed the War and gave meaning to the conflict between two settler populations in a distant colony. How was the War and the citizen soldier produced and understood by an early twentieth century reading audience? What do literary metaphors reveal about how the War was used to depict Canada as a “maturing” settler colony? To understand these representations, I study the conditions of publication and interconnection among writers, publishers and readers, when dispatches from South Africa were available almost daily, owing to the flourishing newspaper press across the empire. As I read written accounts, I ask: what kind of spatial consciousness did the War in South Africa create and represent to an educated, reading Canadian public? How can we read the construction of Canada's settler nationalism through the lens of South Africa if we pay attention to exchanges in

material goods, imperial metaphors, and cultural tropes? My research contends with these questions to examine how print portrayals reveal early conceptions of whiteness, feminine civility, and a national soldier. I read different print cultural material and pay attention to generic innovation in fictional literature. As this dissertation shows, conceptions of Canada were profoundly connected to world events at a time when writers and intellectuals were defining a body of literature that could be termed “Canadian.” I argue that Canadian literary production was significantly shaped by these transperipheral interactions (connections between the ‘peripheral colonies’ and dispersed parts of empire) in a moment of high-imperialism, early settler nationalism, and increased global interconnectivity.

In this Introduction, I first provide historical context to the War and explain guiding terminology to define the project of “Canada” and the territory of “South Africa” in the War period. The War years are a historical moment of rich intercontinental connections facilitated by imperial networks as people, goods, and news circled the globe. I discuss how this period of heightened early global connectivity informs my understanding of the transperipheral connections the War engendered between settler colonies. This transperipheral perspective positions settler-colonial projects, such as Canada’s, as ones that not only acted nationally, but also globally. Methodologies that have guided my analysis are discussed next, as I provide an overview of how I have drawn from settler colonial theory, literary analysis, and print culture studies. First, I use settler colonial studies to theorize the project of constructing Canada and South Africa through terms of population logics and whiteness, which were inherent to British imperialism and the race-making projects in each settler colony. Second, I explain the

theoretical importance of gendered discourses of men's and women's roles in settler economies and imperial war. Finally, I underscore this study with a materialist examination of the historical conditions that subtended the new kinds of print communication that linked Canada to South Africa in this period. This research connects Canadian literary production thematically, aesthetically, and materially to the War.

An Overview of a “remarkably literary war” (Van Wyk Smith 4-5)

The War was a complex event. It was fought over territory rich in mineral deposits, strategic ports, and arable land, and inhabited by a complex combination of African people and immigrant settlers. It was a battle over cultural and territorial claims, and portrayed by the British as a “gentleman's” and a “white man's” war because it appealed to the “benevolence” of British ideals of mission, justice, civilization, and freedom.⁴ To the Boers, the War was an imperial attack on independent republican states to be fended off at almost any cost, and to the Indigenous inhabitants, the War was a contest between two occupying peoples. Carman Miller argues that the War can be read in both ethno-cultural and economic terms, citing a “contest of language, law and customs,” as well as “the discovery of diamonds and gold” (*Painting* 12). It also occurred at a time of political and cultural transition when Queen Victoria's long reign, ending on her death in 1901, ushered in the Edwardian period. In Canada, Sir Wilfrid Laurier (1896-1911) was Prime Minister, and the War was seen as an event that would mark the

⁴ Historians have long considered the causes of the War, and it is a topic rich in scholarship. Iain R. Smith claims it has “attracted more attention” and “more controversy” than any other topic concerning the War (“Century” 23). Scholarship abounds, including Smith's monograph *The Origins of the South African War, 1899-1902*; Bill Nasson *The South African War: 1899-1902*; Andrew Porter *The Origins of the South African War: Joseph Chamberlain and the Diplomacy of Imperialism, 1895-99*; Shula Marks “Scrambling for South Africa”; J.S. Marais *The Fall of Kruger's Republic*; and G.H.L. Le May *British Supremacy in South Africa, 1899-1907*. There also exist many scholarly articles on the subject.

nation's becoming on a world stage. The War is represented at a permanent exhibit, *The South African and First World Wars*, at the Canadian War Museum in Ottawa, Ontario. Canada's participation in South Africa is framed in terms of its imperial allegiance to Britain, with one of the first text panels describing how when pressed, Canada answered the "Call of Empire" (*South African*).

The War unfolded in three phases. Realizing that war was inevitable, the Boers went on the offensive and hoped to gain advantage by surprising the British by declaring war on October 11, 1899. On October 25, 1899, the British annexed the two republics settled predominantly by the Boers who had descended from Dutch settlers: The South African Republic (SAR)⁵ where Paul Kruger was president, and the Orange Free State Republic (OFS) ruled by Marthinus Steyn. Until January 1900, the British had difficulty establishing prominence in what was portrayed on the home front as a war that would end by Christmas 1899. In this first stage, the Boers gained several victories. Canada, at first, was reluctant to send troops. While the War was fought in a period of high fervour in English Canada for British imperialism, support for the War was uneven. French Canadians, whose parliamentary spokesperson was Henri Bourassa, and Canadian immigrants from places as diverse as Germany, Ireland, Ukraine, and Iceland were vocally outspoken against Canadian participation. They feared it would set a precedent for future military involvement internationally, especially for conflicts where no direct Canadian interests were at stake, and critiqued a war fought along racial lines. Many French Canadians, fuelled by anti-British sentiment, were sympathetic to the small, proud Boer population. Noting internal disagreement over sending troops overseas, the War

⁵ When Britain annexed the SAR, it was immediately renamed the Transvaal Colony; frequently texts refer to the SAR or the Transvaal—they are one and the same.

Museum depicts Henri Bourassa as a “fiery opponent,” placing his photograph near a cartoon that depicts the newly knighted Sir Wilfrid Laurier cowering in a shadow, showing his reluctance to send troops to the “other side of the world” (*South African*). In the end, Laurier agreed to a compromise, and Canada sent volunteers, which at first amounted to only 1,000 men, to fight alongside the Australian, New Zealand, and British forces in South Africa.⁶ This decision is presented as a “turning point” in Canada’s military history: “Instead of focusing on home defence, Canada now sent soldiers abroad” (*South African*).

In the second phase, from February to June 1900, Britain launched a counter-offensive and captured Pretoria, the capital of the Transvaal. During this period, Canada’s key contribution to a victory at Paardeberg (February 18-27, 1900), the first Boer defeat, was pivotal in turning the tide in favour of Britain, and “Canadians were celebrated throughout the British Empire” (*South African*). The Canadians ensured they were differentiated from other colonial soldiers on the battlefield, and stitched the distinct maple leaf ensign onto helmets and Stetson hats. Finally, the last phase involved a Boer counterinsurgency operation, and imperial troops were ill prepared to fight against mobile Boer commandoes who had superior knowledge of the terrain. This phase involved guerrilla tactics, as well as harsh measures that severely impacted civilians, including farm burnings (in which Canadians participated) and mismanaged concentration camps for forcibly displaced Boer women and children. Camps were racially segregated, and African farmworkers and servants of Boer families were also evacuated, and lived in worse conditions. Canada deployed 40 women teachers to these internment camps, to

⁶ In total, over 448,435 imperial troops were deployed, and the majority were British. Nearly 22,000 died and over 75,000 were injured or invalided (Omissi and Thompson, “Introduction” 8).

instruct Boer women and children. By War's end, Canada sent 7,368 men and women (nurses and teachers) to South Africa. More would lose their lives to disease and accidents (135 deaths) than in action (89 deaths) (Buckner 233). The Boers finally surrendered in 1902. Britain governed the four colonies until 1910 when they were united into the self-governing Dominion of South Africa.

During the first phase of the War, when a quick victory was expected, newspapers and periodicals were filled with updates about the Canadian contingents, as imperial cables buzzed with news from South Africa that fed a burgeoning print press. It was a war that would use the media in new ways because reporters were able to take photographs, and even use the new technology of film, to capture battlefield experiences, even though this equipment was heavy and difficult to transport. Although images could not be delivered along telegraph lines, reporters easily cabled written updates to the newspapers of the world, and when photographs arrived through the postal system, they were more often printed in magazines than in newspapers, as photographic reprints were still relatively expensive.

The War grasped the public's attention, and Canadians took part in local parades to celebrate departing (and returning) troops, and women joined associations to raise funds and supplies for the Canadian soldiers. Hymns and songs celebrated the "Maple Leaf" and "Johnny Canuck." Writers were quick to lend support for the imperial cause. Frederick George Scott addressed the departing First Contingent in Quebec's cathedral, and told war critics whom he called "babbling Pharisees" to "hush," in his poem "A Voice from Canada – (To an English Pro-Boer)." His poem argues that "since for you, / Our sons are fighting, too / Your railings cease / And give us—PEACE" (33-6). Many

such poems trumpeting support for the empire and silencing criticism filled newspapers and magazines, such as a full page devoted to “War Poetry” in *The Globe* on November 4, 1899 (5). In fact, the War has been defined as a “very literary event” because of the abundant reports, poetic output, and written accounts from soldiers in South Africa that were printed almost daily in the press and widely read by an eager public at home (Van Wyk Smyth 4-5; Miller *Painting* xi).

Yet while there is a burgeoning Canadian literary field that examines the wars of the twentieth century, few have studied the literature the South African War generated in Canada.⁷ Gordon L. Heath’s *A War with a Silver Lining* (2009) remains a singular contribution. Heath examines the English-Canadian Protestant press’s mostly uniform response to the War and argues that the churches’ strong nationalist beliefs were rooted in ideologies of “justice, nation, empire and missions,” which formed the basis of their support for the British Empire. Victory in South Africa would bring “blessings” for all involved (Heath xx). Mary Chaktsiris is the only other scholar to have studied press coverage of the War and argues that through “images of politicians and soldiers,” the Toronto daily press presented an “idealized version of soldiering and that of the cause, and a treacherous and effeminate version of dissenter and enemy” (4). Unlike these scholars who focus on a single print site, I conduct research in periodicals, newspapers,

⁷ A sampling of recent books (excluding the multitude of scholarly articles) include: *The Great War: From Memory to History* edited by Kurschinski et al.; *L.M. Montgomery and War*, by Andrea McKenzie and Jane Ledwell; *Catching the Torch: Contemporary Canadian Literary Responses to World War I* by Neta Gordon; *Dubious Glory: The Two World Wars and the Canadian Novel* by Dagma Novak; *War is Here: The Vietnam War and Canadian Literature* by Robert McGill; *Sealed in Struggle: Canadian Poetry and the Spanish Civil War, an Anthology* edited by Nicola Vulpe and Maha Albari, and *Landscapes of War and Memory: The Two World Wars in Canadian Literature and the Arts (1977-2007)* by Sherrill Grace. There is also an online project spanishcivilwar.ca that explores the Canadian cultural history of the Spanish Civil War.

and books to provide evidence of multiple sites where accounts of the War were flourishing. My unique inclusion is to study Canadian women's experience and their peripheral involvement in the War. Little literary scholarship exists on the writing of the Canadian women teachers who were sent to educate Boer women and children confined to refugee camps in 1902. Jessica Schagerl, in a dissertation chapter and in a co-authored article with Diana Brydon, has studied the teachers' mobility in empire to consider how the women constructed their "selfhood in relation to the nation and the international circuits in which it operated" in the early twentieth century (Brydon and Schagerl 29, 34). My work adds to this study, recuperates writing by Florence Randal, and examines how the teachers were constructed as figures of feminine civility for a Canadian audience. I attend to the conditions of the women's publishing to reveal how their writing was innovative for their time, as they negotiated avenues in print in which to publish their unique personal testimonies.

There are no "war novels" on the South African War produced shortly after the war years by Canadian writers; rather, the War intrudes in significant ways in a number of works I examine. As the authors of the Canadian "Novel in English to 1950" note:

'war novel' in the Canadian context tends to refer to those novels that engage with the world wars of the twentieth century. . . . Yet war has always featured largely in the fiction of the nation and complicated and extended its generic resources. . . The novels that predate the wars of the twentieth century are obviously not 'war novels' in the modern sense . . . ; nevertheless, they demonstrate a sense of multi-generic realism through their description of the political and social repercussions of war and the expansion of empire. (Shearer and Anderson 139)

I study this hybrid realism in a number of works produced shortly after the war, and contribute a critique of how the conflict was mobilized in fiction, which few scholars have examined. Peter Webb's published article and dissertation chapter on *The Imperialist* considers the significance of the War in Sara Jeannette Duncan's novel, and he argues that the work is ambivalent to martial imperialism. I extend this ambivalence by examining genre, and Duncan's attention to romance as a foundational vehicle for portraying imperial concerns, while she experiments with realism to deconstruct imperial metaphors of heroism. While historians of imperialism, culture, and gender have studied Canada's War response (Berger, Buckner, Miller, O'Brien, Shaw), few literary scholars have used this research to understand the writing this period generated. My dissertation builds on these foundational literary and historical works and expands them to provide an analysis of three different print sites—periodicals, newspapers, and books—to include differing cultural genres in a study of "literatures," where writing about the War, from a Canadian perspective, was flourishing. My research is unique in that it combines literary analysis, settler colonial studies, and print culture as methodologies for investigating this body of literature. Newspapers provided an opportunity for women to publish their experiences in internment camps and to describe their gendered work in empire; the national *Canadian Magazine* sought an emergent realism to depict Canada's place in a "modern" world and provided photographic material alongside literary fiction to centre the Canadian soldier; and, in book publishing, writers used the War to represent an emerging Canadian experience, grounded in tropes of romantic nationalism, which are complicated by Canada's networked relationship with Britain and South Africa.

Transperipheral Connections: The “Here” and “There” of “Distant Elsewheres”

The late nineteenth and early twentieth century in Canadian literary history can be considered as an early moment of global interaction facilitated by imperial networks. I research how the War and events in South Africa influenced writers’ conceptions of Canada’s nascent national literature. Consequently, my study adds another geo-spatial frame for considering early nation formation to reveal how Canadian interactions with South Africa disrupted, and at times totally bypassed, traditional imperial-centre models of power in this late age of British Empire. I offer the term “transperipheral” to signal the connections between Canada and South Africa, where these two “peripheral” points of empire become the staging grounds upon which imaginary and literary content is figured. This “transperipheral” view reveals how the Dominion of Canada compared itself to the settler-colonies of South Africa in literature, and frequently portrayed itself as maturing in an international context. This reorientation is significant, as I examine how the War was not only a conflict over land, but also a contest of settler ideas about race, language, gender, and culture. Edward Said calls this “struggle over geography,” the process of colonialism that is “not only about soldiers and cannons but also about ideas, about forms, about images and imaginings” (*Culture* 7). This dissertation is not interested in military tactics, modern warfare, or cannons and guns. Instead, I am interested in people’s reports of War, in metaphors, tropes, and texts, and in the ways that Canadian writers conceived of the War through a networked sense of settler identity that connected the Dominion of Canada and South Africa.

As I study texts in this dissertation, I reorient the frame of imperialism away from the metropolitan centre to examine how peripheries constructed their identities in

comparison to and in connection with other settler colonies. Glenn Willmott argues that in the early twentieth century, Canada's "everyday life comes from a nation growing out of a global world . . . It is characterized by the kind of contradictory spaces – in which *here* and *elsewhere* have become intimately entangled" (51). Willmott's theorization of literary genre is taken from what Frederic Jameson calls a "spatial disjunction," as he argues that "colonialism means that a significant structural segment of the economic system as a whole is now located elsewhere, beyond the metropolis, outside of the daily life and experience of the home country, in colonies over the water whose own life experience and life world . . . remain unknown and unimaginable for subjects of the imperial power" (50-1). During the War, Canada became part of the imperial force required to subdue the Boer resistance to British colonialism, and Canadian understandings of imperialism became augmented by whole "life experiences" and "life worlds" that were "over the water;" these experiences did not only emanate from the metropole, but from immediate experience in a distant African colony. Willmott and Jameson both theorize colonial relations and imperial peripheries to understand how literary modernism in British and Canadian literature was affected by imperialism, but overlook the fundamentally transitional period that preceded modernism. I am interested in their understandings of imperial space to reveal how the "here" of Canada and the "elsewhere" of South Africa became "intimately entangled" in literary representations. Empire is thus not only material, but also ideological. As Edward Said argues, neither "imperialism nor colonialism" is a "simple act of accumulation and acquisition. Both are supported and perhaps even impelled by impressive ideological formations" (9). Said thus demonstrates how political dominance is supported by the work of cultural, social

and economic institutions (9), and his work illuminates how the “power to narrate” or to “block” narratives from forming, is the work of culture and imperialism (xiii).

Importantly, Said situates “colonial territories” as “a realm of possibility,” which have “always been associated with the realist novel” (64).⁸ South Africa can thus be imagined as a “realm of possibility,” where settler projects were inspected and developed, which writers used to inform and augment Canadian discourses of settler presence. In the texts I study, I examine the literary genres of realism and romance to argue for the South African War period as a moment *preceding* literary modernism (which is Jameson’s and Willmott’s focus) that signals the conditions for transition, transfiguration, and interaction, which afford writers new possibilities through a fiction inflected with the facticity of interconnected imperial life.

The War took place in an age of imperialism during which great social, economic, and industrial transformations in Canada took place. Andrew Smith argues that “[f]undamental to postcolonial criticism has been the puzzle of how aspects of life and

⁸ Said’s study *Culture and Imperialism* was a seminal text for post-colonial literary critics because he linked novels as “cultural artefacts” (70) to reproducing the conditions of imperialism, which he identifies as not only a contest over land, but as a contest also “decided in narrative” (xiii). He argues in chapter two of *Culture* that nineteenth century writers like Rudyard Kipling and Joseph Conrad are prepared for by English writers such as Jane Austen (60), noting, for example, how in *Mansfield Park*, Sir Thomas’s colonial plantation in Antigua maintains the Bertram estate. In my chapters, I draw on Glenn Willmott, who owes much to Said and Jameson, particularly Said’s argument that it is the genre of realism that allows for the imagination of the colonies as realms of “possibility” (Said 65). Without Said’s challenge to produce “contrapuntal readings” by taking account of imperialism and resisting what is often *excluded* in narratives, Willmott’s work, and my reading of the texts in this dissertation, would lack the critical vocabulary of empires and peripheries that Said developed. Willmott’s Canadian examples, and the ones I cite, thematically reveal imperialism in much more direct references than through the works of novelists like Jane Austen or Walter Scott. As Ann Laura Stoler has argued, postcolonial theory often considers “less relevant the *specific* colonial *histories* in which colonial relationships and their gender dynamics were produced” (838), and in this dissertation I am interested in the specificities of place, history, and transperipheral contexts of South Africa and Canada.

experience in one social context are impacting on worlds that are geographically and culturally distant” (244), as he emphasizes that “we can no longer hold comfortably on to the notion of a closed national culture” (245). Smith explains that people (migrants, missionaries, social workers) as well as “money, commodities, technologies, and even diseases, moved among imperial systems . . . while complex flows of printed texts and popular cultural artifacts . . . moved easily across imperial boundaries” (295). Yet while Smith is contextualizing the social changes that have occurred as a result of human migration, and postcolonialism’s study of global connections, I study historical interactions between geographically distant spaces during the War period and analyze how these connections affected Canada’s self-conception through literary production. My research provides material evidence of Diana Brydon’s and William D. Coleman’s assertion that “the last half of the nineteenth century and the first fourteen years of the twentieth, were characterized by accelerated growth in transplanetary connections, albeit connections mediated by nation-states and imperial powers, in most areas of social life” (*Renegotiating* 6). Providing these preconditions of contemporary globalization, Brydon and Coleman illuminate the historical conditions of human migration and of economic interdependence at the end of the nineteenth century, which boomed and then collapsed after the World Wars and would not be seen again until the 1980s (*Renegotiating* 8). During the War, soldiers, goods, and texts moved along routes of trade, technology, and communication, which were facilitated by imperial infrastructure that connected life between South Africa and Canada. Tony Ballantyne calls the connections fashioned by imperial print cultures the “webs of empire” that highlight the “mobility of ideologies, the exchange of ideas, and the political debates that energized the public sphere” (5).

Ballantyne's concept of the web allows me to think beyond the bounds of national histories, to instead consider the interdependence of cultural and transperipheral connections facilitated by print.

Imperialism was a strong organizing political infrastructure during the War years and provided the network of underground sea cables, shipping and postal routes, and economic connections between settler colonies. Imperialism was also an idea.⁹ In Canada, Carl Berger has argued that this ideology was constructed in the later years of the nineteenth century by a group of male intellectuals, predominantly located in Toronto (and influenced by the Imperial Federation League). Berger argues that imperialism was "one variety" of Canadian nationalism (9), and the ideology strongly manifests during the turn of centuries; it was understood to be a "movement for the closer union of the British Empire through economic and military co-operation and through political changes which would give the dominions influence over imperial policy" (4). Imperialism was seen as a transitional politics from "the desire to remain a colony and the wish to be a free nation," and Canada's participation in the War was seen as a visible demonstration of this maturation, also leading to it becoming a dominating presence in the empire (Berger 9, 260-1). Revealing the entanglement of nationalism and imperialism, Charles G.D. Roberts would write that a "good Canadian Nationalist must be a good Imperialist" (qtd. in Page, "Canada" 36). Indeed, Carman Miller suggests "many Canadians regarded imperialism as a means to 'mature nationalism,' a half-way house between the dangers of

⁹ While I focus on British imperialism, which directly connects Canada and South Africa, empire was a "universal concern" at the end of the nineteenth century, a period that witnessed the end of the scramble for Africa, the "consolidation of the French imperial Union, the annexation of the Philippines, and British rule in the Indian subcontinents at its height" (Said 64). In 1899, the South African colonies were bordered to the north by German South West Africa, the British Protectorate of Bechuanaland, and Portuguese Mozambique.

independence and the humiliation of continual colonial dependency . . . as a sound investment, an insurance policy, and a cheap form of collective insurance. In short, they saw imperialism as a highway to a larger world” (*Painting 5*).

Berger and Miller reveal the prominence of imperialism as an abstract ideology that informed early conceptions of Canadian settler nationalism in the context of a “larger world,” and in this study, I examine how imperialism reveals itself in literary and journalistic works in the War years. I study how imperialism appears in fiction as a literary theme; I show how the creation of settler national and imperial identities was not a neutral process but intensely gendered, as I examine depictions of the Canadian soldier and women’s work in war. Importantly, I do not only think of imperialism as an abstract idea, I consider imperialism as the network and infrastructure that connected literary texts, Canadians, and writers to other parts of the world. These horizons and geographical landscapes invade and reconstitute the logic of Canada’s position in an enlarged—and enlarging—world. My scholarship is distinct from that of Berger’s because I consider how imperial ideals boosted Canadian nationalism by being contradictorily reliant upon external events. I am predominantly interested in Canada’s connections with South Africa, and the imperial network becomes the “web” through which I can examine the texts and materials it transported in the War years. How Canadians interacted with this enlarged world, how they wrote and represented themselves in textual accounts, how the “web” both differentiates and distinguishes Canada from Britain and South Africa, and how these accounts infused what writers portrayed “Canada” to mean during the War years, is the substance of this study.

Canada and South Africa: Population and Place

Throughout this dissertation, “Canada” describes the place that was a unique historical entity during the War years. In 1899, twenty-two years after Confederation, ideas of the nascent nation were inflected with assertions of French nationalism, British imperial sentiment, and reciprocity with the United States. Canada had been shaped by Lord Durham’s 1839 report, with aims of suppressing French-Canadian nationality, unifying Upper and Lower Canada, and fostering stronger colonial links with Britain. The British North America Act of 1867, which unified large tracts of land, did not guarantee the prospect that various “regions and communities” would one day form “what everyone called a ‘new nationality’” (Berger 4). Indigenous peoples had been “managed” through numbered treaty agreements one through eight and legislation such as the Act for the Gradual Civilization of the Indian Tribes (1857) and the Gradual Enfranchisement Act (1869). In 1876, the first Indian Act brought previous legislation into a body of law comprising over 100 sections, and Bonita Lawrence argues that the shifting meanings and definitions of classifying and categorizing “Indians” through legislation was a form of “discursive violence” that enacted a “logic of extermination” to sever Indigenous people from their land, their history, and their identities (33, 41). Discursive violence became overt military action when the Canadian government executed Lois Riel in 1885, after the military suppression of the Red River and North-West resistances, which strengthened Métis and French nationalism.¹⁰ The same year, the Canadian Pacific Railway was

¹⁰ As a result of these rebellions, the Canadian government implemented an illegal measure to control Indigenous people’s movements in western Canada known as the “Pass System.” Frequently, I have encountered the idea that Canada’s Pass System was precedent setting for a similar system implemented in South Africa to restrict the movements of black people. In an interview with the documentary makers of *The Pass System*, a film that documents Indigenous experience under the restrictive laws, Alex Williams explains that while the comparison is

completed and connected vast geographical spaces, facilitated transport and communication, and carried European immigrants, encouraged by Minister of the Interior Clifford Sifton, to settle the prairies. Yet settlement was not open to all ethnicities, and immigration for Chinese people was slowed through the Chinese Immigration Act (1885). In addition, the Klondike gold rush, sparked in 1896, saw a large influx of prospectors seeking riches in the Yukon. Notably, the space of Canada was not what it is today. By war's end in 1902, the Dominion of Canada did not include Alberta and Saskatchewan (which were added as provinces in 1905), or Newfoundland (the tenth province of Canada, included in 1949).

At the outset of war, Canada's urban and rural population was growing. Ruth Sandwell argues "notwithstanding the growth of urban industrialization in Canada from the late nineteenth century onward, Canadian economy and society continued to be dominated and defined by rural populations until the Second World War (35).¹¹ In the period between 1896 and 1914, more than 3 million immigrants arrived, and by 1911 there were approximately 7 million people living in Canada. This was a time of urban growth, and between 1901 and 1910 Montreal grew by 50 per cent, Toronto by 81 per cent, Winnipeg by 200 per cent, Edmonton by 600 per cent, and Vancouver by 300 per cent (Kelley and Trebilcock 114). European immigrant arrivals meant that by 1911, the British population had fallen to 55 percent, and the French to 29 percent, while the "other" European component had risen to approximately 9 percent, resulting in a change

frequently made, there is no evidence to substantiate the claim, even while the racist and restrictive motives of both pass systems are similar (Samsoncree).

¹¹ According to the census, Canada was officially only more urban than rural by 1921, but very small communities with less than 1,000 people were then counted as "urban." By 1941, the majority of Canadians lived in communities larger than 1,000 people (Sandwell 23).

in the non-British, non-French settler populations, when compared with the population structure at Confederation, where 60 percent of the Canadian population had been of British origin, 30 percent of French descent, and approximately 7 percent of other European origin” (Kelley and Trebilcock 115). In the 1901 census, Indigenous people constituted less than 3 percent of the population, which included those registered as “Indians” and Métis, comprising 127, 941 people out of a total Canadian population of 5,371,315 (Frideres 139-140). Lawrence, however, argues that this system of classifying “Indians” was problematic in many ways because the various mechanisms of “enfranchisement” discounted Indian women who “married out;” consequently, many women who married non-status Indians, and their descendants, were discounted from government records. Lawrence argues that likely between 1876 and 1985, census numbers could be skewed in the range of one to two million people (55-6).

Unlike in Canada, where white settlers came to demographically dominate Indigenous people, in South Africa, Africans outnumbered white people during the War. Paula Krebs describes the colony that the British “hoped” would result from the War as a colony “not unlike Australia or Canada—a colony in which the indigenous population was seen as hardly significant” (*Gender* 109). Krebs argues that in South Africa not only were the black people the larger population, but there was also the added complexity that “the British were preceded by another settler population, the Afrikaners” (*Gender* 109). By and large, the Afrikaners were seen as a pilgrim population who would be easily subjugated and anglicized through war, and the African population was viewed as a racially inferior, undifferentiated labour force, whose “usefulness” would be seen in their contribution to industrial agriculture and mining. By contrast, in Canada, Indigenous

people were seen as irrelevant to the capitalist economy, as arrivals of migrant labourers served industry and agriculture, and the perceived utility of Indigenous knowledge had declined with the demise of the fur trade. Whereas black Africans and Indigenous Canadians were beyond the pale of inclusion, French Canadians and European immigrants were seen as assimilable in the Northern climate, just as the Afrikaners were perceived to be useful agriculturalists whose Christianity should “simply” be augmented with English instruction and education.

When describing the population demographics in South Africa before and during the War, I acknowledge that I become reductive, as the nuances of rich tribal structures, the hybridities of racial mixing, diasporic migrations, and centuries of European settlement are distilled to a high-level summary. Broadly speaking, South Africa’s European settler history can be described by two large waves of immigration, including initial settlement in 1652, when Dutch traders arrived in the Cape to establish a trading outpost for ships travelling to and from Europe, India, and Indonesia. The second wave of European migration followed the widespread poverty in the depression years after the Napoleonic wars. Through active British immigration policy, large numbers of British citizens were enticed to settle the Cape colony in the 1820s as a means of securing the British hold on the colony (Ross, “Settler Colonialism” 190-1), and as a means for Britain to establish a “self-supporting agricultural-based colony producing wool and other goods for the British market” (Warwick 7). Conflict between English and Dutch settlers, scarcity of arable land, and clashes with local black inhabitants led to a mass internal migration, known as the “Great Trek” (between 1835 and the early 1840s), during which predominantly Dutch farmers moved Northward, settling the interior of South Africa.

This migration was met with strong African resistance. The discovery of diamonds and gold in the 1880s reshaped settlement and internal migration once again, as new immigrants and existing populations, both white and black, travelled to sites of excavation and the rapidly developing urban centres of Kimberley and Johannesburg.

Before the discovery of minerals in the nineteenth century, the majority of African populations still lived in independent chiefdoms, and included large territorially-based tribes such as the AmaXhosa, the Thembu, the Zulu, the Ndebele, the Sotho, the Mpondo, the Swazi, the Pedi, the Venda, and the Basotho. After minerals were discovered, the push to annex land heightened, and by the 1880s, the “whole of what was to become South Africa was brought under colonial rule, except for a few small enclaves” of Pondoland and Vendaland (Ross, *Concise* 70). Large groups resulting from miscegenation between black Africans and European settlers also inhabited the land. There was also a sizeable Indian population who lived in Natal and the Transvaal. A census taken in April 1904 records the population in broad, racist categories, citing “5.1 million people” in South Africa of which “3.5 million were Africans, 1.1 million whites, 445,000 Coloureds, and 122,000 Indians” (Barber 32).

Canada and South Africa were thus complex sites of competing Indigenous rights and settler claims to land. In this dissertation, my vantage point is Canada, and how the writing that Canadians produced during the War participated in constructing racial hierarchies to imaginatively support white settler dominance. Throughout, I conceive of “Canada” as a “project,” which is the provocative term offered by historian Ian McKay, as a way of “rethinking” traditional institutional categorizations of the nation state, to instead probe “the Canadian state’s logical and historical conditions of possibility as a

specific project in a particular time and place” (621). McKay offers to “imagine a ‘Canada’ simultaneously as an *extensive* projection of liberal rule across a large territory and an *intensive* process of subjectification, whereby liberal assumptions are internalized and normalized within the dominion’s subjects” (623). While I do not examine the framework of liberal rule and governance specifically, I analyze the ways the writers “imagine” Canada as part of a network of settler colonies, to make evident the “project” of intensive identity construction through various texts in a historic “time and place” that become “normalized” and projected across a large territory. Fundamental to this project is the enforcement of white normativity and racial hierarchies that benefit British settlers.

This project of Canada is and was inflected with settler colonial logics, premised upon Indigenous dispossession, resource extraction, and European settlement. South Africa was a geographical space rather than a unified political entity during the War. In 1899, British control extended over the two colonies of the Cape and Natal, and the War was fought for control over land predominantly ruled by Boer populations in the Orange Free State and the South African Republic, already peopled with Indigenous populations. As Paula Krebs has argued, South Africa in 1899-1902 can be seen as an example of Foucault’s “heterotopic space”: a “country that was not a country, hosting a war between a European nation and a European-descended people who were not yet a nation, both of whom were seeking title to land that had long been inhabited by a vast majority of Africans who had no political rights” (“Narratives”). Understanding the competing population dynamics in South Africa and Canada animates the project of “making” these territories white and British. Both were colonized by settlers in an attempt to overwrite an Indigenous population and assimilate competing settlers. Recent historical work has

sought to correct the well-circulated myths that the South African War was neither a “gentlemen’s” nor a “white man’s” war. These histories include work such as Peter Warwick’s study of *Black People and the South African War 1899-1902*, and Elizabeth Van Heyningen’s analysis of families and women impacted by *The Concentration Camps of the Anglo-Boer War: A Social History*. But historian Iain Smith explains, this was a war fought over an extended territory, where the vast majority of its inhabitants were spectators to the conflict, yet no race was excluded from its implications; indeed, the demographic imbalance in South Africa was far greater than that of Canada, “where the combined British and Boer populations (then just under one million) were only about a fifth of the total” (24).

Because the management and rule over various categories of Indigenous and settler peoples through territorial conquest was at the heart of the War, settler colonial studies anchors my thinking. This field stems from seminal work by Patrick Wolfe who theorizes settler colonies as “structures” and not “events,” which sets settler colonial studies apart from imperial histories or studies of colonialism (*Settler-Colonialism* 163). In settler colonies, immigrants (often European, often white) actively settle in another place and make claims to it being their own. That is, settlers overwrite an Indigenous presence and colonize space from within, whereas colonialism often operates from a distant imperial centre. Bateman and Pilkington argue in *Studies in Settler Colonialism* that “the discourse of settler colonialism describes how, fortified by modernizing narratives and ideology, a population from the metropole moves to occupy a territory and fashion a new society in a space conceptualized as vacant and free: as available for the taking” (1). Most importantly, settler colonialism as a mode of domination emphasizes

the “continuing operation of an unchanged set of unequal relations” (Veracini, “Introduction” 3).

Lorenzo Veracini argues that another important distinction is that settler colonialism operates as a truly global and transnational phenomenon, which “national and imperial histories fail to address” (*Settler Colonialism* 2). Cecilia Morgan’s *Building Better Britains?* has theorized many aspects of these phenomena to argue that “settler societies’ constitution over the nineteenth century is best explored from multiple perspectives,” including relationships with the metropole, networked relationships with each other, and from the perspective of the settler colonist itself, to illuminate the “dynamic interplay between them and the wider worlds to which they were linked” (xxiii). This study responds to Veracini’s and Morgan’s challenge and examines Canada’s settler colonial history in the context of British expansion in South Africa to situate Canada’s project in a larger frame of connected, settler colonial histories. Daniel Heath Justice brings Wolfe’s arguments to Canada’s present and offers that settler colonialism “isn’t an anomaly of time and space—it’s an ongoing process of violent self-justification through the erasure of Indigenous peoples [that is] anything but an empty symbol” (10). I proceed with a historical inquiry into colonial, white, settler discourses that were circulated in print form during the South African War but that are still in existence today, which allowed formative notions of the soldier, humanitarian imperialism, women’s role in empire, and literary imaginaries of whiteness to flourish. Settler colonial studies’ focus on the continued operation of unequal power structures allows me to historicize the strategies of settlement and dispossession that South Africa and Canada were enacting to ensure white, British rule. Importantly, the topic of war

makes visible the metaphoric language used—of pioneering, exclusion, race, and gender—from which writers would draw to emphasize the logics of Canada’s own settler-colonial project.

White, Gendered Settler Projects in Canada and South Africa

Iain Smith argues that the outcome of the War was a clear victory for British imperialism, with its ultimate aim being the global spread of Britishness and whiteness: “Britain used the opportunity provided by her victory to bring the entire region under her sovereignty with a view to creating the strong, united, white-ruled dominion, within the British Empire, which had long been the objective of successive British governments” (“A Century” 45). Canada perceived its role in this imperial project to be assisting Britain in extending civility, freedom, Christianity, and Englishness to an othered, racialized people, and contradictorily, participating in a distant war gave definition and contour to a distinct “Canadian” identity that developed in the War. Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds assert in *Drawing the Global Colour Line* that “The project of whiteness was thus a paradoxical politics, at once transnational in its inspiration and identifications but nationalist in its methods and goals” (4). Canada’s participation in War, as the texts I examine show, were both related to national ideals and imperial belonging. “What histories have tended to miss,” Lake and Reynolds continue, is “the significance of racial identifications to the constitution of modern political subjectivities and ways of being in the world, in a process that shaped white men’s sense of collective belonging to a larger community” (5).¹² I am interested in how concepts of settler identity were constructed in

¹² Marilyn Lake has also argued that this “defensive projects of the ‘white man’s country’ was shared by places as demographically diverse as the United States, Canada, New Zealand, Kenya, South Africa, Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), and Australia. Clearly, the strategies of government were

Canada and how this normativity was projected as part of an extensive project of Britishness and whiteness in relation to a distant, peripheral colony of empire. The War consequently provides the flashpoint that draws the settler projects of South Africa and Canada directly into dialogue with each other, and provides a backdrop upon which to examine commonalities. This type of analysis shifts the conversation away from Canada's relationship with Britain, and instead tilts the centrist vision of imperial power away from the metropole, to instead illuminate connections across empire's peripheries. This dissertation explores the parallel experiences of South Africa and the Dominion of Canada and the narratives invoked to establish national settler imaginaries.

I read how metaphors of settlement, pioneering, and a distant land perceived to be unpeopled by an Indigenous presence come to the fore, as I interrogate how Canadians conceived of South Africa in terms of a "silent" or "vacant" veldt. These tropes of empty space are made meaningful through a comparison of Canada's strategies of westward territorial expansion in the seemingly similar vast and empty Prairies. In South Africa, war made explicit the violence required to claim territory. By contrast, Canadian writers depicted Canada as an endless, empty horizon, where Indigenous people were "vanishing," making the same claims to settler right to land as the British were making in South Africa, but claiming this settler sovereignty through means by any other name than war. Canada, by contrast, was peacefully settling the West by the "fair and impartial administration of British Justice" (Mackey 34-6). Canadians writing about the War frequently used South Africa as a space upon which to project the white, settler project of Canada, but suggested Canada as a more mature settler nation—one where French

different . . . but a spatial politics of exclusion and segregation was common to them all and the 'white man' always ruled the 'natives.'" ("White Man's Country" 352).

Canadians, Black Loyalists, and Indigenous people had seemingly been peacefully integrated into the new Confederation. In South Africa, the War illuminated the struggle between British colonists, settler Boers, and drew all races into the conflict, where the victory of British imperialism reflected the “inevitable” advancement of Anglo-Saxon civilization. These literary representations are anything but benevolent. I examine narrative strategies of depiction to understand how texts establish and construct settler-colonial projects of population and claims to land, and how Canadians drew on South Africa to augment its discourse of settler whiteness.

Whiteness and race-making projects in early Canada have been well studied by literary scholars, and these projects were always gendered. As Angelique Richardson explains, “issues of hierarchy between social and national groups were as pressing as those between the sexes” in the late nineteenth century (8). I draw from Daniel Coleman who has traced the fictional construction of *White Civility* in Canada, as a “project that is able to organize a diverse population around the standardizing ideals of whiteness, masculinity, and Britishness” (10).¹³ Coleman explains how the idea of British whiteness was constructed “not in the metropolitan centre but in the colonial peripheries” as a “pan-ethnic Britishness as constitutive of Canadian identity” (that blended Scottish, Irish, English, and Welsh immigrants) out of a union of previously hostile peoples (17-8). Literary and cultural materials were the media that portrayed these masculine figures through allegory, and Coleman describes civility as a mode of “internal management”

¹³ Coleman’s *White Civility: The Literary Project of English Canada* (2006), analyzes the literary construction of hegemonic whiteness in Canada. Coleman’s work contributes to a large field of critical Canadian whiteness studies, including, but not limited to, scholarship by Carl Berger “The True North Strong and Free” (1966) and Eva Mackey’s discussion of multiculturalism in *The House of Difference* (2002).

where subjects of the civil order “discipline their conduct in order to participate in the civil realm” (11). I use Coleman’s analysis of “white civility” throughout this dissertation, and add to his allegorical figures to show how the volunteer soldier and mounted policeman were constructed as national, masculine ideals that policed whiteness and deficient populations both internal and external to Canada.

Masculinity and manliness are important to nationalist discourses of identity; however, feminist critiques of such gendered ideologies reveal them to be constructs that take “different shapes in different cultures,” which change over time (Sussman 1). I study how the Canadian soldier was depicted as an exemplary volunteer citizen; by drawing on tropes of frontier masculinity, *The Canadian Magazine* created an identifiable Canadian mounted horseman. Mike O’Brien explains how manhood was attached to the “militia myth” in Ontario, especially during the South African War years. “Manliness” separated not only men from women, but also men from boys. Masculinity was not a “totalizing” category but was linked to the cultural movement of militarism that found large support in Ontario and linked itself through imperialism “to the British Empire as well as the capitalist socio-economic order” (O’Brien). Chaktsiris argues that militarism and imperialism were “closely intertwined” with the belief that “war was the ultimate test of manhood” (5). Similarly, Graham Dawson distinguishes that “a real man” was “defined and recognized” as one “who was prepared to fight” during the South African War, and he cites the adventure story and heroic narratives as the cultural materials in which these myths cohere and through which the nation comes to recognize itself (*Soldier Heroes* 1). Masculine identities, argues Dawson, “are lived in the flesh, but fashioned in the imagination” (“Blond Bedouin” 118). Key to the production of military masculinity were

the tropes of the “muscular Christian” that represented “colonial maturation at the end of the nineteenth century (Coleman 169), and “frontier masculinity” where the pioneer, the hunter, the soldier had to “possess a fine physique, energy, resourcefulness, bravery, individualism, sportsmanship, knowledge of nature, and resilience to thrive on the frontiers of the Empire” (Kikkert and Lackenbauer 212-3). Notably, in a period of increasing urbanization, rugged masculinity was also a response to combatting the “feminizing” effect of administrative work in the cities.

My study also investigates constructions of women’s experience in empire, and draws from Jennifer Henderson’s *Settler Feminism and Race Making in Canada* to study women’s work and writing in war. Henderson articulates the foundations of the Canadian settler colony constructed through the figure of the settler woman whom she centres as the normative site of race-making projects. Henderson reads “Canada as a project of rule – as the precarious and contested realization of a scheme to extend the government of ‘freely’ self-governing individuals (and the exclusion of deficient remainders) across a new space and into an indefinite future,” as she proposes the settler colony as “an appropriated territory that served as a space for working out questions related to managing the everyday life of a population” (7). The settler woman was a model for the Canadian teachers who served in South Africa, and issues of race-making come to the fore as British rule was extended not only through force, but also through white women who as putative settlers were charged with civilizing Boer women. Anne McClintock’s *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* reveals how “race, gender and class are not distinct realms of experiences, existing in splendid isolation from each other . . . Rather, they come into existence *in and through* relation to other – if in

contradictory and conflictual ways” (5). In the texts I examine, I consider the historical conditions that gendered experience in war and unpack the narrative construction of racial and gendered stereotypes of indigeneity, Boer otherness, and white normativity. In the second and fourth chapter, I explore women’s figurative depictions to add evidence to McClintock’s argument that white women were not “hapless onlookers of empire,” but were “ambiguously complicit both as colonizers and colonized, privileged and restricted, acted upon and acting” (6). McClintock’s research, and my own, highlight discourses of maternal feminism and the New Woman, to understand gendered experiences in empire. Cecily Devereux explains in *Growing a Race* that “Women would have clear and meaningful work in an empire framed in terms of race if they were configured as the mothers of that race, both as the bearers of its citizens and as the moral superintendents of its future” (25). Indeed, women played a pivotal role in the war. Britain and the colonies sent nurses and teachers to the conflict. Women in Canada raised funds for and celebrated departing troops. Canadian women were also perceived as superior to British women, since the British soldiers’ poor performance was often linked to early eugenicist arguments that poor maternal health had contributed to their physical weakness (Devereux, *Growing* 22; Davin 11-12). As I study how women moved through empire in the war, I connect how women teachers and their discourse of improvement attached the project in South Africa to race-making projects in Canada.

Print Proliferation, Social Change, and Imperial Networks

The late nineteenth century was a period of print proliferation. The mass-circulating newspaper, in particular, was a medium that became ubiquitous in Victorian-Canadian households. Paul Rutherford argues it should be understood as an agent of mass

communication and a major force of social change for modernizing Canada, “akin to the process of industrialization or the idea of democracy in its ability to transform the social environment” (*Victorian Authority* 8). Merrill Distad shows that the number of Canadian dailies increased steadily in the nineteenth century from 101 in 1891, to 112 in 1900 and peaked at 138 in 1913 (295). The combined circulation of all Canadian weeklies and dailies grew from under 300,000 in 1872 to more than 1,200,000 by the end of the nineteenth century (Distad 295). Describing the “power of the press,” in an article on “Journalism and the University,” published in July 1903 in *The Canadian Magazine*, Arthur H.U. Colquhoun (who would become Deputy Minister of Education for Ontario) argues

[through] mechanical production alone[,] a revolution has been effected. Immense printing presses turn out many thousands of papers each hour. Railway trains carry them long distances from the centres of publication in a few hours, so that a well-circulated journal’s sphere of daily influence may be thousands of square miles in extent. All classes of society read newspapers and many persons read nothing else. The telegraph and the cable bring the news of the civilized world each day to a well-conducted journal . . . The eagerness to know the latest news imparts to newspaper-reading a zest which the less frequent magazine or periodical cannot excite. (213)

Print transformed social life in Canada; a process enabled by the mid-nineteenth-century industrial revolution that introduced steam power and electric-powered machinery, as well as new papermaking processes, increased literacy rates, and lower postal rates and tariffs (Parker, “Evolution” 17). Citing this increased production, Patterson explains in

The Canadian Magazine how “In 1867 the Post-Office carried eighteen million newspapers[;] in 1902, it carried one hundred and twenty million” (“Thirty-Six Years” 198).

The speed with which news was disseminated and transmitted from the colonies to Canada during the South African War was further enhanced by three concurrent developments: first, the expansion of the Imperial Penny Post gave people of “different parts of the empire an opportunity of communicating with each other at the cheapest rate possible” (Strathcona 291); the post was extended to the Cape Colony and Natal Colony in South Africa in 1899 (“Penny Postage” 3). Second, a new cable was completed in 1902 that circled the globe, connecting “Canada to England, and thence to South Africa—from South Africa to Australia, and from Australia to Canada” (“All Red Line” 401). And finally, a new direct shipping route was inaugurated in 1902 that sailed between Canada and South Africa (“Afro-Canadian Line” 8), which ensured that materially and in the Canadian imagination, the “outposts of empire” were brought together through communication and trade. The War signalled the end of a century of rapid industrial and imperial expansion marked by the connection of postal routes, telegraphic networks, steam ships and rail lines, so that printed material easily circulated throughout the empire, and news could be dispatched across great distances via telegram. During the War, the same routes that conveyed soldiers, teachers, nurses, and supplies to South Africa brought back letters and reports from the “veldt” via rail lines and steam ships back to Canada.¹⁴ These routes facilitated the transmission of documents, letters,

¹⁴ The word “veldt” (sometimes spelled “velt” or “veld”) is an Afrikaans word used to describe the open, flat grassland, which covers much of central South Africa. It can also refer to uncultivated or unfarmed land.

and the international book trade that emerged in the late nineteenth century from a combination of “social, cultural, political, economic, and technical advances,” which were transformative catalysts for not only the trade in English-language books, but also the transnational economy (Rukavina 4). Alison Rukavina suggests the international book trade flourished, “heedless of borders,” as “book trade agents negotiated, collaborated, and competed” across various territories and oceans, overcoming obstacles of distance and regional economies across intersecting trade and communication routes (10-14). The book trade was a lucrative and flourishing industry, and the proliferation of novels, histories, and memoirs on South Africa, frequently publicized in Canadian magazines, attests to this fact. Toronto’s William Briggs published a number of titles about the War, and Rudyard Kipling, Sara Jeannette Duncan, Robert Barr, Stephen Leacock, and Gilbert Parker, authors whom I discuss in this dissertation, profited from the large international circulation of English books at the start of the twentieth century. Ardis and Collier suggest that the “print ecology” of the “Atlantic scene” was also transformed by American and British publishing because more than “7,500 new periodicals were established in the United States,” and in the United Kingdom, by 1900, the number of daily newspapers would reach 172” (1). Many of these publications found their way into the hands of Canadian readers because imperial connections allowed printed material easily to flow across the globe during the War years.

From the abundance of print material about the War, I select three specific sites for investigation, and the history of the texts and the print circuits they inhabited are important to this dissertation. In the first chapter, I study the publication, circulation, and reception of a monthly periodical *The Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, Art and*

Literature, which was prominent in Canada, as well as distributed to disparate parts of empire. My second print site is the written letters E. Maud Graham and Florence Randal sent to Canada from War concentration camps and rural farm villages, which were published in prominent Canadian newspapers and magazines. Wired news and letters constitute print sites where a different set of publishing conditions existed, which differed from the conditions of book publication. Finally, I turn to fictional accounts and consider books, and the Canadian authors who wrote within an imperial book market, but from vastly different points in empire, to consider how constructing the War in literature challenged the ongoing Victorian and Edwardian debate about romance and realism. I read how the texts were reviewed, amended for colonial editions, and how they circulated in the English-speaking world.

Significantly, I argue that print production during the South African War intrinsically tied nascent ideas of Canada to wider concepts of imperial belonging. Benedict Anderson has argued that the rapid dissemination of print materials in the nineteenth century enabled the formation of ideas about the nation as an “imagined political community” (6); indeed, the moment of the South African War is a time of rapid print proliferation. I extend Anderson’s argument to reveal how this “imagined community” also included imperial connections. I challenge the idea of literary production as circumscribed by the imagined institution of the nation, to instead show that ideas of Canada were fluid and dependent on cycles of representation and production outside of its borders. Indeed, literary concepts of Canada have always been inflected by forces both internal and external, whether through Canada’s relations with Europe, by the influence of America, by internal, French-Canadian nationalism, or by relationships with

Indigenous peoples. To the discourses of early nation making and literary nationalism, I contribute a study of Canada's relationship with South Africa by examining the movement of printed texts and the ideas they contained. This analysis follows from Sydney J. Shep's assertion that scholars of print history "look beyond the national" to contemplate the "physical, intellectual, and spiritual mobilities and modalities" of print, in order to deconstruct the "implicit models of centre/periphery and metropole/colony" (28).

Contrary to Anderson's argument, the writers, tropes and texts I examine often circulated outside of Canada, through points in empire. I show how conceptions of national literature and national identity were not only "a deep, horizontal comradeship" (Anderson 7), that is, internal to Canada, but often tied to a wider, networked imperial market. Many scholars have emphasized this nationalist impulse in late-Victorian Canadian literature (Ballstadt, Coleman, Kertzer, Klinck, Lecker), to which I add a study of how print accounts of the War situated Canada in an interconnected imperial world. Non-fictional war accounts, widely circulating imperial texts by Rudyard Kipling and Arthur Conan Doyle, literary tropes that stereotyped Boer and Indigenous populations, and a literary imaginary that drew heavily on the idea of military service as representing national maturation, were extremely popular at a time when poets and anthologists were trying to articulate the foundations of a Canadian canon of literature (Lecker, *Keepers* 69). I identify instances of intertextuality, where literary reviews, and instances of writers reading and citing each other, provide evidence of the print circuit these texts inhabited. I examine how writers were mobile and worked in an imperially connected world, to show the "elsewheres" that have constituted historical ideas of Canadian literature.

Nick Mount's work *When Canadian Literature Moved to New York* has argued that in the late nineteenth century, a viable book market did not exist in Canada, and while Canadian Literature boomed in the period from the late nineteenth century to the First World War, it is attributable to the fact that many writers left Canada and worked abroad in literary markets like New York where more favourable copyright conditions, critical recognition, and large English readerships legitimized their writing (16). Eli MacLaren echoes Mount revealing how "there were writers in Canada and there were readers, but the one who generally connected them was based elsewhere"; "Canada's best writers of the time achieved careers for themselves by publishing abroad" (14, 12). Indeed, Britain and the United States were dominating book publishing, and the failure of the Canadian market to sustain its authors is precisely a precondition to the debate I elucidate in my first chapter, which argues *The Canadian Magazine* sought to focus the Canadian literary field away from the book trade to the more fertile periodical industry.

My final two chapters explore writers who worked from various distances from their imperial publishers: Sara Jeannette Duncan and Stephen Leacock share "peripheral" conditions of authorship. They were both geographically distant from their London and American publishers. Meanwhile, Gilbert Parker maintained strong ties to Canada, but lived in London. In the final chapters, I discuss how these experiences of empire shaped each author's views on Canadian Literature and the reception of their texts by an imperial audience. By attending to these book historical concerns, I extend the borders of national print communities, and follow Carole Gerson, who has argued that the "[g]lobalization of Canadian writing began centuries ago" ("Writers Without Borders"). Gerson outlines how Canadian writers, "particularly those working in English, have always operated in an

international context with regard to the content of their texts, the location of their publishers, the desire for audience, and their own travels and domiciles” (“Writers Without Borders”). Canadian literary production, as I show, was reliant on imperial networks of readership, of authorship, and publication.

Organization of Thesis

This dissertation is organized into four chapters, and I examine three different entry points into the print cultures the War produced. These chapters are arranged chronologically so that the chapter on *The Canadian Magazine* spans roughly the years of 1899 to 1901; chapter two examines the “Teachers for South Africa” campaign that began in 1902 and the writing produced in the final years of war. Finally, I examine fiction, and chapters three and four explore the War as a cultural symbol in books published immediately after the War in the early twentieth century.

Chapter one studies how the monthly periodical *The Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, Art and Literature* (1893-1939) produced the meanings of the South African War for a British-Canadian, and largely central, Canadian audience. Fundamental to this inquiry is how literature, whiteness, and the Canadian soldier were imbricated in discussions of literary nation-building. This chapter is divided into two sections. In the first, I examine the magazine’s editorial focus and identify how editor John A. Cooper, and contributors W. A. Fraser and Robert Barr, articulate the need for *The Canadian Magazine* to use literary realism to portray the growing nation’s prominence in what they perceived was an enlarging and expanding world. In the second section, I examine how writers developed a form of “modern realism,” to recount truthful, heroic deeds of

Canada's soldiers, which were folded into romantic narratives of nation, and constructed through the Dominion's interconnectedness with global events. I reveal how the magazine constructed the South African War and centred the mounted horseman and volunteer soldier as tangible constructs that crystallized ideas of national heroes and depicted Canada's greatness. Through war portrayals and poetry, the Mountie emerged as a pivotal figure who policed deficient populations both internal and external to the nation—locally, he regulated ungovernable Indigenous peoples in the Canadian West, and internationally, he played a key role in the imperial army to defeat the “uncivilized” Boers. This chapter demonstrates how projects of white normativity acted across national spaces and was fashioned in a national magazine.

Chapter two features the forty female Canadian teachers who went to War “concentration camps” in 1902 to educate and anglicize incarcerated Boer women and children. The teachers were publicized in the Canadian press as ideals of Anglo-Protestant whiteness, civility, and femininity. This construction of feminine whiteness provides insights into the spread of settler civility across the colonies in the nineteenth century and specifically between ideals that were common to both Canada and South Africa. Of these “Teachers for South Africa,” two would write home and publish their first-person observations for a Canadian audience. E. Maud Graham would send dispatches to the Montreal *Weekly Witness*, which formed the basis of her book *A Canadian Girl in South Africa* (1905), and Florence Randal of Ottawa (an established journalist and society columnist) sent monthly letters to *The Ottawa Journal*, which she later shaped into the short essay “A Year in a Boer School” that was published in 1904 in *The Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, Art and Literature*. A burgeoning print

press in Canada provided a ready readership for their travel accounts from the distant colony, linking the spread of humanitarian and imperial ideas to networks of print. I study the ways that print culture was implicated in the elaboration of a transperipheral settler identity. The women claimed the right to speak of their encounters and experiences within the socially-accepted discourses of women's travel writing featuring domestic observation. Rather than benevolent, their narratives caricatured and often omitted Boer and Black women, enacting the project of British assimilation and anglicization.

The third and fourth chapters examine three literary authors and their works that figure Canada during and shortly after the War years. In the final chapters, I turn from journalism to prose to consider the important question of genre and its relevance to portraying the War through historical romance and early literary realism. I reveal how fiction writers use the romance as a foundational genre for describing the War, but note significantly how this genre fails and allows writers to experiment with an emergent realism. In chapter three, I read Gilbert Parker's novel *The Judgment House* (1913) as an archetypal imperial romance against which to compare the romantic evocations of War in Stephen Leacock's *Sunshine Sketches of a Little Town* (1912). For Parker, the traditional romance is aptly suited to symmetrical relations of power, which are easily represented in binary oppositions in which the romance genre revels. Parker's romance, however, is unable to reckon with irruptions from its peripheries, or threats to heteronormative whiteness, such as those exerted by the figure of the half-breed and female perfidy. Ultimately, the novel dispenses with threats the empire cannot subsume and corrects these through the War to reassert patriarchal and British imperial dominance.

In contrast with Parker's novel, I theorize generic innovation by drawing from Glenn Willmott's terms of "transfiguration and interaction" (5) to understand how Stephen Leacock, and in my final chapter Sara Jeannette Duncan, use romance *and* realism to depict the settler colony turned nation in the post-War years. Willmott argues that Canada's "everyday life comes from a nation growing out of a global world, not a global world growing out of a nation," where "here" and "elsewhere" have become "intimately entangled" (51). These "intimate entanglements" rely on the romance genre for their depiction. Stephen Leacock's *Sunshine Sketches* reveals how the "here" of Mariposa is "intimately" influenced by the "elsewhere" of war, as it includes a poignant reference to Judge Pepperleigh's only son, Neil, who is killed in action South Africa. The evocation of a father's loss and Neil's act of national service are portrayed through the lens of familial and paternal grief, and framed in a romantic sketch. I analyse how Neil's War death is structured around significant contradictions to read the scene as one that depicts the limits of romance. While War is evoked as a moment of national reflection, this depiction in fact opens up the forms of violence upon which settler colonies, national mythologies, and imperial wars are contingent.

Chapter four examines Sara Jeannette Duncan's novels *The Imperialist* (1904) and *Cousin Cinderella* (1908). I reveal Duncan's generic innovations in *The Imperialist*, which features a failed imperialist, and his failed romance. It is Lorne Murchison's undecided future that suggests a breaking away from formal, predictable romantic conventions. Much of Lorne Murchison's political downfall is attributable to his idealization of imperialism, represented in Canada's participation in the War, while the town of Elgin focusses on daily, economic and industrial, over martial, values. Duncan

nurtures these innovations in *The Imperialist* and returns to an inconclusive conclusion for the novel's protagonist in *Cousin Cinderella*, wherein Graham Trent similarly fails in his romantic endeavours. In *Cousin Cinderella* the national allegory is extended, with Mary and Graham Trent acting as representative Canadian types, and the novel is concerned with their choices as they emerge into adulthood. Graham is a South African War veteran, and his status in the novel is bolstered by his war service. While Graham is unsuccessful in his amorous pursuits, it is Mary, as the "Cinderella of Canada," who presents a possible future for Canada, and Duncan's feminist innovation is to depict a powerful role for women in empire through marriage. Duncan decentres her male hero and the War, and rewrites romantic notions of imperial service; through generic hybridity, she explores a new realism, to demonstrate the "intimate entanglement" in Elgin and Minnebiac to external, international affairs (Willmott 51).

Throughout, this dissertation is attentive to the material production, circulation, and reception of texts. While I conclude with two chapters on fiction, the first two chapters investigate specific responses to War as printed in prominent newspapers and magazines. When Canada decided to send troops to South Africa, many writers believed that the nation's virility, displayed in the literary market or on the imperial warfront, would guarantee international recognition and prove its maturity. Writers were seeking stories of heroic deeds and courage to tell of the nation's greatness. The South African War provided them. There was a sense that outmoded notions of abstract romantic imagination did not accurately represent Canada as an emerging nation in an enlarging world, and there was a desire to record factual accounts to reflect its prowess. War reports did just this. In seeking types to narrate the nation, the *Canadian Magazine*

portrayed Canada's volunteer soldiers as evidence of the nation's maturation. The foregrounding of male bodies—soldiers *en masse* photographed in contingents; snapshots of activities in South Africa; portraits of war leaders, and repeated cover imagery—centred the volunteer soldier as a visible, heroic national type during the war years. These sentiments are important at a time when, as Paula Krebs argues, the press had a more immediate influence on the public imagination than literary works because magazines included literary as well as journalistic content and so provided “the authority of experience alongside the romance of the imaginative” (*Gender* 146). My first chapter begins with a study of how national literature and Canada's soldiers were imbricated in *The Canadian Magazine's* aesthetic in the War years.

Chapter One. *The Canadian Magazine*, National Literature, and the Canadian Soldier

“It may safely be said, nowadays, that a country is known by its magazines”

(Cooper, “Editorial Comment - Sept. 1899” 482).

John A. Cooper’s “Editorial Comment” in *The Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, Art and Literature* (1893-1939) in the final issue of the nineteenth century was preoccupied with two themes: war in South Africa and the future of Canadian literature. The editor declared that in 1900, “the publishers of this periodical will spare no effort to keep . . . in the van of literary development,” and described Canada’s “only national publication” as *the* platform for Canadian writers and for public discussion (195). The December issue further stoked the debate that had raged in 1899 on the state of Canada’s national literature, and on this theme, Robert Barr’s “Literature in Canada - Second Paper” rebuked Canadians’ persistent under-evaluation of its writers, which Barr asserted stifled the development of a viable market for local talent. To remedy a lack of support for Canadian writers, he challenged educated readers to familiarize themselves with local literature, to study topics of national interest, and to seek this material in the pages of *The Canadian Magazine*.

As writers grumbled about the state of the nation’s literary culture, the eyes of readers were elsewhere. Indeed, the major news item in December 1899 was the outbreak of war in South Africa, which the magazine covered with a 15-page article on the “Canadian Contingent” that included numerous photographs of the troops’ much-

celebrated departure from Quebec. This report profiled the “1,000 picked men,” drawn from “Victoria to Halifax,” who represented “the physical strength, the discipline and the courageous daring of our people, freely volunteered to serve under the British flag” (Patterson 154). Initially, only 1,000 Canadian men departed, but by War’s end, over 7,000 volunteers had served in South Africa. This willingness to fight alongside Britain was cited as proof of Canada’s national development, and a formative moment (preceding Vimy Ridge) of Canada’s national becoming on a world stage. In total, Canada would send four contingents, including the Canadian Mounted Rifles in the First (a 1,019-man infantry unit), the Royal Canadian Dragoons and the Royal Canadian Field Artillery in the Second Contingent, Lord Strathcona’s Horse (privately funded by Lord Strathcona, a 519-man mounted infantry battalion) as the Third Contingent, and a Fourth Contingent of more Canadian Mounted Rifles (in addition, a number of soldiers were sent as British replacements) (Miller, *No Surrender* 3; McGowan 66).

In the same editorial which claimed national literary pre-eminence for *The Canadian*, Cooper intoned the widespread belief of the time that the War would be a short one. While Cooper remained ambivalent as to whether Canada had made the right decision in sending troops, he was unequivocal in expressing that the War was justified because of its racial and civilizational significance, arguing that the “Anglo-Saxon race never errs” and “makes war only for the benefit of humanity” and in the interest of “peace” and “progressive civilization” (193). In 1899 and well into 1900, news of war in South Africa and the involvement of Canada’s troops filled daily newspapers, and the public’s appetite for coverage was insatiable. The *Canadian Magazine* was determined to play into this thirst for reflective news on a major imperial event. In the December 1899

advertising pages, the *Canadian Magazine* announced: “when the War between Great Britain and the Transvaal was declared THE CANADIAN MAGAZINE at once arranged for a series of illustrated articles;” Mr. Charles Lewis Shaw was “at once” sent to Cape Town, and his articles “will not be full of hearsay remarks and unreliable clippings from newspapers, but will be the actual experiences and observations of an intelligent Canadian (iv-v).

That *The Canadian Magazine* publicized its war content reflects competition in the periodical industry where monthlies had to distinguish themselves from daily newspaper coverage of local and international events. Rapid information dissemination, enhanced by cable communication around the globe, rendered news a commodity, and *The Canadian* competed for readers’ attention by providing directly-sourced, first-hand war reporting, in a landscape where syndicated news was often purchased by daily newspapers.¹⁵ The remark that *The Canadian’s* coverage would be provided by an “intelligent Canadian,” levels a jab at the daily press, reflecting the magazine’s aesthetic of providing erudite news for an educated, middle-class readership. In an age marked by a burgeoning print press and a growing, educated readership, eyewitness accounts, enhanced with the emerging technology of photography, lent credibility and authority to reportage—“the actual experiences and observations” of a Canadian. Historian Paula Krebs calls the commingling of myths of empire interacting with the reported material conditions in South Africa an “imperial imaginary,” where writers had to construct a

¹⁵ Syndicated news became a feature of war coverage because colonial newspapers could not maintain correspondents abroad during the protracted battle. Few newspapers could compete with agencies such as Reuters who provided extensive South African coverage (and some argue, had privileged access to news), and as the War dragged on, and Kitchener’s censorship tightened, many colonial newspapers purchased updates rather than fund reporters overseas (Beaumont 72; Morgan 4).

language and series of visual and cultural symbols to educate an audience and maintain support for a war in a distant territory—a place in 1899 to which few Canadians had travelled (*Gender* 145). Writers consequently gained authorial credibility through their first-hand experiences in South Africa (Krebs, *Gender* 146).¹⁶ Particularly important was creating a persona for the Boer enemy, and contributions by writers who had immediate experience of the territory did just that.

E.B. Biggar’s “Stories of President Kruger,” in the December 1899 issue, was described as written by a “Canadian who lived in South Africa for a number of years” (178-180). Biggar’s authority was implied because he had travelled to and lived in the distant colony, which lent credence to his semi-fictional, anecdotal stories—largely retellings of urban myths. The “Stories” article relies on hyperbole and parody to structure its semi-fictional description using caricature and anecdote. Biggar presents President Kruger as a greedy embezzler who misappropriates public funds and parodies him for his “peculiar faith” because Kruger “firmly believes that the earth stands still and the sun moves around it” (180). Biggar villainizes Kruger as a Bible-thumping, angry figure, and describes the Boer president as “Sloven, sullen, savage, secret, [and] uncontrolled” (180). These stories were typical of many that perpetuated stereotypes of the Boers as ignorant, superstitious, and bereft of English civilization.¹⁷

¹⁶ For example, Krebs shows how British literary figures gained credence because of their imperial connections to South Africa: Arthur Conan Doyle served as a physician in a field hospital during the war; H. Rider Haggard had been an imperial administrator during the first “Boer War,” and Olive Schreiner was South African (*Gender* 146).

¹⁷ Additional examples of Boer stereotyping include articles such as John A. Cooper’s “The Boer Women and Children” (May 1902), and David Mills on “The Future of the British Empire in South Africa” (May 1896). Mills writes: “While he [the Boer] affords excellent material for good citizenship, he will never be much better than he is, until some other race dominates in the country which he occupies (69).

Not only was South Africa the site of international conflict and apparently uncivilized enemies, it was also the setting for romantic fiction. Kathleen (Kit) Blake Coleman's short story "The Red Cross Nurse: A Tale of Majuba Hill" is a historical romance set between the metropole and the 1881 battle at Majuba Hill in South Africa (133-138).¹⁸ Rather than rewarding the central character, English nurse Joan Gray, for remaining faithful in her unrequited love of Major Kenneth, Coleman denies a romantic ending. On the day of the fateful Majuba campaign, Joan is shot dead as she searches "[o]n her hands and knees" among the many wounded soldiers to find Kenneth, whom she presumes to be among the injured (188). Surprisingly, Major Kenneth is one of the few British soldiers to survive the slaughter, and when he inspects Nurse Gray's dead body, he gives no sign of recognition, simply saying: "Poor soul! I don't remember her" (188). Coleman employs Majuba as a backdrop to relate one of Britain's most disastrous military endeavors as well as the failed romance; Nurse Gray spends her life longing for a man "who was all the world to her, while to him she was nothing" (185). Coleman's imperially-themed romance serves as a cautionary tale, where the nurse's foolhardy pursuit of unattainable love is paralleled with Britain's underestimation of the Boer forces.¹⁹ The romantic plot relies on the tropes of loyalty and national duty mirroring

¹⁸ Chapter 2 on the "Teachers for South Africa" notes that Kit Coleman was one of Canada's first female war correspondents who received accreditation to cover the Spanish-American War. She published a weekly column in Toronto's *Daily Mail* from 1889-1911 and then became the first president of the Canadian Women's Press Club ("Coleman" 220).

¹⁹ The battle of Majuba Hill led by General Sir George Colley is considered a gross example of British incompetence and military blunder. Denis Judd argues that it was either "Colley's college-inspired overconfidence or his lack of experience in the field that proved the fatal flaw" (xviii) when Colley overestimated his stronghold on the summit of Majuba Hill. This tactical position was quickly overcome by Boer sharpshooters and a storming of the hill where only one Afrikaner was killed compared with the huge loss of life suffered by the British: "of the troops on Majuba's summit, 93 were killed [including Colley], 133 were wounded, and 58 taken prisoner" (Judd, *Someone* 132). A common refrain among the colonial soldiers during the South African

Nurse Gray's unflinching love for Major Kenneth—sentiments that are portrayed as lifelong and unchanging. In fact, her death and Kenneth's disavowal read as a rather unexpected and abrupt conclusion. While the story sets up the possibility of romance in form and metaphor, in the final paragraphs, tragedy prevails. Coleman associates military failure with the injustice of unrequited love and sacrifice by Nurse Gray and the story thus troubles romantic accounts of imperial battles because Major Kenneth's arrogance is a factor in the imperial defeat. This dismissal of Nurse Gray is akin to Britain's casual exploitation of loyal, imperial subjects. Nurse Gray remains faithful in her duty to country and Major Kenneth, yet she is expendable. Thus, while Nurse Gray may appear the tragic character around whom the story pivots, Coleman renders the British Major as the unfeeling villain. Coleman's story, published at the outbreak of war, reveals her working within the boundaries of the romantic genre—and more specifically, resisting these boundaries—while employing historical details to convey a critique of imperial bravado. By centering the British nurse, Coleman shifts perspective away from the masculine hero and features a woman's retelling that turns the imperial romance into a tragedy. At a time when enthusiasm for empire ran high in Britain and in the dominions, Coleman's story is exceptional, as it explores the limits and failures of national mythmaking from a woman's perspective, and reminds readers in 1899 to heed the lessons of arrogance learned during the doomed British campaign at Majuba Hill.

If Victorian readers were to examine only the December 1899 issue of *The Canadian Magazine*, then, they would be left with the impression that South Africa was a

War would be "Remember Majuba," while the Afrikaans Transvaalers would recite: "Celebrate Majuba!"

site of military conflict, a land inhabited by a backward race led by a belligerent ignoramus, and as a setting for botched English romance. The distant colony of empire registered on levels literal and metaphorical and would continue to serve through the War years as a reference point both distant and at the same time necessary to proving Canada's national maturation in the literary and military spheres. Canada's war contribution became the theme of strong editorial and political commentary; it would elicit occasions for poetic (pro-imperial) composition; South Africa would reverberate in stories both reported and invented; and, most importantly, Canada's citizen soldier would be profiled, photographed, and celebrated for well over the next three years. The curiosity about events in South Africa and the literary-aesthetic construction of the war in *The Canadian Magazine* are the concerns of this chapter, which is divided into two sections, where the first studies the topic of a national literary tradition and the second reveals how the magazine constructed the South African War and created a nationally-identifiable volunteer soldier.

1.1 “South Africa continues to be the chief centre of interest” (Dec. 1899, Evans 189).

This chapter addresses a gap in Canadian periodical scholarship by contributing a sustained study of a magazine's editorial practices and its influential attempts to mould conceptions of national literature during the War years. By reading across issues published during 1899-1902, I contend with the March 2015 edition of *English Studies in Canada* which challenges scholars to engage in reading “across full issues and multi-year runs of serial texts rather than cherry-picking individual items” (Hammill et al. 2). The

benefit of periodical research is that it provides a poly-vocal perspective on topics of national interest, where fiction and non-fictional articles co-exist. The introduction to this chapter, exploring the December 1899 issue of *The Canadian*, reveals the many different works of fiction, poetry, editorial and reportage that described events in South Africa. This blending of genres allows for what Hammill et al. describe as “unpredictable and exciting juxtapositions” that “occur within and across the pages” (11), where “literary materials and cultural materials” are placed alongside a “rich context” of other, diverse works (Barbara Green qtd. in Hammill et al. 11). By reading across issues, and by examining articles in different genres, their contexts and connections becomes evident, to reveal guiding editorial decisions at work in *The Canadian Magazine*.

To begin, I elucidate the vigorous discussion on national literature that informed *The Canadian Magazine*'s editorial policy and highlight articles by editor John A. Cooper, and contributions by W.A. Fraser and Robert Barr. *The Canadian Magazine* strove to enforce the connection between a maturing nation and its production of a coherent body of national literature to an imagined, white, middle-class, English-Canadian audience. I argue that the term *literature*, conventionally defined in terms of imaginative prose and poetry, was contested among contributors to *The Canadian Magazine*. “Literature” was used as an elastic term by a small coterie of literary and publishing elites, who attempted to situate the periodical and newspaper press in the vanguard of Canadian literary and cultural production. For this group of pressmen, “national literature” would include both fictional and non-fictional editorial content that placed a thematic emphasis on Canada's national progress, which they saw as manifested through Canada's War contribution and victories at significant battles. The periodical

press would educate readers about Canada's past, its imperial present, and the great deeds of its citizens. I identify how print networks and imperial connections (among writers, editors, and readers) animated the way Canada was viewed abroad, and examine how writers turned to external events to solidify patriotic ideals. This transperipheral view meant that writers looked outside of Canada, and during the War, specifically to events in South Africa, to construct a national imaginary that articulated Canada's place in a world connected by imperial networks.

The second section analyzes depictions of manliness and the Canadian soldier in *The Canadian Magazine*. I examine how a mode of "modern realism" advocated by the magazine was employed as reports from South Africa relied on visual imagery and fictional, literary devices. Important in my analysis is the critique of how the narrative construction of war makes recourse to a complex structure of myth, history, visual culture, and fiction. In this period often characterized by romantic nationalist discourse, I identify how there was a contiguous emergence of a form of realism in the pages of the *Canadian Magazine*. The term "realism" was used to emphasize literature's obligation to a mode of "truthfulness" that could deliver actual accounts of heroic deeds. Such "truth-filled" reports then validated the magazine's claims that the *literary* was revealing something "real" about the state of the nation's greatness. This realism was one of *topic* rather than the literary *aesthetic* that would emerge in the 1920s. While the mode of emergent realist writing still bore the residual traces of romantic nationalism, writers worked in what could be considered a mode of hybridity, which marks this transitional period at the end of the nineteenth century. The term the writers in *The Canadian Magazine* used to demarcate this literary shift was the phrase "modern realism," which

should not be confused with the “modern-realist” movement that Colin Hill identifies with mid-twentieth century Canadian fiction (Hill 6).²⁰ “Modern realism” was the phrase used by editor Cooper and writer Fraser when describing a practice of “reporting truth” in *The Canadian*; hence, the use of the word “realism” to denote how facts, first-person experience, and first-hand testimony shaped abstract notions of national feeling in wartime. The use of the word “modern” reflected not a collective of modernist writers sharing an experimental aesthetic, but rather literature that arose from a moment of obsession with Canada’s place in a world of competing empires, which was implicitly raced (white) and gendered (masculine). The “stuff” of literature (the comingling of ‘real’ stories embellished with romantic tropes) would be produced with a view to Canada’s place in an enlarged world. Implicit in the use of modern realism in 1900 were the underlying ideological assumptions of white, Anglo-Saxon racial superiority, and the idea that authorial voice was by nature objective.

To conclude this chapter, I study a hybrid employment of romance and realism through depictions of Canada’s soldiers. Many writers cite fictional works by the prominent imperial poet Rudyard Kipling, using appeals to heroic masculinity, to represent the soldier as synecdoche for Canada. The volunteer soldier, and trained soldiers recruited from the North West Mounted Police (NWMP), were idealized as civilized, white Anglo-Saxon males. Raised from the land, and shaped by their work in expanding the western frontier, these Canadian descriptions add another type to Daniel

²⁰ Colin Hill explains that the term “realism” has a long and complicated history of usage in Canada, as it can refer to that which is contemporary and also be a literary category that contests an old romanticism (Hill quoting Sandra Djwa 8). Hill argues that the “realist impulse that crystallized into a movement in the 1920s can be traced back to the years preceding Confederation” (19): this is one of these early moments.

Coleman's taxonomy of masculine figures who projected white civility in the nineteenth century. I examine how the War soldier was developed through tropes of hunting and settlement to justify white and specifically British dominion in Canada and South Africa. Using Lake's and Reynold's argument that whiteness is a global politics with nationalist aims, I show how *The Canadian Magazine* profiled the uniformed horseman with Stetson boots and distinct hat, who would become central to branding Canada's North West Mounted Police (later RCMP). The "Mountie" as national figure represented Canada on the international stage, connecting imperial war to westward expansionist and white settlement projects in the face of racial threats faced internally by immigrant and Indigenous populations. The Mountie was constructed as a figure who policed whiteness both within and outside of Canada's borders. This story of military prowess was consequently placed within a curated national history of Canada that relied on a progressive narrative of white improvement and dominion over land at the expense of subordinated populations.

1.2 The Emergence of a National Literary Tradition: Periodical Studies and the War

To date, no detailed study has been conducted into *The Canadian Magazine's* nation-making and literary contributions at the end of the Victorian era. Fraser Sutherland's *The Monthly Epic* and Noel Barbour's *Those Amazing People: The Story of the Canadian Magazine Industry, 1778-1967* historicize key publication and editorial moments of *The Canadian Magazine*. Sutherland's chapter on "The Transitional *Canadian*" discusses important contributors and significant articles through the

magazine's almost five-decade-long publishing history, as he tracks the periodical's rise and fall, from a magazine born in an "era of edification," to a failed attempt in the twentieth century to become a mass-circulating family magazine, with an American format, seeking an American audience (111). When *The Canadian* was faced with competition from many American periodicals flooding the Canadian reading market, "the magazine could not compete in editorial quality" (Barbour 63). Barbour emphasizes *The Canadian Magazine's* biases during John A. Cooper's editorial years (1895-1906), noting how a distinct, white Canadian nationalism was promoted as the periodical tried to "play down the cultural differences among Canadians in favour of creating a homogenous body of Canadians—within the British Empire, of course," which overlooked any diversity and "radical writers" (65-6). While both Barbour and Sutherland attribute great influence to *The Canadian* as a periodical that outlasted many of its Victorian competitors, neither study provides in-depth analysis of its literary contributions or its nationalist aims.

While there has been little intensive attention paid to *The Canadian Magazine*, there has been scholarly interest in Canadian periodicals during the War. Gordon L. Heath's *A War with a Silver Lining* examines the English-Canadian Protestant press's response to the South African War, arguing that despite the Protestant churches' doctrinal differences, their support for the War and commitment to Canada's involvement was unanimous. While the religious periodical press was influential in perpetuating public support for the War, Noel Barbour explains how the special interest magazines also had significant local and political influence. For example, *The Canadian Military Gazette* was the "first publication to tell Canadians that Canada was going to send a military force to fight the rebellious Boers in South Africa" (Barbour 73). This statement raised such a

“furor” in Ottawa as news was leaked about plans to send a Canadian contingent at a time when parliament had not yet approved sending these troops.

This anecdote, or variations on it, is frequently cited in scholarly sources to suggest that the media and strong public opinion pressured Laurier into sending troops to South Africa.²¹ Mark Zuehlke argues in a 2017 *Legion* magazine article that the press was powerful in whipping up public support for the War because Prime Minister Laurier was hesitant about sending troops, as he felt that the imperial conflict would fracture the “delicate union between French and English Canada” (23). Zuehlke explains how the story detailing plans to send troops made front-page news, pressuring the government into action. At the colonial office’s request, Canada’s General Officer Commanding, the British Major-General E.T.H. Hutton, had drafted plans to raise a 1,200-strong Canadian force and “leaked its details to newspapers across the country. Many powerful militia officers were also apprised of the plan even as Laurier was kept in the dark. By the time he [Laurier] learned of it, the press and public calls for action could not be denied” (Zuehlke 23). Carman Miller offers that “owing to strong public pressure at home, from a pro-War coalition which received forceful expression in the urban English Canadian Press,” the at times “hysterical public debate” between those who favoured participation and many who dismissed supporting a war fought along racial lines led to an acrimonious two-day Cabinet meeting that approved the dispatch of troops (“Loyalty” 313).²² When the Prime Minister announced that Canadian troops would be raised and deployed to serve

²¹ I refer here to, for example, Carman Miller’s article “Loyalty, Patriotism and Resistance: Canada’s Response to the Anglo-Boer War, 1899-1902,” Phillip Buckner’s “Canada,” and Clippingdale (136-139).

²² The group of newspapers leading the pro-war campaign included the Montreal *Star* and *Gazette*, the Toronto *Telegram*, *World*, *News*, the *Mail and Empire*, the Hamilton *Spectator*, and the Ottawa *Citizen*, many of which had ties to the Conservative Party (Miller *Painting* 38).

the Empire, he specified they “would retain their [Canadian] identity” (Barbour 73). The South African War was consequently a time when the media not only reported on international events but also shaped public opinion and affected political decision making.

The Canadian Magazine at the Turn of the Century: A National Editorial Policy for a Global Audience

The Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, Art & Literature contained an amalgam of political, fictional and illustrative content, and often included original contributions from among those whom Canadian scholars now consider to be formative artistic creators, including poets Bliss Carman and E. Pauline Johnson, authors L.M. Montgomery and Nellie McClung, and Group of Seven artists Arthur Lismer, A.Y. Jackson, and J.E.H. MacDonald. Started in 1893 by Thomas Henry Best, a Torontonian “interested in social reforms” (Barbour 63), the magazine continued for over 40 years and was published through the Toronto Publishing Company, where Best was business manager. James Gordon Mowat, the product of a prominent family of Ontario Liberals and a former staff member for the leading Canadian Liberal newspaper, the Toronto *Globe*, was the magazine’s first editor. From 1893 to 1930 it was first published in octavo format, measuring nine by six inches (approximately 23.5 centimetres long and 16 centimetres wide), and at a cost of twenty-five cents was patterned after the American illustrated magazines *Scribner’s*, *Harper’s* and *The Atlantic*. A glance at the table of contents in any issue reveals serialized fiction, profiles of Canadian celebrities, poetry interspersed among non-fictional articles, travel narratives, current events, book reviews, a monthly editorial comment, and a miscellany of smaller articles.

The magazine not only provided a multiplicity of writers and genres, it also contained significant artistic and photographic images. Photography had been used in periodicals since as early as the 1840s, but Schwartz notes how the ability to produce photographs alongside texts on the printed page remained an “elusive goal” throughout much of the nineteenth century (395). By 1899, *The Canadian Magazine* had mastered this new technology of photoengraving and was able to seamlessly intersperse images and text on the same page. It often featured full-page photographs on its frontispieces.²³ *The Canadian Magazine* had a strong visual arts component, which was strengthened in 1897 when it merged with *Massey’s Illustrated*, as both magazines strove to publish Canadian work (Sutherland 98-9). When the two merged, *The Canadian* promoted (and often reprinted by request) its frontispieces, photography, and original artwork, which were submitted by members of the Royal Canadian Academy, the Ontario Society of Artists, and the Toronto Art Students’ League (Sutherland 98-9).²⁴

The nineteenth century was a turbulent time for periodical production in Canada.

²³ The use of photographs gave “enormous aid to the Victorian assumption that newspapers were not only transcriptions of reality but represented the Truth” (Fetherling 66). But the technology was a visual luxury for newspapers, reserved for weekly or weekend editions, and often photographs were of local events because international transmission of images through telegraphic communication would only be perfected after the First World War (Fetherling 69).

²⁴ In addition to rich cultural material, each edition of *The Canadian Magazine* contained much illustrative and advertising material. Title pages, cover designs, and advertisements, however, were omitted from volume versions of the magazine, where six months of editorial content was bound together under hardcover. This practice follows what Margaret Beetham explains was common in Victorian periodical publishing: “binders tended to think that end-papers and advertisements were no part of the periodical and so left them out of bound versions” (96). The omission of content from bound volumes raises a research-methodological concern. I have consequently relied on digital, scanned copies of monthly editions of *The Canadian Magazine* on *Early Canadiana Online* (now *Canadiana Online*) that include the full contents of each magazine as a companion to the hardcopy volume editions found in Carleton’s MacOdrum library, in order to assess the interplay between advertising and editorial content and to study cover design.

While Distad shows that the number of dailies increased steadily in the nineteenth century from 101 in 1891 to 112 in 1900, peaking at 138 in 1913 (295), the periodical market could be characterised as one of “attrition and failure” (293). The success enjoyed by *The Canadian Magazine* was not the case for many other magazines. Those that attempted to be national quickly boomed but were defunct by the end of the nineteenth century, including the *Canadian Journal* (1852-1878), the *Week* (1883-1896), the *Canadian Monthly and National Review* (1872-1882), which merged in 1878 with *Belford’s Monthly Magazine: A Magazine of Literature and Art* (1876-1878) to become *Belford’s Monthly Magazine* (1878-1882).²⁵ By century’s end, owing to the increased amount of paid advertising, cheaper postal rates, and faster printing technology, periodical production stabilized, and general-interest journals enjoyed a steadier run. Despite the industry’s bumpy beginnings, the late 1800s could be considered a time when periodical publication multiplied, attributable to the robust religious press, “which accounted for at least one-fifth of all non-government imprints,” the agricultural and farm press, magazines that targeted a growing female readership, and specialized periodicals (Distad 300).

In this time of print proliferation, *The Canadian* boldly declared itself to be Canada’s first national magazine (ignoring *Saturday Night*, 1888-2005).²⁶ Established well before *Maclean’s* (which launched in 1905), *The Canadian Magazine* was an

²⁵ A 2012 dissertation by Suzanne Bowness, “In Their Own Words,” examines the magazine industry in the nineteenth century, stopping short of the South African War years specifically because many periodicals that were popular in the nineteenth century had dwindled by the 1880s. The end of the century saw the birth of new publications that survived into the early twentieth century.

²⁶ Cooper dismisses *Saturday Night* in an unpublished article on “Journalism,” describing it as a “provincial” weekly in “newspaper form” (“Canadian Journalism,” Manuscripts and Typescripts, Box 1, File 30, JACF-TPL).

influential and widely circulated periodical and survived into the twentieth century before its demise in 1939. Distad suggests that together, newspapers and magazines provided the “first national medium of mass communication and played a major role in the creation of distinct Canadian cultures and a growing national identity” (294). Fraser Sutherland’s *The Monthly Epic* considers Victorian magazines as “instruments of moral and pedagogic improvement” (15) that would emerge in the era as a “national medium” that were “reviewed and advertised as if they were books” (16). Sutherland suggests that magazines had greater national reach because newspapers were frequently partisan and did not circulate widely, as they were limited to the cities and towns of their production (15-16). Roy Daniells notes how periodical publication could be taken as a “reliable guide to cultural sensibility” because “newspapers, preoccupied with party politics, did not hold a clear mirror to national consciousness” (213-5). Daniells suggests that the group of Toronto periodicals [including *The Canadian Monthly*, *The Week*, and the *Canadian Magazine*] is “peculiarly significant” (215) for presenting national sentiment, even though these magazines often ignored French Canada, the fragile economies of the Maritimes, the diverse populations immigrating to Canada, and the frontiers of the West. While *The Canadian Magazine* aimed to become “a non-partisan, strongly Canadian magazine,” Noel Barbour criticizes its intentions, arguing that “the magazine was not national,” and could very well have been entitled “Ontario,” as its viewpoint was that of the “Anglo-Saxon Torontonians” (63-4). The magazine thus carefully constructed its perception of Canada and crafted a specific image of itself for a reading public. The purpose of this study is not to celebrate these perspectives, but rather to highlight the

tenacity of claims to national whiteness that were curated in the late nineteenth century and which maintained strong purchase in the twentieth century.

In 1899, *The Canadian Magazine* was widely read, and reached a sizeable local and global audience. Although circulation records were lost for the 1890s, it is estimated that the magazine produced around 10,000 copies a month, and editor “Cooper claimed the circulation doubled (and it may have reached 20,000 by the end of the century)” (Barbour 65).²⁷ When John Alexander Cooper, a bookseller’s son who had worked for J. B. Maclean’s trade papers in the 1890s, took over as editor and publisher in 1895, he declared in his December 1899 “Editorial Comment”:

The value to this country of a national magazine is well exemplified by the fact that *The Canadian Magazine* is the only publication in this Dominion the contents of which are indexed each month in the New York and London *Review of Reviews*, and in various annual indexes to current literature published in Great Britain and the United States . . . It circulates freely in every part of Canada and a dozen foreign countries . . . Every Canadian writer of note whose work is available has been listed for contribution to Canada’s only national publication.

(195)

In his first few years as editor, Cooper actively marketed the magazine’s vast circulation in self-promotional advertisements, where the presence of an international subscription

²⁷ In order to contextualize this number, it may be useful to consider that *Saturday Night* by 1897 had a distribution of 15,000 (Distad 299). In terms of printed books, George Parker cites 30,000 as the number of copies a bestseller would sell in the early 1900-20 period (32). Specifically, Tracy Ware suggests that Robert Barr’s popular novel *The Adventure of Jennie Baxter* (1899) sold three thousand copies in Canada (121), while Clarence Karr offers that Gilbert Parker’s *The Right of Way* (1901) sold 20,000 copies in Canada (399). In newspaper publishing in 1899, Toronto’s *Globe* had a circulation of 34,805 and the *Ottawa Journal* had a circulation of 7,161 (*McKim’s Directory* 85, 106).

audience and overseas reviews provided “readerly” evidence of its extensive reach. An advertisement in the January 1899 edition listed subscribers in “Great Britain, United States, Hungary, Germany, France, Russia, South African Republic, Basutoland, Transvaal, New Zealand, Australia, Japan, Ceylon, Jamaica, Barbados, and Brazil,” with every issue being promoted as an “advertisement of Canada’s progress and intelligence”

(ii). International readers were cited to elevate the magazine’s literary status, as it competed with widely circulating American and British periodicals. A perceptible symbiotic relationship is thus palpable between nationalist aims and international prestige; while *The Canadian* foregrounded its global circulation, it simultaneously endeavored to be the Dominion’s leading literary magazine and stated these nationalist aims overtly in advertorial content. When celebrating its one hundredth edition in June 1901, Cooper declared that “the Magazine has attained its present proud position is most striking evidence of the growth of a Canadian national spirit. That it is as popular in British Columbia and Nova Scotia as in Ontario indicates that the work of ‘Confederation’ is accomplished” (“Making” 194). Cooper suggests that readers embraced the magazine from coast to coast as an indicator of “national spirit,” implying, too, that *The Canadian* had contributed to this national identification and cohesion, performing the literary work of “Confederation.”

With his eyes firmly focused on the magazine’s overseas reputation in his early editorial years, Cooper ensured content remained relevant to a local audience—and vigorously enunciated his aims to readers. The February 1899 edition included a two-page advertorial (an advertisement that contains editorial comment) by *Canadian Magazine* founder J. Gordon Mowat explaining the importance of a national magazine to

fostering a nation's intellectual climate (iv-v).²⁸ Mowat claimed the magazine to be a genre superior to the newspaper, which is "too transient," or the book, which provides "little time to read with profit," extolling the virtues of a national magazine, which "reaches into every corner of the land," acting "in utility to a nation, scarcely second to a great national university" (iv). In his "Editorial Comment," in February 1899, John A. Cooper further discusses Mowat's claims suggesting an interplay between advertising and editorial material, whereas nowadays these two media are often unrelated. The magazine's self-promotional and editorial material thus situated itself at the epicenter of national thinking—to broadly educate Canadians about themselves. Noel Barbour suggests that "for many years, magazines provided the only medium of expression for the literary output of Canadians," as magazine entrepreneurs were as much interested after Confederation in "promoting better understanding between the people of the different parts of the new nation as much as they were in making profits" (iii). Barbour identifies the role that magazines played in connecting Canada's dispersed population, which is a form of literary "imagined community," to describe how disparate members of Canada were better able to "understand" each other (Anderson 7). To extend Benedict Anderson's definition of "community," during the war period, I suggest that international circuits of print produced a settler nationalism that allowed readers to identify themselves not only with each other, but also with readers and events external to Canada.

International readership was not only necessary for self-promotion, but also for financial viability because circulation numbers were key to attracting advertising. By the

²⁸ This content from Mowat is included in Ballstadt's compendium of Canadian criticism *The Search for English-Canadian Literature*, citing the date as June 1901; the 1901 article is in fact a reprint, as the original was published in 1899.

end of the nineteenth century, the magazine garnered much support from advertisers with over half of the magazine containing paid advertisements. After the title page and table of contents, each edition contained at least twenty numbered pages of advertising content, identified by a “Canadian Magazine Advertiser” header, with preference given to placing British advertisers in the front half of the magazine. The magazine’s ability to attract numerous British and North American advertisers contributed to it becoming a “money-making success” (Barbour 65), and the presence of numerous advertisements reflects the growing conception of the reader as a consumer of mass-produced goods. Distad explains that “Full-page, illustrated advertisements, often with no more text than the brand name of the product and a slogan suggesting that its purchase would improve one’s life, helped to solve one of late nineteenth-century capitalism’s greatest challenges when mass production was outstripping consumer consumption and threatened economic stagnation” (302). These publication conditions, which emphasize a connection between the local and the international, and the growing identification of the reader as consumer in an enlarging marketplace are evidence of the “global outlook of book history,” which Carole Gerson argues tells “a different story from literary history written according to Canada’s national imaginary” (“Writers”). Gerson explains that by studying “cycles of production and reception from the perspective of the book itself,” the international (capital) exchanges between writers, publishers, advertisers, and readers become evident (“Writers”). Thus, while *The Canadian Magazine* strove to be the Dominion’s leading national publication, it was reliant upon financing outside of its nationally-defined borders and boasted about readers who resided abroad.

Contesting a National Literature: “a modern realism that will let the world see us as we are” (Fraser, “Literature” 35).

Writing in 1899, J. Gordon Mowat describes the “purpose” of a national magazine to give “special prominence to the broad political, social and industrial questions of the country, to its history, art, literature, resources and almost everything not of merely transient importance” (iv). The topic of Canadian literature received sustained attention, which had already been the subject of widespread debate in the latter half of the century.²⁹ There is a performative element to the magazine’s self-interested fostering of a discussion on national literature. In order to present itself as taking seriously the promotion of a nascent Canadian literary culture, it positioned itself as curator of this national culture and provided a platform to host a discussion on the topic. The polemics by John A. Cooper, W.A. Fraser, and Robert Barr, with vigorous commentary from various other newspaper men, lasted from May 1899 and continued well into 1900,

²⁹ When the *Canadian Magazine* waded into the discussion on the state of the nation’s literature in 1899, the themes it raised were variations on a decades-old chorus. For example, in 1867, Thomas D’Arcy McGee declared in “The Mental Outfit of the New Dominion” that “we are a reading people,” and that men of the new Dominion should lead with moral, mental and physical strength, relying on the “best” and most “wholesome newspapers” and “periodicals” (qtd. in Daymond and Monkman 74-89). James Douglas contradicted this sentiment in “The Present State of Literature in Canada, and the Intellectual Progress of its People During the Last Fifty Years” (1875), stating that we are “not a reading people” because Canadians lack libraries, a viable book market, and leisure time (qtd. in Daymond and Monkman 99-107). In “Literature” (1882), Henry James Morgan took a different view declaring that “people are reading more, but they are also thinking more” thanks, in part, to monthly periodicals such as the *Canadian Monthly* that print Canadian Literature (qtd. in Daymond and Monkman 65-70). Sara Jeannette Duncan’s “Saunterings” (1886) described Canadians as an “unliterary people” (qtd. in Ballstadt 31). Duncan’s friend and colleague Goldwin Smith in *Canada and the Canadian Question* (1891) wrote of the unviability of a national literature in the face of an indifferent public, to argue that the Dominion of Canada itself was an artificial and precarious construct. Opinions diverged on the existence and viability of a national literature; consequently, when *The Canadian Magazine* waded into the discussion the terms shifted from inherent internal borders to positioning Canada in a larger constellation of nations.

overlapping with the outbreak of war. While Barr's caustic remarks in 1899 decrying that Canada "has the money, but would rather spend it on whiskey than on books" ("Literature: First" 5) are frequently cited anecdotally, what is not well studied is how this comment forms part of a larger discussion taking place among publishers, writers and intellectuals who contributed to *The Canadian Magazine*. The articles published on the subject of Canada's national literature offer important contextual information that reveals the editorial aims of the magazine that find expression through the articles published during and about the War.

The discussion on national literature articulated three themes. Firstly, that literature was construed in elastic terms, broadly defined to include non-fictional material published in the periodical press. Writers attempted to situate the daily and periodical press in the vanguard of literary production in Canada—over fictional book publication. Secondly, the debate highlighted the shift taking place from favoured modes of Victorian romance (especially the national romance), towards a focus on "truth," and the production of realistic portrayals of "the problems of life as it is" (Fraser, "Literature" 35). Specifically, to construct and maintain support for the War, first-person testimony was demanded from a distant settler colony of empire, and this mode of non-fictional writing was employed to convey national symbols and ideals to Canadian readers. "Truthful" tales contrasted with the fictions of historical romance that had highlighted previous internal skirmishes and rebellions. Canada as a "modern" nation required a literary realism, and with a fact-based mode of writing as its tool, writers positioned Canadian identity as located in an ever-expanding world—not only within national boundaries. Finally, the third development typifies end-of-century sentiment that Canada

as a “civilization” had matured to a point where the production of a national literature would be a conduit for articulating a strong, virile, masculine national genius, and, to this end, *The Canadian Magazine* centred the volunteer soldier and the North West Mounted Policeman as its archetype.

In May 1899, editor John A. Cooper’s column on “The Strength and Weakness of Current Books” drew attention to Canadian writers like Gilbert Parker and Charles G.D. Roberts who had “stimulated many Canadians to read Canadian history” (11); further, Cooper credits these authors, along with Robert Barr, as having “done some small part in elevating the Anglo-Saxon race” (11). By signaling these writers, editor Cooper reveals his viewpoint that literature should address a predominantly white audience and define their racial distinctiveness (11). Cooper commends writers like Parker (whom I study in chapter three), Barr and Roberts, whose historical romances had produced regional identities for French-Canada, Acadia, and Ontario, by situating their narratives in locales that represented the “manners and customs” of “the life of our day” (12). Cooper acknowledges how these writers contributed to cultivating regional realism through romantic fiction and simultaneously reflects that the “world has been enlarged by the steam-driven ocean-carriage, and we are learning the full extent of the world’s complex population. New lands and new people have been revealed, and all these additions to our knowledge are making for a broader basis upon which to erect our thought and action” (12). Cooper consequently articulates a vantage point that not only looks within the Dominion but situates Canada within a global framework, and shifts from romantic accounts of national emergence to the larger discovery of “new lands” and “new peoples,” referring to imperial conquests in Africa. In comparison to these “new”

discoveries, Canada is mature and developed, and he incites authors to reveal current Canadian identities and topics to their readers. Cooper expresses how literary history would thus narrate an Anglo-Saxon civilizational narrative of development, which would assert a modern national identity in an ever-expanding world. The Canadian soldier is a figure of this national extension outward whose actions in a distant terrain gained Canada local, and international, recognition. There is thus a circuit produced between this imperial credit that Canada's soldiers receive and the factual reporting of their participation as evidence of a nation's maturity.

Cooper's imperial perspective was often cited as justification for shoring up national pride. For example, in his November 1899 "Editorial Comment," Cooper explains how Canadian military training is essential to establishing Canada as a mature nation. At a time when the Dominion was still debating whether to send troops to South Africa, Cooper offers that Canada should contribute to the War as it "would be a splendid object lesson to our people" who would then "see that military training is necessary to individual excellence, to race development and to national importance" (80). International events were thus positioned as opportunities for Canada to showcase its ability to function as an emerging nation on a global stage, and more importantly, Cooper reveals how the War was positioned as *about* Canada, and less so about the empire. This pursuit of recognition would correspondingly capture national and literary maturity.

While Cooper focused on book production, W.A. Fraser³⁰ broadened the concept of "Literature" in a speech given at the annual banquet of the Canadian Press Association

³⁰ Fraser was a Canadian fiction writer whose popular fiction was first published in the *Detroit Free Press*, where he used the "locales in which he had lived in his short stories and novels" (Steele). His early reputation was built on stories of wild animal life and horse-racing (Sutherland 143), and in *Mooswa* (1902), he recalls Kipling's *Jungle Book* to set his cast of animals in a

on February 2, 1899. Fraser's speech was reprinted in the same May 1899 edition of *The Canadian Magazine* that contained Cooper's declaration on the state of Canadian books. Fraser declares that "Literature, as a generic term," has "too soft a ring" (34) and argues that literature should not only be defined in terms of book production, but should also include magazines and "newspaper writers and editors, for in their hands is more of literature and the making of literature than the people who talk so smoothly about it would have us believe" (35). This perspective expands Cooper's notion of the book as the material object that could broaden the "modern man's" conception of himself and identifies the centrality of literature as a masculine project through his synecdochic use of the word "hands," which stand in for the taste of the male editor. Fraser's elastic use of the term "literature" articulates Canada's need for a mode of story-telling based on the particularities of place and experience, not on embellished romance, to narrate a "strong, healthy, growing nation" (35). Fraser's idea of this nation, further, situated Canada squarely within the empire, and like Cooper, was shrouded in masculinist descriptions:

What we need here in Canada and . . . wherever the elongated, crimson-dotted postage stamp goes, is a literature that abounds in stories of strong, true, beautiful deeds. But above all, we must have Truth. We are a strong, rugged people. Our country is great in its God-given strength – its masculine beauty. Canada is one of Mother Earth's bravest, sturdiest sons. Even our climate is boisterous and strength producing. Strength begets Truth, and Truth makes Strength God-like. (34)

western Canadian forest setting. He is described in the December 1899 issue of *The Canadian Magazine* as a writer whose stories are "eagerly bought up by the leading Magazines in New York and London," and "no writer now living in Canada receives higher remuneration for his work than Mr. Fraser" (iv).

To represent the nation's "strong, true, beautiful deeds," Fraser calls for a "realism, a *modern realism* that will let the world see us as we are—a strong, healthy, growing nation; full of life, and aspirations, and determination" (emphasis added, 35).

Specifically, he urges Canadian writers to "transplant this spirit of truth from our newspapers to fiction, and we shall have a fiction that is true. . . . Good as our papers are, we should go further—we should foster a literature that will be placed on our shelves, and which will hand down to posterity the good and true things this young generation is doing, and their forefathers did before them" (36). Here, Fraser calls for a masculinity that will guarantee international recognition, whether displayed in literature, or through prowess on the battlefield. His convictions rely heavily on romantic tropes of strength, endurance and testing (of the white man), which war provided, while inciting writers to adapt these tropes to new generic forms.

To qualify "realism," Fraser articulates a desire for a mode of realist writing found in the periodical and newspaper press, which imitated the social and natural realism of British writers. Rudyard Kipling was identified as a master of fiction, who emulated the "spirit of truth and strength," as was Charles Dickens, who presented a "healthy realism" to his readers (37). Fraser advocates literature that would "deal with the problems of life as it is," so that Canadian values would be diffused to "bring the classes to a better understanding of each other" and yet to simultaneously "keep them lovingly apart (37). Further, the literary realm was to reflect racial separation as a consequence of civilizational advancement and reflect "Anglo-Saxon" progress (37). The desire for a new mode of fiction writing signals changes occurring at the turn of a century that mark a shift

away from romantic fiction and a new mode of writing to represent an emerging modernity.³¹

These discussions in *The Canadian* make visible that this was a transitional time in Canadian fiction and literature. Rather than to suggest that romance and realism were contesting modes—the one genre incompatible with the other—it is productive to consider Glenn Willmott’s analysis that Canadian modernist fiction emerges not out of “antinomy” but out of “interaction and transfiguration” (5), where realism is understood “not to oppose romance, but to absorb it” (23). Jon Kertzer in *Worrying the Nation* identifies the incongruities in narrations of national literary development, as he suggests that “ideally,” writers “should improve in quality as the nation gains self-confidence and self-government,” and that “realism” is “supposed to be an advance on romance” (20). Kertzer’s point is that simple literary categorizations are fraught with contradictions and play into the oft-told, and fallacious, myth of literature as a constant narration of literary and national advancement. Rather than to see this discussion in terms of progress, it is useful to apply Kertzer’s and Willmott’s theories to the discussion about literature taking place in *The Canadian*, to understand the dialogue as an indicator of generic transfiguration, as opposed to a contest (and victory) between one generic mode over the other, which is often the argument made for the emergence of literary modernism.

Where romance served to instruct and uplift readers through exaggerated caricatures depicting the triumph of good over evil, those advocating for realism in *The*

³¹ Fraser and Cooper, notably, define Canadian literature as Anglophone, omitting any French, Indigenous or non-English Canadians in their definition, and also omit prominent Canadian women writers in their discussion of Canadian literature, despite the prominence of writers like Sara Jeannette Duncan, Agnes Maule Machar, Maria Amelia Fytche, or poet E. Pauline Johnson. For Cooper and Fraser, the future of Canadian literature is gendered masculine, rendered true, and coloured white.

Canadian Magazine offered a way of describing the world that was political, interconnected, and expanding. Fraser's terms "modern realism" indicates a desire to see contemporary life represented with fresh diction, rather than in an entirely new genre. Colin Hill asserts that the romantic-realists of the Victorian period had "idealistic values," and "no overarching aesthetic appears to have guided their efforts" (21). Indeed, the realism that Fraser and Cooper advocated was a realism of topic over aesthetic, where narrating real-life events, such as war in a distant colony, required making claims to truthfulness, the "Strong, true, beautiful deeds" alluded to in Fraser's speech. While Hill contends that no formal aesthetic movement was ignited by the writers at the end of the Victorian period, the hallmarks of twentieth-century modern realism, with attention to identifiable, local settings, large socio-political forces, and "life as it is" were indeed advocated in *The Canadian Magazine* (Dean, "Political Science" 15). This moment in literary development, then, at the end of the century and coinciding with the outbreak of war, can be studied as a moment of transition. Willmott suggests that "individual, local, regional, [and] national lives are infected and inflected by equally ephemeral worlds elsewhere" and that this "intrusion of global modernity" influences the "imagination of life" creating an "interaction and transfiguration" of literary genres (5). These terms are productive for considering *The Canadian's* literary debate—where the genres of romance and realism were not necessarily in contest, but rather in co-existence—and this overlap is worked out in a generic hybridity frequently employed by writers in the magazine.

The Search for Modern Realism and the Production of Canadian Heroes

An example of the romantically-infused heroism based on historical figures that Fraser argued for occurs in a short story he published in *The Canadian* in March 1899.

“The Conversion of Sweet Grass” is a mini-*bildungsroman*, which describes the maturation of a Cree child named Sweet Grass who emerges as “the greatest warrior” and “the greatest chief the tribe had ever known” (408).³² Sweet Grass’s risky exploits as a teenage hunter (attacking a neighbouring Blackfoot tribe), along with his respect for his mother and grandmother, are key factors that make him morally fit to serve as chief in this conversion narrative. While the story features an Indigenous protagonist, it also fictionalizes the mission work of real-life French priest Father Lacombe.³³ The priest’s actions miraculously rescue a Cree girl from harm, which lead to Sweet Grass’s conversion to Christianity. Father Lacombe is mentioned by Fraser in his address on “Literature,” as an example of a character who deserved literary attention, but whose priestly profession instead was often maligned and caricatured in romance. In this short story, Fraser portrays Lacombe’s actions as brave and courageous: “Lacombe was as great a warrior as Sweet Grass. He, too, was a fearless brave. His bow was the Christian religion and his arrows God’s love, feathered by his own simple, honest ways” (408). Fraser casts Lacombe’s missionary activity as a battle for souls, and by using the figurative language of hunting, he indigenizes Lacombe as a valiant warrior whose

³² I discuss the *bildungsroman* in Chapter four on *The Imperialist*, as it is a dominant mode in romantic nationalism, which narrates a tale of a maturing youth who emulates a nation’s (perceived) progress, and “figures the nation as a natural growth out of a native soil, with the biographical narrative of the maturation of an individual character” (Coleman, *White Civility* 38).

³³ *The Canadian Magazine* describes Father Lacombe as a French priest who promoted Christianity and civilization in the North-West (Cooper, “People” 385). *The Dictionary of Canadian Biography* describes him as “one of the best-known missionaries in the history of western Canada,” who “shared the prejudices of his time vis-à-vis the First Nations; he felt that they had to be civilized, Christianized, and incorporated into the mainstream of the more progressive and capitalistic white community. Nevertheless, he was genuinely concerned for their welfare, and he attempted to improve their material well-being. They understood, and their trust is reflected in the names they bestowed on him. The Cree named him Kamiyoatchakwêt, “the noble soul,” and the Blackfoot called him Aahsosskitsipahpiwa, “the good heart” (Huel).

actions parallel Sweetgrass's hunting skills. The story's resolution is thus not only a victory of Christianity over heathenism, but it is an overwriting of Indigenous hunting metaphors, where claiming scalps is instead replaced with Lacombe's Christianizing "hunt" for souls to reveal the victorious "power of the cross" (410). Fraser projects settler values onto the Indigenous Sweetgrass and romanticizes the ennobling elements of indigeneity that result in an invigorated whiteness (Lacombe's), while Sweet Grass loses his Indigenous identity and spirituality.³⁴ The tale emulates Fraser's plea for fictional material published in a periodical press that was based on "truth" and contributed to national identifications of heroic types, even while it relied on romantic symbolism. Stories like Fraser's exemplify the fictional content that the magazine was promoting, as the search for Canadian heroic models became a preoccupation for writers. The symbolic appeal to good triumphing over evil, Christianity conquering heathenism, and civilization advancing (especially in the Prairie West), are themes and figurative tropes that become recycled and repeated in war writing. Specifically, the battle between the English and the Afrikaners is frequently depicted as a clash of civilizations, where the Boers are portrayed as uncivilized and in need of advancement. Fraser's story, which is more than a simple folktale, serves as a depiction of how the literary can construct a view of the settler priest as indigenizing, which displaces the romantic notion of the noble savage. While this story lends more to romance than realism, Fraser's story uses historical figures

³⁴ A notable reworking of this conversion narrative would be E. Pauline Johnson's "As It Was in the Beginning" collected in *The Moccasin Maker* 1913, but originally published in *Saturday Night*, Christmas Number, 1899 pp. 15-18 (*E. Pauline* 325). This story is told by a Cree girl Esther who resists the "Blackcoat" Anglican Priest's civilizing mission when she is removed from her family and sent to a mission school. She rejects Christianity, the Priest, and his notions of heaven and hell, and murders her childhood sweetheart, who is forbidden to marry Esther who the Priest describes as a "snake" and a "child of a pagan" (156). Esther as a "Redskin" and as a "woman" rejects Christianity and its hypocritical civilizational mission (158).

to produce narratives that are not only masculinist, but also white, as they overwrite Indigenous tradition.

Robert Barr replied to Fraser and Cooper in two essays entitled “Literature in Canada,” published in the November and December 1899 issues respectively. The War in South Africa commenced in October, and consequently, the last two issues of the nineteenth century contain an array of information on South Africa, special Christmas articles, and retrospective reflections on Canada’s development. In this period of reflection and speculation, Barr’s comments on literature were aimed to stimulate writers and launch them into the twentieth century. As a novelist who was raised in Canada, Barr lived in and wrote about Canadian subjects from London (he also wrote from the United States for a time), and his perspectives on literature reflect his desire for a strong, bonding national literature, but inherent to this conception is his imperial perspective. By 1899, Barr was a well-respected Canadian novelist and is profiled in a full-page engraved frontispiece portrait (by an anonymous artist) on page two of the November issue. In the December issue, Barr is described by editor J.A. Cooper in a regularly appearing section profiling “Canadian Celebrities,” as a man who “should be a national hero to Canadians, but . . . is not” (181). Cooper maintains that Barr “has done much for his native land, and a great deal for her literature, but his reward has not been great” (181). Indeed, the underappreciation of Canadian writing, and rectifying the injustice of having recognition withheld, are topics that fill Barr’s two columns, as he argues that “what stands in the way of the Canadian Walter Scott, is Canada’s persistent undervaluation of her own men

and women” (134).³⁵ Barr responded to attempts to develop a Canadian Literature by reprimanding Canadian readers for not valuing local literary production.

To the writer, Barr suggests the “Walter Scott tramping the streets of Toronto” should “[g]et over the border as soon as you can; come to London or go to New York” (“First” 5). This phenomenon is well examined by Nick Mount, who estimates that “between 1880 and 1900 upwards of two hundred Canadian writers either quit their profession or quit the country” (“First” 7) because of better paying conditions elsewhere, as well as the complex system of copyright that protected material published in the United States (piracy of Canadian and British works was rampant). The working reality was that even with the print press in Toronto perceived to be “booming,” many writers could not find stable writing work in Canada, which can be seen by the proliferation of articles in *The Canadian Magazine* written by writers living abroad. While conditions in the book publishing market were prohibitive to the writer, Barr notes the importance of the magazine industry as a viable means of literary publishing and as a medium for educating Canadians (“Literature: Second” 130). Specifically, Barr favours the strengthening and promotion of a local literature that educates Canadians about “the history of the deeds which won an empire from the wilderness” (“Literature: Second” 132), especially by featuring historic events like “the war of 1812” that provided an “attractive hero” in General Brock, a romantic character in “Tecumseh,” and a character of “womanly devotion” in Laura Secord (132). Like Fraser, Barr agreed that there should be “truth in fiction, otherwise it will not live” (“Literature: Second” 134). Barr articulates

³⁵ Carole Gerson explains the significance of Walter Scott’s romance novels in the late nineteenth century where “commentators and writers striving to develop a national literature almost unanimously chose Scott as their mode” in her chapter “The Long Shadow of Sir Walter Scott” in *A Purer Taste* (67).

a Canadian civilization narrative viewing Canada as an empty “wilderness” that provided the raw materials for an “empire,” with characters such as “Brock” being heroic, those like “Tecumseh” as relegated to a “romantic” past, and Laura Secord the lone “womanly” attaché to an otherwise masculine history of progress.

Barr’s article resonated widely and many responses were published in *The Canadian Magazine* and in Toronto’s daily *The Globe*, which ranged from the supportive to the critical.³⁶ Many writers echoed the letter to the editor published on December 16, 1899 in *The Globe*, from Dr. Thomas O’Hagan,³⁷ which asked when Canada would produce a great literature? (28). “A real national literature,” according to O’Hagan, “is always the spontaneous expression of the national life;” “Literature cannot come before its time” (28). The theme of a nation’s literature reflecting its maturity was constantly cited as a hallmark of national progress. Thus, when war broke out, the arguments used to support sending troops to South Africa resonated with those cited regarding the search for Canadian literature—both were evidence of the Dominion’s maturity and prominence in the empire. The turn of the century marked a phase in Canada’s national outlook influenced by imperialist thought that maintained the country was outgrowing its colonial roots of dependency and would now prove its worth as an independent Dominion (Berger, *Sense* 5). This desire for national recognition and self-definition—as separate and distinguished from the metropole and from other English colonies—was manifested in these discussions on literature.

³⁶ Keyword searches through online databases of *The Globe* produce more than thirty articles in 1899 and 1900 that responded to Barr’s stance on “Canadian Literature.”

³⁷ A journalist and poet. He is a regular contributor to *The Canadian Magazine*.

As the *Canadian Magazine* foregrounded Canada's role in the South African War, it employed techniques of storytelling and narration to relate the nation's independence, bravery, and commitment to empire and centred the soldier as representing these heroic virtues. Rather than innovating a new form of aesthetic realism, writers used claims to truthfulness—"life as it is"—to relate modern events, even while these narratives still relied on romantic constructions of heroism. War was construed as an event that required this new form of truth-telling but that also provided Canada with identifiable national types. In order to understand the myths that the national soldier and the mounted policeman drew from, I outline in the next section how the influence of Kipling's "white man's burden," tales of masculinity, settlement, and hunting—the stuff of a "modern realism"—informed the tropes from which the war soldier and war reporting were created. This construction of manliness reveals how national virility was not only produced by writers in literature, but also settler men working the frontier, farming the land, and hunting in the wilderness. From out of these categories of productive settler masculinity arose the volunteer soldiers who were sent to South Africa.

1.3 Depictions of Manliness and the Canadian Soldier in *The Canadian Magazine*

Throughout 1899, while the discussion on Canadian Literature was a mainstay in *The Canadian Magazine*, articles featuring the conflict brewing in South Africa started to appear, which highlighted differences and cultural tensions between Canada and the distant colony. Not only did the magazine's circulation and production orient itself towards an international audience to bolster its national aims, the debate about Canadian literature revealed a desire to see national writing constructed through the Dominion's

interconnectedness with global events. In aim and in production, the magazine rooted itself in an “enlarged world,” and with events in South Africa, writers utilized discussions on race, national progress, and the imperial soldier to figure its maturity and masculine heroes. In his “Editorial Comment” of September 1899, Cooper announces: “Just at the present time, when the gaze of every Anglo-Saxon is turned toward South Africa, periodicals from that colony are more than usually interesting,” and paraphrases articles of interest from *The Cape Illustrated Magazine* including quotations from an unnamed author who explains the “Racial Question in the Transvaal” (482). The writer describes the Boer man as physically strong, whose bodily strength has improved since departing from Europe, and yet, whose mental faculties have “deteriorated” because of “in-breeding” with African people since settling in Africa (483). The Boer is depicted as one who is capable of great cruelty, described as:

selfish, un pitying, and cold-blooded, and from that comes much of the strength he has retained in despite [sic] of his undoubted retrogression . . . but the Boer must learn that the Englishman is the stronger and better man of the two . . . he must understand that Saxondom will keep on expanding and progressing . . . must understand that his joining hands with the English does not mean a mixture of two variant nationalities, but a mere side issue in the ultimate consolidation of the greatest, the strongest, and the whitest race on earth. (483)

This excerpt is an example of the circulation of print material between colonies, where Cooper reveals sources he read that influenced conceptions of South Africa, race, and cultural difference. The *Cape* article asserts that Boer moral retrogression will be cured through the inevitable reach of Anglo-Saxondom and the consolidation of all races into

one. Anglo-Saxon is used frequently by writers of the period to define the territories in the British Empire (Saxony) that were English (Anglo) and white, and was a term used to produce racial affiliation with Britain in the colonies. The propagation of these racial stereotypes through circulation of editorial material between “Anglo-Saxon” colonies frames the war in South Africa as one of culture and race between Anglo and Boer civilizations, of moral-racial decline versus white ascendancy. The perceived naturalness of this ideology, which also casts civilization’s extension as a moral imperative, had become widely known as “the white man’s burden,” where imperialism was not only a policy of territorial conquest, but also one of enfolding subordinated or “inferior” populations into a unified, white civilization. Taken from Rudyard Kipling’s poem the “White Man’s Burden,” this ideology twinned religion and civility with territorial conquest.

The popular language of imperialism was frequently supplied by poet and novelist Kipling, whose works were widely read and quoted at the end of the nineteenth century. His works were read extensively by an English middle-class audience and were known for “capturing” the pro-empire “mood of the moment” (“Kipling, Rudyard”). There is even evidence to suggest that Kipling had read *The Canadian Magazine*, as he sent a personal letter to editor Cooper, dated June 22, 1898, stating “I would very much like to see a few back numbers,” requesting four issues from March to June that year.³⁸ Often, Kipling’s work was cited in *The Canadian Magazine* in support of imperial ideas that emphasized the white man’s perceived superiority and racial pre-eminence. For example,

³⁸ Letter from Rudyard Kipling to John A. Cooper, June 22, 1898. Canadian Magazine, Box 6, File 5, JACF-TPL.

in March 1899, Cooper had reflected on the “White Man’s Burden,” as he predicted how the “races of Africa, Asia and Central America” would be brought under “Anglo-Saxon rule,” and acknowledged “the work the white races must do in civilizing the uncivilized” (467). Cooper’s two-page reflection on the “size and importance of the task,” of the white man who must “toil, and lead and educate,” positions civilization’s “burden” as one of national duty, which implicates the subduing of Indigenous peoples as part of a broad imperial task of whitening the globe. In this article, Cooper also situates the work of empire within the nation, as he identifies Canada’s western frontier as open for settlement and white expansion. Specifically, he incites white Canadians to develop the country and to settle in the West, in order to additionally “[s]top this influx of foreign immigration,” as “the only hope for rapid improvement” (468). Here, Cooper subtly challenges the Government’s position. From 1896 to 1905, Minister of the Interior Clifford Sifton was aggressively promoting the migration of “non-traditional” European immigrants to the interior. These Europeans were not Germanic in origin, with ties to “Anglo-Saxondom,” but rather “sturdy” Eastern-European immigrants whom Sifton argued were the best settlers for the challenging Prairie conditions because of their familiarity with agriculture, rural lifestyles, and harsh climates.³⁹

This short reflection by Cooper underscores the widespread influence of Kiplingesque ideals (which were a manifestation of scientific racism and Darwinian

³⁹ Sifton is now known for his statement that “a stalwart peasant in a sheep-skin coat, born on the soil, whose forefathers have been farmers for ten generations, with a stout wife and a half dozen children, is good quality” (16). This quotation comes from 1922, published in *Maclean’s Magazine*, years ahead of the period I am studying, but Sifton’s immigration policies during his time as Minister of the Interior directly targeted Eastern Europeans, who were seen as a racial threat to whiteness, even while Sifton believed they were the “best” races for settling in harsh Northern climes.

thinking) of white moral improvement and race regeneration that inflected imperial attitudes at the end of the nineteenth century.⁴⁰ Cooper specifically couples the imperial project, which was global in scope, to a national imperative to limit immigration and subdue populations, revealing how whiteness projects acted on local, national and global levels. Racial difference was key to understanding the war fought in a distant colony as relevant to Canadian nation-making, and in December 1899, Cooper described the War as having the aim of “subduing inferior races” because “war is sometimes necessary in the interests of peace, [and] in the case of this Boer war, it will perhaps be best to assume that it is really in the interests of security and of progressive civilization” (193). Cooper concludes by emphatically stating that the “Anglo-Saxon race never errs, as it makes war only for the benefit of humanity” (193). The articulation of war as a civilizational imperative that protects white colonial expansion, with moral connotations, reveals how closely intertwined territorial and racial subjugation were in imperialist discourse. In the distant African colony, a competing settler population (those descended from Dutch settlers) “needed” to be assimilated into the English ruling hegemony through war to protect Britain’s land claim. In Canada, the competing settler populations were often

⁴⁰ John Lee’s 2014 article considers Kipling to be a transnational poet and studies the “White Man’s Burden” through its publication in the American and English newspaper press in the context of American debate over control of the Philippines. Lee argues Kipling used the periodical and print media to quickly produce and disseminate his verse but omits Canadian republication and reception in his analysis. Brantlinger argues that the themes of racism and imperialism in the poem are inescapable, arguing they express Kipling’s racism “at its worst” (*Taming* 213). Other works that discuss Kipling’s role in creating a language and feeling for empire include Anne Parry’s *The Poetry of Rudyard Kipling: Rousing the Nation* (1992) and Robert Macdonald’s *The Language of Empire* (1994). Further scholarship on “The White Man’s Burden” includes work by Peter Keating who characterises the poem as “profoundly racist” (120).

described as “waves” of “foreign immigrants,” and the same rhetorical flourishes connect population management between South African and Canada.

Another instance that reveals Kipling’s poetry being read and requoted is in the example of how “The Feet of the Young Men” (1897) is cited in two different articles by different authors. One is “With Rifle and Rod in the Moose Lands of Northern Ontario: Illustrated with Amateur Photographs” by W. R. Wadsworth in June 1899, and another appears in January 1900 by Bleasdell Cameron, entitled the “North-West Red Man and his Future.” Cameron describes the future of the declining Indigenous population in one word: “Extinction” (214), as he charts the “Indian’s” inevitable demise in Canada, as representative of a race that displays “little moral or physical stamina” (216), which is “improvident” and “ignorant of the laws of health” (215). In this “report,” Cameron obscures colonial violence through the long nineteenth century, which as James Daschuk argues, witnessed a *Clearing of the Plains*. Daschuk documents various measures of rebellion suppression, bison destruction, forced starvation, treaty-making, reserve administration, the pass system, and disease that decimated the Indigenous population. With the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1885, the infrastructure needed to aid large-scale settlement was in place, with little attention being paid to the welfare of the Indigenous people who suffered the ill effects of these colonial policies. Instead, Cameron describes how “the Red-Man” revolts against the “restraints of civilization” in “all his wild blood” (216). Cameron quotes Kipling’s lines “*He must go—go—go away from here!*” to describe the same “strong, savage instinct” that rouses the hearts of both white and native men, with the one distinct difference: that the primitive call in the white man is an instinctual residual force that has been tamed through generations of

civilization, while in the Indigenous man, it is his primal driving force, where “the wild, roaming instincts of generations” have yet to be “eradicated” (216).

Cameron’s perspective highlights the devolution narrative that infused accounts of Indigenous people at the end of the century, and its gesture towards Kipling’s poetry reveals how English ideals of civilization were informed by the popular British writer, and widely quoted in Canada. Reading Wadsworth and Cameron together displays how notions of whiteness and racial superiority were portrayed as observable, “real” fact, while the use of popular verse signals how ideals were circulated in the English reading world about “modern” civilizations. Articles featuring hunting differentiated the Canadian man (often represented as a singular force) from Indigenous men (often associated with tribalism), by the Canadian’s ability to tame the “call of the wild,” through his yearning for the higher functions of civilization such as self-discovery, sport and exploration.⁴¹ Like the fictionalized account of Father Lacombe, these “real” stories of discovery and hunting distinguish the white man as civilized, whereas the “uncivilized” Indigenous male relied on this primal instinct for survival—he was undifferentiated from nature. In the article on hunting moose in Northern Ontario, Kipling’s “The Feet of the Young Men” is repeated as an anthem to inspire and stir in the white man the “call of the wild,” when the “Red Gods call for you!” (qtd. in Wadsworth 150). Kipling’s poem alludes to a primitive calling that prompts the inheritor of the earth

⁴¹ These notions of outdoor activity and the appropriation of Indigenous knowledge would inform the Boy Scout movement, which I will shortly describe, which had strong ties to militarism. Ernest Tomson Seton’s *Woodcraft League* (1902), by contrast, was anti-militarist, but was also “insistent” on “fantasies of Indianness” that were “designed to cultivate in youth a passionate curiosity about plant and animal life” and the “skills necessary to survive in nature” (Henderson, “Normal School” 473). These movements reveal that Indigenous knowledge of survival was integral to the education of boys and the formation of Canadian masculinity that relied on, absorbed, and transformed Indigenous knowledge.

(the white man) to claim global territory as his own by exploring and hunting, and calls on the man to enact his dominion over the land, locally and globally: “On the other side the world he’s overdue” (qtd. in Wadsworth 150).⁴² Further, Indigenous knowledge was coopted by writers as justification for the “natural” right of white men to appropriate Indigenous activities like hunting. Citing historian Richard Slotkin, Renato Rosaldo suggests this type of mythology revolves around the hunter acquiring knowledge from the wilderness or in close relation to Indigenous people on the frontier, but the intention is always to use this knowledge against the teachers, to “kill or assert dominance over them” (108-9). The language of hunting became commonly used in poetic metaphors to describe soldiering or mission activity in the name of advancing civilization—always with the intention of asserting settler dominance.

Rugged Masculinity: Hunting and Settling the Empire

During the War years, hunting was repeatedly foregrounded as an important pastime, as the white settler was differentiated from the immigrant and indigene who hunted, by contrast, for survival. McKay and Swift argue that this distinction was often constructed around the idea that “true gentleman hunted for sport, and not for food” (60). Where Indigenous people hunted to sustain their families, the white man communed with nature to connect with a primal urge, long since diminished through civilization’s refinement. Consequently, stories about animal tracking and weaponry were staple features in *The Canadian Magazine*, as were articles on wilderness fishing and hunting expeditions. Mark Moss offers that “hunting with a rifle was a reminder of the not-too-distant past when hunting was necessary to feed one’s family. In the new age of

⁴² The article faithfully reprints the chorus and second stanza of the poem, which was published in *Scribner’s Magazine*, December 1897 and collected in *The Five Nations* 1903.

industrialization and urbanization, the nostalgic importance of this cannot be underestimated” (119). Moss suggests hunting had a profound importance in rapidly-urbanising Ontario, as it “involved and encouraged all that the imperial male valued: courage, individualism, staying power, resourcefulness, knowledge and mastery over the environment and nature” (120). Importantly, “the mythology surrounding the hunter was a social creation designed to give those who hunted or those who read about hunting a new-found sense of masculinity” (Moss 120). As part of regular reportage in *The Canadian Magazine*, columns describing regional attractions, such as Samuel Bray’s “Trip into Saskatchewan Country” (May 1899), and hunting reports, such as Wadsworth’s two-part series “With the Rifle and Rod” incited the “man with anything of the sportsmen in him” to take “flight to the wilds with rifle and rod” (149).⁴³ Hunting and retreating into the wild were depicted as a balm against urban dwelling, and in August 1901, “The Bass of Ontario” would again cite Kipling’s “Feet of the Young Men,” calling the “ordinary men of business whose talk at other times is of bonds, stocks, commerce and all that goes to support the artificial method of life we call civilization” to take up his rod and reel (333). Despite the “noise and bustle of business” that is experienced in the city, the author recommends “the poetry of the lakes and the forest” to replenish “all men with well regulated minds” (Nash 333).

If the activity of hunting was used to distinguish white settlers of “well-regulated mind” from Indigenous people, then this Canadian masculine identity was also based on,

⁴³ Examples proliferate; for example, from November 1899 to April 1900, a six-part series on “The Big Game of Canada” described the locations, attractions, and tactics required to hunt Canadian game animals. C.A. Bramble explains how “[t]here is always a certain amount of satisfaction in roaming the forest and hillside, rifle in hand, and in the case of all B.C. sport the pleasure is intensified by the magnificent scenery” (543). These accounts would continue through the War years.

and compared to, other settler-colonial identities. Robert MacDonald explains how the Victorian age saw the “full flowering of big-game hunting, with the ‘opening’ of Africa to the sportsman, and with the increased firepower of his weapons” (12). Comparisons of emerging colonial masculinities were discussed, which drew the Canadian hunter into a global sphere of white men. An article in the January 1900 *Canadian Magazine*, entitled “Encounter with a Leopard: An Incident from Natal,” reprinted a story from *Cape Magazine*, describing “Old Joe Massy,” who was a famous British South African hunter (276-7). This first-person narrative describes how Massy outwits and bravely kills a cunning leopard that had almost killed Massy’s hunting partner. As proof of his victory, the leopard’s skin “now hangs beside his many other hunting trophies” (277). Hunting as sport became a metaphor for the civilized man’s ability to conquer and subdue nature—both his internal instinct and the physical wilderness. This first-person colonial account, like those of the Canadian hunters, profiled contemporary examples of masculinity for Canadian readers.

A man’s connection to the wild and to the land were tropes that built on the myth of settler progress, solidifying the white settler’s place in Canada. These reports on hunting and fishing provided the “modern” myths that incorporated “truthful” accounts of manly deeds, and these accounts were woven into poetry, too. Settlers had built the nation from nature’s raw materials, and while urbanization was taking place in eastern Canada, the western frontier was opening up for settlement. “Settlers of the Empire,” a poem by Augustus Bridle, published in February 1900, consists of twenty-eight quatrains and compares a past and present mythology of settlement in a tale of national progress where the work of settling readies a man (and nation) for war (374-376). The poem

highlights a connection between the land, men's labour, and the work of empire, providing seemingly tangible justification for expansion in Canada as well as in Africa. Harkening back to a time when "we kept our wars to home," and had a "border brush or two" (13-14), the speaker relates the internal military skirmishes Canada faced before the conflict in South Africa: "Guess it's something like them Boers / Dishes up the Britons now" (19-20). The speaker relates that when predominantly occupied by the work of "raisin' shanties" (11), attending Sunday church (33), and "Fordin' swamps to get to bees" (60), settlers "Knew the Empire by the slashin' / Log to shoulder, axe to tree" (55-6). Implied in these lines is that war was with nature only, and the repeated images of community assert that there was no conflict between settlers and Indigenous people over land. As Daniel Coleman asserts this "peaceable-seeming" settlement "supresses" even as "it depends upon, the violence that was deployed to expunge any claims which First Nations people had to the northern half of this continent" (29). As the land was reshaped to allow for farming and town building, the speaker reflects that if someone had "hollered 'Transvaal—/What's our country goin' to do?" (25-6), the answer would have been: "'Stay to home an' see her through'" (28). The "then" and "now" structure of the poem reflects the past to interpret the present, to show that Canada's early pioneers experienced little duty to or feeling for empire in terms of external affairs; allegiance to the monarchy was known by the fact that settlers had acquired land that "he gave 'em free" (54). Previously, settling, forest clearing, and home building were how imperial labour was enacted as the frontier was expanded, and this labour is portrayed as a peaceful process of man against nature. The land is perceived as having no *a priori* inhabitants but is

reflected as a resource acquired “for free.” The poem’s central theme of securing land and working it to add surplus value is shown to be the work of nation building:

Hands and feet we made the country,
Workin’ at the neighbour’s bee;
Served the King and loved the nation,
Dug the ditch and dropped the tree.
Got our fences, roads and neighbours,
Schools and churches, love and trust;
Peace and plenty in our borders,
Toiling ever as we must. (89-96)

The verb “to make,” as in “making the country,” secures national identification and imperial sentiment through the physical (manly) work-labour of pioneering and settlement. The work is depicted as peaceful, with no conflict occurring with Indigenous peoples, which produces imperial and national “love.” The tone changes in the final few stanzas of the poem when the speaker announces:

But the old men fought to make ‘em
Worth a livin’ and a name;
And the boys must fight to keep us
When the Empire’s in the game. (84-8)

Depicting the soldier boys as sons of pioneer men, the poem summarizes a maturation narrative implicit in the poem’s title “Settlers of the Empire.” Implied is the fact that the settler has advanced to take on larger tasks further afield from home, to “save the Empire” (103) overseas. With War’s outbreak, the call to the colonies requests “Bibles on

the ends o' guns, / Missionaries togged in kharkhi, (sic)/ Our great country's fighting sons" (38-40). The poet makes an appeal for volunteers in terms of the "white man's burden," where contradictorily guns and Bibles, and soldiers as "missionaries," will bring civilization to South Africa, as a generation of Canadian "boys" is sent to do the new work of imperial expansion in a distant, immature colony. The lens of settlement is important as it equates the work of land clearing and farming as the labour of empire that has prepared ordinary citizens for the work of soldiering, and reveals how colonialism comingled settlement, civilization, and war, as its foundational tenets.

Preceding the "Settlers of the Empire," W.A. Fraser's "Soldier Police of the Canadian Northwest," provides sketches and illustrations of "about three hundred of the Seven Hundred and Fifty Policemen who have gone to South Africa with the Second Canadian Contingent" (362). This 12-page article was a reprint, as it had previously appeared in July 1899 in *McClure's Magazine*. Fraser describes how the force guards "half a continent, peopled by warlike Indians, so well that a white man may walk from one end of it to the other, unarmed and alone" (363). The imagery and illustrations in the article assert the connectedness between policing the expanding West and settlement, where "peace officers" who are intelligent and courageous, benevolently "dominate" the frontier (362), as they negotiate "coolly" with the "Indians" who are a minimal threat (365). Here, Fraser's penchant for "modern realism" is again displayed, as he provides local colour embellishment by attending to regional dialects and geographical distinctions that represent the mounted policeman as a contemporary, noble figure.

Fraser's claims that the policemen act as peace officers over a large territory, where Indigenous claims have been subdued, is an example of the production of truth that

actively negated the inherent violence implicit in frontier settlements. Sarah Carter describes how the peaceable settlement of the West through law and order should be credited to the strategies and actions taken by the First Nations, where treaty negotiations were conducted in an attempt to ensure that resources were shared, and that “independence and integrity would be maintained” (127). Carter argues that “credit for this peaceful and orderly settlement of the West” is generally attributed to the North-West Mounted Police (NWMP) and the treaties, which are “traditionally perceived as entirely a British-Canadian strategy” (127), rather than as a celebration of the dignity of Indigenous peoples. Created by the federal government, under Prime Minister John A. Macdonald, the NWMP came into being in 1873 in response to concerns about law and order on Canada’s recently acquired plains (Dawson, *Mountie* 7). To ensure “peace, order and good government,” the NWMP helped clear the plains to make room for white settlement and were instrumental in setting up a pass system, instigated after the Northwest Rebellion in 1885, where Indigenous peoples had to seek written permission from an Indian Agent to leave their reserves (Dawson, *Mountie* 13). By 1900 the Mountie figure already had a significant history in Canada and was rhetorically associated with the possibility of Western settlement, the “orderly” policing of natives, and the bringing of civil government.

The figure who policed whiteness in the West was consequently forged in *The Canadian Magazine* from equal parts imagination and stereotype, and the white male body was foregrounded to represent civil settlement and white racial prominence. Fraser describes the physical and moral aspects of “The Soldier Police of the Canadian Northwest”:

A combination of sinew, strength, endurance, brain, and a fair moral tone is necessary to make up the man who is expected to ride oftentimes day and night without eating or sleeping, to hold his own in a foot-race or a fight with a swift Indian or half-breed; and also show by example that the North-west Territories are to be developed and governed along the lines of order and industry. (370)

The back-to-back presentation of the article on the mounted policeman and the poem “Settlers of the Empire” is a serendipitous find that occurs when studying periodicals by reading them cover to cover. In micro, these two articles represent “modern” figurations of the nation’s masculine population from which volunteer soldiers were drawn. These normative figures reflect how the image of the volunteer soldier was built around two types: the white Anglo-Saxon who had a connection to the land as settler and hunter, and the peace/police officer of the West, who patrolled “Indians” and immigrant settlement on the prairies. Intimately tied to each representation was a form of normative masculinity, which would then link imperial war to settler nation building. Either the white settler soldier volunteer came from those who had tilled the earth, or the mounted policeman was drawn from a trained force tasked with policing Canada’s expansion. In both cases, the figure was stereotypically male and white. This strong body of “sinew,” and “strength” was foregrounded as viable national stock and possessed strong character acquired through good hard work and self-reliance, “endurance, brain, and a fair moral tone,” which gave the white man dominion over the land, Indigenous others, and future citizens.

This depiction of the soldier policeman who policed the frontier and now served in South Africa drew on tropes of the “maturing colonial son” and the “muscular Christian,”

which Daniel Coleman argues typified the allegory of colonial maturation at the end of the nineteenth century (169). Coleman identifies how these manly types, as allegories for nation, contributed to the formation of the seemingly apparent naturalness of ideals of *white civility* where the “heterogeneity of the nation is gathered into the homogenizing image of the single anthropomorphic image” (130). Coleman acknowledges that the national narrative did not solely rely on masculine categories for figuring Canada.

Chapter two in this thesis on the “Teachers for South Africa” considers women’s writing to reveal how notions of early Canadian civility were also constructed around women’s active role as teachers and journalists in war. Yet it was mostly the male figure and especially that of the “muscular Christian in the Canadian West” who consolidated notions of colonial progress and provided Canadian imperialists with a “representative figure that linked westward expansion to the refining of the nation’s moral character, and in turn, that refinement could contribute to the moral, political, and economic renovation of the British Empire” at the end of the nineteenth century (Coleman 134). This figure overlapped with and superseded the maturing colonial son, prominent in literary and cultural materials in the early twentieth century. The maturing colonial son policed the borders of whiteness, as “the primary proof of Canada’s maturity . . . manifested in the nation’s civility – that is, in the courtesy and fair-mindedness in which it deals with incoming immigrants” (Coleman 168-9). Narratives of the hunter, claims to the “White Man’s Burden,” and stories of the “settlers of Empire” highlight these allegories, which were also evident in the *Canadian Magazine*. Yet with War’s outbreak, the national soldier emerged and became a significant persona that is absent in Coleman’s analysis of manliness and civility. The national soldier was formed around two types—the volunteer

citizen soldier and the mounted policeman—and was constructed in *The Canadian Magazine* through narrative, poetry, and iconography.

The Mounted Policeman at the Dawn of a New Century

Mary Chaktsiris has researched the Toronto daily press during the War years and argues that there was a distinct separation between the “Soldiers of the Queen” of the first contingent (who departed on October 30, 1899) and the “Rough Riders” of the second (departed January 1900). Noting the divide, Chaktsiris explains: “While the First Contingent’s Soldiers of the Queen were described in abstract terms of commitment to duty and empire, the Rough Riders were described in terms of their horsemanship and shooting acumen” (23). Urbanization and the rising female workforce were considered threats to masculinity, and, as Amy Shaw suggests, war “had an increased appeal because of its perceived abilities to counter the feminizing softness of civilization” (104). *The Canadian Magazine* printed the poem “Children of the Queen” written by R.D. Meyers in the March 1900 issue. The poem reflects a pro-empire mood, manifested in a form of familial duty to describe the departing First Contingent:

While Canada’s cry rings around the world
Wherever the meteor flag’s unfurled, “Saxon sired, full kin are we,
Sprung from the ‘Mistress of the Sea,’
Children of the Queen. (27-32)

Canada’s response to Britain’s call for support is not only heard within the Dominion, but across the world, and in the War’s early days, Canadian troops would often be presented as imperial offspring: “Children of the Queen.” However, as the conflict unfolded, Canada would mature, and by War’s end, “their sons had become men in the eyes of the

world” (Patterson, “The War” 204). While the Toronto dailies profiled an urban masculinity, *The Canadian Magazine* foregrounded a military masculinity emphasizing connection to the land, adventure, and hunting.⁴⁴ Both Shaw and Chaktsiris, however, note how important the oppositional pole of the masculinity of the Boer other was: whether lazy, slovenly, uncivilized or cruel, in a war that was characterised as one among “gentlemen,” manliness came to the fore. This soldier did not just come “into being” when the call for volunteers was announced. As national archetype, he was actively curated and figured in *The Canadian Magazine* by the same group of writers who had been calling for a new mode of writing that would articulate the nation’s developing genius and its local heroes to itself.

In accounts of the Canadian soldier there is a visible blending of allegories of national maturation and muscular Christianity—with significant differences. Images of the Canadian soldier featured the male body dressed in khakhi and distinct mounted police uniform (boots and Stetson hat), providing the first visible formulation of the national soldier. The Canadian soldier was differentiated from other imperial soldiers in terms of dress and fighting technique, and his self-reliance and independence marked him in contrast to the British. The moral character of Canadians reflected the civility of the nation. Further, the mobility of “mounted soldier” or the “soldier policeman” placed him as a pivotal figure: locally, he ruled over ungovernable Indigenous peoples in the Canadian West and policed the moral character of frontier settlements; internationally, he

⁴⁴ Chaktsiris’s article notes how the Toronto dailies emasculated Laurier in his resistance to sending troops, idealized soldiering, and provided an effeminate version of dissenters and enemy Boers.

contributed to whiteness projects by facing the racially-othered Boer enemy, who needed to be subdued and enfolded into British South Africa.

In March 1900, Norman Patterson's fourteen-page account of the departure of the First Contingent reports that when the announcement was made for more volunteers, "hundreds" of telegrams "poured in" from "Men from all classes of society" and "there was no scarcity of volunteers" (423). Interspersed with all the names of the departing soldiers of the Second Canadian Contingent, Patterson's article makes clear that the "enthusiasm was very marked in every town from the Rocky Mountains to Halifax" (429). While Patterson acknowledges that "the French-Canadians were not enthusiastic" (429), these moments of dissent are largely ignored, as *The Canadian Magazine* positioned war support as a truly pan-Canadian phenomena. Recruitment was represented as a national effort, receiving support from rural and urban areas. The March 1900 issue contained many photographs from South Africa, with the frontispiece showing camp tents of the First Contingent with iconic Table Mountain (a famous Cape landmark) in the background. Parade photographs adorn the issue, exhibiting the Royal Canadians on Strand Street (417), and these Cape Town scenes replicate the crowded Canadian streets shown on March's cover. These photographs draw distinct parallels between the colonial cityscapes, and show the overwhelming public support the Canadians received. A "Canadian Officer" writes that the "First Contingent in South Africa," will convey to other colonials "the quality of Canada's manhood" (417), and throughout the March edition, many photographs captured either individual military leaders, such as "Lieut.-Col. Lessard, R.C.D" (425), or images of collective male bodies. The "First Battalion of Mounted Rifles" appears in a photograph on page 429; the entire Manitoba contribution

to the Second Contingent occupies page 426, and five Royal Canadians guard Cape Town camp in an image on page 421. Visually, the multitude of photographs show Canadian prowess in South Africa.

The men's bodies and military presence, both singularly and collectively, occupy frames which emphasize military precision, elegance and organization. The March issue also includes an account of the Canadians' first successful encounter with the Boers, where "not a Canadian was wounded" on New Year's Day, when "colonial troops from Canada and Australia fought alongside the British soldiers in South Africa for British supremacy, and scored a brilliant victory" (421). W. Sanford Evans, who authored the "Current Events" column in 1900, describes these initial successes in romantic language, elevating the victories by ascribing abstract qualities to the victorious soldiers: "That highest rank of intelligence, called genius, is far removed from all other ranks. While others plan and plod, it sees, comprehends and seizes the opportunity of the moment. It seems that at last the touch of genius has been imparted to the British campaign in South Africa" (481). Evans was describing the addition of the Canadian regiments to the British campaign, citing individual intelligence and "genius" as defining characteristics. The distinctions between the imperial troops would continue to distinguish Canadians from other colonial stock, as the boys of empire were becoming equals, fighting alongside the British. The language of masculine genius further amplified Canada's military pre-eminence, as an example of the "modern," and "realistic" accounts of greatness the editors of the magazine promoted.

To profile the contingents and the mounted horsemen, the *Canadian Magazine* issued two special editions entitled "Military Numbers" in March and August 1900, filled

with “information for the general public,” with covers “specially designed,” to promote the prominent war coverage that predominated in each issue (iv, Feb. 1900). The final issue of *The Canadian Magazine* in the nineteenth century had placed a prairie policeman on its front cover. This December 1899 cover, “The Golden West,” profiled an illustration of a policeman on horseback looking over his shoulder to the horizon, and symbolically, Canada’s future. He is distinguished by his wide-brimmed hat, uniform tunic, and rifle carried across his lap, as he stares across a vacant grassland, uninhabited by Indigenous people.



Figure 1: Cover of *The Canadian Magazine*, December 1899.

In 1900, this image would be repeated, with significant revisions. In March, the cover would again profile a mounted officer, this time recasting December’s image as an imperial soldier. Here, the mounted horseman is the focal figure in full military dress, surrounded by multiple horsemen, riding in formation down an urban city street, with numerous British flags overhead. The setting is no longer the prairies, but rather an urban scene, with the mounted policeman featured in imperial service. The advertisement printed in February 1899 that promoted this prominent cover described the artwork as follows:

It is a presentation in colours of a street scene, in which the Canadian Mounted Rifles appear. This is so arranged that in the foreground—the most striking figure in the picture—is an officer, dressed in khaki with felt hat, mounted on a

magnificent charger. The cover of the Xmas Number, representing a North-West Mounted Policeman was much admired. This cover will be equally attractive in design. (iv)

The cover foregrounds the prominent horse-riding policeman, and the repeated photography and visual displays of horses and soldiers, in war reports and articles about the contingents, made this image a prominent one throughout 1900.

Again, in August, the “Military Number” displayed a member of the Mounted Rifles beside a Canadian infantryman. In December 1900, the full-colour cover drawing is of the Canadian soldier presenting to the

reader the gift of a Christmas pudding, as he is flanked by a son and daughter, displaying the

Empire’s offspring and bounty. This imagery symbolizes imperial prosperity and links Canada’s future to martial participation. Throughout 1900, in artistic representations and photography, *The Canadian Magazine* linked international war to the visible body of the national soldier.

Along with visual art, numerous poems celebrated the troops’ departures and participation on the veldt. In the March military issue, a poem by F.H. Turnock, “The



Figure 2: Cover of *The Canadian Magazine*, March 1900.

Riders of the Plains,” was printed, which would become synonymous with the NWMP.⁴⁵ It describes the dependability of the mounted policeman who responded to Empire’s call for volunteers in South Africa. Notable is how the technology of cable communication connects the two colonies, as well as the fact that the prairie riders respond because they are excellent scouts and rough riders:

From the veldt to the prairie flashed the cable :
“Britain’s boys are by the burghers beaten back !
“We want scouts and rough-riders who are able
“Kruger’s frontiersman to traverse and track.”

From the West, to the Empire’s call replying,
Rose the answer: “To the rifle and the reins
“We are trained; and to send the Boers a-flying,
“You can count upon the Riders of the Plains.” (original typography preserved,
480)

In the second stanza, two frontiers are compared with one another: that of the Canadian West and the South African veldt. Dependable “rough-riders” and “scouts” answer Britain’s call, as the NWMP depart from the Dominion to defend against the Boers. Because traditional British military war strategies were not working against the mobile Boer commandoes who knew well the South African territory, the ability to scout out the enemy and move swiftly on horse across vast tracts of land became a key tactic. Sandra

⁴⁵ E. Pauline Johnson, Tekahionwake, has a poem of the same name, published in her 1903 collection *Canadian Born*. The Riders of the Plain “keep the peace of our people and the honour of British law” (9-10), and this refrain is repeated as the last line of each stanza to describe the “men of action, who need not the world’s renown” (38).

Swart argues that “By using their greater mobility, Boer commandos could simply circumvent old-fashioned, large-scale mounted cavalry assaults.” Swart’s essay examines the use of horses in the War, reporting that over 400,000 horses died in combat.⁴⁶ For this reason, trained horsemen and horses were essential to imperial forces, which is why the mounted horseman rose to prominence. Turnock’s poem highlights not only the new technology of rapid cable communication, then, but also novel military tactics required to win the War in order to “traverse” rugged veldt terrain and track “Kruger’s frontiersman.” The Canadian plainsmen were mobile; they were a contemporary force of their moment, and their training equipped them to go to South Africa. The romanticized language of the poem situates the call to war as one of adventure and duty. The mounted soldier was infused with frontier spirit and cowboy bravado.

After the War, the scout and the rough-rider personae would prevail in the masculine ideology captured in Robert Baden-Powell’s manual *Scouting for Boys*, which launched the Boy Scout movement in 1908. Mark Moss notes how “scouting evolved from Baden-Powell’s own experiences as a colonist and soldier. He wanted young boys to become men of high character—rugged souls who could be counted on to defend the values of the Western world” (116). Indeed, Baden-Powell’s popularity stemmed from his role in the successful defense of Mafeking, which made him an imperial hero, and his scouting book drew on many elements of African folklore learned from his time in South Africa⁴⁷. The scout represented an ideology, argues Robert MacDonald, that brokered the

⁴⁶ A memorial to the horses of the South African War was unveiled in Port Elizabeth, South Africa in 1905. Port Elizabeth served as the port of entry for numerous shiploads of horse remounts for the British.

⁴⁷ Robert H. MacDonald describes how many elements of scouting were fashioned after Baden-Powell’s interactions with black Africans who shared their bush knowledge and mythology with him and from his readings of Ernest Thompson Seton’s nature stories (117-144).

tensions between “adventure and discipline, between escapism and the moral lesson” (6). Notable, too, is how Kipling’s “The Feet of the Young Men” would be a poem oft recited by scouts at their sing-songs (MacDonald 61).

The NWMP were the only soldiers who had military training and served as a model for Strathcona’s Horse, a regiment prominently featured in the April 1900 *Canadian Magazine* with “NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS.”⁴⁸ Strathcona’s Horse was a special contingent raised by Lord Strathcona (Donald Alexander Smith), who at the time of War was the Canadian High Commissioner in London. Strathcona provided for the “enrolment, equipment and organization of half a thousand Canadian horsemen to serve Her Majesty in a distant part of the Empire” (Cooper, “Strathcona’s Horse” 530).⁴⁹ The command of the corps was accepted by Lieut.-Col. Steele of the NWMP, and when applicants were sought from Ottawa on January 30, 1900, the recruitment notice requested men who were “good horsemen, good shots, unmarried, of sound constitution, and in other respects qualified. Minimum height, 5 feet 6 inches. Minimum chest measurement, 34 inches. Age, between 22 and 40 years” (Cooper, “Strathcona’s Horse” 534). Rations, clothing, equipment (including saddlery) were to be provided for free, and

⁴⁸ A 2018 Government of Canada, RCMP Website states: “The North-West Mounted Police was able to raise more trained mounted men than the regular army. Many Members and ex-Members of the Force were recruited at NWMP posts and made up approximately 40% of the newly raised Canadian Mounted Rifles. This unit was highly effective overseas and earned a reputation for aggressive scouting. Also, in 1900 Lord Strathcona, the Canadian High Commissioner to the United Kingdom, raised a regiment at his own expense called Strathcona’s Horse. This regiment, even though it was technically a part of the British Army, was raised in Western Canada and its commanding officer was Supt. Sam Steele. In all, 256 officers and men were granted leave from the NWMP in order to serve in South Africa during the war. The majority of them had returned to active police duty in Canada by 1901 but some, including Sam Steele, stayed behind in South Africa to assist the newly formed South African Constabulary” (“RCMP and Military Connections”).

⁴⁹ This is not the same Cooper as editor John A. Cooper. The author is “Lieut. J.A. Cooper, Q.O.R.”

men would be enlisted under the Army Act for six months as privates, paid at rates established by the NWMP. Numerous photos picture the horsemen parading through Ottawa streets and in front of the Parliament Buildings, where they were addressed by Prime Minister Laurier. Visually, the photographic impression displays the men as a robust force, who were united in their mission by their uniforms and allegiance to Crown and country. Cooper emphasizes that the men are “morally and physically” the “best soldiers” that have ever been enrolled in Canada:

In appearance they are big, husky chaps . . . they have not the sallow countenance of the city volunteer, but the bronze-red face of the man accustomed to live in the open air. Drawn from the prairies of Manitoba and the Territories or from the mining regions of British Columbia, they are men who are accustomed to act and think for themselves. It is safe to assert that for individual intelligence they will compare favourably with any corps in the Empire—or in the world for that matter. The work on a large farm, a cattle ranch or in a mining camp gives a man individuality and breeds in him a sturdy self-reliance which the city man gets only when managing a large business. This is the kind of training the majority of these men have had. . . . Many of them have seen service in English cavalry regiments of in the Mounted Police. They are the lion’s whelps, made strong and sturdy by roaming over the lion’s preserves. (“Strathcona’s Horse” 535)

Cooper describes the men as readied for battle by their experience with physical labour (mining, farming, ranching), which makes them uniquely a product of their Canadian landscape and yet their physical characteristics are aligned with individuality and “self-reliance,” which suits them to serve the Empire. This ability to think for themselves was

not constructed as a form of defiance to imperial orders, but rather as the mental stock that enabled the horsemen to lead in Africa, where the British forces could only act when directed or commanded to do so. The metaphor of “lion’s whelps” casts them as imperial off-spring, yet these horsemen were also uniquely Canadian—formed by working the land. The descriptions of the men show interrelated imperial and national descriptors. When it came to describing Canadian volunteers, they were uniquely sons of Canada; but, they were also imperial offspring, ready to take on the challenges of empire, as individuals. Thus Samuel B. Steel is described as a “native Canadian” who distinguished himself in the Red River Expedition, joined the Mounted Police when it was formed, was promoted for his “pursuit of Big Bear’s band in the Rebellion of 1885,” and won “praise for bravery, intrepidity and his stern sense of duty” (Cooper, “Strathcona’s Horse” 536). Sam Steel would become a Canadian and imperial icon, who served in South Africa, and played a prominent role in the revitalization of the NWMP when the force received royal assent and became the Royal North West Mounted Police. Importantly, Steel’s role in the Rebellion of 1885 is one of the few mentions of violent conflict with Indigenous people in Canada. Through these deeds of racial suppression, the War produced icons and heroes for Canada, who were inserted into a narrative of national becoming and a history of military conquest. These were men born and bred in Canada, and their South African heroics contributed to national pride.

Emily P. Weaver, reporting on the “Embarkation of Strathcona’s Horse” in Halifax, describes the speeches, telegrams and well-wishes the men received, noting how their procession took a “roundabout route through the city, so that as many people as possible” might see and celebrate the “departing heroes” (539). Weaver notes how the

“troops destined for South Africa were easily distinguished by their broad-brimmed, cowboy hats. They did not wear the khakhi uniforms, which have recently become so familiar in Halifax” (539). Carmen Miller offers that “In the public mind[,] Strathcona’s horsemen were not just stereotypical rough-riders of the plains . . . They were seen as a corps d’élite, as befitted a unit raised by a wealthy, titled gentleman. . . . The regiment’s dress, kit, and equipment reinforced its image” (296). These cowboy hats, “made of tan felt, with a large flat brim, and an oval cylindrical crown with indentations,” were popular among the cattle drivers of the western plains and had been used unofficially by members of the North-West Mounted Police since 1895” (Canadian War Museum, “Uniforms”). The Stetson hat was officially adopted as the NWMP’s headgear in 1903. The Canadian War Museum notes that apart from the 2nd Battalion, all Canadian units that served in South Africa wore Stetsons. Later, the South African Constabulary, raised as a paramilitary unit to enforce peace in South Africa, with whom many Canadians served, would adopt the riding boot and Stetson hat as part of its uniform. The outfits of Strathcona’s Horse, now more widely known as the uniforms worn by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, became travelling symbols of an elite Canadian military troop, where cattle-driver dress was adopted as a nationally-identifiable uniform, worn in a distant imperial conflict as a sign of Canadian distinction.

Throughout 1900 the images of soldiers being inspected, readied for departure, and arriving in South Africa filled the pages of the magazine. The August “Military Number” profiled “Three Sieges and Three Heroes,” describing British victories after the sieges of Ladysmith, Kimberley and Mafeking, with numerous photos from tactical sites showing not battle scenes, but rather the men and the weaponry employed (291-300).

Photography and firsthand testimony in the August military edition seen in “The Maple Leaf in South Africa,” by a “Canadian Officer” (339-345), and the “Battle of Paardeberg” by a “Canadian Eye-Witness” (309-318), provided the aura of immediacy and truthfulness to reportage, told by people who had firsthand experience of the events. “The Maple Leaf in South Africa” was embellished with “special illustrations” to show how the “Britishers from the colonies are the equals of the Britishers from the mother country—equals in pluck, equals in strength, equals in bravery, and equals in sagacity” (“Canadian Officer” 339). The writer describes Canadian participation in South Africa where the Royal Canadians proved themselves as “heroes at Paardeberg” (“Canadian Officer” 339).⁵⁰ Important is the perspective that war had not only proven Canadians as equals to the British forces, but after significant battles, the Canadians have proven themselves superior: “They taught the world . . . they are more capable of acting coolly and judiciously in an emergency . . . They taught the world that the development of individual intelligence does not mean a loss of bravery or courage” (“Canadian Officer” 340).⁵¹ This ability to act “individually” meant that the forces could outmanoeuvre the Boers, as they were not hindered by “drill discipline” as the British were (“Canadian

⁵⁰ The battle of Paardeberg was a significant moment in the War. The Canadians lost 18 men and 60 were wounded. On February 27, mishearing the command to retire, Canadian Companies ‘G’ and ‘H’ from the Maritimes held firm their positions and continued firing at the Boers, causing General Piet Cronje to surrender. The Canadian War Museum explains that over “four thousand men, or nearly ten percent of the Boer army, surrendered. It was the first significant British victory of the war. The Royal Canadians received much of the credit. The victory provided a boost to the morale and confidence of the troops and to Canadian nationalism” (“Battles: Paardeberg”). Notably, the Paardeberg victory occurred on what had been previously known as Majuba Day—the day of a prior disastrous British defeat in South Africa in 1880.

⁵¹ Notions of English masculinity in decline were prominent in the later war years. These topics of degeneracy, and the topic of manliness, I further explore in my final two chapters, where Gilbert Parker and Sara Jeannette Duncan use the War to highlight differences between English and Canadian men. Duncan’s novels, in particular, present her Canadian characters as “improved” versions of English masculinity.

Officer” 342). In a “Short History of the Boer War,” Norman Patterson explains how “The British had to learn that soldiers of the line, who were once most useful, are not invincible under more modern conditions. Foot soldiers are almost useless against a mounted army like the Boers” (351). When Britain learned to mobilize its army and change its military tactics, Patterson explains that an era of “common-sense fighting” was begun (351). Rather than opaque versions of reality, these reports positioned Canada as a growing nation that was proving its worth in South Africa through recourse to intelligence and self-reliance. This transperipheral perspective situates Canada’s rising prominence as proven on the testing ground of South Africa.

And the War Drags On . . .

1900 was the year that received the most coverage of the War, when Canadians were actively involved in service. By 1901 many of the troops had returned to Canada, and the Duke of York was engaged in a world tour, presenting war medals to those who had served in South Africa. A drawing of these medals was displayed in the September 1901 issue, by which time the War entered a second phase, marked by the scorched earth policy and guerilla warfare. As the protracted war dragged on for longer than anticipated, Canadian media coverage waned in 1901-1902. As W. Sanford Evans would comment in his regular “Current Events Abroad” column in December 1900: “The South African war still drags along. The pertinacity of the Boers compels admiration in spite of its utter folly” (178). When war entered the protracted guerilla phase, surprisingly little would be covered about the effects of the Scorched Earth policy and the Concentration Camps. Miles and Stanier argue that Sir Alfred Milner (British high commissioner for Southern

Africa, 1897-1905) heavily censored these events, and it was only after Emily Hobhouse's 1901 report, *Report of a Visit to the Camps of Women and Children in the Cape and Orange River Colonies*, which I discuss in the next chapter, that the truth of the concentration camps emerged. During this time of traumatic farm burning and Boer displacement, little was reported in *The Canadian*, which instead turned to other international affairs, limiting coverage from South Africa to short updates, owing to the perceived limited participation of Canadians in these actions. By then, however, the initial triumphalism had made its imprint on the public.

In its one hundredth issue, in October 1900, John Lewis profiles John A. Ewan and Frederick T. Hamilton, two "Canadian Celebrities," who had been War correspondents for the Toronto *Globe* in South Africa. Stating as an achievement "the enterprise of Canadian newspapers in enabling their readers to see the war through the eyes of Canadian correspondents," Lewis situates war reporting as an indicator of "national growth," showing that "we are doing to-day with ease things which a few years ago we should hardly have thought of doing at all" (495). Lewis positions the correspondent as a man who has "modesty," "alertness" and "courage" (495), whose language is "transparent in its tone and literal sense . . . it is a medium through which the meaning shines so clearly that you do not always think of the meaning of the words" (496). The "literal sense" of the reporting emphasizes the perceived truthfulness and facticity of written accounts from South Africa, denying any personal ideological bias these accounts would contain. These characteristics of news reporting Lewis states are an exemplary form of "modern literature" (496), which shows how important timely

reporting from South Africa was, and how these accounts were conceived to be groundbreaking and making a significant contribution to the nation's literary field.

Rather than to enshrine these nationalist, militaristic virtues, this chapter has sought to examine how the War was constructed in *The Canadian Magazine*. Qualities of manly courage, self-reliance, and rugged physicality came to define the Canadian soldiers who had first earned these characteristics ostensibly through settlement and policing the Western frontier. Imagery and photography were deployed to feature iconic, distinctly identifiable soldiers, who were celebrated from Halifax to Cape Town. Differentiated from other colonials, the Canadian soldier modelled a new version of national, white masculinity to a nascent nation. Rather than through abstract literary fictional depictions, these characterizations relied on eye-witness accounts and first-person testimony. They drew South Africa and Canada together in a close comparative relationship, closing a circuitous imperial route: news was now directly reported and did not need to be transcribed from British accounts. While Canada provided troops to South Africa, the transperipheral exchanges that occurred were multiple, where military successes and the prowess of the mounted regiments in Canada provided the “stuff” a publication like *The Canadian Magazine* was seeking in order to articulate a modern realism thematically focussed on Canada's developing might in an enlarged world. These perspectives were raced and gendered—the public domain was that of white men—and the language of exclusion was used to suspend the Boers in their backward retrogression. What the War did, as well, was to solidify imperial military service as a man's proof of national fitness.

To this end, a final anecdote expresses how service in imperial war was equated with national belonging. Notably, little testimony during the War years in *The Canadian*

included the voices of women, people of colour, or Indigenous Canadians. Consequently, “A Canadian Negro V.C.” by D.V. Warner in June 1901 is exceptional. Warner describes William Hall, the black recipient of the Victoria Cross. The article opens with a gesture to the waning conflict: “Now that the war in South Africa is over, and our men have returned, Canada, as an integral portion of the Empire, has a just right to be proud of the noble manner in which her sons have borne their part in the conflict” (113). The writer situates Hall in a context of recent Canadian military successes and explains how he was awarded the Victoria Cross in 1857 for serving in the imperial navy during the Indian Mutiny (113). Declaring that Hall is worthy of national attention, especially for those who “have a more or less pronounced ‘race prejudice,’” Warner describes the “negro native” as a hero who is “modest” despite his “particular act of daring” (115). The article includes three photos: one of Hall wearing his war medals, and two showing his home in Hantsport, Nova Scotia, depicting him as a model settler and military hero. Hall inhabits a small farm, “well stocked with cattle and poultry,” with a “two-acre orchard of thrifty young trees adjoining the house” (115). Warner instructs the reader to see William Hall as an exemplary citizen, who has proven his allegiance to empire and nation through military service and settlement. Indeed, adorning the walls of Hall’s sitting-room are “pictures of British war-vessels of fifty years ago” (115). Military service did not just create heroes, then; it also created model citizens. Warner’s article is imbued with romantic notions of militarism and heroism and the setting is that of a bucolic Nova Scotia. And the article inserts Hall into a long history of citizens who have served the empire, typifying the “modern realistic” portrayals frequently found in *The Canadian Magazine*.

In the midst of Canada's celebration of its South African War heroes, the article on Hall frames military participation as embedded in the nation's settled life and holds up as exemplary the service of a black imperial hero. The article foregrounds race, war, and settlement, which as this chapter has argued, were both the "romantic myths" and "modern facts" that were used to narrate the War to Canadians. Rather than identify with black South Africans, then, the article provides black Canadians with a singular model war hero with whom to identify, who as a black Canadian is pro-empire. In short, black imperial identifications should be based on the settled stock related to the descendants of United Empire Loyalists, whose identification and allegiances lie with Britain. Soldiers provided new heroic types to articulate Canada's place in the world, and this international duty solidified national ideals. William Hall had distinguished himself through military service to prove himself a worthy citizen soldier. He is a rare inclusion in an otherwise white account of war, soldiering, and nation in *The Canadian Magazine*.⁵²

⁵² Canadian volunteers in the War were mainly white men, as Indigenous Canadians were frequently rejected as applicants. I have found one record of a George McLean from Nk'map'iqs (Head of the Lake) Okanagan Indian Band, British Columbia who enlisted. His case is a rarity. In addition, a small number of Métis enlisted as members of the Canadian Mounted Rifles, and Charles Edgar Hallett from Manitoba was killed in action in 1901 (Barkwell 1).

Chapter Two. Florence Randal and E. Maud Graham: Canada's "Teachers for South Africa" (1902) and Transperipheral Settler Civility

"As I look back over the time spent in the new South African colonies, I am forcibly struck by the resemblance of the conditions there to the swirling waters of the Niagara"

(Graham 19).⁵³

Florence Randal and E. Maud Graham were two adventurous women. Educated, middle-class, Protestant, athletic, and unmarried, they were spectacular examples of Canadian-Anglo womanhood. And they were being sent to a war zone. In 1902, with thirty-eight fellow Canadian teachers, Randal and Graham departed for South African "concentration camps"⁵⁴ to educate and anglicize incarcerated Boer women and children. In the waning days of the protracted War, these "Teachers for South Africa" were recruited to civilise a soon-to-be conquered white population and mitigate the humanitarian disaster caused by British mismanagement of the camps. While in South Africa, Graham and Randal wrote home to a Canadian audience who eagerly followed their tales of cross-cultural encounters. This chapter studies the women as well-publicized Canadian personas; it considers the novelty of their humanitarian mission and their reports from South Africa; and it contributes to understanding how women's attachment

⁵³ In this chapter, I cite the 2015 reprint of Graham's text, edited by Dawson et al.

⁵⁴ The camps were commonly called concentration camps or refugee camps. The word "concentration" had not yet been associated with the horrors of the camps in the Second World War and reflects the nomenclature used during the South African War period.

to imperializing efforts shaped ideals of national and global whiteness at the dawn of the twentieth century.

This chapter is structured in three sections. The first (2.1) explains the historical context that led to the creation of the camps to which imperial teachers were deployed. I analyze the recruitment of Canadian women for the “Teachers for South Africa” campaign, to show how these teachers represented an idealized imperial femininity in the press. Their selection was premised on their independence and education, while also citing the assumption of their inherent maternal qualities. In turn, these women represented the best of the New Woman figure and the ideologies of maternal feminism, and they were implicated in a scheme of British race-making and settlement. The second section (2.2) studies the print conditions that propelled them to write about their experiences abroad, and demonstrates the ways in which these texts reveal how they negotiated expectations and constraints on women writers. I interrogate how the women’s letters and essays were innovative for their time, as they framed their imperial travel endeavours as a feminine specialization, highlighting their mobility, while obscuring the harsh realities of the Boers’ status. The final section (2.3) examines zones of domestic contact in the camps and rural South African villages at War’s end. Randal and Graham make recourse to tropes of pioneering, stereotype native populations, and depict the Boer women as backwards and apathetic. Their observations reveal how imperial policies established settler population hierarchies through the model of the white woman as normative, while the Boers are described as probationary settlers, requiring uplift and modulation. In the women’s writing, Black people are represented as a source of labour to support colonial settlement and develop infrastructure, and the women’s encounters

with Native people add interest to their “adventure” stories for Canadian readers. Rather than benevolent, the women’s narratives caricatured Boer and Black women, enacting the project of British assimilation and anglicization. I read these accounts as narratives that construct settler colonial logics to make population hierarchies appear natural and self-evident in a land that is constructed as void of civilization with an unseen Indigenous presence. I read tropes of white settler sovereignty, settlement, and the “vacant veldt,” back through Canada’s own strategies of population management and Indigenous dispossession to show the transnational nature of settler colonial projects that were illuminated and implemented during the South African War.

2.1 The Concentration Camps and “Humanitarian” Imperialism

During the War, the concentration camps were conceived when what was to be a quick battle turned into a three-year military skirmish, in which the guerrilla tactics of the Boer commandoes constantly outmanoeuvred the empire’s forces. The camps were initially designed to contain refugees and surrendered Boer fighters; however, after a protracted battle, Lord Horatio Kitchener, British commander-in-chief, responded in 1901 to the Boer guerrilla manoeuvres with what would become known as a vicious “scorched earth policy.” Effectively, Kitchener directed British troops to burn all sources of food and shelter that sustained the Boer soldiers. This action simultaneously disrupted communication networks, as Boer women, who remained on their farms while their husbands were fighting, were accused of spying on the movement of imperial forces. Farm burnings brutally destroyed property, livestock, and crops, interrupted communication networks, and displaced women and children from their homes. This

destruction left many Boer and Black families vulnerable, defenceless, and homeless. As a solution, the refugees were then “concentrated” into racially-segregated camps that had been established along railway lines on British-controlled territory. By incarcerating Boer women and burning their farmsteads and livestock, British troops crippled the sustenance and substance of the guerilla campaign. Whereas the destruction of farms was justified as a course of military action, the concentration camps proved more controversial. They were hastily implemented and were ill equipped to deal with the enormous influx of civilian populations. By the end of the war, there were about fifty white camps, and sixty-four for the tens of thousands of displaced black people (Dawson et al. xxi). Over 130,000 Boer women and children were housed in the white camps where inadequate housing, sanitation, poor nutrition, and disease epidemics led to soaring mortality rates. About a third of all incarcerated (27,927 people) in the white camps would die, and the majority of these deaths were children; 22,000 of the dead were under the age of sixteen (Riedi 1317).⁵⁵ Living conditions were worse in the black camps, where lack of attention and limited or no food rations resulted in 14,000 deaths out of a total of 115,700 internees (Warwick 145). The camps for black civilians received little public attention given racist views widely held in the period.

The British government deemed the camps a necessity to mitigate the humanitarian crisis of displaced women and children. However, once word spread about the white camps’ appalling conditions, public opinion changed about them being a

⁵⁵ Van Heyningen explains in “Women and Disease” that “By October 1901 there were about nineteen camps in the Transvaal . . . fifteen in the Orange River Colony (ORC) . . . four in the Cape, and several others in Natal. Some of the camps were small and temporary, but many contained larger concentrations of population than most Boer towns. The Bloemfontein camp, for instance . . . contained 6,426 white people, 2,000 more than the ORC capital” (187).

necessary war measure. In England, Emily Hobhouse brought to light the Boer women's plight. Hobhouse was opposed to the War and toured camps in the Cape and Orange River colonies to collect stories from many middle-class Boer women who had been burned out of their homes and to raise sympathy for their living conditions. In 1901, she released her findings in a *Report of a Visit to the Camps of Women and Children in the Cape and Orange River Colonies*. Hobhouse's report was discussed by the British Parliament and received widespread international media attention. Millicent Fawcett, an advocate for women's suffrage, for instance, responded to Hobhouse's report and advocated in favour of the humanitarian nature of the camps, justifying the camps' necessity from a "military point of view," maintaining that the "women had taken an active part in the war on behalf of their country" and therefore, they should "take a share in the consequences" (qtd. in Krebs, "Last" 46). Fawcett employs the language of feminist equality, noting that Boer women had acted as combatants and, as such, should be treated equally to their husbands, even though this circular argument subjected Boer women to mistreatment and incarceration.

In Canada, the press closely followed what was termed a "camps controversy," commenting on poor living conditions and mortality rates, but firmly siding with the British on the camps' necessity. On March 22, 1902, *The Globe* printed a speech verbatim from Mr. Chamberlain's address in Britain's House of Commons wherein civilizing goals were cited as justification for the camps, premised upon offering protection to Boer women and children as a duty befitting proper relations between Britain and its colony ("Concentration Camps" 13). Historian Paula Krebs argues that in Britain, proponents of the camps' scheme employed the discourses of civilization and

race to depict the Boer women as combatants in war who were “primitive [and] unchanged since their arrival in South Africa from Holland two hundred years earlier. This put them lower on the scale of civilisation than the British, different in what would have been seen as a racial way while they were also a different class—a nation of peasants” (“Last” 44). Consequently, Britain and Canada positioned the concentration camps as a retroactive humanitarian necessity, as “safe refuges from war, starvation and (by tapping into racist notions of African sexuality) the rape of white women by black men” (Dawson et al. xxxi-xxxii). Simply put, the camps would provide “protection to helpless women and children” (Riedi 1318).

This discussion of civilization, race and gender pertaining to the Boer people, particularly their portrayal as backward and peasant like, was perpetuated through the Canadian media. For example, in May 1902, *The Canadian Magazine*'s editor John A. Cooper penned “The Boer Women and Children” wherein he argued (relying on source material from Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's 1901 history of *The Great Boer War*) that it was the duty of the British as “a civilized people, to form camps of refuge for the women and children, where, out of reach . . . of all harm, they could await the return of peace” (31). Dismissing the protectionist discourse, Krebs calls the camps' campaign a “war upon women,” noting how Christian missionary obligations and hygiene education were presented as duties that British women (specifically nurses and teachers) must assume: “where women and children were in distress, it was women's help that was needed” (“Last” 40). Sir Alfred Milner, British High Commissioner for Southern Africa (1897-1905), believed that education, specifically English instruction, would help curb public backlash towards the camps and would end the Boers' “retrogression,” making them

“open to ‘progress’” and “modern civilization” (qtd. in Dawson et al. xxx). Edmund Beale Sargant, the secretary of education for the British colonies, administered a plan of establishing schools in the camps, with English teaching being fundamental to the children’s total immersion in language and conduct. While this was a policy directed by Britain, McKay and Swift argue that Canada was directly involved in the camps’ construction and administration. John Buchan, who would become Canada’s fifteenth Governor General (1935-1940), acted as an aid to Milner during the camps’ administration, calling them “health resorts” (59).⁵⁶ With the British and international public vocally critical of the camps’ policies and mismanagement, the schools project was a visible public relations effort hastily conceived to overcome negative opinion, and camp schools were deployed to not only improve public perception and anglicize an incarcerated population, but with the added aim of making the Boers amenable to British rule. With a limited supply of English teachers in South Africa, the colonies were called upon to provide support. The deployment of imperial teachers was a visible “humanitarian” effort to meet these goals, while also extending English education to “cement the relations between the Dutch and the English populations” (MP Alfred Lyttleton, qtd. in Dawson et al. xxxii). Education would not only uplift an incarcerated population, it would also ready them to be ruled by Britain. The charged language of the “concentration camps controversy” suggests how imperial rule drew on tropes of

⁵⁶ Buchan’s involvement did not end there. In 1902, he directed a “clandestine operation” to “surreptitiously” pressure former camp prisoners to sign land deals where agents working for Britain posed as private citizens to buy up Boer farms in the Transvaal (McKay and Swift 59). Buchan was also a prolific author; he instated the Governor General’s Literary Awards in 1937, which continue to this day.

benevolence and humanitarianism to enforce political domination over a racialized enemy.

When Britain requested forty female teachers each from Canada and Australia, twenty from New Zealand, and one hundred from Britain, the women were recruited in a public relations effort to defend the camps through a unified, feminine effort from across the “sister colonies” of the British empire. Conan Doyle’s novelistic account of the war describes how it “was no affair of the mother country alone, but that she [England] was upholding the rights of the empire as a whole, and might fairly look to them to support her in any quarrel which might arise from it” (*Great Boer War* 62). The feminized familial metaphors deployed in the service of empire are striking, showing how nomenclature that stressed the role of imperial “daughters” and “sisters” gendered aspects of imperial duty, as women were perceived to be natural caretakers. Thus, in 1902 when Joseph Chamberlain, the British Colonial Secretary, requested aid from Canada and recruitment for teachers began, the response was overwhelming. Over 500 women from across Canada applied, and the print media closely followed their selection and departure. The teaching candidates were presented in the press as local celebrities and became an instant source of Canadian pride and curiosity. In the end, forty representatives were selected from across Canada, including sixteen teachers from Ontario, seven from Quebec, six from New Brunswick, six from Nova Scotia, three from Prince Edward Island, and two from Manitoba. Because the women came from across the nascent nation, it was not only the major dailies that covered the issue; educational and religious periodicals along with local daily papers followed their selection, making these women

subjects of media consumption from Winnipeg to Halifax. On April 2, 1902, *The Globe* announced the teachers by name and address:

the forty young ladies who are going out to South Africa from Canada to instruct the young Boers in the English language and train them up in the ways of civilization are handsome, athletic specimens of Canadian womanhood. The Canadian soldier boys won the admiration and respect of brother Boer by their prowess upon the field of battle. It now becomes the duty of the Canadian maidens to bring the blessings of education and refinement into the homes of the Dutch.

(“Teachers” 1)

The role the teachers would play in South Africa was premised upon their idealized womanhood, which was suited to a civilizing mission that extended from the schoolroom into the domestic sphere.

Writing the Camp Experience

Two of the widely publicized “Teachers for South Africa” would regularly write home and publish their first-person observations for a Canadian audience. E. Maud Graham, who had been serving as a governess in Quebec, would send occasional dispatches to the Montreal *Weekly Witness*, which formed the basis of her book *A Canadian Girl in South Africa* (1905), which she published upon her return to Canada. Her memoir describes her travels and experiences teaching on the veldt, and has recently been reprinted by Canadian historians Michael Dawson, Catherine Gidney, and Susanne M. Klausen who argue for the work’s importance for understanding “the South African War, the creation of the South African state, imperial racism, gender and colonialism, colonial education, travel writing and the formation and tension between British colonial

and imperial identities” (3). Florence Randal of Ottawa, an established journalist and society columnist, sent monthly letters to *The Ottawa Journal*, many of which were reprinted in the *Winnipeg Telegram*, and she also published occasional pieces in *Canadian Good Housekeeping*. Randal later shaped her letters into a short essay published in 1904 in *The Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, Art and Literature* entitled “A Year in a Boer School.”⁵⁷

Maud Graham remains relatively unknown in Canadian literary circles because her memoir remains her only major published written work⁵⁸; meanwhile, Florence Randal is better known for her contribution to women’s writing as a journalist, a translator of Ukrainian folk literature and songs into English, and as the mother of esteemed Canadian poet Dorothy Livesay (Gerson, “Florence” 205). Before she became established at the *Winnipeg Free Press*, writing under the pseudonym Kilmeny, however, Randal began her career at the *Ottawa Journal* where she was its first society editor, and then a correspondent during and after the South African War. Scholars often quote a line from her personal diary, a typed copy of which is accessible at the University of Manitoba archives, that describes how she embarked on the teaching project as an opportunity for adventure and to further her career in journalism: “I would love the trip

⁵⁷ This chapter focuses on Randal’s and Graham’s published works because they were the most prolific reporters of the teaching experience; however, given the teachers’ high profile, interest in them abounded and occasional pieces by other Canadian teachers were regularly published. For example, photographs by Florence J. Wilkinson, “After the War,” were published in *The Globe* on September 13, 1902, with an unsigned account from “Another of the Canadian teachers writ[ing] from Potchefstroom” (originally reported to be printed in *The Canadian Gazette*). Edith Murray sent a letter about her teaching experiences to the *Education Journal of Western Canada*, printed in October 1902.

⁵⁸ Graham published one article “Christmas in Quebec” in *The Farmer’s Advocate* on December 9, 1909. She is listed in Anne Innis Dagg’s index of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Canadian non-fiction women writers, but does not appear in Simon Fraser’s online list of “Canada’s Early Women Writers.”

and the writing of it”.⁵⁹ Randal’s columns from South Africa remain uncollected but are easily accessible through digital databases and microfilmed copies of the *Ottawa Journal*, and her short essay “A Year in a Boer School” is available online through *Canadiana Online* (formerly Early Canadiana Online). Her accounts, along with Graham’s memoir, remain important records of the teachers’ participation in the spread of imperial whiteness and the gendered nature of imperialism.

**Teachers Who Connect the “mighty St Lawrence / To streams of ‘Good Hope’”
(qtd. in Graham 29).**

Graham and Randal were willing actors in this imperial scheme and portrayed their participation in the “Teachers for South Africa” campaign as a great success. In her essay “A Year in a Boer School,” Randal reflects that she has “not the slightest doubt of the great good accomplished by the camp schools in furthering Imperialistic aims,” an idea she makes explicit by quoting a “high official of the education department” who says: “‘Give me the little ones’ . . . ‘and I will make South Africa British in one generation’” (413). In this article, her central theme is that the trip was a “great opportunity” for the Canadian women who could see the “dullness and apathy fade from the little faces,” and she is “glad indeed that we crossed two oceans and lived for months in a Burgher camp” (“A Year” 414). Randal firmly supports the efficacy of the teaching project, which she locates in education’s “transformative” effect on the children. Graham, too, subscribed to the imperial ideals of her work, which are made explicit when she writes how “[t]hrough the influence of the humane treatment received at the hands of the

⁵⁹ Randal, March 25, 1902, “FRL Diaries: 1902-07,” Box 5, Folder 18, DLF-UM.

British Government there promised to spring up, generally, amongst the Dutch a feeling of kindly friendship towards the British” (161).

On their way to South Africa, the Canadian teachers disembarked in England for site-seeing tours and were feted by British elites. Graham describes a meeting with several dignitaries hosted by the Victorian League at the Imperial Institute in London where the teachers had the chance to meet Miss Fawcett (who supported the creation of the camps), a fact that Graham inserts without further explanation into the middle of a paragraph: “During the afternoon Miss Baden-Powell, Miss Fawcett, and other ladies who had been in South Africa, told us many interesting things of the camp life there, and that we could hire Boer girls and Kafirs to do our housework” (29).⁶⁰ This retelling situates Graham on par with aristocratic elites who are superior to the “Boer girls and Kafirs,” who will be employed to do their “housework,” revealing how domestic space, too, was a site of racial subordination. In describing this social engagement, Graham avoids any controversial discussion about the camps, downplaying them as places “in which to gather all refugees friendly to Great Britain, the women, children and non-combatants from the outlying villages and farms,” so that now, “[i]t has become a matter of history how this policy hastened the end of the war” (14). Graham depicts the camps as a necessary British policy by reinforcing the dominant narrative that the camps provided educational opportunities for children, while overlooking how the same policy had created the refugee crisis in the first place. She explains:

⁶⁰ The term “kafir,” sometimes spelt by Graham as “kaffir,” is a word derived from Arabic, meaning “non-believer” (“kaffir”). The term in current usage is extremely offensive; Graham’s use reflects how white people used the term to indiscriminately describe black people and diminish a vital population into a singular, undifferentiated whole.

[n]aturally these ‘refugee’ camps contained all the poorest people, as well as many of the wealthier who had not fled . . . As a large number of the children had never had the chance to go to school, Lord Milner and others in authority thought it an excellent opportunity to help these children by organizing camp schools, and under the circumstances it was deemed advisable to have British teachers. (14-5)

Consequently, the uncivilized child who bore future potential for the empire, was the focal point upon which government intervention was premised, with sisters of empire—the teachers—employed to perform their colonial duty of uplifting and integrating the next generation of British colonial subjects. Graham thus triangulates the British teachers’ intervention, war policy and benevolent education as necessary for securing the Empire’s colonies, with the women’s maternal role ostensibly entrenched in these actions.

Graham further articulates these sentiments when a patriotic poem is orated at the Victoria League meeting, described as “rather like receiving a medal before earning it” (Graham 29). The “farewell poem written by the daughter of the Bishop of Winchester,” copied in Graham’s text, describes how the women’s work would link the “mighty St Lawrence / To streams of ‘Good Hope’” (7-8). “The Cape of Good Hope,” a common nickname for Cape Town, would become connected to Canada through a transatlantic link premised upon the mission of imperial, English education:

Children, the germ of a nation,
Of people to be,
Under one Flag, in one Empire,
Prosperous, free. (21-4, Graham 26)

Graham frames the travel portion of her memoir as an imperial adventure to emphasize how she perceived the teachers' necessary participation in the war as a tool to unite the empire through benevolent education. Centred on the child, the "germ" of a nation, Graham shows her understanding that Canada's women had a prominent duty to play in supporting the empire's efforts of unifying its white settler colonies "under one flag." By parenting and educating its imperial offspring, who were conceived as future citizens, the teachers were providing English civilization through which the children would grow up "prosperous" and "free."⁶¹ This poem consequently reveals how women's work in empire was conceived through the gendered division of labour, where women were charged with nurturing and educating children, which, as I will explain in the next section, is an example of early feminist discourse of maternal feminism.

Feminine Imperialism: "a contingent of Canadian girls to continue the work of conquering Africa by loving service"⁶²

The teachers were firmly implicated in a scheme that made explicit its imperial aims to advance the British conquest of territories in South Africa and make a Dutch-descended population amenable to imperial rule. The women's involvement in this international endeavour adds another layer to Carl Berger's *The Sense of Power* wherein he argues that male, public intellectuals shaped imperial ideals in Canada during the late

⁶¹ In her text, Graham reflects how her national and imperial identities were closely related, as she refers to herself interchangeably as both "British" and "Canadian." Dawson et al. explain how Graham was an avid imperialist and "[u]pon her return to Canada, continued her support of imperial activities through participation in the local chapter of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (IODE), a female imperialist organization established during the South African War aimed at strengthening Canada's links to empire. Indeed, she became first 'Current Events Director' and then President of the Earl Grey Chapter of the IODE in Owen Sound" (22).

⁶² Quotation taken from an anonymous review of Graham's memoir, published March 1906 in *The Methodist Magazine and Review* (195).

nineteenth century, when the word “imperialism” meant a “movement for the closer union of the British Empire through economic and military co-operation and through political changes which would give the dominions influence over imperial policy” (3). The South African War was a heightened moment in Canadian imperial thinking. Military intervention in Britain’s affairs was considered essential to establishing Canada’s presence on the international stage. Berger analyzes imperialism as an early instantiation of nationalism, where through strengthened ties with Britain, Canada would attain national status (3-5). His argument, however, focuses specifically on the dominant male public intellectuals who shaped these ideals, and omits women’s role in service of national and imperial discourses.

Recent scholarship by Katie Pickles and Jessica Schagerl has shown how institutions like the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (IODE) allowed Canadian women to participate in the project of building empire at the end of the Victorian period. Pickles has defined a line of “female imperialism” (16) by showing how the women of the IODE contributed to the making of an Anglo-Canadian identity in the image of Britain through their philanthropic work. Specifically, the IODE, a women’s movement started during the fervour of Canadian patriotism fostered by the South African War, allowed women to participate in international events by placing great importance on an appeal to their “perceived maternal capabilities” (Pickles 16).⁶³ Women raised funds for memorials, promoted the triumphs of British troops, and organized the tending and marking of gravesites in South Africa. Pickles traces the contradictory impulses between

⁶³ In quoting Katie Pickles’ discussion of *Female Imperialism*, I acknowledge that her work follows in a long line of scholarship on women’s participation in empire, springing from Anna Davin’s seminal article “Maternal Feminism” (1978), which supports my arguments in chapter three and four.

“on the one hand, extending help to those perceived to be in need, while, on the other, supporting the patriarchal and imperial practices which had led to that need in the first place” (7). This in-between status—finding unique employment opportunities, while working within the structures of patriarchal power that incarcerates racialized women—typifies the contradictions that define the teachers’ mission abroad. While Pickles focuses on volunteerism, the teachers were on paid, one-year contracts, but they nevertheless embody the incongruent notions about women’s gendered work in empire specifically because they were selected for their feminine, nurturing qualities (and displayed physical strength) to work in places of incarceration. The teachers’ public role further masked their personal ambitions, as these New Women, while supportive of their mission, also relished an opportunity for personal adventure and independence. The women’s physical suitability to their endeavour was continually emphasized in news reports, meaning that while they had to be maternal caregivers, they also had to be adaptable and suited to rugged African life. The teachers’ “female imperialism” relied on an additional, foregrounded physicality.

Randal dramatizes the qualities of bravery, female autonomy, youthful independence, and imperial duty in the opening paragraph of “A Year in a Boer School,” as she conveys an imagined dialogue between a nervous mother and her daughter:

[T]here was consternation in many a mother’s heart. Could she allow her daughter to live for a year in one of those dreadful, unsanitary places . . . to spend hours in close contact with dirty little urchins speaking a foreign language—to brave the perils generally of life in South Africa; enteric, bubonic, Kaffir risings, perhaps, in a country then in the grip of war! And there stood her adventurous daughter

accepted as one of forty Canadian teachers for Government service, and highly delighted at the fact. She laughed at all her mother's fears.

(411)

Randal uses imperial familial metaphors to depict Canada's duty to a sister colony, where a new generation of colonial daughters are adventurous ambassadors, who are not dissuaded by the stereotypically-imagined African threats of disease, native inhabitants, and political unrest. Indeed, a tone of defiance is struck as the daughter merely "laughs" off her mother's fears, as she relishes the opportunity for involvement in the adventure of war, emboldened by her Government-sanctioned role. This representation symbolises a new generation of colonial citizenry, as Randal is secure in her Canadian colonial identity and sanctioned by her imperial duty—an independent Daughter of Empire.

Largely, the portrayal of the teachers drew on competing strands of first-wave feminist discourse in the nineteenth century. The New Woman, who appeared in the late 1880s, was traditionally regarded as a social hazard, as a figure who sought "emancipation" from traditional gendered roles and individual choice over work and marriage. She is often considered as an adversarial figure to maternal feminists, who foregrounded women's maternal capacities, as mothers of the race (Devereux, *Growing* 21-2). However, I read the construction of the Canadian teachers as embodying both sides of this feminist conflict because the women who were single, educated, and independent, were thus considered to be able to safely travel to a warzone to educate and nurture a subservient population. In addition, as examples of "Canadian perfection," they could potentially marry and settle in South Africa and have (white) children of their own.

The Canadian teachers were independent New Woman travellers and journalists; they were also imperial, maternal educators and potential reproductive settler stock.

To frame the recollection of her time in South Africa, Randal's opening paragraphs speak to the symbolic function the women embodied. They were idealized because they were Protestant, English, white, unmarried, and educated. Roles in the War were gendered, and like the boy soldier, the teachers were commonly referred to as a collective contingent⁶⁴; these teachers modelled a very specific form of Anglo-Canadian womanhood premised upon their symbolic civility and their embodied strength. They also had to pass a physical exam along with meeting the education and teaching criteria to qualify for selection. Consequently, when the *Ottawa Journal* on March 29, 1902 displayed photographs and listed the Ottawa women chosen to "further the empire's scheme," the portraits included captions describing the women's fitness for the endeavour.

The women were described by *The Globe* as "athletic specimens of Canadian womanhood," who would bring "education and refinement" into Dutch homes ("Teachers" 1). A week later, *The Globe* announced the teachers by name on Wednesday, April 2, 1902, emphasizing the candidates' physical adaptability and attractiveness: "In [their] list of accomplishments also figures proficiency in the use of the rifle and in equitation and swimming. As to the personal attractions of the teachers their photographs demonstrate perfection in a marked degree, and it is well known that photographs do not lie" ("Teachers" 1).

⁶⁴ I refer here to an article in the *Ottawa Journal* on March 29, 1902 stating: "Ottawa's First Contingent to South Africa's School House: The Six who will do their share of furthering the Empire's scheme of teaching English and generally given a larger outlook to the little Boers on the Kopje's Sides and on the Veldt" (6).



Figure 3: Teachers' photographs and descriptions, as published in the *Ottawa Journal*, March 29, 1902, p.6.

These physical proficiencies, highlighted by the article in the *Globe*, specially positioned the women as suited to travel to South Africa, as they could “be trusted to look out for themselves” (“Teachers” 2). Implicit in these comments is that the fit women could protect themselves from the perceived threats of licentious colonials and barbaric Africans. The same article reflects that this feminine independence signified imperial, reproductive potential, and the women could potentially marry white settlers in South

Africa to cohere racial rule. The report states: “there will be many opportunities of matrimony open to the Canadian teachers . . . What greater guarantee could there be for the future happiness and prosperity of the King’s dominions in South Africa?” (“Teachers” 2). Randal admits in her personal diary that romance and imperial marriage were a common topic of conversation, recording how “all of the gossips have decided that I am to be married out there. It is all considered ‘so romantic’ and ‘so interesting.’ For my part, I don’t expect a picnic by any means.”⁶⁵ Their bodies thus represented how women signified in colonial and imperial expansion projects, as sites of purity, vulnerability, and reproductive potential, while, contradictorily, they also required strong physiques to withstand rugged life on the veldt and “rough it” in a war zone.

Repeatedly, the media stressed the women’s strong physical prowess. In March 22, 1902 the *Globe* reported that those chosen had “produced medical certificates as to strong physique” (“Hundreds sought to go” 32). The War shaped not only roles for masculine, military intervention, but also created unique roles for women in empire, relying on their feminine, nurturing presence in the camps, and a strong physique to withstand rugged veldt life adjacent to war.⁶⁶ Isobel Perry, a teacher from Montreal, recorded in her personal diary how their “mission” was “equally as important as that of

⁶⁵ Randal, March 25, 1902, “FRL Diaries: 1902-07,” Box 5, Folder 18, DLF-UM.

⁶⁶ While I focus on the women teachers and their role in empire, it is important to note that women from across the globe (Canada, the United States, Australia, and New Zealand) served as nurses in the South African colonies during the war. Elizabeth Van Heyningen discusses the role of nurses and health in her social history of the concentration camps, and Shula Marks has researched British nurses in the South African War, as she argues that “the acceptance of nurses at the front in the First World War owed more to the experience of the South African War than to any previous military encounter” (159). In my third chapter, I discuss Gilbert Parker’s novel *The Judgment House*, which uses female nursing in war as a corrective action for aristocratic women who have overstepped their filial and social responsibilities. The lead character, Jasmine Byng, is humbled into marital subservience through her caretaking role of wounded soldiers.

the soldiers, for it was to implant feelings of loyalty to the British flag in the hearts of the Dutch children and to endeavour to reconcile Dutch women to British rule” (qtd. in Dawson et al. 1). Perry emphasizes a comparison between the soldiers and the teachers, in order to attach their participation to the Canadian effort that was essential to Britain’s success. For instance, the notable victory at Paardeberg, attributable to Canadian participation, was responsible for turning the tide in favour of British victory. Consequently, Canadian soldiers had attained an international reputation that reported them as fit, skilled soldiers, which contrasted with the British soldiers who performed poorly on the veldt. Naturally, poor British maternal health was blamed for the British soldiers’ weaknesses. Amy Shaw discusses how the Paardeberg victory was considered evidence of Canada’s colonial maturation. This victory solidified ideas central to Canadian imperialism that the Canadian male was evidence of a superior Northern (white) race. My chapter on *The Canadian Magazine* argues that these ideas informed its production of an identifiable Canadian soldier, and Sara Jeannette Duncan raises this argument in *The Imperialist*, noting England’s declining male stock in contrast with Canada’s superior war performance. Teaching and soldiering were thus complementary strains in Britain’s imperial policies, and Canada’s competence was contrasted with Britain’s poorer performance, which was attributed to racial decline. Even among the colonial teachers, there seems to have been a competitiveness along national lines, as Graham writes about the “homesick” Australians who upon arriving in camp, “smiled—a sickly smile—and they retired . . . where they raised their voices in one prolonged wail . . . [a]nd for one awful week they floated about the camp in dressing-sacks and wrappers, red-eyed and doleful” (91). Not all white women were equally suited to rugged life; in

fact, Graham writes she “heard afterwards that very few of them [the Australian teachers] remained longer than the year in South Africa; so they probably disliked the country to the end” (92). By contrast, Graham writes how “of the party of twenty to which I belonged, not one returned [to Canada] at the end of their contract year, so much were we interested in our work” (15).

The teachers’ physical suitability to working in Africa is also connected to early eugenic arguments, which as Jennifer Henderson argues, exemplify “a relationship between female agency, race regeneration, and empire that inflects the term ‘daughter of empire’ by articulating the telos of colonial self-rule with the realization of woman’s ‘essence’ as the ‘organ of the future’” (172). Henderson discusses the project of Canadian state formation by focusing on how white race making was the settler woman’s specialization in the Dominion, where the “production of a ‘healthy, hardy, virtuous, dominant race’” became the focus of imperialist discourse in the late nineteenth century, with a focus on the woman’s “*physical* body” (18, 19). As Henderson argues: “As long as she stressed cultural and environmental rather than hereditary explanations for her moral superiority, the Anglo-Protestant woman could also claim responsibility for the improvement of ‘inferiors’ as an extension of her maternal role within the family . . . a pure nation could be produced through the Anglo-Protestant woman’s concerted efforts to create morally improving social and cultural environments” (16). Consequently, the cultural construction of race and gender during the War was perpetuated through print accounts, where Canada’s teaching contingent were shown to represent the “best” of (white) Canadian womanhood; these teachers were further charged with improving a culturally and racially “inferior” Boer population.

Henderson's scholarship is provocative as it centres the white settler woman as norm. Similarly, Daniel Coleman has studied fictional representations and normalization of white, Anglo-Saxon masculinity in *White Civility*. Henderson and Coleman highlight the historically gendered roles around which ideas of whiteness were constructed in Canada, and it is within this gendered and raced language of Canadian identity that Graham's and Randal's role as "Daughters of Empire" arises. What the Canadian teachers reveal is how these national projects were imbricated within a much larger imperial scheme of bio-political control. In one of the few published articles discussing Graham's text, Diana Brydon and Jessica Schagerl analyze *A Canadian Girl in South Africa* as an example of historically gendered access to national and global communities. Brydon and Schagerl argue that Graham's work "usefully reminds readers of Canada's complicity in the policing of colonialism globally and locally" (40-1), as they explore how "global circulations of power were understood in 1905 [the date when Graham's book is published]" (28). The teachers' gendered mobility in 1902 is privileged, and Schagerl and Brydon argue how "the designation of 'girl' indicates her [Graham's] access to employment and mobility. Graham's subject-identity, as the author and autobiographical subject of her text, remains secured through the privileges of race and class fostered by empire" (29). Further, not only does gender give them privileged yet restricted access to inside views of camp life during a war, the teachers' mission also tasked them with uplifting and improving Boer populations, and placed the Canadians at the centre of a project in South Africa to organize colonizing populations around the model of the Anglo-Saxon woman. Randal's and Graham's narratives show how race-making projects during the South African War were an international prerogative and

operated across the empire, replicated through textual accounts that spread widely through imperial print networks, connecting South Africa and Canada at the start of the twentieth century.

2.2 Textual and Historical Recovery of the Teachers' Writing

In this section, I argue that Maud Graham's and Florence Randal's writing was remarkable because travel journalism and war reportage were relatively new occupations for the New Woman figure at the turn of the century. The autobiographical texts that Graham and Randal produced established them in the burgeoning world of Canadian print, and I argue that the women framed their imperial travel endeavours as a feminine specialization, which obscured the harsh realities of the spread of hegemonic whiteness in which they were willing actors on a global stage. Race and gender consequently signal the women's privileged mobility in empire as well as their access to print markets, where a burgeoning print press in Canada provided a ready readership for their accounts from a distant colony, linking the spread of humanitarian and imperial ideas to networks of print.

While the teachers were recruited in the midst of war and the concentration camps controversy, they in fact arrived in South Africa to hear peace declared in 1902. Randal had been working in Camp Irene in the Transvaal when the war ended, and she then moved on to Middelburg town. On the other hand, Maud Graham's boat anchored in the port of Table Bay on June 1, 1902 to receive the news that war had ended. They anchored outside the breakwater, "where we tossed about uncomfortably," and a "government lighter brought us the news of peace" (42). Thus, arriving at War's end, the teachers worked in the concentration camps as they were being disbanded; no longer participants

in a war, their mission however was still defined in terms of education and anglicization. Graham acknowledges this tension in the opening pages of her book, making visible the parallel between the “boy soldiers” and the “girl teachers,” describing how “our trip to Africa was unique, and scarcely to be duplicated in this generation. Doubtless much of the hospitality heaped upon us girls in London was due to the enthusiasm aroused there by our brave Canadian boys who preceded us to Africa” (18). By linking the teachers’ participation to that of the soldiers, Graham asserts the national importance of their mission, while portraying her time as a unique adventure. Similarly, Florence Randal reflects disappointment in not having witnessed the war and describes how “our experiences, interesting as they were, seemed tame” in comparison to camp life during the war years: “We rather envied them when they [English and Scotch teachers] told of their war-time experiences” (“Year” 412). The women constantly remind their audiences how their project was attached to military initiatives to emphasize the importance of their mission, even while they never participated in the war.

When the Canadian Government issued the “Volunteer Bounty Act” of 1908, giving all War participants land grants in Canada’s Northwest, the Canadian teachers were excluded from the order. This Act effectively made land available as a result of the Canadian Government’s policies against Indigenous people, and connected settler occupation of Indigenous peoples’ lands in the plains to service in the conquest of distant colonial territory on behalf of Britain. The teachers petitioned the Government twice to ask for inclusion. In 1909, Isobel Perry wrote to Earl Grey, the Governor General, asking: “Do I not come under the Act also, for I was one of the volunteers who went to Africa during the war on service for my country?” (qtd. in Schagerl 172-3). And Ms. Rothwell,

Drysdale and Urquhart petitioned asking for “the same recognition of that service as the Canadian Contingents, and Canadian nurses” (qtd. in Schagerl 173). Yet the petitions were declined as the Committee of the Privy Council concluded that the teachers sent to South Africa were not in military service: “while under military enlistment the person who has enlisted becomes subject to risk of life and limb at the orders of his superior officers . . . a person otherwise employed is not under such orders, and has full liberty to protect himself from such risk” (qtd. in Schagerl 174). Because the teachers were not under active military service in South Africa, their “mission” did not receive official state recognition, and the teachers were excluded as land settlement beneficiaries. While the teachers were recruited during the War, and were sent to an active War zone, their service never received official state recognition, even while it had significant imperial implications. The Volunteer Bounty Act, however, reveals how policies of British imperialism and Canadian settler colonialism intertwine, as those involved in an overseas war were rewarded with land that dispossessed an Indigenous population to expand white settlement in the Dominion.

Consequently, Graham’s and Randal’s texts remain important historical records of the women’s role in imperial service, as without these documents, the significant implications of the teachers’ peripheral participation in the War and post-war reconstruction is often overlooked or omitted from official historical records. For example, neither Carman Miller’s comprehensive history of Canadian participation in the War, *Painting the Map Red*, nor Gordon L. Heath’s study of the Canadian Protestant press with its focus on missions, mention the teachers’ role. Access to the women’s writing is also limited. Until recently, Maud Graham’s text was archived on university

microfilm and available in limited quantities for purchase through rare book collections. *A Canadian Girl* has been recuperated by three Canadian historians and republished by the University of Alberta Press (2015), while Randal's letters remain uncollected and can only be accessed through digital paywalls and on microfilm. Randal's and Graham's written accounts consequently serve as important reminders of the precarious place women's narratives occupy in national histories, while the recuperation of Graham's text speaks to recent shifts in historical inquiry and literary analysis that reconsider the War and seek to include cultural histories, women's and minoritized writers' accounts, and black peoples' participation.⁶⁷ Their texts are thus reminders of women's participation in establishing British hegemony in South Africa as a project that spanned the settler colonies of empire.

Dispatches from Canada's Sister Colony

Carole Gerson describes early Canadian "women's published writing as an intervention in the public sphere of national and material culture" and calls to attention the various "social, cultural, and material conditions that propelled them onto the printed page" (*Canadian Women* xi). Gerson's analysis echoes Anne Innis Dagg's index of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Canadian non-fiction women writers (in which Maud Graham is listed) as telling the story of a woman reaching out from the "private world to which, it would seem, culture has relegated her, to a public world where her particular expertise would have its chance to affirm, shape or change the larger culture"

⁶⁷ I refer here to work such as *Writing a Wider War: Rethinking Gender, Race, and Identity in the South African War, 1899-1902*, edited by Greg Cuthbertson, Albert Grundlingh, and Mary-Lynn Suttie; Donal Lowry's edited volume *The South African War Reappraised; Abraham Esau's War: A Black South African War in the Cape, 1899-1902* by Bill Nasson; Elizabeth Van Heyningen's *The Concentration Camps of the Anglo-Boer War: A Social History*, and Peter Warwick's, *Black People and the South African War 1899-1902*.

(vii). This section of the chapter takes up these considerations to reveal how, while Randal and Graham were working in the camps and rural towns in South Africa in a much-publicized imperial project, they also sought to publish their first-hand experiences through letters that were printed in Canadian newspapers. A number of factors worked symbiotically so that the imperial trip, their Canadian celebrity status, along with the novelty of women's travel-journalism, contributed to a public interest in their experiences. Jean Marie Lutes argues that the rise of the modern, globe-trotting girl reporter as someone "whose increased mobility outside domestic space was itself an innovation" (167), made the girl reporter herself an autobiographical subject of interest. Along with widespread Canadian interest in the War, the women's work and participation in this conflict garnered much interest and a guaranteed audience. Therefore, examining Graham and Randal's writing as part of the historical and literary record requires attention to the circumstances under which they wrote, and the spaces they negotiated in print to shape their place in Canada's larger cultural sphere. These opportunities are attributable to the widespread availability of print outlets and increasingly large print readerships.

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have been called the "Victorian Zenith" (Fetherling 58-77) and the "Golden Age" (Rutherford, *Making* 38-76) of Canadian newspaper publishing. Rutherford considers the popular city dailies an "authority" on social life, considered to have adopted the best of British and American publishing practices (*Victorian* 76-77). In 1900, there existed 112 daily newspapers and over 800 weekly newspapers (Distad 295; Kesterton 39). In 1891, there had been merely 101 dailies and fewer than 580 weeklies (Distad 295; Kesterton 39). Kesterton suggests

that while the number of weeklies strongly increased, the daily newspaper had a substantially larger circulation, and its greater frequency “magnified its impact on the individual reader” (55). Circulation of daily newspapers totalled 570,000 in 1900; the *Globe*, for example, had a circulation of 36,000 (Kesterton 55). Importantly, transformations to the reporting and organizing of news occurred, such as the rise of “new journalism” or “personal journalism,” which foregrounded an “eyewitness approach to news,” enhanced by the addition of photographs, which while still expensive, could now be reproduced because of new print processes (Fetherling 70).

The boom in news media occurred at a time when newspapers were seeking to attract a larger readership and were financed by not only subscription and sales revenues, but also through advertising income designed to reach consumers, including a growing, educated female audience. The daily newspaper consequently became more compartmentalized, with sections aimed at particular segments of the total readership, such as the “women’s section” (Fetherling 70-71). Lang describes how “women’s opportunities in journalism stemmed directly from the advent of popular newspapers that depended on mass sales,” as Canadian newspapers attempted to reach family audiences and women readers (*Women* 31, 33). Consequently, personal narratives written by women were marketed to a female audience, and travel narratives, especially, satiated a desire for stories from across the world, which served as a “record of the individual emotions and private opinions” of the writer (Lang, *Women* 31). Cecilia Morgan has shown that travel “diaries, letters, travelogues, and newspaper coverage proliferated in the decades leading up to the First World War,” and were an avenue that women writers readily exploited (*A Happy Holiday* 20, 28).

Randal and Graham's eyewitness accounts were not merely travel stories, but were records of their experiences from a South Africa at war, and were thus groundbreaking for their time. Few prior female correspondents existed. One of these few was Kit Coleman who in 1898 became the "world's first officially accredited woman war correspondent" when she went to Cuba to cover the Spanish-American War (Lang, *Women* 60; Fiamengo, *Woman's Page* 122).⁶⁸ Lang maintains that while no Canadian woman managed to repeat Kit Coleman's "feat in gaining official accreditation," the "opportunity to go as a teacher of Boer children in the British camps allowed Florence Randal of the *Ottawa Journal* . . . to gain a distant view" (*Women* 271). For Randal and Graham, the possibility of travel, employment, and publication were all intertwined motivations for sailing to South Africa. Randal especially relished the opportunity to further her journalistic career. In her private journal, she repeatedly reflects on her writing commitments while in South Africa, to which she was in some instances more dedicated than teaching, in one case commenting: "I have been working nearly all the week at writing instead of teaching."⁶⁹ At times camp life became dull and boring, and Randal reflects how she longed for a move to a farm school: "I would like the experience and I will soon be in need of 'copy' for the camp is pretty well written up by this time."⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Flora Shaw of *The Times* in London was a prolific reporter and propagandist in the years leading up to, and during the War. Dorothy O. Helly and Helen Callaway note in "Journalism as Active Politics" how Shaw's reports were "committed to shaping British public opinion and influencing colonial affairs in South Africa" (50). During her years as freelancer and writer for *The Times*, Shaw toured the colonies extensively and became the Colonial Editor in 1893. Her articles on "Great Britain and the Dutch Republics" were reprinted by the British Foreign Office and circulated as propaganda in Europe and North America. Later, she wrote articles on Cecil Rhodes for *The Encyclopedia Britannica* and made clear that "South Africa was a model for an imperial future based on federated self-governing colonies" (63).

⁶⁹ Randal, Aug. 9, 1902. "FRL Diaries: 1902-07," Box 5, Folder 18, DLF-UM.

⁷⁰ Randal, Oct. 9, 1902. "FRL Diaries: 1902-07," Box 5, Folder 18, DLF-UM.

These reflections reveal how Randal was dedicated to her journalism and keenly observed her time in South Africa with an eye on how she would present her experiences for an audience at home.

Florence Randal and *The Ottawa Journal*

Prior to her South African trip, Randal spent five years with the *Ottawa Journal* (1885-1980) as society editor, chronicling the activities of “the capital’s debutantes and dowagers” (Lang, *Women* 35). In 1900, the *Ottawa Journal* was the leading Ottawa newspaper, edited by P.D. Ross, with a circulation of approximately 14,218 (Rutherford, *Victorian* 237). In 1899, Ottawa had three newspapers: the *Free Press*, the *Ottawa Journal*, and the *Citizen*; the *Journal* and *Free Press* printed evening editions only, while the *Citizen* distributed both a morning and evening edition. Rutherford characterises the *Journal* as “radical” at times, but also notes that it “experimented with political neutrality” in 1900 during the election campaign (*Victorian* 237, 225-6). Gwyn describes the *Journal* “as the most serious-minded paper in the capital,” since it “did not go in for expansive society reporting, constraining Florence to keep her accounts to short, unsigned factual notes” (372). “For the most part,” describes Lang, Randal’s work consisted of “mere recitations of invitation lists. In the end, she fled to a concentration camp in South Africa, where she became a teacher of Boer children. The *Evening Journal* was then very happy to print with bylines two- or three-column letters from Miss Randal, its formerly anonymous social editor” (*Women* 35).

The opportunity to publish under her own name, thereby advancing her journalistic career, was a strong motivating factor for Randal, and she sent monthly letters to the *Ottawa Journal* during her time abroad. Her reports from South Africa were

often widely circulated and re-printed in other daily newspapers, a common practice at the time, where editors would reprint content from other newspapers, giving credit to the writer but not paying for the content. For example, the *Montreal Weekly Witness* on September 23, 1902 re-printed “A School Teacher’s Life,” by Miss Florence H. Randal, “one of the interesting letters to the Ottawa ‘Journal’ dated of August 1902” (11). In addition, Randal sent occasional pieces to *Canadian Good Housekeeping* and the *Toronto Globe*.

Randal’s published columns were positioned in the *Journal* as personal letters. She was often referred to as a “special” correspondent, and her columns were by-lined with her own name, which was a rare occurrence in daily newspapers, where most editorial content went unsigned. Her first column written from Irene camp, published on July 21, 1902 (about six weeks after she had written it⁷¹) was provided with the subhead: “With the Teachers in Concentration Camps. Miss Randal Writes of Life as She Found it Among the Boers on the Hot, Bare Veldt of South Africa (Special Correspondence of the Journal)” (9). These editorial sub-titles foregrounded the lady reporter in the act of reporting—writing of life as she experienced it—signifying that in addition to the content of her letters, Randal herself was a newsworthy subject of interest to readers by virtue of simply being in South Africa. Another letter, published on August 5, 1902, was prefaced with an editorial paragraph stating “The Journal has received another very interesting letter from Miss Florence Randal, with the lady teachers in South Africa” (7). The *Journal’s* editor contextualized Randal’s letters, bringing to the fore her gender, and

⁷¹ It is dated “mid-June,” and most letters were published within a month of Randal mailing them from South Africa. Each letter was published in the *Journal* with the date on which she completed the letter.

described her columns as correspondence between the author and its readers. Randal's correspondence signals the conventions of a private letter, written in a personal, intimate tone, which collapsed the distance not only between South Africa and Canada, but also between writer and reader. More specifically, published letters gesture to these private and public conventions, and the letter genre was accepted as a suitable writing mode for women to speak to other women. Randal's columns were thus positioned as feminized observations rather than detached, anonymous reportage. In September 29, 1902, Randal writes about receiving advice from "one of my Canadian correspondents" ("A Stormy Sunday" 3), which provides textual evidence that there were letters exchanged between Randal and her Canadian readers. Indeed, the location of the teachers was widely published; for example, on July 10, 1902, the *Ottawa Journal* listed the teaching locations, including Randal's: "Ottawa-Krugersdorp, Transvaal" (9). Imperial postal networks, and the importance of letters connecting people across the empire in the late Victorian era, have been well-studied.⁷² John Plotz explains that letters inhabit a "half-private, half-public world" as they circulate through imperial postal networks as "depersonalized freight" (10). Randal constantly remarks in her diary when letters reached her from Canada, as she was reliant on the imperial mail network to maintain contact with home, just as the *Ottawa Journal* relied on her monthly dispatch of a letter.

The editorial positioning further demonstrates the persistent categorization of women's experience as private. Indeed, this intimacy is conveyed when Randal addresses

⁷² Works I consulted on imperial postal routes include Alan Lester's *Imperial Networks: Creating Identities in Nineteenth-Century South Africa and Britain*, Larua Ishiguro's *Nothing to Write Home About: British Family Correspondence and the Settler Colonial Everyday in British Columbia*, and Julie M. Barst's article "Pushing the Envelope: Caroline Chisholm, Colonial Australia, and the Transformative Power of Postal Networks."

the reader as “you” and writes in the first-person to describe her adventures. For example, in her column about life in a “Burgher Camp” on Monday, September 29, Randal writes: “I don’t know whether all these details are of interest to you who will read this. Still what I have written is a phase and part of our life, and to most of us a quite new experience. I begin to think, though, that you will be in danger of forgetting that we teach” (“Stormy Sunday” 3). In this self-conscious reflection, Randal reflects on the types of lived experiences that interested her readers (each of her monthly letters included tales of touristic and social events), while acknowledging that her real mission—to educate women and children—was not exactly the “stuff” of interesting reportage. Even though they were not overtly political, her letters from a war zone would have had to pass through a press censor, a fact she acknowledges in her personal journal entry on June 5, 1902: “Today I wrote my 5th letter to the Journal. I hope it may escape the press censor if he still peers into packages now that peace is here.”⁷³ Randal suggest that her letters would be read by a censor, and so hints that she wrote with the knowledge that certain commentary, perceived to be sensitive war information, would be redacted, providing another suggestion as to why she reported on mainly social and women’s events.

Maud Graham’s Letters and Memoir

Whereas Randal’s letters were personal and informative, E. Maud Graham’s monthly dispatches struck a moralistic tone. They were published in the *Montreal Witness* (1846-1938), a newspaper that Rutherford describes as “replete with rules and uplift in the form of reports of Christian lectures, temperance tracts, moral tales, and Sunday School lessons . . . [that] embodied the assumed relevance of Christian teachings

⁷³ Randal, June 5, 1902, “FRL Diaries: 1902-07,” Box 5, Folder 18, DLF-UM.

to the daily routine in Victorian Canada” (*Victorian* 129). Merrill Distad similarly characterises the *Witness* as a popular paper, published by John Dougall and known for its “protestant moral rectitude” (300). Graham’s published letters were then shaped into a book memoir, and it is likely that Graham “on her return to Canada in July 1904 . . . must have immediately begun writing the narrative, which is completed by 1 November 1905 (when she dates her acknowledgements)” (Schagerl 140).

In Graham’s choice of *A Canadian Girl in South Africa* as her book’s title, students of Canadian Literature will hear echoes of and allusions to Sara Jeannette Duncan’s novel *An American Girl in London* (1891), and Duncan may have been a literary predecessor to whom Graham was alluding when crafting her memoir. Duncan’s novel describes the modern American Mamie Wick who travels unchaperoned to London, where she ironically and humourously reflects an outsider’s perspective on English customs and culture, while the English characters are bemused by Mamie’s independent and assertive adventures in the metropole. If Graham’s title is a deliberate allusion to Duncan, Graham’s memoir, however, is a serious and realistic non-fictional account of the kinds of cross-cultural encounters that Duncan’s novel imagines. Further, Duncan was one of Canada’s first female journalists, and so in terms of the novelty of the mobile girl traveller as writer, Duncan looms large in the background to Graham’s memoir and Randal’s journalism because Duncan had written dispatches during her travels around the world, which were published in the Montreal *Daily Star* and formed the basis of her book *A Social Departure* (1890). My final chapter discusses Duncan as a literary figure whose career as a journalist and then novelist paved the way for writers like Graham and Randal.

Graham and Randal were breaking new literary ground for women by travelling to an active warzone in a period when journalism as a career was only beginning to be accepted as a respectable occupation for women. This literary moment was characterised by new opportunities in travel, education, and employment for women. Carole Gerson describes in *Canadian Women in Print* how the “arrival of the New Woman marked the arrival of one of the most complex and transgressive characters to inhabit the Anglo-American cultural arena. Middle-class and assertive, she challenged marriage and conventional domesticity while claiming the right to higher education, the ballot, unescorted travel, sexual freedom and a professional career” (159). Despite these literary advancements, women writers cautiously positioned their work as novel contribution to a field dominated by men. In the same way that Randal’s letters needed to be contextualized by an editor, Graham employs in her book a “strategy of legitimation” to authorize her text (Gerson, *Canadian Women* xv). Gerson explains that women writers in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries appear to diminish the seriousness of their writing, situating their work as inferior or subservient to more serious literature. Along these lines, Graham includes a “Dedication” to position her writing as a series of “notes” from her travels (3). This strategy situates Graham’s book as a compilation of personal observations, recorded for pleasure and at the insistence of her sister teachers, rather than as a work of political economy or war reportage.

Notably, Graham’s memoir, however, *does* contain outspoken ideas and observations about repatriation, education and the future of the South African colony. The framing of her work as “notes” appears to diminish the outspoken comments contained within it, to construct her text as amateurish, unscientific, and lacking literary

merit. Graham modestly describes how “South African and Canadian friends” urged her to publish her notes, and in so doing, inserts her book into a network of imperial sisterhood, as she dedicates her work to “the eight ladies of Fauresmith and Kroonstad, whose birthplaces number almost as many parts of the Empire” (3). This introductory contextualization reflects a wider form of social belonging and global friendship in which Graham belonged, even while the title of her book asserts her identity in terms of the national perimeters of “A Canadian Girl,” to reflect a national identity that is rooted in imperial belonging. Thus from the first page of her text, Graham highlights the tension her work embodies: while the teachers were sanctioned to move about the globe in an imperial project, the task of reporting on these events, during a time of war, was still new territory for women. Wading into the public arena of print meant relying upon the privileges of empire, while still acknowledging her gendered authorial status for a local readership.

Upon returning to Canada, it is likely Graham self-financed her memoir, which was published by William Briggs in Toronto. Self-funding publication was a common practice for authors, and Gerson contends that this situation “endured well into the twentieth century” (*Canadian Women* 71). Published reviews confirm the idea that Graham financed her book, which was criticized for its poorly printed quality. *The Canadian Magazine*’s assessment was harsh: “Presumably, the author must have been footing the bill, and she got only what she paid for—no more” (“About New Books” 492). This review describes the memoir as a “splendid example of how not to print a book,” describing the printing as “badly done, the pages running in various shades from full black to dull grey. The illustrations are too small and indistinct to be of much value . .

. One can only wonder why any reputable publisher would put his name to such a volume” (“About New Books” 492). As a travel-memoir, then, the book did not seem to be aesthetically pleasing enough for the reviewer, suggesting an expectation that the visual quality and material production of the work were considered to be equally as important as the written content. In this early age of photographic reportage, the “indistinct” illustrations frustrated the reviewer, suggesting that photographic representations from distant places were becoming an important element in memoirs and travel narratives.⁷⁴

The publishing terms for *A Canadian Girl* are not known, as no archival evidence of the publishing contract exists between Graham and her Toronto publisher William Briggs. Janet Friskney’s research into Briggs’ book publishing practices during the 1890s and early 1900s reveals that the publisher printed many books at the author’s expense, with book contracts existing as little more than printing agreements, which “committed the House to producing an edition of 500 to 1,500 copies of a book for the author.” Eli MacLaren explains that Briggs “would print and bind if authors paid him to do so” (120), and as an important Canadian publisher, he would often print Canadian works only if they could be self-financed, or paid for in advance by subscription. Thus, despite being a “prolific” publisher, Briggs did not foster the works of Canadian writers, and did not “initiate, organize and finance the production of original trade literature” (MacLaren 103). While Graham most likely self-financed the production of her memoir, by

⁷⁴ The 2015 version of Graham’s text addresses these illustrative problems. The editors have enlarged and enhanced many of the photographs (omitting some), included a photo of Maud Graham, reproduced images of the concentration camps, and inserted maps. These editorial changes significantly enhance the 1905 memoir, providing the book with substantial scholarly paratextual material.

publishing with Briggs she was able to tap into the Methodist Book and Publishing House's periodical press to promote her work.⁷⁵ Friskney explains that Briggs' Methodist periodicals served as "important marketing tools" (even if the majority of that readership base resided in Ontario), as Briggs would "generally included a clause stating that the House would market the book for a commission." This practice is confirmed in the March 1906 edition of the *Methodist Magazine and Review*, which congratulated the "accomplished author on the success of her volume," emphasizing how Canada sent "across the sea such a contingent of Canadian girls to continue the work of conquering Africa by loving service, after its conquest by arms" (195). This review article also interviewed the author and included a ten-page summary of Graham's memoir.

During the War, literature was instrumental in circulating cultural and historical propaganda, and Dawson et al. note how the Canadian government placed an order for 45 copies of Arthur Conan Doyle's *The Great Boer War* (1901), a work that "included a spirited defense of the camps," probably for the teachers for South Africa (xxii). While there is no evidence to confirm whether the Canadian teachers did indeed read Doyle's novelistic war account, this intimation reveals how books circulated through English imperial markets to justify Britain's view that the war was just. Canadian publishers distributed books that printed historical and salacious accounts of the War and the Boer enemy. For example, Toronto's William Briggs had previously printed a work by William F.R. Hart-McHarg entitled *From Quebec to Pretoria with the Royal Canadian Regiment* (1902) and a text about *South Africa, its History, Heroes and Wars* (1899) by

⁷⁵ William Briggs headed the Methodist Book and Publishing House for forty years; it was a forerunner to Ryerson Press. Briggs was an influential publisher, and many later booksellers, including John McClelland, learned their trade under him, before founding publishing companies of their own (MacLaren 102-103).

Professor. W. Douglas Mackenzie. Interest in the war abounded, as did personal accounts of encounters with South Africa, seen when Briggs published a short, sensational captivity narrative by Canadian medical missionary F. J. Livingstone entitled *My Escape from the Boers* (1900). Livingstone's 35-page work details supposed Boer atrocities, relying on racist descriptions of the Boer man, who is "irreligious and unchristian" (32) and "dilapidated" in appearance (34) to heighten the book's dramatic flair. This text is just one example of books were popular in Canada during the war that contributed to situating the Boers as a perceived culturally-inferior race. As I argue in chapter three and four, these racial stereotypes of the "stunted" Boer were repeatedly perpetuated through popular fiction, and in media discourses concerning the War and the concentration camps.

Another prominent example is Olive Schreiner's popular novel *The Story of an African Farm* (1883), which was well known across the empire and contributed to developing an English vocabulary and iconography of the South Africa veldt prior to the war, in which the Boer was portrayed as a lazy race.⁷⁶ Maud Graham in fact knew of Schreiner's writings, as she mentions how "Shreiner [sic] aptly says that the average Boer, in his mental and moral outlook, is a child of the seventeenth century" (161). This intertextual reference, and Graham's reliance on an allusion in her chapter on "Farming" to Schreiner's *The Story of an African Farm* (174), show her interacting with and inserting her work into a field of established literature that had created and depicted the cultural stereotype of the Boer race as a nation of landless European peasants. These

⁷⁶ Schreiner tried to redress these assertions. McClintock argues that "During the war, at women's congresses, she [Schreiner] vehemently protested the British burning of the Boer farms and the infamous concentration camps" (290). Schreiner was even interred by the British in the Cape Colony for her pro-Boer sentiments during the war (McClintock 291).

well-known fictional works contributed to building a literary discourse that structured the cultural otherness of the Boers and produced symbolic justification for the racially constructed war. Gordon L. Heath describes how the Canadian Protestant press also contributed overwhelmingly to providing a “damning indictment of the Boers as a people, as soldiers and even as Christians” (36). Central to understanding both teachers’ writing, then, is to acknowledge that their testimony entered a field of established English literature dominated by discourse propagating negative connotations about the Boer people.

In Canada, too, the discourse surrounding uplifting and educating a perceived culturally-inferior settler population had circulated since the 1839 *Durham Report on the Affairs of British North America*. Lord Durham’s report advocated the union of Lower Canada with Upper Canada to establish an English majority and maintain Canadian loyalty to Britain (while also addressing the risk of American annexation), with French assimilation as its goal. Durham emphasizes the racial difference between English and French Canadians, which he described as “two nations warring” (6). There are many similarities in the language of the *Report* and the stereotypes deployed to describe the Boers. Specifically, Durham emphasizes the “want of education in the *habitants*,” describing the French residents of Lower Canada as “almost universally destitute of the qualifications even of reading and writing” (10), and cites “the difference of language” as problematic (10). English Canadians, by contrast, were an “enterprising population,” who promoted the “increase of population and accumulation of property” (15). Durham surveys Canada as space with “boundless” (4) natural resources, markets, and raw materials, which he saw as virtually unpeopled: it is “still uncleared and unoccupied”

(94). Reflecting his view that the Anglo-Saxon race was ascending, Durham saw it only as a matter of time until the English would “predominate” because “every race but the English . . . appears there in a condition of inferiority. It is to elevate them from that inferiority that I desire to give [them] . . . our English character” (94). Durham consequently situates a competing settler population in a perceived state of racial decline and cultural backwardness. Importantly, Durham conceives the utility of English education as a means of improving the “isolated” French, who are a “remains of an ancient colonization,” who should be incorporated into the “Anglo-Saxon world” (93-4).

Durham’s report had political consequences in Canada, but its evocative language suggests how racial stereotypes were used to describe perceived deficiencies in settlers. This language then allowed competing settler populations to be rendered as sites of reform or renovation, in order to assert English cultural dominance. Through similar racial tropes of deficiency and destitution, the Boers were conveyed as retrogrades, which provided an imaginary justification to aid the campaign of incarceration and education for civilizing purposes. Randal’s and Graham’s work reveals how frequently repeated cultural stereotypes became central to describing their teaching and humanitarian project, and to establishing their own civility in the sunburnt and windswept veldt as they lived alongside the Boer women and children—who, like the French Canadians, were considered probationary settlers to be reformed through education and assimilation.

2.3 Privileged Mobility, Feminized Camp Life, and Settling in South Africa

In this section, I turn away from how the print press depicted the teachers, to study how the women situate themselves in South Africa, first teaching in camps, and

then in rural farm villages. I argue that their writing exposes how strategies of imperial subjection are enacted not only through political tools, but also through narrative strategies. In the camp zones of “contact,” the teachers model their civility through their actions and their material possessions to demonstrate their refinement over the Boer women’s impoverishment. Not only were the teachers employed to educate children, they also acted as health inspectors and wielded power over Boer men. Reading across the grain of these missives of female, English “activity,” I argue that these narratives are organized around the tropes of civil mobility when contrasted with Boer backwardness and Black subjugation, to show how domestic tropes of homemaking and hygiene serve imperial policies of subordination.

I draw on settler colonial studies to understand the significance of the women’s seemingly touristic observations. In *Settler Colonialism*, Lorenzo Veracini argues “narratives and their availability matter” (96).⁷⁷ Racial portrayals of Indigenous people and settler populations are precedent setting, argues Alan Lester, and the cultural materials carried through and along “imperial networks” serve as “guiding imageries” of “colonised peoples elsewhere” (6).⁷⁸ Graham’s and Randal’s writing is predicated upon their differentiation from other colonial women, uplifting the Boers, and rendering the Black people invisible. Notably, the women draw on a sense of inherent authority as white women, sanctioned with an imperial mission, which makes them mobile and

⁷⁷ Veracini distinguishes between “colonial” and “settler colonial” narratives, identifying colonial narratives as circular: they involve an outward journey and then a return to the metropole, separating “home” and “colony” (*Settler* 97). By contrast, settler colonial narratives collapse home and colony, as no return is envisaged, that is, the narrative is linear, as “settler colonialism mobilises peoples in the teleological expectation of irreversible transformation” (*Settler* 97).

⁷⁸ In Chapter one on *The Canadian Magazine*, I describe how exoticized narratives about people of colour from across the globe were frequent inclusions because these articles served as “factual evidence” of the existence of backwards civilizations.

perfectly at “home” in South Africa, and authorizes their perspectives on the populations they encounter. At the heart of settler colonial studies is the notion that the settler “does not discover: they carry their sovereignty and lifestyles with them” (Veracini, *Settler* 98), and this sovereignty resided within the Canadian teachers and extended to a distant South African colony. Graham acknowledges that she “experiences a feeling on the veldt” as a “sort of monarch of all I survey,” which she compares directly to having “galloped” over the “prairie lands” (174). Here she surveys the land as a “monarch,” with a sense of uncontested sovereignty and inherited proprietorship, which is linked to an imagined experience of moving across the Canadian prairies. Edward Said has argued: “who owned the land, who had the right to settle and work on it, who kept it going, who won it back, and who now plans its future—these are issues reflected, contested, and even for a time, decided in narrative” (*Culture* xiii). Consequently, the teachers moved through contested territory yet carried within them the ontology of the settler coloniser, premised on erasure of prior indigeneity, Boer upliftment, and white settlement under British rule.

Patrick Wolfe argues that the erasure of Indigenous populations in settler colonies is the foundational, ongoing violence at the heart of settler projects, which are structured around the “logic of elimination” (“Settler” 387). I explore how the logic of native erasure spanned across imperial space, connecting peripheral settler colonies through recurring themes and tropes that metaphorically and descriptively draw into comparison the colony of South Africa with the project of settlerhood in Canada. Veracini describes how “settler colonialism is constitutively transnational, being essentially about the establishment and consolidation of an exogenous political community following a foundative displacement” (15). While Randal and Graham are not settling the South

African colony *per se*, they are imbricated in a project to establish British rule and situate themselves as model settlers in the post-war reconstruction period. The epigraph to this chapter is taken from *A Canadian Girl in South Africa*, where Graham reflects on the nascent state-making project in South Africa, to think about whether the tumultuous post-war years will lead to settled calm, or a “whirlpool” of uncertainty, as she reflects that “time alone will show whether or not she [South Africa] is nearing the season of prosperity which will give her the beautiful serenity of the Niagara as it flows into Lake Ontario” (20). The comparison emphasizes Canada’s maturity premised upon the recognizable feature of the Niagara Falls, which by the end of the nineteenth century was a site of hydro-electric power generation. In contrast, the South African colony is compared to a rushing body of uncertain water—reflecting undeveloped potential, but still requiring much human labour and capital investment to tame its raw, natural power. The swirling waters of the Niagara consequently function as a metaphor for the project of nation making that connects the women to settler projects in both Canada and South Africa, where they are implicated in establishing imperial control over Indigenous lands and competing settler peoples, creating a transperipheral circuit of feminine settlerhood.

Able to move relatively easily within empire, Randal and Graham draw attention to the distinct imperial aims of their trip and painstakingly describe their modes of conveyance from Canada to South Africa. For both women, travel functions as an organizing principle and thematic concern, as they constantly describe their conveyances and the touristic opportunities afforded to them. Graham’s memoir is book-ended with chapters documenting her trip to and from South Africa, with stopovers in London for sightseeing, and in the Canary Islands for refuelling. Randal and Graham position

themselves as tourists reporting on the novelty of their trip, emphasizing their conveyance by steamships, “first-class corridor coaches sandwiched between sections of a goods train” (Graham 48), mail carts, and “open trucks” (93). The genre of travel writing was a well-established and popular form at the end of the nineteenth century, characterised by its thematic concern for autobiographical observation, which drew on techniques of realism to describe faraway places and cultures. Within this genre, the women also borrowed from conventions of reportage and political economy and were aware of the popularity of travel-themed writing. For example, Randal’s letters to the *Ottawa Journal* reflect her awareness of writing to meet the demands of an audience who desired intimate, personal accounts from a distant colony. The overt details concerning movement across space thematize travel as a generic concern, while also revealing how this classed mobility is premised upon the women’s physical suitability to establish and manage domestic spaces on the veldt. The white women’s mobility, however, comes at the expense of the Boer women and children, who are literally rendered immobile in the camps as zones of confinement.⁷⁹

The teachers’ movement is sanctioned through political permission and imperial membership, and a photograph of Graham’s railway permit (87) is reproduced in her memoir, which documents her ability to move freely between villages, as the teachers “could go where we please[d] in daylight, but were required to have a general pass for the evenings” (86). In contrast, the “refugees were strictly forbidden to leave the boundaries

⁷⁹ Some incarcerated Boer families were allowed to leave the camps to visit nearby villages; however, this freedom of movement was restricted mainly to the middle-class Boer women, who had contacts in towns, or had the financial means to leave camp. Many of the poorer classes of women, however, were immobile and had little ability to leave.

of camp without a special pass” (86). The theme of mobility situates the colonial teachers as privileged observers against the Boer women and children who are not only metaphorically situated as locked into their European-peasantry pasts, but also literally confined in camps where they are trapped between cultures and spaces of colonial contest. As Marie Louise Pratt argues in *Imperial Eyes*, travel writing establishes an imperial order “at home” for Europeans, making imperial subjects aware of their place in the ever-expanding empire (3). Pratt’s analysis of travel writing is focussed on the construction of identity in the metropole, with the empire creating in its “imperial center of power an obsessive need to present and re-present its peripheries and its others continually to itself. It becomes dependent on its others to know itself” (4). The teachers’ writing, however, does not service the needs of the metropole; instead, Randal and Graham give meaning to the war in South Africa by presenting the project of colonial rule in South Africa as a comparison point against which the Dominion can evaluate and view its white nation-making project.

When the teachers first arrived in South Africa, they were dispersed to various refugee camps, in which they lived in large marquees (tents). After Boer surrender in May 1902, the camps were disbanded and all were closed by September, during which time the Boers returned to their destroyed properties and homes. Both Randal and Graham taught in schools in small farm villages, where they were housed in more permanent dwellings made from tin or stone. Thus, while the terrain of contact with Boer families shifted from zones of incarceration to rural villages and farm schools, the mission of education and anglicization remained constant. Pratt provides the term “contact zone” to describe these “social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash and

grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination” (7). Pratt coined the term to describe spaces of imperial encounters “in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict” (8). While the teachers were employed to teach the Boer children English, their presence in the camps, and the display of their domestic practices, were also a means of influencing the Boer women, imprinting ideals of orderly home life through the force of domestic example. The contact zones can be read as both literal and figurative attempts to create British civility in a hostile landscape: the tents and marquees were compounds around which forced and structured education was enacted. Later in small rural villages, the teachers functioned as ambassadors, who exercised “influence through exemplarity” and were vital links to a ruling British culture representing colonial, English womanhood (Henderson 51).

The physical re-settlement of Boer populations, along with post-war reconstruction and education efforts, extended the process of white settlement and colonial rule, in order to overwrite a Black Indigenous population. Indeed, as my later section will reveal, Black women are included only in a domestic context, and their presence is written out of the women’s narratives as South Africa is depicted as a “vacant veldt.” As the teachers and Boers leave the camps, their literal resettlement is depicted to a Canadian audience through the symbolic language of pioneering, which structures the Dominion and the new colony of South Africa in a comparative settler framework. The teachers’ observations rely upon conventions of comparison between Boer and English culture, deploying stereotypical portrayals of each. Ambivalence typifies how the Boers

are described—a people who cannot be too backward so as to be outside the realm of assimilation, yet who must also be critiqued in order to maintain a lower status in the settler population hierarchy. Indeed, these descriptions pivot on the need for sources of similarity and affinity to be found, to reflect both the success of the imperial intervention, and the possibility of a future English, white homogenous population reconciled under British rule. Consequently, the teachers' project of "teaching" is premised upon a much larger structure of governance and surveillance, where the women exemplify practices of domestic management, health care and sociality based upon ideas of English civility. The contact zones are both the camp and the home. The domestic zones are significant because Lorenzo Veracini remarks how "Settler colonialism is about domesticating" through "the need to biopolitically manage" a colony's "*domestic domains*" (16). In Veracini's description of population management, "the settler establishes himself as normative" (18), against which the exogenous and Indigenous populations are managed—they can either be uplifted or regenerated, or there is the impossibility of regeneration, in which case they are "transferred" out of the hegemonic population. The imperial teachers thus model maternal and domestic civility for the Boer women, structuring themselves as normative settlers. My reading of these texts thus reveals how domestic space was imperative to re-settlement at War's end, where South Africa can be read as a theatre of population management that demonstrates the process of assimilating probationary settlers (Boer families) and writing out ungovernable others (black Africans), as demonstrated to Canadian readers. When reviewing Graham's book, *The Manitoba Free Press* "emphasized the usefulness of the book as 'the clearest impression it had yet seen of the even tenor of every-day life in England's newest colony'" (qtd. in

Dawson et al. XLII). It is, in fact, through these tasks of “every-day” life revolving around the “domestic domains” of the home, personal hygiene, and education, that English normativity is modelled under the guise of affectionate benevolence. In what follows, I outline different sites where these “domestic domains” are represented in Randal’s and Graham’s writing. Specifically, I read how the teachers note differences in domestic practices and material artefacts that signify civility, and I examine how hygiene practices and medical knowledge are contested sites of knowledge. The Boer wives are represented as both complacent homemakers and also as ostentatious examples of equality in marriage. By contrast to the Boers’ apathy, the Canadian teachers thrive in social and cultural events where they perform their British civility. I reveal how the widespread trauma and injustice to which Boer families were subjected is omitted. Only briefly do the teachers include other voices in their narratives to provide a more nuanced examination of the War’s effects on women and children.

The Clash of Domestic Space: Modelling Womanhood on the Veldt

Within the camps, the teachers and refugees were housed within large marquees with separate tents serving as schoolrooms, which Randal describes: “Marquee-life in a South African winter is rather trying, and picturesqueness hardly made up, we discovered, for the shivering toilet in the morning in ice-cold water . . . and for the months of dust storms when we were coated with grime” (“A Year” 412). In *A Canadian Girl*, Graham’s first impressions of camp life convey her disdain for the temporary dwellings, as she details how a team of “lazy” Boer men (59) set up her marquee, which contained “woollen rugs . . . green canvas folding camp beds . . . a folding iron washstand . . . folding canvas lounging chairs . . . water filter and small mirror” amongst other items

(59). In spite of the rustic accommodation, the teachers describe how they make their rugged tents homely with small trappings of comfort to symbolize the ladies' civil presence. Graham takes the reader inside the Scottish and English teachers' tents to describe how "[t]hey used one tent as a living-room, and quite cozy it looked. There were pictures pinned to the walls, tennis racquets and hockey sticks standing about, pretty green canvas chairs which they said came in their outfit, some canaries in cages, a book-case and a sideboard made from packing cases, and bunches of wild-flowers on the table"

(57). Order, decorum and small symbols of refinement and pleasure are manifested in the tent by the presence of a canary (non-essential animal kept for enjoyment), a library (site of book learning and reading for pleasure) and sporting equipment (symbolic of physical ability and leisure time). These material objects symbolize the importance of maintaining ordered housekeeping in South Africa and reflect that the teachers did not lose their civility or become "roughened" on the veldt. There is also a sense of vulnerability in this space, and in order for the women to model domestic civility against a backdrop of a terrain marked by war and forced incarceration, their books and sporting equipment reproduce a "refined" life in the camps. As John Plotz describes in *Portable Property*, these objects are particularly important because they are not able to civilize—instead they represent civil society:

The flow of objects outwards from England played a crucial role in exporting a restrictive, distinctive sort of Englishness through a world that stayed distinctively non-English. The cultural value attached to markedly English portable property emphasizes the exceptional power . . . that discrete objects can come to possess overseas. These pieces of property are meaningful not because they are capable of

abetting the civilizing process, but precisely because they *do not civilize*; instead, they embody English culture in its most particularist and nonteleological sense.

(20-1. Italics in original)

The teachers frequently return to descriptions of their dwellings, which demonstrate their ability to wrangle domestic order in the camp and provide counterpoints to the living arrangements of the Boer families. The colonial teachers benefit from a housekeeping budget that paid for supplies to supplement camp rations, washerwomen to do laundry, and a cook to prepare meals, allowing them much time to enjoy “leisure moments” as there “was always something going on” (Graham 72).

In contrast to these expressions of British civility, Randal paints a dour description of the Boer women in her column about the “Dutch Vrow [wife]” on November 10, 1902: “nearly all the women in camp are long and lank and lean, dressed in faded black or dusty calico, and not too clean in appearance” (5). This characterisation is repeated by Graham: “every woman and girl wore a ‘kappe,’ or sun-bonnet, and a mother-hubbard apron, usually of dark dingy print” (61). Randal describes the evening cooking and reflects how “thin crone-like women stoop” over “three-legged cauldrons set on glowing braziers, around mud ovens” (“Dutch Vrow” 5). The sombre imagery is repeated when Graham describes the Boers’ morning and evening devotional prayer and hymn routine, which is carried out in an “extravagantly doleful manner” (60). Broadly speaking, the Boer women are portrayed as apathetic, stooped in sorrow, and lacking energetic domestic enterprise. In her chapter on “Women and Disease,” Elizabeth Van Heyningen describes how the meagre camp rations (which included inedible meat), and an almost complete lack of fresh fruit and vegetables would have contributed to a state of

widespread hunger and malnutrition: “the body adjusts to undernutrition by keeping its activity to a minimum, possibly an explanation for the lethargy and apathy the concentration camp population often displayed” (193). In addition, the Boers’ apathy and physical deterioration could have been visual symptoms of the effects of trauma they experienced. Forced from their homes and farmland, separated from spouses, and with much of their property destroyed, their arrival in the camps had been under dire conditions. Once confined, they were further subjected to widespread diseases and the death of children and family. In addition, many of the poorer classes in the camps had few material possessions to provide comfort or a sense of home. Noticeably absent in Randal’s and Graham’s accounts is an awareness of residual trauma the Boer women suffered. Such difficulties are often mentioned quite dismissively; for example, Graham recounts understatedly how: “there was also a large class who undoubtedly suffered many hardships in camp . . . they did suffer, and greatly, as some are bound to do in every war” (68).

Graham’s ambivalent depiction reinforces rather than corrects stereotypical Boer depictions of dirtiness and laziness, as hygiene and cleanliness became sites of cultural conflict in the camps. For example, Graham asks: “what the peculiar smell was . . . and was told that it was caused by the weekly ‘smearing’ of the floors with manure water to harden them. The doctors winked at this custom, for although offensive, it was not particularly unsanitary, and had always been the custom in the poorer houses” (62). The practice of manure spreading, in fact, derived from Black African customs. Unaware of this history, Graham reveals how the Boer women had indigenized a local practice, which is deemed by the British as unsanitary. Her observation, emphasized by the “winking”

doctor's reaction, suggests that ideas of cleanliness and sanitation were culturally constructed. While smearing manure on the floor was looked upon with a dismissive "wink," more serious differences had deadly consequences, especially in the camp hospitals, where colonial doctors and nurses were employed to contain the constant disease outbreaks of measles, pneumonia, and dysentery. These outbreaks contributed to the high mortality rates in the camps. Yet the camp inhabitants regarded treatment and education from imperial doctors with suspicion as they held different views on medical intervention. The imperially trained medical practitioners were schooled in Victorian understanding of "germ theory" that emphasized sanitation, cleanliness, and the hospital as locus of curative medicine. Cleanliness was not only seen as key to good health, it was also an indicator of moral and spiritual health. The Boers, however, practiced a tradition of healing that derived from an early European system of health based on their ancestors' understanding of the "humoral philosophy." They utilised herbal remedies and Dutch medicines prepared in South Africa, and supported their practices with knowledge gained from African folklore and traditional healing practices, which often involved using animal blood or dung (Van Heyningen, "Women and Disease" 199). Accordingly, the Boers distrusted the nurses and doctors, and many women were afraid to enter the camp hospitals, or leave their children in the care of camp nurses and doctors.

While much of the teachers' mission in South Africa was premised upon education, the teachers also monitored the children's health and hygiene, and medical knowledge was provided to the camps' inhabitants who were given "lessons in cleanliness and sanitary living" (Graham 62). As one of her morning duties in the classroom, Graham explains that she "went around and examined feet, hands, necks and

ears; specially dirty children were sent back to their tents to wash, and any with veldt sores were sent to the line nurses for treatment” (64). Cleanliness was not a problem for all social classes, but Randal remarks how the poor required much help as the “children suffered dreadfully from chilblains and . . . veldt sores, similar to boils, caused by bad blood and poor food” (65). As Randal remarks on the children’s poor health, she attributes these factors to race (“bad blood”), hygiene (“dirt”), and domestic practice (“poor food”), to reflect widely held biases that the Boer mothers were incapable of care taking. Randal overlooks the poor quality of food the prisoners received, as much of the daily diet consisted of flour and corn (Van Heyningen, “Women and Disease” 192-3). Yet the teachers were to “report to the officials all ragged children, in order that the reason of their raggedness might be inquired into. If the family was very poor clothes were given out of stores” (Graham 66). Graham does, however, conclude the chapter on “Norvals Pont Camp” with a mild corrective, saying: “I would be very sorry to confirm that rather wide-spread belief that all those in the camps were dirty. Far from it” (68).

Rather than pausing over the Boers’ suffering, Graham dismisses this idea that they suffered and notes how some were “quite friendly” (61). Randal describes how the Boer women were slightly conscious of social hierarchies as they:

always had Kaffir [Black] servants to work for them, [and] do not care very much for domestic service under other people’s direction . . . Their cooking is good, and they are always respectful if treated in a nice way. Some kinds of work they consider beneath them . . . There is no feeling of caste, but of course, even if none is shown, wealth and education have created a superior class, and many in the camp are cultured people whom it is a pleasure to meet. (“The Dutch Vrow” 5)

Randal reflects that some of the Boers are cultured and a “pleasure to meet;” however, she also describes the Boer women as having become complacent because they relied on domestic servants and considered some kinds of work “beneath them.” Indeed, Randal’s comments reflect the various classes of Boer families who were confined in the camps, which included many landless Boer farmers called “bywoners,” as well as middle- and upper-class landowning families who had brought possessions with them and were able to live more comfortably in the camps. Randal describes how some Dutch wives appeared to live in a state of equality with her husbands. She offers this criticism: “Womankind is rather spoiled by the men out here, the latter seeming to live in wholesome awe of their wives. Indeed, the Woman’s Rights question would never need to be raised; the vrouw has long ago seen to that. Her ‘man’ helps her with the housework, when he is not one of the loafing kind, and generally ‘flaxes round’ at her behest” (“The Dutch Vrouw” 5). While the “Woman’s Rights question” is a comment on how the Boers maintain seemingly more equal marital relations, Randal sees this equality as an ostentatious model of domesticity because the Boer wives have become lazy housekeepers. This complacency, Randal suggests, needs moderation and correction. This irony is obvious, as Randal’s and Graham’s texts are continuously aware of their own roles within patriarchal structures, even as they define themselves within new models of womanhood. In fact, women’s rights were coming to the fore as an international issue during the War. Outspoken supporters of the Boer camps such as Millicent Fawcett used the Boer women’s status as war participants (arguing they provided information and supplies to the soldiers) as a reason for why the Boer women should be treated as equivalent to combatants in war, who were deserving of

incarceration (Krebs, “Last” 46). Rather than viewing the Boer women as feminist role models, the Canadians criticize these visible deviations from marital norms.

By way of contrast to the apathetic, class-conscious wife, the Boer man showed much potential; if sometimes lazy, he could be entrepreneurial as seen when Randal describes how “Teachers have formed semi-weekly night classes for the Boer men who wish to learn English, at their own request; for many doubtless find it to their business advantage to know the language, and besides, the instruction is free” (“The Journal’s Letter” 6). This anecdote is repeated in Randal’s *Canadian Magazine* article, to reflect how the teaching project extended well beyond child-focussed initiatives and had many additional benefits, including adult education. Anne McClintock emphasizes that race and gender “all too often put white women in positions of decided—if borrowed—power, not only over colonized women but also over colonized men. As such, white women were not the hapless onlookers of empire but were ambiguously complicit both as colonizers and colonized, privileged and restricted, acted upon and acting” (6).

Randal writes how the Boer teachers, “While not trained teachers . . . did good service in the earlier days of the camp, and I do not think, with few exceptions, that they used their positions to give false views of English policy to the children, as some feared would be the case” (“A Year” 413). Randal here provides a corrective to the widely spread propagandistic notion that Boer teachers (who taught the Dutch language and religion) biased the children in order to make them dislike the imperial teachers. Further, she reflects that once the Canadian teachers moved from camp schools to rural and farm schools, they were “treated with much kindness, as a general thing, by the Boers who seemed to appreciate the chances offered by their coming. They got education and books

free, and in some cases they even asked to have night-schools established, so eager were they to learn English” (“A Year” 415). Randal acknowledges that “things did not always run smoothly, and some districts held many bitter hearts,” yet the overwhelming tone of the essay is to show that “Dutch children are light-hearted, good-tempered and easily moved to laughter . . . So fond of learning were they” (“A Year” 416). The Boer children were seen overwhelmingly as a generation who were suited to improvement and incorporation into the imperial family, and similarities to Canadian children were often drawn. For instance, Randal describes a selection of her photos of Boer children by remarking that “I doubt if you would find them very different from Canadian children in appearance. The marquees in the background make the setting foreign, but the boys look out at you like any Jack Canuck” (“School Camps” 3). Conspicuously, however, while so much of the humanitarian intervention was premised on English education, little guidance and direction were provided to the women, who were relatively free to teach whatever they pleased. Edith Murray notes that teaching was “done somewhat under difficulties” (“Message from South Africa” 167) and explains that the inspector, who provided directions when they arrived, said to the teachers “Do as you please regarding methods of teaching, discipline etc.; we know you will do your best” (167).

Outside of direct contact with children and families through the schools, another important arena where the teachers modelled colonial civility was in the social sphere. Camp life, as Van Heyningen has argued, was dreary and monotonous, and the “British were well aware that this dreary isolation was bad for morale . . . In their eyes, education, sport and celebration also had the virtues of introducing the camp people to British values and cultural institutions, to prepare them for the British world they would inhabit after the

war” (256). To contrast with the Boer women’s seeming laziness, Randal is an active woman—enjoying social and touristic engagements, teaching children, and participating in sports. Both Randal and Graham write about the social life in the camps, where: “there was always something going on. Someone was sure to drop in for afternoon tea, after which there would be tennis, at which game the Dutch people are experts . . . And everybody played field hockey. . . We also had several concerts in the big tin school shed” (Graham 72). These activities display the teachers’ athleticism, as the hockey field and tennis court serve as metaphors for intra-cultural sociality that existed outside of the schoolroom. Thus, even the social and athletic activities are structured upon forming a notion of British civil life through displays on the playing field and in the “tea room,” where the teachers modelled feminine athleticism and conduct. Through sporting events, the teachers modelled their physicality, which, from the selection process in Canada to life on the veldt, was a continually foregrounded aspect of their deployment.

The women’s bravery, too, displays to a Canadian audience their hardiness and suitability to life on the veldt, seen in a letter Randal published on April 28, 1903 about the “Ladies as Snake Killers” (6), an episode she repeats in “A Year in a Boer School.” This anecdote displays the bravery the women enacted in South Africa, where “many a timid girl has killed her snake[,] who in England would have screamed at a mouse” (416). The snake killing can be read as testimony to the teachers’ courage and strength, who yielded their physical prowess to conquer nature and survive on the African veldt. The teachers’ physicality thus not only subdues nature, but also conquers the Boer families by seeing the “apathy” fade from the children’s faces. In the same way that imperialists framed war as “humane,” so too can the narratives of education and adventure occlude

the imperial violence associated with cultural assimilation policies. Consequently, depictions of the teachers' tent life trials, life in a new climate, and the perils of Africa prompt consideration of the many omissions of hardships, trials and testing the Boer families faced, whose living conditions, by contrast, were much harsher.

Randal's short essay highlights the success of the anglicization project, and she does not provide any criticism about camp policy or the teaching project in her own words. Her essay strategically concludes with a small acknowledgement of the human impact of the scorched earth policy, which is provided through three excerpted letters written by Boer children that describe their homesickness, capture, and fear of British hospitals. Randal counters these criticisms by asking: "are they not pitiful in their calm statement of tragedy? The Boers, superstitious, credulous and ignorant, believe that to be ordered to a hospital is the same as receiving sentence of death. But for a time the awful mortality in the camps must have given anyone the same idea" (417). So as not to emphasize the claims the letters convey, Randal dismisses the sentiments by deploying stereotypical descriptions of the "superstitious, credulous and ignorant" people, while undermining her assertion with a rhetorical statement about camp mortality. The letters, written by children in broken English, become documents that Randal incorporates to describe the Boers' suffering. In this way, Randal contrasts the notion of the humanitarian camps with the children's personal telling about the effects of the scorched earth policy. In one instance a child's diction is copied verbatim to tell how "Englishman going they burn houses and catch the people and bring it in camp" (417). Yet she never independently asserts these statements and is selective in including critical voices that allude to suffering and hardship so as not to level these critiques herself.

Using a similar tactic, Maud Graham includes a letter from the “Dutch Synod of the Transvaal” in her book as a document that reflects the Boers’ perspective of their treatment in camps: “They [the British] locked up our women and children in murder-camps and sent out the lie to the world that they went there for protection of their own free will” (165). Graham, like Randal, is shrewd in presenting a more nuanced perspective of the conflict than a first reading of the text suggests. By using second-hand documentation, rather than her own opinion, she is able to make her text multivalent and record the Boers’ perspective about their treatment during the war, while not levelling criticism against any government in the process. After all, her book has been framed as a personal memoir from a writer who favourably retells the imperial mission. The inclusion of these documents of dissent in both women’s texts suggests the amount of self-censorship, along with press censorship, that occurred as they wrote about their experiences, especially taking into account the fact that Boer families would have experienced great trauma through their forced expulsion, and then through disease and infant mortality in the camps. Only after the camps were dismantled and the teachers move to rural villages to complete their year’s assignment does Graham remark that a house in Fauresmith (the town to which she is stationed) “was typical of all the houses in the town,” where “every bit of furniture was more or less smashed, every mirror was in fragments, every mattress ripped up” (102). While she acknowledges that the imperial troops of “Yeomanry, Highlanders and Colonials” (102) had rendered the harm, she then continues to explain “the uncomplaining way in which both sides set bravely to work to clean out their ruined homes . . . For the moment, it seemed as if joy at being home had swallowed up all other feelings” (104). It is only late in her text that Graham is able to

acknowledge how the Boer families have been wronged through imperial policy; however, she quickly dismisses this sentiment and her ambivalent tone suggests that the destruction of property has served a purpose to bring about War's end. These acts of demolition are then rectified through "uncomplaining" cooperation.

Against these oblique references to human pain and militarization, the general chatty, upbeat tone of the letters and Graham's memoir should be questioned; yet, to overlook their insights on social life, outings, domestic arrangements, and daily trivialities would be to diminish how the women were supplying novel content about their adventures within a feminized travel genre for an audience in Canada. The teachers' mobility in South Africa and their imperial mission obscures the inherent violence around them—they moved through territory that had been marked by war—while they wrote about and focussed on the feminine, domestic projects of hygiene and homemaking. Absent from their narratives, most notably, are Indigenous Africans, who are dismissively referred to as domestic labourers or as employees in the mines.

A Vacant Veldt: "the empty spaces of the colonist's imagination" (Bateman and Pilkington 1)

Graham's and Randal's writing reveals how, as subjects of a self-governing British Dominion, the women's Canadian identities were anchored in ideals of whiteness and belonging in imperial space. This identity was mobile, so that even in a distant terrain of a new British colony, the women exhibit an implicit proprietorship of the land. When the teachers move out from the camps, Randal and Graham both describe South Africa as a "vacant land" ripe for settlement and British rule, with Indigenous people merely confined to the sidelines—or invisible—where they provide a ready labour source for a

white ruling population. When the teaching engagement shifts from the camp contact zones to the larger terrain of South Africa, the narratives shift to depict their work through the language of pioneering and settlement. When resettling South Africa, the teachers come into contact with Black women and their exchanges provide narrative excitement to continue framing their work as an adventure. This section argues that the teachers' portrayal of Black people presents a specific view of managing an Indigenous population. If the Boer women were within the pale of civilization, Black people, by contrast, are beyond its borders, and outside of assimilation efforts.

In order to emphasize the connection between Canada and South Africa, the diction of settlement and the trope of pioneering are the terms Florence Randal uses to describe her move from concentration camp to farm school upon the War's end. Randal writes how "she was sent out into the veldt to act as a pioneer. . . . with their household and teaching equipment; three marquees, tin kitchen and a very good set of furniture and housekeeping gear . . . A Kaffir boy was supposed to do the rough work" ("Year" 414). Randal dramatizes her relocation from the concentration camp to farm school by drawing on the associations that "pioneering" evoked—her settlement was premised upon the feminine specialization of setting up camp on (imagined) empty terrain. Her gender situates her as suited to establishing domesticity and order, which she presents as unthreatened by an Indigenous presence, rendered here in the form of a lone, black male who is diminished to being a servant, merely a "boy." Once established in the farm school, Randal describes how she felt isolated and lonely, relating how: "A certain headmaster expressed great surprise to me that Canadians should feel this in any way. 'I thought it was what you were used to, you know—roughing it on the prairies'" ("Year"

415). This description reveals a characterisation whereby Canadian teachers and soldiers had attained an international settler identity as pioneers expanding territory across the Canadian prairies and suited to hardy, “rough” lifestyles. Settling the plains of Canada and civilising the veldt of South Africa are consequently structured around presumptions of a gendered settlerhood, which, in Randal’s case, faces little challenge from an Indigenous population, as her settlement is depicted as a natural extension of her presumed settler sovereignty.

The teachers’ writing thus creates a narrative of inevitable Indigenous dispossession to establish a white presence as presumptive (and imperially-sanctioned) norm. Veracini describes the various forms that Indigenous erasure can take through methods he calls “transfer,” by which populations are erased, removed, or disinherited in colonies using methods that that can range from genocide to physical removal to legal means. Importantly, he includes “narrative transfer” as a process by which Indigenous people are written out of histories and discursively omitted from records. This narrative transfer may represent Indigenous communities as hopelessly backward and associated with the past, or as subject to an “*inevitable* vanishing,” destined to disappear from the land (Veracini, *Settler* 41). In the case of Randal and Graham, their insights and contact with Black people thematizes Indigenous dispossession as natural and inevitable. Notably, as the women sideline Black people in their accounts, their narratives can be read for omission and occlusions—sites of narrative transfer.

The central tenets of settler colonies are land ownership, development of agriculture and natural resources, and population control, which means that the way the women portray the South African project to a Canadian audience provides insight into

early colonial perspectives regarding historical colonialism and settlement. Graham's memoir in particular shapes a notion of a land peopled with few Indigenous black people, which reflects and reinforces a white colonial perspective that imperial territory whether in South Africa or Canada was coloured white. While her memoir is structured as a travel narrative, the middle five chapters of her text read as works on political economy, wherein she provides her viewpoints on current affairs in South Africa. Graham provides her outspoken opinions through chapters concerning "The Kafirs and the Labor Question," "Repatriation and Compensation," "Paupers and Government Relief Works," "Education and Church Schools," and "The Farming Question" (Chapters X to XIV). Notably, the chapter about "The Kafirs and the Labor Question" is reprinted on December 23, 1905 in *The Globe* (p. 19). *The Globe's* editorial decision to profile this chapter suggests its potential interest to the newspaper's readership and is consequently a section of Graham's memoir that would have circulated far more widely than the printed memoir itself. "The Kafirs" focuses on the topics of native people and labour concerns, and by bringing this topic to the fore, the texts disclose a settler woman's perspective of encountering Indigenous people in a distant colony.

Graham describes how "The Kafirs are an important element in South African life, outnumbering the whites five to one. The term Kafir is applied to all the blacks indiscriminately although it belongs properly to the most numerous race, which is gradually absorbing the others" (136). As she continues, Graham relates how "They have the same feeling of ownership of all South Africa that the Red Indians had of America, and in fact have often been heard saying, since the war, that when all the British soldiers would leave the country it would be their turn to get back their land" (136). This flippant

comment by Graham reveals what is at stake at the heart of the settler projects. Specifically, her use of past-tense verbs to describe an apparently homogenous “Red Indian” people in America presumes their subjugation. That is, North America has subdued its collective, undifferentiated native population, winning control over Indigenous land, while native Africans still have a “feeling of ownership” over “their land,” which is ironic with Graham implying that this “feeling,” will invariably come to pass. Graham describes Black people’s Indigenous *a priori* status through sentiment, as they have merely a “feeling” of land ownership, ignoring her own “feelings” of settler sovereignty. This black “feeling” also implies little right to territorial possession in the absence of surplus labour (for improvement) and creates a “them versus us” binary, which Graham presupposes her audience will read as implicitly erroneous. Striking in this depiction is that the Black people are translated to a Canadian audience by comparing them to an “Indian” native population, which clearly articulates a comparison between Indigenous dispossession and white ownership of land in North America and South Africa.

As I discuss in the Introduction to this dissertation, there are significant differences between the Indigenous and settler population demographic in South Africa and Canada. Yet many parallels can be drawn between the two settler colonies, as the women articulate a colonist’s perspective on how to manage perceived population surpluses in order to establish whiteness and Englishness as hegemonic norm. In order to further investigate these literary tendencies, the women’s narrative strategies with respect to omission and idealization can be characterised around four broad themes, namely: black women as an idealized and domestic labour source for white women; black men as

a ready labour force for resource extraction or domestic labour; black people portrayed as curiosities and/or as sources of comic relief; and, most importantly, black people as absent or invisible as South Africa is displayed as a vacant veldt.

“A pretty scene”: Black Women as Idealized Domestic Labourers

In *A Canadian Girl*, there are sparse references to the Indigenous Black population. When the Canadian teachers interact with black women, it is in an employer-servant relationship, and the Black women are simultaneously diminished and caricatured in these accounts. In the town of Fauresmith, the teachers live in a simple house they name “Maple Cottage,” which represents a beacon of Canadian presence in South Africa, and the teachers extend hospitality by giving a “picnic to all the smaller children; and . . . to the mothers and the members of the upper classes” (107). By welcoming their Boer neighbours, and especially the wealthier women, the Canadians establish themselves as on par with the local women. Having a servant allows the teachers to invite women of the “upper classes.” Graham describes how they employ “Maria, our Kafir” who “could speak no English,” but “smiled sweetly” and “was beautifully clean” (106). Maria is characterized as a possession, denoted through the use of the possessive pronoun “our,” described simply through her physicality, and remains a liminal presence, like their second servant “Joanna,” who “was a continual source of amusement. She was an older woman, an excellent cook, but always talking to herself and apparently enjoying some joke at our expense. These Kafir girls were like mischievous children” (Graham 119). The comparison to a mischievous child infantilizes the black women, presenting them as less intelligent. The servants serve as a source of amusing entertainment, and Graham presents herself as a white woman in a position of power who surveys the “children” with

a genteel, bemused, demeanour that displays her perceived superiority. The distance between the black and white women is further established by describing the cook's child as a "pickinanny," which is a derogatory racial slur to caricature the child as extremely small and further diminishes the child alongside the mother who is characterized as a mere servant "girl."

Consequently, the black women are conceived of as inferior to the white women, suited merely to domestic service, but they are also represented as cleaner than many of the Boer women and are thus able to work inside the Canadians' houses. Graham describes how the "Kafir girls make excellent laundresses, but their methods are sudden death to fabrics. All the washing is done in the river beds, on flat rocks, the dirt being worked out by constant pounding of small stones. The clothes are then spread out on thorn bushes" (139). This scene is replicated by Randal in "A Year in a Boer School," through a photograph that shows a black washerwoman scrubbing clothes in the river, while an English woman reclines on the bank, which Randal describes as "a typical bit of South African farm scenery in its prettiest aspect" (417).

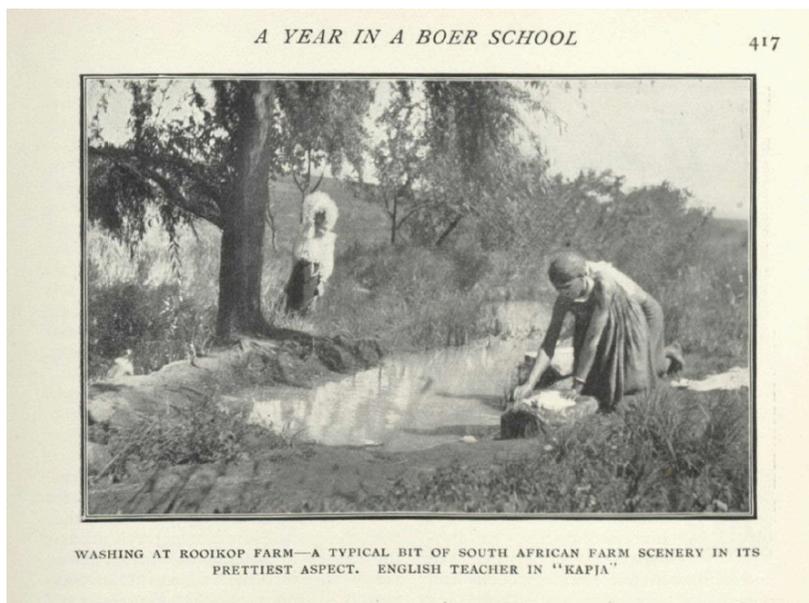


Figure 4:
Photograph included in "A Year in a Boer School," *The Canadian Magazine*, vol. XXII, no. 5, Mar. 1904, p. 417.

Visually, then, the black women are rendered in peasant-like simplicity, representing a servile, domestic idyll, where an Indigenous presence is merely arrested as part of the pretty “scenery.” Notable is the Canadian woman’s gaze over the subservient domestic labourer. The photograph is neither dated nor located in a specific setting; however, a diary entry from September 1902 could provide a clue as to its source. In this entry, Randal describes a trip the teachers take to Botsabelo mission school as their “first outing into the veldt,” remarking how: “I watched the Kaffir women washing their clothes on the flat stones on the sedgy bank. Wild heliotrope grew there, with a scent like oranges and we wreathed it with peach blos--- for our hats & felt like girls who had suddenly met Spring & the May . . . we came home at sunset, laden with bloom.”⁸⁰

Randal describes the village’s beauty at the mission station in terms of a folkloric English garden, where the black people are rendered as willingly subdued, calmly contributing their domestic labour, without resisting their situation. While the Black women perform cleaning duties, the colonial white women leisurely gather decorative flowers. In her journal, Randal records seeing the mission school as follows:

There jutting out into the land was a rocky promontory veiled by peach blossoms and crowned by Kaffir houses . . . I shall never forget that brown-red slope ringed around with pink and white flowers, and at its feet lanes that ought to have been in Devon, with drooping, feathery green willows forming arches through which one had a vista of yet more delicate combinations in pink and green and terracotta. It was so like England, with the roses in the missionary’s garden, the ivy on the storekeeper’s house, and the april (sic) sky above it all.⁸¹

⁸⁰ Sept. 7, 1902, “FRL Diaries: 1902-07,” Box 5, Folder 18, DLF-UM.

⁸¹ “FRL Diaries: 1902-07,” Box 5, Folder 18, DLF-UM.

The scene, which arrests the “Kaffir women” in an English garden setting, articulates the two spaces of origin, which Veracini argues underpins the settler’s insistence on a right to feeling at home—to belonging and indigenizing—in a distant land. The settler is consequently always torn between originating from somewhere else on the one hand, and on the other, seeing him/herself as perfectly indigenized in a new space (Veracini, *Settler* 20-21). Randal consequently articulates an Edenic space of origin (her colonial identity is intertwined with British ideals) that she describes in terms of an English garden in Devon, while articulating a desire to transplant this myth onto the vacant veldt. The physical garden taking root represents her colonial perspective of how the missionary-settler has been transplanted to a distant land and has cultivated a natural rootedness in place—that British civilization has taken root and cultivated a formerly untended land. Notably, Randal reveals how the English countryside permeates an Anglo-imagination; even while her identity is Canadian, she draws on the tropes of the mother country as a mythology that structures her associations to a British world. Randal thus shows how much of the Canadian identity is tied to origin stories situated in the mythical spaces of an English Eden. The process of Europeanisation and Indigenisation take place simultaneously to aid the colonising project in South Africa—an English garden taking hold symbolically suggests the transposition of Englishness onto the veldt, erasing prior claims to the land, establishing the settlement as normative and “natural.” While the Canadian women are marked by the fact that as imperial subjects (they will return to Canada), the perspective they reflect is that of the settler colonist, who surveys the land as a permanent Eden, where “individual settlers have an intention to stay and operate in a system that supersedes itself” (Veracini, *Settler* 99).

In her column published on August 5, 1902, Randal describes a visit to ‘Hohenheim house’ in the Transvaal where “Lionel Phillips of Jameson raid fame lived” (7). Randal writes how “The grounds and outlook showed what irrigation could do for this tree-less country. It seemed strange to look down upon an artificial forest which stretched away for miles in the distance below the cliff. The trees were all blue gums and pines, but it might have been a bit of Canadian scenery all the same” (7). Here, Randal articulates how agriculture, cultivation, and irrigation improved the “tree-less” environment into a functioning forest, and demonstrate how settlement purportedly improves an otherwise unused land. Randal describes the scene in Canadian terms, which draws the two colonies into comparison around the theme of working the land. Similarly, in *A Canadian Girl*, Graham describes how “the approach to Johannesburg through long groves of tall Australian blue-gum, or eucalyptus, trees, was very pretty after the monotonous bare plain from Norval’s northwards. These trees were grown to furnish poles to support the underground levels of the mines” (76). The transplanting of non-native trees into a South African terrain reflects the labour and tillage that occurred to provide lumber in order to literally support the mining industry. In addition, the beauty of the blossoming blue gum trees in the spring masks the banal capitalist interests for which they have been planted. Metaphorically, too, the trees growing above ground can be read as representing the settler situation, where the trees have been transplanted in a distant colony, to improve, enhance and overlay an existing biota. Symbolically and visually, the non-native blue-gum trees represent transplantation and improvement—themes around which the British settlement of the colonies were premised.

Colonial Spectatorship

In Randal and Graham's writing, the use of photography as a technique of tourism and reportage is also a feature of their work. While in Johannesburg, where the teachers convene for an education conference, Graham describes two defining features of the city:

the coolies and the rickshaws. Numbers of these latter have their stand in front of the post-office, and are drawn by native Kafirs, or Indian coolies with extraordinary head-dresses. Another girl and I stood until we were tired, trying to get a snapshot, but they proved as wily as brook trout, and kept turning their backs when we attempted to press the button. (77)

The teachers as tourists survey the land and its people in an ethnographic way, typifying a form of what Julia Emberley calls "colonial spectatorship," a phrase that describes how photographs reflect "the sanctioned knowledge with which to identify who is civilized and who is not" (166). In Johannesburg the "Indian coolies" and "Kafirs" are exotic spectacles, who show resistance to the women's touristic curiosity, by turning their backs to the cameras. Indeed, the teachers travel with "kodaks" that click "incessantly" (Graham 50), and both Graham's book memoir and Randal's essay in *The Canadian Magazine* contain photographs of their trip. Of the seven photographs that Randal includes in "A Year in a Boer School," one portrays a "Kaffir driver—on the way to a veldt school with the necessary furniture" (414), whom Randal describes in the singular diminutive of "boy," who was to provide manual labour to build the farm school. Randal's images suggest open vistas, single dwellings, and a country with few inhabitants. With black people neatly cordoned off from view, a lone male and a single washerwoman are the only inclusions and representations of the black races. The teachers

view black labourers with a touristic gaze, reproducing the Indigenous African people as singular and subjugated, rather than representing them as members of vibrant, thriving communities. They are merely described as a mass of undifferentiated labour. Graham remarks how “Native labor is, of necessity, one of the main features in the conduct of the mines,” and describes a visit to Jagersfontein diamond mine, where the women witness a gunpowder blasting. As the black workers take shelter from the explosion, Graham reflects that they are “like rabbits” going “into their burrows” (140). Through the simile, Graham compares the men to animals, and describes them as primitives who wear sparse clothing, “oddly-braided straw Kafir hats, and little else” (140). Graham further dehumanises the miners by recounting how they receive only a “shovelful of mush” made from “Indian corn” for lunch, which is placed in their pails (140). The descriptions are vague and homogeneous, and Graham’s use of collective nouns dehumanises the men as a singular, collective labour force, who exist in a place that is subterranean, as they “vanish” into a “hole inside of the pit” to eat (140).

Graham uncritically reveals a white woman’s touristic gaze, describing the site as a “model” mine (141). It is such an exemplary model, in her opinion, that “they [the labourers] appreciated their fair treatment” and “understood perfectly the reason for this detention”; their satisfaction “was proved by their readiness to sign on again at the expiration of their terms” (141). In fact, Graham obscures how the labour market at War’s end had collapsed. Lord Alfred Milner (High Commissioner for South Africa at War’s end) saw the mines as key to economic recovery, and recruited African labour as well as Chinese migrants, to work in the Rand. Migrant labour from China began to arrive in 1904, and would amount to more than 60,000 Chinese workers in the mines by

1907 (Barber 35; Ross 84). Graham notes the presence of “large contingents” of Chinese migrants, who while displacing African workers, she perceives as “beneficial” to the economy (143). Graham’s discussion on migrant labour connects to her observation and categorization of racial stratifications in South Africa. The taxonomy she provides implies a natural order of races, with those who are not white supporting the colony through their labour. In Canada, the arrival of immigrants was connected with Westward expansion, and Chinese migrant workers had been instrumental in building the Canadian Pacific Railway. Daniel Coleman argues that a central issue proving Canada’s “maturity” as a new Dominion would be its civility towards dealing with a large immigrant population (*White Civility* 168-9), and explains how white immigrants are positioned “at the gates” of civility, where non-British people “anxiously await” incorporation (171). Graham, however, ensures that the black mine workers and the Chinese migrants are dehumanized and suitably confined to the subterranean spaces of the mines, to reveal their low-level of civilization and unsuitability for incorporation into the white population, as they prefer to live “in their locations” and are “too ignorant” to be allowed “freedom” (139).

Portrayals of Black People

There are striking instances in *A Canadian Girl* and in Randal’s private journal that reveal how black people were often seen as a source of amusement, who were required to “perform” for the white teachers—displaying their language proficiency, their newly acquired “culture,” and their Christianity. Graham recounts how the colonial teachers attended a concert held at a “Kafir mission school,” where “a dozen dusky beauties” and “an equal number of the more sombre sex in ill-fitting blacks” sing

“without accompaniment, reflecting great credit on their teacher, a native with a really fine face” (137). This opening chorus is followed by “a succession of recitations, given with varying degrees of agony, to say nothing of the toilettes” (137). The women teachers, seated in the front row of the audience, attempt to remain stoic, when the “appearance of Sam, the butcher’s boy, proved to be the last straw” (138). Sam has some difficulty singing the final number, which led the women into outbursts of laughter as they “encore him, and after that there was no holding ourselves at all” (138).

In this scene Graham depicts the Black performers as culturally inferior and unable to perform to the standards of English recitation expectations; the humour she finds in the situation shows how laughter functions as a corrective force, employed to reduce the humanity and credibility of the performers, which distances her from the black culture. Her perspective is that of the settler who is ordained to deem who is civilized and who is not. Hygiene, too, is deployed to distinguish the women from the natives, as Graham remarks about their body odours and dress. Unlike the black servants who were employed to work in the teachers’ homes, and who were “beautifully clean,” many of the Black people are demeaned through the insinuation that they were unclean. Randal records her visit to Botsabelo station, a “Kaffir Mission,” where school children sing and perform for a white audience; she records how the “local scent proved rather too much after a time so we went into the church.”⁸² Thus, the humour functions to signify the distance between the two competing populations: the indigenes appear uncivilized even as they attempt to perform Englishness, and their standards of cleanliness place them outside of Anglo culture. The contrived scene establishes an arena for cultural display—a

⁸² Randal, Sep. 7, 1902, “FRL Diaries: 1902-07,” Box 5, Folder 18, DLF-UM.

performance of civility is expected, but in dress, delivery and hygiene, the black people are unable to perform to civil expectations, where humour signals their incompetence. The logic that these displays imply is that despite efforts at education, the black people “prove” themselves to be inassimilable.

Graham’s text in fact enacts a double displacement of black people; through narrative, she erases the vital presence of the Indigenous populations, while also describing the legal means that controlled the movements of black people, segregating them in housing “locations” set up around towns and farms. Graham draws on the trope of the native savage as she recounts how in “Natal and on the veld they are too numerous and for the most part too ignorant, to be allowed such freedom [to live freely amongst the whites]” (138-9). She explains how:

the Kafirs are not allowed to live intermingled with the whites, but must keep to themselves in ‘locations,’ or settlements, at one side of a town or farm. Secondly, no Kafir is allowed to wander about the towns or country without having in his possession a ‘pass,’ signed by his employer, renewed monthly, to certify that he is in regular employment. At nine o’clock, throughout the country, a curfew bell rings, after when any Kafir found outside the location, without special pass, is liable to fine or imprisonment. (139)

Population controls are thus present in forms of physical separation, and mobility enforced through passes and curfew hours, in order to restrict black people’s movement around the country. Against this fixity and segregation, Graham reveals her racial privilege by including a photograph of her pass used in South Africa to demonstrate the legal means that sanctioned the women’s unrestricted movement in South Africa.

Graham's and Randal's reflections on their encounters with black and mixed races in South Africa are typical of early twentieth century white writers, where discourses of Social Darwinism and nascent notions of the "superiority" of white races were articulated. Significantly, Graham and Randal uphold these stereotypical tropes, but also read the people and landscape in romanticized Canadian terms—the African natives are like "red Indians" and the veldt scenery reflects the opportunities of an Eden or a Canadian forest. These descriptions reveal a developing sense of Canada as identifiable and maturing with regards to possessing a distinct national identity, when compared with South Africa's developing British colonial project; both settler projects were ultimately premised upon the spread of imperial whiteness and Englishness. The teachers' writing, novel for women at the turn of the century, reached Canadian audiences through the booming print press which, in turn, functioned to idealize the women as models of Canadian womanhood. Yet the accounts also functioned as a source of narrative exclusion, a form of colonial power that operated within imperial circulations of print. While the women had little political agency, and were privileged in their mobility across South Africa and within the empire, they claimed the right to speak of their encounters and experiences, permanently recording the cultures who were civilized, and those who were not. Their narrative strategies of seeing, photographing, and framing, within the genre of travel, established a unique model of femininity, in service of the imperial project of white, English settler rule.

**Chapter Three. Gilbert Parker and Stephen Leacock: “Canadian”
Literary Figures and the Complicated Meanings of the South African
War**

“The day’s pressing work began, with the wires busy under the seas” (Parker 63).

The previous chapters consider the circulation and publication of journalistic material in newspapers and magazines during the War years. The first chapter reveals the prominence of the Canadian soldier in a national magazine and the desire for a “modern realism” to represent Canada’s military involvement in South Africa. *The Canadian Magazine* produced the War as a national moment by distinguishing Canada’s volunteer soldiers, illuminating distinctions between the settler colonies of Britain, and making recourse to imperial tropes of white settler normativity. In the second chapter, I argue that Canadian women teachers were writing against—and within—gendered expectations to shape their insights on the War. Their writing was innovative and contributed to conceptions of feminine civility and represented a mobile settler sovereignty. The teachers were complex imperial subjects, brokering relationships to empire, Canada, and South Africa, while negotiating literary space for this portrayal. In both chapters, I consider generic hybridity and the significance of reporting a distant war in a settler colony to Canadians. If the War was a prominent event in the periodical and newspaper press, then chapters three and four examine how it was produced in fiction. I study novels that engage the South African War by authors Gilbert Parker, Stephen Leacock, and Sara Jeannette Duncan. Each writer worked in an English-language print market dominated by

British and American publishers and contributed to the nascent Canadian literary field from their various vantage points in the empire. The War is a touchstone moment in each work and allows me to think about how this event extended the generic resources of writers who chose to convey a contemporary event through imaginative literature, especially because the body of Canadian literature is not unanimous in its depiction of the War. Germane to these two chapters on fiction is genre and how each writer extends formal romance and engages with literary realism. These generic innovations are symptomatic of the different trajectories for Canadian fiction at the turn of the century. I begin this study with Gilbert Parker's imperial romance *The Judgment House* (1913) and use it as an archetypal model to reveal its deficiencies for writers like Leacock and Duncan who articulate the War as a significant moment that distinguishes Canada from Britain in the imperial network in the early twentieth century.

Distant Peripheral “Elsewheres” and the Limits of Romance (Willmott 51)

To anchor my discussion on genre in the next two chapters, I return to Glenn Willmott's terms of “transfiguration and interaction” (5), which I gestured to in chapter one, to describe the tensions that arise between romance and realism in Canadian literature in the late nineteenth century. The editors of and contributors to *The Canadian Magazine* were searching to define the hallmarks of literary nationalism because they identified that writers were employing popular romantic tropes and conventions, while simultaneously experimenting with formal realism to depict imperial war in South Africa. Willmott's theory of generic interaction illuminates this period specifically because he suggests that Canadian nationhood, arising out of Confederation, was not a strong enough factor to cause literary transformation. Instead, he suggests that generic development was

pervious to outside forces, what he calls the “intrusion of a global modernity into the imagination of life possibilities” (5). While Willmott identifies imperialism as the infrastructure that facilitated global flows of media, mobility, and economic activity, and print as the vehicle that conveyed these new developments to a Canadian readership, he omits the specificities of the War years as the profound event that exemplifies how external affairs intruded into lived, everyday experience. More than any imperial conflict before, Canadians engaged in, supported, debated, and responded to the War, and they did so through print coverage, which the previous two chapters have explored. I use Willmott’s argument as an anchor for thinking through generic interaction and modification, but nuance his analysis as I examine how narrating the War in fiction extended and challenged writers’ generic resources. This chapter considers how “intrusions of a global modernity,” as represented through the imperial war in Africa, reveal themselves in their impacts on genre in fiction (5).

Willmott’s notion of generic transformation is influenced by Frederic Jameson’s argument in “Modernism and Imperialism” that traces of imperialism manifest themselves not only in terms of literary content but also in terms of form. This formal problem that modernism seeks to solve is the “spatial disjunction” where “daily life and existential experience in the metropolis—which is necessarily the very content of the national literature itself, can now no longer be grasped immanently” (Jameson 51-2). This chapter is interested in formal concerns when writers articulate a vantage point from a peripheral site in empire, specifically one that situates Canada in a triangulated relationship with Britain and South Africa. I argue that writers draw on conventions of romance and realism, and exhibit the conditions of generic transformation Willmott

identifies, well in advance of modernism as a literary movement, as they attempt to construct the War's meaning as a moment of romantic nationalism and of Canada's national becoming. Leacock and Duncan evoke the War as an event that distinguished Canada, but its narration reveals romance's deficiencies. These texts highlight how writers who centred Canada depart from the imperial romance in Parker's novel, which presents a metropolitan view of empire. Leacock and Duncan depict how the conflict in South Africa was remembered, to show that the Dominion's experience was not circumscribed merely by internal, national concerns alone, but was pervious to external pressures—the intrusions into daily life that Willmott argues are the conditions for generic transformation. These external pressures are significant because they call on the romance as a “foundational, while merely formal, generic vehicle” to “register precisely this more disorganized, global flow of deterritorialized fantasies, of indeterminate and heterogeneous imaginations” (Willmott 5). Romance registered a “historicized wish” for an insular past that no longer existed (Willmott 23). The War revealed how Canada was not an isolated colony, or merely a British dependency, but an independent Dominion in a network of markets, many connected by imperial infrastructures of communication and print.

Romance is essential in the texts I examine because the appeals to empire, and the ties between Canada, Britain, and South Africa are often dramatized through metaphors of affection or allegorized through romantic love. However, the romance's abilities were strained; the romance revels in binary opposites and heterosexual pairings, and consequently fails to convey complex, networked relationships. Willmott insists that while romance was reinvented, writers turned to literary realism, but as a genre it, too,

was “turned inside out” (5). Conventional realism became “eroded by the uneven and unstable, slash-and-burn transvaluations of a material life subject to the unpredictable synapses of global economy, media and mobility. A self-ironicizing realism is now required in order to register these unevenly signifying events” (5). Realism relied on claims to truthful depictions of events, distinct Canadian regional identities, local colour writing, and descriptions of lived experience. But it alone could not articulate a present that was interrupted by goods, news, and events that perforated Canadian experience. Consequently, realism registered an “incomplete reality” (Willmott 23). Citing Jameson, Willmott argues that Canada’s “everyday life” came from a “nation growing out of a global world, not a global world growing out of a nation,” where “here” and “elsewhere” had become “intimately entangled” (51). In the works this chapter examines, this “intimate entanglement” is registered through interconnections between Canada, South Africa, and London, and importantly, is often registered through the romantic engagements of characters. Romance provided the form that allowed settler writers to imagine distant imperial “elsewheres” as a site for symbolic extraction in the service of romantic accounts of nation. Techniques of literary realism situated these fictional representations of individual life and romantic ties as historically and materially grounded.

While these two final chapters study how writing about the War depicts developments in literary genre, Carole Gerson has argued that the dominant model in Canadian fiction in the late nineteenth century was the historical romance. When writers chose this form, they “deliberately removed themselves from the frontiers of serious literary advancement and placed themselves directly within the mainstream of popular

literature” (Gerson, *Purer Taste* 66). Gilbert Parker’s War romance *The Judgment House* is “historical” in the sense that the novel is set in the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, yet it departs from his early historical fiction such as *The Seats of the Mighty* (1896), which reached back to a more distant military past during the 1759 Battle of the Plains of Abraham. Parker employs the romance genre in *The Judgment House* while modernizing the historical content to reflect a contemporary event that resonated with his international readership and would guarantee good sales. I begin this chapter with Parker’s popular romance that is a form Duncan and Leacock reject when depicting their fictional accounts of Elgin, Minnebiac, and Mariposa, even while they are unable to fully discard the conventions of romance as a structuring principle for depicting the War’s significance to Canada. In the first section, I study Parker’s novel *The Judgment House* in which South Africa and London serve as settings for a tale of love, betrayal, and redemption. Parker depicts the War as a conflict that celebrates empire’s dominance imagined through its masculine protagonist Rudyard Byng who is heroic in battle and subdues the enemy Boers. Parker ignores Canada in this novel and action shifts between the veldt and the metropole, and it is precisely Parker’s use of the predictable conventions of romantic fiction that serve to reveal its limits. Parker’s romance is structured on this bifurcation of place to represent binary oppositions. The simplest of these is the contrast between empire and periphery that are keyed to values of good and evil. Other tropes that Parker explores include trust and betrayal, the individual and society, ostentatious shows of wealth versus money used to support public ends, and murder as a contrast to death in war. These tropes are contrastive rather than relational and serve as problems to be solved through a British victory—the betrayer is punished, the individual hero triumphs, and

flamboyant wealth is put to good use. Significantly, in plot structure and resolution, the romance is limited to “pairings” because it features the marriage as resolution between two individuals who form a heteronormative couple. It struggles to depict the networked possibilities of competing others through traditional, bipartisan power relationships.

Parker’s romance cannot reckon with a third element in these oppositional tensions, such as the lover in an extra-marital relationship, the untrustworthiness of the half-breed, an unruly Boer population that disrupts mining stability on the Rand, or the transperipheral relationships between settler colonies that bypass the imperial centre.

By contrast, the romance functions differently on the periphery: where it reasserts British authority in Parker’s novel, for Stephen Leacock, it produces a nostalgic connection to empire and an attachment to British values, which are tenuously adhered to in day-to-day colonial life. In order to figure Canadian experience of the War, Leacock could not discard the popular romance; instead, he innovates within this genre and satirizes its limits. This is a similar technique that Sara Jeannette Duncan will use, as she, too, fractures romantic expectations to present failed romances. And yet while it strongly draws on romantic conventions, Leacock’s *Sunshine Sketches of a Little Town* is often cited as an early realist text that articulates identity in small-town Ontario. Mariposa is the fictionalized setting of *Sunshine Sketches*, in which the residents and their foibles form the content and substance of twelve linked, satirical sketches. Leacock, through his narrator, makes the writer’s techniques of realism overt, and the *Sketches* becomes self-ironizing to make visible their insufficiencies and incongruities. A moment, however, that is not rendered ironic is Neil Pepperleigh’s battlefield death—Neil lies buried in the “great silences” of South Africa (86). The *Sketches* question heroism through mock-epic

heroic tales, yet the only true war hero is not found in Mariposa, but instead lies buried in a distant settler colony. Neil is elevated to the status of a nation-maker, as his actions symbolically reflect Canada's national maturation. *Sunshine Sketches* reveal how loss is experienced on a personal level, and the intimate space of the family absorbs national loss, rendering the imperial to be personal. I read Leacock's depiction through the frame of silence and omission to complicate the substance of national narratives and question the place of violence in histories of community and nation. Leacock's fictional accounts, like Duncan's which I study in the fourth chapter, are examples of the generic "turning inside out of romance and realism," which Willmott identifies. Each text relies on the symbolic function of romance to depict the War, while demonstrating how incomplete these registers are when representing Canada's place in an empire mediated by transperipheral connections.

3.1 *The Judgment House* as Imperial Romance: "A triumphant rebellion or raid is always a revolution in the archives of the nation" (Parker 45)

This section examines the circumstances of Gilbert Parker's career and novelistic successes. I outline the themes of *The Judgment House*, which are set against the backdrop of the imperial war in South Africa to consider this novel as a prototypical romance. The novel was published in 1913 and became an international bestseller; it was the last of Parker's novels to do so, and reflects the persistence and endurance of the romance genre well into the twentieth century.

Gilbert Parker inhabited an imperial world, and his political and literary pursuits reflect this outlook. He was acknowledged in Britain and Canada as a prominent author

and celebrity and was knighted for his contribution to literature in 1902. While he lived in England in the later years of his life, Parker maintained strong ties to his Canadian birthplace and is an example of one of many expatriates who, like Robert Barr (featured in chapter one), contributed to the growth of Canadian literature in the late nineteenth century (Mount 16). Parker's literary beginnings were diverse. He studied Divinity at Trinity College, Toronto, and in his early career was an oratory lecturer at Queen's College, Kingston, before reporting for four years in Sydney at *The Morning Herald*. In Australia, his interest in the stage flourished, and he co-authored four plays. During this time, he also wrote short fiction and used Australia and Ontario's lumber camps as settings. In 1889, he settled in Bloomsbury, London, and moved in literary circles while retaining close ties with Canadian political and literary elites. His penchant for affiliating with the upper echelons of society meant he was occasionally "denigrated as a social and political climber for cultivating powerful literary and political friends, particularly in England" (Gerson, "Gilbert Parker" 263). Parker published his first historical romance *The Trail of the Sword* in 1894 and thereafter became a prodigious author of fiction, publishing in his lifetime over twenty novels, books on historical and political themes, plays, and screenplays.

The Canadian Magazine's editor John A. Cooper cited Parker in May 1899 as an example of an author underappreciated by a Canadian readership, yet one who had contributed to presenting Canadian history to its people ("Strength"11). While Cooper may have considered Parker poorly acknowledged in Canada, many of Parker's novels were in fact international best-sellers, and he was considered "the first Canadian writer to make a comfortable living by his pen," with a rumoured annual income of £7,000 in

royalties (Gerson, “Gilbert Parker” 265, 268). Clarence Karr offers that between 1899 and 1918, Parker was one of Canada’s “leading authors” making the “top ten nine times” in the Canadian best-seller list in *Bookseller and Stationer*, only superseded by Ralph Connor who made the list fourteen times (398-9). George Woodcock argues that writers like Parker, Duncan, and Leacock wrote in an “international context” and depended on English audiences to a far greater extent than most Canadian writers today (36), and Carole Gerson argues that this international audience challenges the story of Canada’s literary past which is “traditionally shaped as a saga of beleaguered survival on the margins of imperial centres” (“Writers”). Instead, understanding how authors like Parker succeeded in this international context allows the story of Canada’s literary past to be “recast as the harbinger of a global print culture” because Canadian writers frequently worked in an “international context with regard to the content of their texts, the location of their publishers, their desire for audience, and their own travels and domiciles” (Gerson “Writers”).

Parker often wrote about Canadian settings and history, and so contributed to the recognition of Canada and Canadian works internationally. He portrayed the Canadian North and West in *Pierre and His People* (1892), fictional stories about Pretty Pierre, a Métis gambler. These tales borrow on Kipling’s tradition of presenting exotic locales and hyperbolized characters to readers. In *The Seats of the Mighty* (1896), the novel’s backdrop is the historical battle on the Plains of Abraham; *Born with a Golden Spoon* (1899) is set in rural Quebec; and *The Right of Way* (1901) concerns modern Quebec. During the First World War, Parker published realist stories of Canada’s West, which were developed around a fictional community he called Askatoon (Waterstone 34).

Although he lived outside of Canada, tales of its settings and history infused his work. His novels were extremely popular with an extensive English-speaking audience, and in 1912, Parker's publishers in England and America brought out a collector's imperial edition of his works—a privileged treatment allotted to authors like Rudyard Kipling, Robert Louis Stevenson, and George Meredith.

Parker was active in British politics and in 1900 was elected as the Conservative candidate for Gravesend, a post he retained until 1918. When the South African War moved into its “gravest stage,” he spoke for “imperial loyalties and colonial import duties” (Waterston 5). His dual loyalties to Canada and Britain are seen in 1904 when he served as chairman of the Imperial South African Association, and in the same year, travelled with Wilfrid Laurier to the North West for ceremonies celebrating the entry of Saskatchewan and Alberta into Confederation (Waterston 5).⁸³ Parker's political work (and literary content) were thus closely tied to extending British rule over territories that were implicitly connected to erasing or enclosing Indigenous populations for settlers. In Canada, the incorporation of Saskatchewan and Alberta was premised upon the suppression of Indigenous and Métis resistance and enclosing the Plains Indians; in South Africa, War was the necessary means to assert British control, and Parker's novel

⁸³ In “Imperial Propaganda During the South African War,” Andrew Thompson argues that the Imperial South Africa Association was “deeply involved in various forms of extraparliamentary activism,” organizing pamphlets, speaker series, and mass meetings, and was financed by mining magnates Cecil Rhodes and Alfred Beit (308). It “developed strong links with the government” through members like Gilbert Parker, and though “independently organized and privately funded,” deliberately promoted pro-Imperial ideology during the war years (305). It even mobilized supporters in South Africa as it was closely aligned with loyalist organizations which were instrumental in drawing together South Africa's English-speaking communities before and during the War (312).

dramatizes the war as one that had little to no impact on an Indigenous African population.

During the First World War, Parker worked as a propagandist, holding the title of Director of British publicity in the United States but was still an active fiction writer. When interviewed by *The New York Times* in 1917, as the First World War dragged on, Parker speculated that the scope and scale of the War would reorient writers: “Men who have seen the clash of nations and the violence of great battles will not return to the tuppenny-ha’penny problem story and the photographic realism and the clever inanity of authors who will have had their day” (“Forecast of Radical Changes”). Essentially, Parker acknowledged how the unimaginable horror of war would fracture the writing of literature and lead writers to reconsider how to depict events of “national and individual life” after the War’s conclusion (“Forecast of Radical Changes”). In these comments, he reveals the literary realm to be connected to civic life and that significant global events contributed to formal developments in literature. Through the horrific, unimaginable events of the Great War, Parker sensed a change in literary taste and style, and foresaw how his plot-filled romances would no longer resonate with an imperial audience, and acknowledged the limits of techniques of photographic realism. After the First World War, Parker retired from political life, dabbled in writing screenplays, and published three more novels set in Canada, none of which matched the success of his earlier fiction.

Parker’s career was unique in that it stretched from the late Victorian period to the years following the First World War. His success with popular novels was formed on the backbone of the romance genre, and in the twentieth century, he witnessed the emergence of film, and the conversion of his novels into this new, visual genre. Yet despite Parker

being a prominent, prolific, and profitable author, his work is all but ignored by scholars, “who find his romanticised portrait of Canadian life false, his style artificial, his characters unrealistic, and his plots melodramatic” (Gerson, “Parker” 268). Despite there being no Canadian themes or characters in *The Judgment House*, the novel sold well in Canada (Waterstone 34), and the Toronto *Globe* suggested that the book would add to the “already great reputation of Canada’s most distinguished novelist” (“Reviews” 18). It did receive some criticism. *The Bookman* labelled it a “a pitiful performance” (qtd. in Adams 161), and *The New York Times* labelled the novel as “wearisome,” explaining that even the “costly charm” of Parker’s style would “save a good many of his pages from the ignominious fate of being skipped” (“Veld and London”). The lengthy novel is plot-filled, and South African depictions drew on Parker’s knowledge of the Afrikaans language and the African terrain, which were gained when he toured South Africa in the years preceding the South African War. *The New York Times* praised his vivid descriptive work that makes the “reader see and feel the veld” (“Veld and London”). The details of the Jameson Raid, Kruger’s ultimatum, and mining issues on the Rand display Parker’s knowledge of imperial politics, “his immersion day by day in committees and debates over the whole South African question” (Waterstone 33), and how these distant political issues were of interest to the elites in English society.

The Judgment House draws on Parker’s historical knowledge of South African politics, which lends an “authority of experience” to the “romance of the imaginative,” which Paula Krebs argues is a way that literary figures created a well-circulating vocabulary of imperial events during the War, which she terms an “imperial imaginary” (*Gender* 146). As a public figure and a well-known imperialist, Parker had authority to

write about the War. The novel includes many accurate events and biographically correct information, for example, on the figure of Cecil Rhodes (the Cape's governor and founder of DeBeers), but it is not a realist novel. While some events may seem real, many battles and place names are invented. One key battle in the novel takes place at "Hetmeyer's Kopje," but no such place exists. The War is thus an important historical event, but its accurate portrayal is inconsequential; South Africa is a backdrop upon which to project the characters' intimate relations: "There would be no preparation for that war which rages most violently at a fireside and in the human heart" (Parker 226).

The novel is structured in four books. Book one begins in London where interest surrounding Jasmine Grenfell's possible romantic engagements is set amidst the attention the failed Jameson Raid in South Africa receives.⁸⁴ Jasmine selfishly chooses wealth and upward social mobility, rejecting her long-time friend and love interest Ian Stafford, a rising star in the English diplomatic service. Instead she marries the self-made mining "nabob" Rudyard Byng, who is worth three million pounds (Parker 5). An English opera singer Al'mah is introduced, and her operatic stage serves as a metaphor for the theatre of war throughout the novel. In South Africa, Al'mah describes the war as "grand opera" (355).⁸⁵ Book two moves ahead three years to Glencader, Wales, with rumours of the

⁸⁴ The failed raid (1895) led by Dr. Leander Starr Jameson was an attempt by a group of insurgents, financed by Cecil Rhodes, to overthrow Kruger's Transvaal republic with the help of resident English-speaking "Uitlanders" [outlanders]. It was a civilian uprising, but the novel dramatizes rumours that many in the British government knew about the potential coup, that it strengthened Boer mistrust of Britain, and that Kruger had support from Germany.

⁸⁵ Al'mah's name derives from French and Arabic origins, with a variant spelling of "almeh." The Oxford English Dictionary defines "almeh" as "a trained female entertainer of a type that was formerly engaged to dance, sing, or recite poetry; (sometimes more loosely) a dancing girl or (in recent use) a prostitute" ("almeh, n"). The novel indulges this ambivalence in Al'mah's character as she is a famous performer who nevertheless exhibits promiscuous behaviour. She is always on the aristocracy's periphery as a love interest and entertainer.

War in South Africa circulating. In Wales, a dramatic mining accident explores masculine heroism signalling the bravery Rudyard will be called upon to demonstrate in the upcoming South African War. From Wales, the book returns to London where Ian Stafford diplomatically quells resistance in Europe, ensuring no homeland attacks will ensue during a war in Africa. This book also deals with betrayal and espionage, as an insider linked to Rudyard Byng has been selling British secrets to Boer leader Paul Kruger. Political and romantic infidelities are closely connected because Jasmine has been unfaithful to her husband, courting the favour of three men: a European diplomat, Ian Stafford, and Adrian Fellowes. While Jasmine's liaisons help quell European dissent, her friendship with Adrian Fellowes is malignant. Fellowes is able to extract confidential political information from Jasmine, and he uses Krool, the half-breed servant, as a racial and literal go-between to sell secrets to the Boers. Krool is a stereotypical character of romance, who is literally and figuratively a "dark" mistrusted outsider. He is a "half-caste"—a "Hottentot-Boer" (47)—and is depicted as manifesting the worst of the "savage and civilized worlds" (Watersone 34).⁸⁶ Notably, the word "Krool" is a homophone of "cruel" and codes Krool as a racial and moral outsider to the predominantly white, British characters. The book ends with the murder of Adrian Fellowes, and encloses this death within the story of a "murderous war" (Watersone 34). The final book moves to the veldt in South Africa and fictionalizes events that led to a British victory. On the battlefield, Rudyard valiantly fights to re-prove his loyalty to England, secure his masculinity, and recover control over his wife. As corollary to his actions, in rugged South African

⁸⁶ Krool is described as a "Hottentot-Boer," and Parker uses the term "Hottentot" to signal a people descended from the Khoisan, who were herders and pastoralists who migrated over large territories in South Africa.

conditions, the humbling work of nursing allows Jasmine and Al'mah (who is revealed to be Fellowes' murderer) to be redeemed for their infidelity and criminality. Notable, too, is that the plot is structured around English aristocratic women's actions, where Jasmine and Lady Tynemouth use their wealth to stock a nursing ship and set up "Stay Awhile" hospital to care for war casualties. However, rather than provide them with independence and freedom, their work in war allows them re-entry into civilized, heteronormative society, and Jasmine's infidelities are forgiven through hard work and good deeds. The novel's final chapter resolves events set in motion in London and Wales, but which are worked out in the colony: "Out of the agony of conflict would all come right—for Boer, for Briton, for Rudyard, for Jasmine" (Parker 414).

Power and Politics: The Houses of Power and Judgment

Throughout the novel, Parker situates power as it ebbs and flows through the colony and metropole in terms of binary opposites. The power relationship is bilateral between London and Johannesburg, emanating from the resource-rich gold mines on the Rand and rejuvenating the social and class structures of London, the seat of power that provides imperial and political stability. The romance genre is able to convey these oppositional relations because it revels in the trade of contrastive forces. The exchange, here, is a trade in tropes between good and evil, hero and villain, male and female, crime and punishment, empire and colony. And the romance resolves the balance of these opposites in favour of "good": Rudyard is instrumental in defeating the Boers and turning the tide of war in favour of a British victory, and Jasmine atones for her infidelities by nursing injured soldiers and using her material wealth to finance hospitals during the War. The resolution is a definitive victory for Rudyard and Britain, and war is the

necessary conflict that stabilizes these imbalances. The reaffirmed marriage functions as an allegory for colonial subjugation and British benevolence.

This dissection in terms of oppositional tensions seems reductive, but it is important to see this critique against *The Judgment House*'s romanticized account of the War. War is a historical event that serves as a metaphor for the clash of forces the novel indulges. These political tensions are foregrounded in Book one in "The Partners Meet," where Rudyard Byng's coterie of mining elites discuss their business affairs in the midst of receiving news of the Jameson Raid. Book one establishes that the stabilization of the South African colonies will determine Rudyard's (and British elites') material success. By extension, political and economic issues are structured around the romance of Rudyard and Jasmine, and this marriage, its trials, and ultimate resolution, is emblematic of Britain's securing control over South Africa. Not all the power emanates from the patriarchy, however, and Jasmine's home is the "Power-House" to which the novel refers, where she and Rudyard develop their romantic engagement. It is through and in her home of that many of their political and romantic troubles unfold. Power is described in many terms, but Jasmine's understanding of it is abstract, as if her actions are mere ripples in a current. Jasmine says of the Jameson Raid that this event has the "power to set waves of influence in motion which stir the waters on distant shores" (67). Hereby, she acknowledges how affairs in the colony reverberate across the Atlantic and affect life in London, but fails to realize her place in this current. Rudyard, by contrast, describes the power and wealth emanating from the gold mines in terms of crushing force: "there's nothing on earth which so much gives a sense of power—power that crushes—as the stamps of a great mine pounding away night and day" (67). Rudyard views power in

concrete terms of resource extraction, while Jasmine understands it relationally, in the ways people are socially connected, and how these human networks bolster her social status. These two forms of power come in to play during the crucible of War. Book one thus lays the groundwork to explain the novel's title where, if Jasmine's London home is the "power house" of a social and capital elitism, then its corollary, the "Judgment House," is her nursing hospital in South Africa during the War. Here Jasmine encounters and reckons with the treacherous liaisons of her past: "she was entering a House of Judgment: as though here in a court of everlasting equity she would meet those who had played their vital parts in her life" (372). War (personal and imperial) is the outcome of her infelicities, and Jasmine must learn how her social liaisons create political consequences. She is corrected through hard work and good deeds. By contrast, Rudyard atones for the inability to see his wife's social power by being made vulnerable as a humbled soldier who serves the empire.

While Parker's romance is attentive to the confluence of political and social relations, it also depicts how rich mining financiers were undermining British aristocratic social structures. The novel's resolution seeks to correct the ostentatiousness of those who misuse their riches by frivolously spending money on personal rather than national causes. The narrator explains that the "value of birth as a moral asset which had a national duty and a national influence, and the value of money which had a social responsibility and a communal use, were unrealized by the many *nouveaux riches*" (Parker 257). This meditation on birth, wealth, and national duty occurs as Kruger's ultimatum is announced, and war becomes the event that reinforces the British Empire's value to the mining capitalists because it signals that their wealth is precarious if the

mines on the Rand are unstable. Further, the novel explains that the need for civilians in the national army is not met by members of the *nouveaux riches*, but by “the land-poor peer, with his sense of responsibility cultivated by daily life and duty in his country,” and by the “professional men,” and people in the “shires,” who are not yet “material and gross, who had old-fashioned ideas of the duty of the citizen and the Christian” (Parker 258). This revelation suggests the old-world nostalgia Parker’s romance indulges, as it imagines working and lower-class citizens as connected to a national cause who can be called upon to serve in war, and it suggests their Christian duty to empire. Through the benevolence of Britain their classed place is secured, and their loyalty is a manifestation of the stability the political order provides. In this context, the narrator portrays the War as a “sieve to sift the people” because it serves “as the solvent of many a life-problem” (258). This is the productive tension at the heart of the empire-periphery opposition and in Parker’s romance: while Britain relies on its colonies for wealth, when this wealth is returned to London it undermines its social structures and results in decadent behaviour. In Rudyard’s case, his superfluous wealth enables his wife’s flirtations with powerful men. War solves this marital-social-economic imbalance. The novel upholds Rudyard and protects his mines on the Rand, yet it also corrects the flamboyant aspects of excessive wealth in the *fin de siècle*, which must be made subservient to a greater national “good.” These romantic infidelities must be dispensed with, and Jasmine must be restored under Rudyard’s care, in the same way that the War will stabilize the political, social and capital power of the *nouveaux riches*.

Unsurprisingly, the novel endorses the individual hero over the collective army and relies on the well-worn tropes of race to dramatize the victory of the British over the

uncivilized, animalistic Boers. In fact, the work could be read as a corrective to the broadly-circulated stories that Britain's soldiers were ill suited to war, and the British army blundered in South Africa (Davlin 11). At "Hetmeyer's Kopje" a battle ensues, which relies on a blending of Parker's knowledge of British defeats during Bloody Week, as well as triumphs such as the relief of Mafeking and Paardeberg, where cavalry played a key role. Byng's men are described using fictional heroic tropes: "They could ride like Cossacks, they could shoot like William Tell" (402), while the Boers are portrayed as uncivilized creatures, who are lodged in the terrain like animals. Rudyard's soldiers must do the "grim work of dislodging the voortrekker people from the places where they burrowed like conies among the rocks" (401). The Boers' knowledge of the local terrain dehumanizes them, and Parker portrays them as animalistic; this rendering is a contrast to the "indigenization" which occurs in Canada, where I show in chapter two how knowledge acquired through hunting and wilderness exploration imbues the colonial man with an indigenized right to the land. Further, the description situates the Boers as a "voortrekker"⁸⁷ nation, which means they are a gypsy-like people, roaming the land, without permanent right to it. The Boer men are dehumanised as they wage a brutal guerilla warfare: "here the Boer in his burrow with his mauser rifle roaring, and his heart fierce with hatred and anger at the surprise, laid down to the bloody work with an ugly determination to punish remorselessly his fellow-citizens of the veld and the others" (403). Despite this animalistic depiction of an "ugly" and "remorseless" foe, the enemy is nevertheless a "fellow-citizen," revealing how Parker depicts the War as the conquest for

⁸⁷ "Voortrekker" is an Afrikaans word meaning pioneer, and translates literally as "those who go ahead." The term is derived from the migration into the interior of South Africa, when the Dutch during the "Great Trek," where moved Northward from the Cape and settled the interior of South Africa.

territory between two settler populations. With the exception of the character Krool, the War is depicted as conflict between white settlers, and there are no acknowledgements of how black people were implicated and victimized in this conflict. Facing this dehumanized enemy, the British military is a collective of military precision: “Down in the valley the artillery was at work. Lyddite and shrapnel and machine-guns were playing upon the top of the ridge above them, and the infantry . . . were hurrying up the slope which Byng’s pioneers had cleared, and now held” (405). In terms of machinery and fighting technique, Byng’s men are superior and are the “pioneers” who metaphorically clear the land of uncivilized men, in order to win it for Britain, while the violence of their escapade is minimized and depicted in abstract, romanticized terms.

The War is depicted as an event that subdues the Boers and restores Rudyard’s rightful place as heroic (and benevolent) mining nabob. However, Rudyard and Britain must reckon with the problem of the half-breed, Krool, while the novel remains silent on the presence of black Africans. Consequently, it reproduces the myth that the War was one fought between white men. Krool is a character marked by racial and moral contradiction: he is loyal to Byng because Byng previously saved his life, but this does not preclude him from betraying England by selling secrets to the Boer leader. Krool explains his loyalties in racial terms: “I am a Hottentot. I am for the Boer, for Oom Paul” (319). Rudyard condemns this betrayal, saying that Krool’s actions are a result of his mixed race, attributing it to his blackness: “It’s the native in you, I suppose” (321). Krool is a problem for England and Rudyard; while his Boer blood may seem to ennoble him and elevate him from the uncivilized Africans, he remains untrustworthy because “he was still uncivilized” (321). Krool, however, is not killed in war; rather, he is absorbed into

the Boer ranks and becomes subservient to Britain, suggesting the way settler colonies are either able to dispense with or enfold racial others into their ranks. Krool's "Hottentot" blood situates him in racial decline, while his white "Boer" blood offers redemption.

While the novel subdues threats to Britishness posed by racial outsiders like Krool and the army of Boer fighters, it is notably dismissive of the participation of the colonies in the War. This is an astonishing omission because the War was notable for its reliance on colonial soldiers, and Canadian participation at Paardeberg was widely celebrated as a pivotal moment towards British victory. The omission of colonial participation is symptomatic of romance's generic limits. Parker is interested in empire and colony and in binary oppositions, and the power imbalances are restored through conflict and testing. But the novel has difficulty realizing the interconnectedness of the peripheries in the War, preferring to centre a romanticized hero rather than acknowledge how victory was a product of transperipheral colonial cooperation. In the same vein, the novel cannot accept extra-marital relationships. Romantic peripheries are dispensed with and Jasmine's lovers are killed—Adrian Fellowes is murdered and Ian Stafford dies on the battlefield. Consequently, colonial participation is diminished and portrayed as a mere duty—the soldiers are pawns in a game—in exchange for the benefit of British civilization and protection. One small anecdote tells of a chess-playing private from New Zealand, who enlists in war because he "heard old Britain callin'" and "treks" across the world, "to do his whack for the land that gave him and all his that went before him the key to civilization" (408). The New Zealander dies in battle, but as he lies dying, the narrator describes his actions: "He fished out the little ivory pawn and put it on a stone at his

head, to let it tell his fellow-countrymen how he looked at it—that he was just a pawn in the great game. The game had to be played, and won, and the winner had to sacrifice his pawns. He was one of the sacrifices” (408). This tableau uses the chess pawn as a metaphor for New Zealand’s sacrifice and underplays colonial military participation as necessary duty that will receive little memorialization. The dismissive tone unfeelingly gestures to the sacrifices that are deemed necessary in order to centre the romantic hero—Britain and Rudyard—as victor, while ignoring the participation of its colonies.

If the romance upholds the heteronormative hero, *The Judgment House* may seem to innovate a space for women’s place because the female characters are provided with the opportunity to conduct meaningful work in war. However, I read this feminine participation as corrective rather than revolutionary. Parker’s novel does not depict the early feminist movement contemporaneous with the novel’s writing. Jasmine and Lady Tynemouth organize nursing supplies and deploy a ship to South Africa where they establish hospitals to help wounded soldiers, and Waterstone argues that Jasmine, a sexually powerful, central figure, is “something new for Parker,” as she wields her social and economic power (33). Yet Parker’s innovations in female characters end here. While Jasmine takes the initiative to travel to South Africa, it is only in order to atone for her past sins and avoid social scandal in London. Parker places Jasmine in South Africa, where she must learn, as the narrator explains, that she requires a man who will “master” her with a “heavy hand,” and place metaphorical “shackles on her wrists” to overcome her “childish wilfulness and vanity” (446). The novel, consequently, situates women’s agency firmly within patriarchal structures, where War is a corrective force to redress wayward expressions of feminine agency. Indeed, Paul Kruger’s ultimatum parallels

Rudyard Kipling being cuckolded in front of his London business partners, when he finds out about Jasmine's infidelities. War is thus an international political embarrassment, and Kipling chooses South Africa as a terrain to fight for country and self-respect. Jasmine, too, stands to lose her social station and her capital if she divorces her husband. War proves a way out for both of them—an arena where Kipling can be re-masculinized and Jasmine tamed.

The Judgment House provides a British, egocentric view of the War. Parker's traditional romance delivers a melodramatic account of the prolonged campaign to concentrate political power in London through a British victory over African territory. This romantic conclusion ensures that capital and personal relations are rebalanced. The novel relies on imperial discourses of race, gender, and civilization to ensure that its hierarchy of power is maintained. This structure of dominance, however, is unsuitable when the viewpoint shifts to that of an imperial periphery, as it fails to articulate the multiple relationships a Dominion like Canada must broker in international affairs. Consequently, the next section considers how the traditional romance is strained when Leacock attempts to reflect Canadian experience because it is always mediated through networked relationships with the metropole and other points of empire. Binary oppositions and metaphoric contrasts break down for writers who consider Canada's place in relationship to both South Africa and Britain. To reveal these shifting terms of relationality and negotiation, Leacock employs romance and realism, and his work is an example of Willmott's notion of "interaction," where genres usefully coexist—and are even rendered ironic—when placed alongside each other. Significant is that while

Sunshine Sketches is commended by scholars as a pioneering work of regional realism, the romance remains a strong structuring force.

Mariposa and Imperial War

References to the South African War are brief but poignant in *Sunshine Sketches*, and the evocation of this event, with little explanatory historical context given, suggests that its mere allusion evoked a rich store of imperial associations for early twentieth century readers. The War's distillation is an argument for its amplified significance. While the War did not receive sustained attention in Leacock's early writing, he was a well-known imperialist who wrote on topics of imperial federation. Like Gilbert Parker, Leacock had experienced South Africa first hand. In 1907, he embarked on an international tour to spread the idea of "Imperial Development and Organization," and visited New Zealand, Australia and South Africa. He refers satirically to this tour in the introduction to *Sunshine Sketches*, ironically remarking how his visits were promptly followed by the "Union of South Africa, the Banana Riots in Trinidad, and the Turco-Italian war" (xvi-xvii). Later, Leacock vigorously supported the Great War, and by 1919 had "written dozens of articles, given hundreds of lectures, issued a major public pamphlet, and compiled four volumes of short fiction that included pieces related to the [First World] war" (Milne 47). It was in wartime that Leacock returned to Mariposa, writing a hope-filled "May Time in Mariposa" in 1918, and during the Second World War, a series of short stories called "Mariposa Moves On" on behalf of the Victory Loan campaign, "essentially pieces of propaganda for the war effort" (Spadoni xxxiii). However fleeting the sentimental vision of Mariposa is, it registered with a large

audience, and Leacock remained attached to imperialism and mythical Mariposa throughout his career.

In the next section, I examine how *Sunshine Sketches* parodies genre because Leacock deploys realism *and* romance to depict Mariposan life. Characters are elevated to heroic status, but they are swiftly undercut, as Leacock's satire reveals the follies and foibles of Mariposa's heroes. I dissect how Leacock undercuts heroism and heroic tropes, specifically through the courtship of Zena Pepperleigh and Peter Pupkin as a send up of the romance genre. Within a discourse of love, the poignant death of Neil Pepperleigh who dies in South Africa reflects how "everyday life" in Mariposa comes from a "nation growing out of a global world," where Neil's overseas death registers a poignant and personal moment in an otherwise comic text (Willmott 51). Leacock upholds the War as a touchstone event that symbolizes national duty to imperial causes, but it is a distant incident that should not be too closely inspected, and the reader is reprimanded, through a moment of direct address, to maintain silence in protecting the memory of Neil for imperial and national ends. I argue that the War's symbolic contribution to national romance is complicated when carefully examined, and I reveal how Neil's death is structured around silences and omissions that expose the violence (settler, personal, communal, and martial) inherent in nation-making, which is often sidelined and under-narrated. Interrogating how the War is inserted as a romantic symbol in a work of satiric fiction shows it to be a significant yet problematic moment in the service of an emergent national literature.

3.2 *Sunshine Sketches* and “the great silences of South Africa” (Leacock, *Sunshine* 86)

Stephen Leacock’s *Sunshine Sketches of a Little Town* was first published serially from February 17 to June 22, 1912 in the *Montreal Star*. These sketches were then released in book form in the same year in England and the United States under the imprint of John Lane, the Bodley Head, and in Toronto under the imprint of Bell and Cockburn (Lynch, “Editor’s Preface” xi; Bentley, “Introduction” ix). The series of twelve linked short stories about Mariposa, “the little Town in the sunshine” (Leacock 145), is one of Leacock’s most enduring works and has scarcely been out of print since its initial publication.⁸⁸

When the sketches were republished in book form, Leacock added an authorial preface, condensed some stories, and produced what Gerald Lynch has argued is a “highly organized and complex work” (“Religion” 83-4). The work sold well, and the publicity from Leacock’s writing added to his profile as a well-known imperial speaker and campaigner. Leacock sustained a prolific writing career and published works of humour almost annually, along with many books on political science and history during his tenure as a professor of Political Science and Economics at McGill University. His literary legacy endures. In the “Preface” to the 1996 Tecumseh edition of *Sunshine Sketches*, Lynch describes the work as a “national touchstone” (ix), while David Bentley

⁸⁸ Today, the work is easily accessible to scholars through the Canadian Critical Edition (Tecumseh, 1996), the Broadview edition (2002), the Norton Critical Edition (2006), and the New Canadian Library Edition (1960). In this dissertation, I use the 1996 Tecumseh edition, which preserves the original text of Leacock’s first edition published in book form in 1912 in Toronto by Bell & Cockburn, and in London and New York by John Lane. This reprint is taken from the version Leacock approved and preserves all of his “idiosyncrasies of capitalization and punctuation” (Lynch, “Editor’s Preface” xi).

claims it reveals “Canada’s greatest comic writer at his most accomplished and complex” (ix). Carl Spadoni describes the work as a “powerful commentary on the importance of shared values in a community and of Canada’s place within the British Empire” (vii). John Ralston Saul registers Leacock’s conservative imperialism and considers him “the funniest of men, who through ironic laughter brings each of us back to the deep truths in our character, yet also the deadly serious conservative economist who fights for a disappearing idea of empire” (xi). Margaret MacMillan describes Leacock as a public intellectual at a time when Canada “boasted few such figures” (7). Indeed, Leacock made a lasting contribution to Canadian culture and remains institutionalized through the annual awarding of the Canadian Medal for Humour in his name.

Mythical Mariposa and Militarism

Mariposa is a contradiction as it is a mythical town that simultaneously reflects a tangible sense of Canadian community and is a homage to a specifically Edwardian sensibility and a particular white English Canadian identity. Mariposa is modelled on Leacock’s home town of Orillia, Ontario and is a fictional representation of a predominantly white settler community adjusting to rapid industrialization and urbanization. Kertzer refers to the significance of these imagined literary places in the construction of national identity; the nation is an “imagined community whose emerging sense of identity comes, in part at least, from reading about Elgin [Duncan’s fictional Ontario town], [and] Mariposa” (“Destiny into Chance”). While not intending to be ironic, Kertzer describes how imaginative literary places contribute to constructing a sense of what it means to be Canadian, but this category of “imagined community” must be framed as distinctly English, white and imperial.

Mariposa is found on the fictitious lake Wissanotti, in the Third Concession of Tecumseh Township, in the county of Missinaba, in the very real Province of Ontario in the Dominion of Canada. It is English and it is British. Mariposa is also a node in a global network and its daily operations are connected to its American neighbours, Cuban financial schemes (barber Jefferson Thorpe is swindled in a Cuban investment scam and loses his financial windfall made in mining speculation), and imperial wars in Africa. “L’envoi,” the final melancholic sketch in the book, reminds the reader that Mariposa is also a place of a bygone era, and admonishes the reader for not visiting the town more frequently as an antidote to city life. Mariposa is an “Edwardian town basking in a bright sunshine of confidence, peace and stability; a town that has no inkling that it will soon send its sons to perish in the bloody mud of Flanders” (Vanderhaege 20). Mariposa evokes a nostalgic past and elements of its ongoing white settler presence are present. In its periphery are the “shanty-men” whose unseen labour in remote forests supports the local economy; the men “come down from the lumber woods and lie round drunk on the sidewalk outside of Smith’s hotel” (5). Nearby is “Shingle Beach” where Champlain landed “with his French explorers three hundred years ago” (43), and in Dr. Gallagher’s garden “relics and traces of the past” remain, found in the “Indian arrow heads that he had dug up” (44). It has a settler history, and by presenting traces of a prior Indigenous past through small “Indian” relics, the narrator suggests its colonial period is over.

Mariposa constructs its identity through performed, imported cultural traditions. The town celebrates “the seventeenth of March,” “St. Andrew’s Day,” “St. George’s Day,” the Fourth of July, and “every man in town” is an Orangeman (36-7). Mariposans perform their settler identity through shows of competing American, British, Irish,

Scottish, and Protestant cultural traditions, which form the basis of their white, small-town identity. In doing so, Mariposa overwrites indigeneity and ignores competing racial complexities that lie sedimented within and lurk on the sidelines of its performative whiteness. While Leacock depicts a white settler community, traces of its colonial history are sedimented in its present, despite his insistence and the community's efforts to discount these relics.

Leacock incorporates many allusions to Canada's military past in Mariposa. Peter Pupkin is from Loyalist stock and during the alleged Mariposa bank robbery, the narrator "eulogizes" the Loyalist courage that Pupkin Senior has bequeathed to his son: "his heart beat like a hammer against his ribs . . . But behind its beatings was the blood of four generations of Loyalists and the robber who must take sixty thousand dollars from the Mariposa bank must take it over the dead body of Peter Pupkin, teller" (108). Evocations of long-standing allegiances to Britain are also farcically foregrounded during the election, when Smith alters the signage in his hotel to promote "*British Beer at all Hours*" (128). In an election speech interview, Candidate Smith is asked about imperial defence:

"Which?" said Mr. Smith.

'Imperial Defence.' [asked another questioner]

'Of what?'

'Of everything.'

'Who says it?' said Mr. Smith.

'Everybody is talking of it.'

'What do the Conservative boys at Ottaway think about it?' answered Mr. Smith.

‘They’re all for it.’

‘Well, I’m fer it too,’ said Mr. Smith. (130)

During the election campaign, “everyone” is talking of “imperial defence,” yet Mr. Smith is ignorant of this political issue. Like much of the real substance of his campaign (if there is any at all), Smith seems to rise above (or sink below) the serious foreign policy issues of the day. Leacock lampoons both Smith and the electorate who vote him into office because his ignorance of external politics is found to be irrelevant when a more pressing local need—the availability of plentiful beer and the social spectacle of voting day—is what motivates voters. Not only is Smith satirized, but so too are the townspeople who elect him into office. While the campaign evokes, and then dismisses, imperial defence and the debate over preferential trade as serious election issues (unlike in *The Imperialist*, which I discuss in the next chapter, where they are central issues), another gesture in the sketches reveals the legacy of imperial militarism to be deeply embedded in the fabric of Mariposan society.

While imperial defence may seem a distant issue to the daily considerations of Mariposan voters, militarism is not.⁸⁹ Neil Pepperleigh is in the local militia and is “the finest grown boy in the whole county” (85). Neil is “so broad and big that they took him into the Missinaba Horse when he was only seventeen” (85). The narrator mocks Neil’s goliath-like physique, which ironically suits him to both bar brawling and local militia training, which ready him for war. Neil is the physically strong yet mentally weak son of the formidable Judge Pepperleigh, and is “so clever that he used to come out at the foot of

⁸⁹ In the next chapter, I show how the local militia is a defining feature of Ontarian masculinity. Graham Trent in Sara Jeannette Duncan’s novel *Cousin Cinderella* volunteers in the Minnebiac rifles, just as Neil volunteers for the Missinaba Horse.

his class in mathematics” and was able to “play billiards at the Mariposa House all evening when the other boys had to stay home and study” (86). Neil functions as a character typical of local colour fiction who is extraneous to the plot, but who provides interest to the town’s roster of personalities, like the town drunk and local school teacher Mr. Diston, and the macabre undertaker Golgotha Gingham. While Neil is outside many of the major plot points, the evocation of his death in war connects significantly to *Sunshine Sketches*’ satire on romance and realism, and to the text’s interest in the constitution and actions of its heroes. There is little doubt that Neil is a comic character; he is an overgrown, ignorant, violent drunk and is the literal laughing stock of the town. Yet while his youthful bar-brawling antics are satirized, his actions in South Africa are not. Neil is upheld as a war hero, and his death in South Africa is revealed to be the metaphoric substance upon which the myths of nascent nations are made.

Using Neil’s death and the depiction of his grave in South Africa, in the next section, I argue that myths of settler colonialism and war share an implicit violence, which is condoned in the name of nation-making. These myths are structured around silences—moments that must disregard the implicit atrocities of the stories they tell—and rely on the fiction of romance to convey an illusion of peaceful settlement or benevolent war. Neil’s death in South Africa is framed in the sketches that explore romantic and familial love, and in these passages, the reader is asked to suspend judgement on Neil’s drunken behaviour in order to uphold a valorized memory of his war service. Neil is an ambivalent figure in the story, which Leacock tries to resolve through the lens of paternal love, by asking the reader to silence any criticism of Neil’s character in order to appease a grieving Judge Pepperleigh. This silencing and direct appeal opens up what it implicitly

tries to hide, and reveals the intrusion of material contingencies that interfere with the illusions of a romanticized memory of War.

The Romance of War

Neil Pepperleigh is known indirectly and is introduced in a sketch that tells of how he comes face-to-face with his father, Judge Pepperleigh, in a courtroom. Judge Pepperleigh presides over a case that accuses Neil of assaulting the Liberal organizer Peter McGinnis at the “big election” when the Macdonald Government “went out” (86). The Judge, who can see no wrongdoing in his son, exonerates Neil. Miscarriage of justice aside, the reader—along with Mariposans—knows that Neil is in fact a drunken lout. In terms of temperament, too, father and son are not dissimilar. The Judge is well known for his “judicial” temper, which is a euphemism for his fiery outbursts: “I’ve seen him kick a hydrangea pot to pieces with his foot because the accursed thing wouldn’t flower” (84). However, in his blinding, paternal love, the Judge rhapsodizes his son’s courage and bravery: “My boy, you are innocent. You smashed in Peter McGinnis’s face, but you did it without criminal intent . . . you leave this court without a stain upon your name” (86). Lynch shows how “The Judge’s love belies the reality because love lives, in Leacock’s view, by necessary illusion” (*Stephen Leacock* 103). And the Judge’s love for Neil is based upon a father’s illusion of his son’s behaviour and is “unfounded upon reality and is ultimately unassailable by it” (Lynch, *Stephen Leacock* 103). This suspension of reality composes the bonds of paternal love, but “necessary illusion” is also the stuff of the romance genre. The sketches continually work to show this discrepancy between imagination and reality, and parody the romance of the former over the usefulness of the latter. In another anecdote, the Judge’s daughter, Zena, spends her time reading medieval

narratives and romanticizing their heroic quests. The Judge, however, wishes his daughter to read “the biography of Sir John A. MacDonald” or *Pioneer Days in Tecumseh Township* (85). Despite Zena’s daydreaming, her errant prince (and future husband) turns out to be Peter Pupkin—bank teller. Zena’s reading material is supposed to seem irrelevant to settler life in Mariposa, and Judge Pepperleigh throws her romance novels “over the grapevine,” which is “emblematic” of Leacock’s function as a “realist” (Lynch, *Leacock* 102). Leacock’s realism, in fact, leans strongly on parodying accepted romance conventions and plotlines; ironically, while Leacock wishes to “throw away” the formal romance, he cannot entirely dismiss its lingering significance.

It is not coincidental that Neil’s death in South Africa is framed amidst the different types of love portrayed in three linked sketches that depict the positive aspects of courtship and family in Mariposa. In these chapters, the narrator interrogates love—romantic, paternal, and marital—by examining the Pepperleigh family and daughter Zena’s courtship by Peter Pupkin. These three sketches include: “The Extraordinary Entanglement of Mr. Pupkin,” which tells of Neil’s death and burial in South Africa; “The Fore-ordained Attachment of Peter Pupkin and Zena Pepperleigh,” about the couple’s courtship; and, the culminating heroic sketch, “The Mariposa Bank Mystery.” Pupkin’s actions make him a local hero, which the narrator satirizes, saying he is “exalted into the class of Napoleon Bonaparte . . . and the Charge of the Light Brigade” (113). The narrator overtly gestures to the construction of heroism through tropes of bravery and war: “You see, Pupkin knew he wasn’t a hero. When Zena would clasp her hands and talk rapturously about crusaders and soldiers and firemen and heroes generally, Pupkin knew just where he came in. Not in, that was all. If a war could have broken out in

Mariposa, or the Judge's house been invaded by Germans, he might have had a chance" (98). The sketch thus closely connects heroism, romantic accounts of bravery, and war, by associating romantic engagements, romance literature, and masculine heroics.

Leacock riffs on the uses of fiction to signal the irrelevance of romance to the settler colony (Zena's novels as useless), but this parody is turned inside out and revealed as ironic because it is precisely the language of romance that is required to narrate and elevate Neil's death in war.

The inspection of romance, as an emotion and as a genre, reveals the "intimate entanglement" between the personal and the imperial. The sketch relies on inspecting the private and familial grief of Judge Pepperleigh who has lost his son in the South African War as an oppositional emotion to temper the humour produced by Zena and Pupkin's ridiculous romance. In the same way, the Judge's love for his son is required in order to balance out the necessary discrepancy between Neil's drunkenness and the imagination of him as war hero. The Judge maintains a belief in his son's innocence and the illusion of his character in order to cope with the tragic war death. Yet both the Judge and Neil are unlikeable characters and so the question arises as to whether theoretically good deeds (in imperial service) can redeem inexcusably violent temperaments? While satire is used to critique human weakness, Lynch argues that the overall function of Leacock's humour is to uphold and celebrate what it dissects:

Judge Pepperleigh's love for his son is offered as a sincere emotion, as a worthy and viable paternal love – regardless of the seeming unworthiness of the object. (It is probable, however, that Neil is to be considered, in view of Leacock's torquism and Imperialism, as a partly positive figure: he died in service to his country in the

Boer War . . . which means he died fighting for ‘the Empire’ that Leacock loved).

But the truth about Neil does not matter. Neil is not the subject of the narrator’s attention; the Judge’s love for his son is. (*Stephen Leacock* 102)

I agree with Lynch that sketches depict love as a sincere emotion, but there is more to Neil’s characterisation than simply viewing his actions in South Africa through the forgiving lens of paternal love. Problematic is that Neil’s prior behaviour is absolved through his imperial service. The romantic evocation of his death in a pastoral setting, along with the omissions and overlooked behaviours that are enfolded into this telling, reveal how moments of war heroism rely on euphemism to construct a commemorative moment that relies on silence and obscuration.

The Judge’s illusory idea of his son is formed through a problematic shared silence that the community and the reader must maintain in order to protect the Judge: “But the strangest thing is that if the judge had known what every one else in Mariposa knew, it would have broken his heart” (86). The phrase “breaking his heart” is twice repeated in this short section; when it is stated a second time, the reader is cautioned not to tell the Judge the truth about his son, for it would “break his heart” (86). Pity for the Judge is used to create a memory of Neil that forgives his past deeds in the name of his father’s fragile illusions. This emotional register reveals that while the satire in the *Sketches* can be critical, it is often deployed in a kindly, forgiving manner. Lynch reminds us that “‘The essence of humour is human kindness.’ It follows that love, like humour at its best, transforms reality, bathes its subjects in sunshine, and views humanity in as kindly a light as human folly will allow” (*Stephen Leacock* 104). In the end, the narrator seeks a kindly resolution of Neil’s memory:

if he [Judge Pepperleigh] had known, as every one else did, that Neil was crazed with drink the night he struck the Liberal organizer. . . if he could have known that even on that last day Neil was drunk when he rode with the Missinaba Horse to the station to join the Third Contingent for the war, and all the street of the little town was one great roar of people, –But the judge never knew, and now he never will. For if you could find it in the meanness of your soul to tell him, it would serve no purpose now except to break his heart, and there would rise up to rebuke you the pictured vision of an untended grave somewhere in the great silences of South Africa. (86)

While love redeems, it also depends on withholding truth. “Every one” of the townspeople who knows that Neil was “crazed with drink” is cautioned to not divulge Neil’s drunken behaviour. The reader, too, is admonished and “you” are directly addressed by the narrator to remain silent out of kindness because being honest would constitute “meanness” and spite. There is consequently an implied, collective silencing required to overlook Neil’s past crimes. These silences are amplified in South Africa, where Neil is buried, and the “pictured vision” alerts the reader to the “great silences” of the distant spaces where he fought and fell. Notably, this grave as a “pictured vision” signals the romantic and pastoral conventions that memorialize one of Canada’s sons in poetic terms. The grave is untended. Neil is alone. The space is silent. His death evokes the unknowable silent spaces of war, death and grief. And Leacock makes these terms signify on a personal level, so that Neil’s death is not registered with imperial fanfare, but rather through the terms of private and familial love. In a stroke of Leacockian irony, the *Sketches*’ only true war hero remains absolutely silent.

The “silences” of the South African terrain speak to a foundational myth of settler nation-making. This evocative emptying out of space, rendering the African land devoid of settlement and Indigenous *a priori* existence, alludes to the spatial tropes of imperialism, which I unpacked in the chapter on the Canadian women teachers. I argue that the women evoke the image of a “vacant veldt” when settling in South Africa villages after the war to depict it as land that is untended and undeveloped. Silent South Africa, then, when contrasted to bustling Mariposa, is represented as a distant, empty space that structures the settler community in Ontario as a hive of activity, filled with culture and progress, and more advanced than the (perceived) unsettled, underdeveloped *terra nullius*. These tropes of silence and vacancy reflect how writers subtly described Canada as “metropolitan” through literature, and made recourse to spatial comparisons with other imperial colonies, in order to create a literary imaginary that portrayed its prominence. Importantly, Mariposa benefits from a conflict in a distant land, as a British victory and the extension of the empire bolsters Mariposa’s status because it has sent sons to help win the War. Consequently, South Africa becomes a site for symbolic extraction. Canada’s place in an imperial world structures Mariposa as not only deriving definition from its settler past and its Anglo-heritage, but as also as extracting meaning from a colonial elsewhere.

While Neil’s death is described allusively, there is factual accuracy to his decease. Neil joined the “Third Contingent” (86), which did indeed suffer fatalities in South Africa. When recruitment began for a third contingent, the response was so enthusiastic that an additional two squadrons were raised, and in January 1902, 901 men sailed for war (Canadian War Museum, “Battles”). Notably, this unit of mounted rifles retained its

Canadian identity, while Britain funded its expenses. Photos of the mounted regiments remain as reminders of Neil's service in the Pepperleigh's home where there are "pictures of Mounted Infantry and Unmounted Cavalry" (87). In South Africa, this unit "participated in a number of major drives that resulted in the destruction of at least twenty percent of the Boer forces in the western Transvaal" (Canadian War Museum, "Battles"). However, the mounted rifles also met with tragedy. On March 31, at the Battle of Harts River, 13 Canadians were killed, 40 wounded, and seven went missing. With the exception of the first engagement at Paardeberg, "Harts River was the bloodiest day of the war for Canada" (Canadian War Museum, "Battles"). It is likely that if Leacock was sketching Neil Pepperleigh based on historical fact, an early twentieth-century reader would have surmised that he was killed in action at the Battle of Harts River.

"The fever and the fret of life and the final calm of death" (Leacock, *Humour* 125)

In *Sunshine Sketches*, the violent temperament of the Pepperleigh men is revealed, yet the violence that kills Neil in war is contradictorily omitted. This discrepancy exposes how retellings of war rely on euphemism and metaphoric language to recast violent events to situate them in the "sunshine" of a distant locale that produces its meaning. A close examination of these depictions, however, divulges how they crumble when closely inspected. The text acknowledges these problems, and tries to resolve them by offering paternal love as a solution. The paternal link is important because Neil inherits his violent temperament from the Judge, and there is textual evidence to imply domestic violence because Miss Spifkins the biology teacher, "always says how sorry she is for Mrs. Pepperleigh" (87). Neil's assault charges are expunged, and the Judge's violent behaviour is minimized because he is a prominent member of Mariposa:

You might have thought differently if you had been there that evening when the judge came home to his wife with one hand pressed to his temple and in the other the cablegram that said that Neil had been killed in action in South Africa. That night they sat together with her hand in his, just as they had sat together thirty years ago when he was a law student in the city. (87)

Here, the narrator shifts from the setting of Judge Pepperleigh's public persona to the interior space of his home, where the poignancy of the grief at hearing of his son's death is reflected through the private love of a husband and a wife: "Go and tell Miss Spifkins that! Hydrangeas, canaries, – temper, blazes! What does Miss Spifkin know about it all?" (87). The reader, like Miss Spifkin, is cautioned to see these violent outbursts in the context of paternal and marital love, and as private emotions, not for public inspection. In this vignette of grief, the Judge and his wife are seen holding hands as they cope with the news received from a distant war zone, and this show of affection (the narrator suggests) reveals that the Judge is at heart good natured. This silencing of domestic violence and excusing of Neil's behaviours reflects the policing of the borders of civil and domestic life in Mariposa that enfolds troubling moments of violence through discourses of love into national and communal narratives. The narrator offers familial "love" as the corrective required to overlook the Judge's violent behaviour, and the distant grave of Neil Pepperleigh rises as a rebuke to anyone who would speak out against his behaviour. In doing so, the narrator attempts to silence any feminist readings of the text, or outcries about spousal abuse, and holds up the memory of a dead son as a warning (or even as an ominous threat). Speaking out against the Judge, consequently, would also necessitate a closer inspection of his son, which would tarnish a war hero's memory. A

strange circuit is thus produced that links local, domestic violence and war in an African colony. South Africa is thus both distant and necessary to absolve the Pepperleigh men. By extension, this circuit of affect, where the reader's sympathies are directed away from Judge Pepperleigh and Neil's drunken behaviour, is also about imperialism. In a sleight of hand trick, Leacock directs the readers to a distant, faraway space that eulogizes a Canadian son to forestall criticism of both the war and violence, in order to uphold Canadian participation in imperial expansion projects. The reader is asked to overlook the contingencies related to Neil's signing up, his lack-lustre character, and the Judge's violent temper, which interfere with the necessities of a romantic memory of war. These contingencies are the world of realism, and they intrude and expose the faulty grounds of the romance—but the reader is asked to participate in suspending their judgment in order to protect a father's illusion. This illusion is not only about Neil, it is also, by virtue of his death in South Africa, about the romantic grounds of narratives of imperialism.

This fond memory of Neil is ever present in the Pepperleigh house, which contains material representations of empire and "pictures of South Africa and the departure of the Canadians (there are none of the return), and of Mounted Infantry and Unmounted Cavalry and a lot of things that only soldiers and fathers of soldiers know about" (87). That there is a knowing between "only soldiers and fathers of soldiers" speaks to another silence because it implies that "only fathers of soldiers" can compassionately understand the nature of a son's war death. Further, this grief is specifically gendered as male. The sketch is overwhelmingly interested in the Judge and noticeably overlooks Mrs. Pepperleigh's grief. She is simply the silent, long-suffering wife, and her feelings are sidelined. This is a conspicuous omission especially when

women were actively involved in imperial events. During the South African War, women were fundraising specifically to tend soldier's graves, and the IODE was an active organization that had many branches in Ontario. Leacock's depiction is perhaps novel because it takes emotions such as love and grief and genders them male and situates them within the intimate space of a family. However, this gendering is also exclusionary, as Mrs. Pepperleigh's experience, or Zena's (Neil's sister), is omitted and the sketch sidelines women's experience.

The sketch also asks the reader to reflect on the legacy of war soldiers and raises Neil's death to its hyperbolic limits by framing his memory as one of national importance. Neil is elevated to the same nation-making status as the founding fathers of Confederation. In the Pepperleigh home, a picture of Neil in uniform hangs on the dining room wall, alongside the "Fathers of Confederation," and "General Kitchener" (87). The lasting portrait that memorializes Neil is placed symbolically and literally alongside other historical images—the Canadian Confederates who drafted the Constitutional Act that created "Canada," and a British Commander in Chief who led military campaigns in Africa to expand the British Empire. This depiction reflects on photography and portraiture as cultural material, which along with imaginative literature, produces and frames personal, national, and imperial histories. The reader is invited to smile in sympathy at this intended overreaching of Neil's prominent place in national memorials, having been admonished numerous times by the narrator to do so, so that Neil is ironically elevated to the same status as a "father" of Confederation in the Pepperleighs' home.

The evocation of Kitchener is another imperial reference that alludes to the War's implicit violence. Kitchener was Commander in Chief in South Africa and later became Secretary of State for War in World War One. His role in the War, which I discuss in chapter two, was pivotal in weakening Boer resistance by ordering the construction of a network of blockhouses to isolate the Boers, and by implementing the ruthless farm burning campaign and the inhumane concentration camp system. Kitchener's war strategies resulted in the wholesale destruction of property and the mistreatment and deaths of thousands of women and children. While Neil and Kitchener are "framed" as war heroes, I read this scene as a statement about the uncomfortable recognition and celebration of violence in personal and imperial memory. Through service to empire, men become heroes, but this heroism is constructed on a questionable character such as Neil's and through brutal deeds such as Kitchener's. In placing Neil's portrait alongside Kitchener's and the Fathers of Confederation, the Pepperleights elevate their son to the status of imperial hero and nation builder. Consequently, Leacock places violence in full view of the reader, just as he does with Neil and the Judge's behaviour, in order to silence criticism of it. The reader is asked to be kind to the Judge, and "you" are asked to "kindly" smile at Neil's portrait placed alongside Kitchener's. Consequently, the portraits reflect the implied and unseen deeds of destruction that saturate settler nation making, wars of imperial expansion, and Mariposan society. These accounts of commemoration, whether in narrative or in photograph, are always selective, poised, and framed, and submitted on view for a particular audience. *Sunshine Sketches* even goes so far as to tell its reader how to interpret this narrative of its war hero and relies on silence and omission to construct this "incomplete" reality that is based on the contingencies of acknowledging

and overlooking implied violence. While the scene and the treatment of Neil's death are painted in poignant, respectful tones, the silence which structures it, and the spectre of misdeeds that haunts the men's memory, signals the accumulation of undisclosed violence in white settler society in South Africa and Mariposa.

If *Sunshine Sketches* is interested in Mariposa's heroes and the substance of its characters, Leacock reveals what is gained through war—and what must be overlooked—in order to construct a communal memory of its war hero. It is the use of the dramatic silence, which signifies the selective and collective memories that shape local (Mariposa's memory), personal (the Pepperleigh's memory) and national narratives. History is written to elevate the glorious and omits that which is uncomfortable and cruel. These omissions, or silences, signal the partial knowledge that creates tales of romantic nationalism. Also important is that Neil's heroic battlefield service is situated within the sketches that interrogate romance, and his death reveals Leacock's dexterity in tingeing romance with melodrama, so that events that are abstract and distant (war in a distant settler territory) are made to symbolize on a local, personal, and intimate level. The reader is asked to participate in this illusion so that glorious deeds of war and imperial conquest can be framed and remembered with fondness, and (problematically) retold with love. By evoking the silence of an untended grave in South Africa, and by overtly silencing the readers' protestations that would tarnish this memorial, Leacock writes a narrative that simultaneously constructs and suppresses the contradictions of a violent War.

Leacock's *Sunshine Sketches* deploys romantic melodrama and stereotypical characterization just as Gilbert Parker does in *The Judgment House*. Yet by satirizing his

characters, and parodying the romance and realism genres, Leacock's text reveals how the writing of a regional realism is more nuanced and contradictory from the perspective of the settler colony, where networked experiences that include the silent spaces of a distant African colony become enfolded into a narration of its national history. My readings in this chapter suggest the silences, exclusions, and heteronormative formulas upon which romantic accounts of War are constructed—and have revealed where these binaries are often found to be deficient. Leacock's *Mariposa* attempts to take credit for imperial victories, but it must problematically overlook war's troubling violence in order to do so, and it must further dismiss the cruel temperament of the men who fight in empire's name.

Women's experience is also sidelined, and Leacock and Parker conspicuously constrain female perspective. Parker uses South Africa as a site for disciplining wayward female sexuality. Leacock allows, and then quickly shuts down, sympathy for Mrs. Pepperleigh. Indeed, Leacock turns the emotional and moral response on the reader, so that it is not the violent temperaments of Judge Pepperleigh or Neil that are found to be faulty; instead, it is the reader's unkindness, and the unfeelingness of critics who would dare to air these truths, which are silenced. This silencing is not only about domestic violence and paternal love; it is also, by extension, about the mundane truths of War and imperialism that lie behind these romantic illusions.

In his theory on humour, Leacock wrote that the "pathos of life in general" is the basis for the "incongruous contrast between the eager fret of our life and its final nothingness" (*Humour* 241). The "fever" and "fret" of the Neil's life is unquestionably depicted. His death, too, is a silent, quiet moment, but a close reading reveals that this

portrayal discloses the contingent violence upon which the romantic register of a “final nothingness” rests.

Chapter Four. Sara Jeannette Duncan and the South African War

“[I]n our dealings with the colonies the heart is supposed to have more of a chance”

(Duncan, *Cousin* 362)

This chapter studies Sara Jeannette Duncan’s representation of the South African War in *The Imperialist* (1904) and *Cousin Cinderella* (1908). My argument connects to themes developed in chapter three in that I continue to study the depiction of imperial war through the interconnectedness of romance and realism. I identify how Duncan makes recourse to both these genres when articulating a settler colony’s experience of war. Duncan innovatively centres women’s role in empire, which contrasts with the masculine tropes of romance depicted in Parker’s metropole-centric tale and Leacock’s intimate family account of Neil Pepperleigh’s death in South Africa. There are also thematic continuities between Duncan’s novels and Leacock’s *Sunshine Sketches* because both authors explore the “impact of religion and politics on a small community” to describe how this communal identity was formed in relation to the British Empire (Tausky, *SJD and Her Works* 9). In fact, Duncan and Leacock structure a nascent Canadian identity constituted by the indulgence of small-town values, where communal feeling is resilient to, and in Leacock’s case, opposed to, urbanisation and the individualistic, fast-paced life of the city.⁹⁰ For both authors, the characteristics of small-

⁹⁰ There are also thematic connections between *The Imperialist* and *Sunshine Sketches*. Janice Fiamengo argues that there is no hard evidence to prove that Leacock had read Duncan’s *Imperialist*, but internal cues in *Sunshine Sketches*, “in the form of tonal resemblance, and key plot parallels,” including a bank robbery and a Dominion election, suggest that he had read Duncan’s work (“SJD and Stephen Leacock”). Despite these plot similarities, Fiamengo argues that the writers’ visions are different because Duncan’s “liberal individualism” is antithetical to

town heroes are inspected and shown to be central to narrating Canadian life in turn-of-the century Ontario. The War is a touchstone moment because the novels' characters have either an ideological connection to the event or have served in the conflict. I suggest that Duncan's use of the War reflects a hesitancy to centre military participation as crucial to future imperial cooperation. Duncan relegates appeals to the War to a past vision of imperialism that is unreflective of Canada's ascending political and economic role in international affairs in the early twentieth century. In the novels I examine, the hero protagonist is decentred, and Duncan presents a generically hybrid solution in *Cousin Cinderella*, and ambivalence in *The Imperialist*, to suggest that individual choice and economic cooperation—over duty and martial imperialism—offer a renewed future for Canada.

This chapter is organized in two sections. In the first section (4.1.), I examine *The Imperialist* to show how Lorne Murchison's idealistic imperialism and evocations of "Paardeberg" lead to his political downfall because they are irrelevant to Elgin's daily, material needs and are associated with a form of imperialism that is anachronistic. Likewise, British war veteran Alfred Hesketh, the embodiment of Old-World values, is out of touch with the specificities of Dominion life, and his notions of imperial loyalty, represented by Canada's War service, fail to gain him inclusion in the community. Repeatedly, Elgin's townspeople reject martial imperial affiliations, and so the War represents a moment that is remembered ambivalently. Ironically, *The Imperialist* features a defeated imperialist whose personal engagement and political campaign fails.

Leacock's "pragmatic conservatism." In *The Imperialist*, Lorne Murchison has ideals that are greater than the community, but in *Sunshine Sketches*, Fiamengo argues, "the sun-dappled community of Mariposa takes centre stage" ("SJD and Stephen Leacock").

Consequently, it is Lorne's undecided future that suggests a breaking away from old novelistic structures with their formal and predictable endings. The novel concludes with Lorne's career prospects uncertain, so that doubt and ambivalence conclude Duncan's *bildungsroman*. This inconclusive ending can be read as the thematic result of generic multiplicity. Where romance registers certainty, Duncan's parody of the genre fractures these expectations.

Duncan nurtures these innovations in *The Imperialist* and returns to an inconclusive structure in *Cousin Cinderella*, where Graham Trent similarly fails with his "head" and his "heart," and his romantic quest is unfulfilled. In the second section (4.2.), I argue that Duncan blends romance and realism to inspect Canada's identity in a world networked by imperial ties. I read war allusions as exemplars of events that symbolize the contest between a romantic longing for a distant ideal (Canada as a naïve youth in the empire) versus the realism required to explain the lived experience of those who endured War's effects in Canada (Canada as independent, and Canada as site for racial regeneration). In this novel, Graham Trent, the "Maple Prince," serves as an allegorical representation of the possibilities and options available to Canada. Graham is a war veteran who was rewarded with a "Distinguished Service Order (D.S.O.)," for his service in South Africa, and while he bears the symbolic decoration and the physical scars of battle, it is his economic inheritance rather than his military experience that will serve him and Canada in the future. Despite War's prominence, *Cousin Cinderella* suggests that ties of imperial cooperation should be moulded around sentimental ties with the metropole (and not around issues of imperial defence), which are revealed in a surprising plot twist that decentres the romantic hero, and instead centres the overlooked sister—

Mary Trent. The dismissal of martial imperialism can be read as symptomatic of the kind of global interactions Duncan wishes to disavow. Her novels favour reciprocal economic ties, which she codes as “sentimental,” in which women are key players in the gendered politics of empire.

4.1 *The Imperialist* and Duncan’s Influence on Canadian Literature

My chapter on the Canadian “Teachers for South Africa” suggested Sara Jeannette Duncan (Mrs. Everard Cotes) as a journalistic predecessor to Florence Randal and E. Maud Graham. Indeed, Duncan’s writing career advanced the opportunities available to literary women in the Victorian period. She was born and raised in Brantford, Ontario, yet her career developed in Washington, Ottawa, Japan, Ceylon, London, Calcutta, Simla and Delhi. Her global mobility often mimicked the international print circuits her English texts inhabited, and although her publishers were frequently located in London and New York, Duncan spent most of her writing life at a great distance from these centres and so her nationality and place in the Canadian literary canon are complicated. In addition, many of her works do not contain Canadian content, yet she is frequently claimed as a “Canadian” author. Devereux considers her to be a “critical problem in Canada and outside of it because she is an imperial writer,” and yet she is “not studied much outside of Canada” (“Colonial Space” 52). Duncan’s “peripheral” Canadian status supports my argument that representations of “Canada,” and Canada’s participation in the War, were constructed by networked relationships of authors, publishers, readers, and texts in an English, imperial context.

Throughout Duncan's career, she maintained an interest in the differences between English-speakers around the world. Many of her works pay attention to these cross-cultural interactions, which she herself experienced during her travels. Before she became a well-respected novelist, Duncan wrote for the *Washington Post*, the *Montreal Star*, *The Week*, and the *Globe*. Her writing career was unique for a woman because Duncan was able to branch into novel writing after formative years spent as a journalist. Women writers in this period espoused literary ambitions (Florence Randal was one of these women), but as Lang argues, most were unsuccessful in this pursuit, often because of financial reasons ("Separate Entrances" 86-88). In addition to journalism and novel writing, Duncan was also a polemicist, literary critic, and playwright, and her literary accolades were unsurpassed by any other Canadian woman writing in the late nineteenth century. Her insights into the state of Victorian-Canadian literature, and her contributions to pioneering the realist novel in Canada, remain the focus of sustained recuperative and scholarly criticism; however, none of her work has garnered more attention than *The Imperialist*.

Print History and Critical Reception of *The Imperialist*

The Imperialist is Duncan's most well-studied text, in part because it remains in print (which is increasingly rare for nineteenth-century Canadian novels) and because it captures a detailed vision of an Ontarian town in the early 1900s. *The Imperialist* is a complex novel as it generically combines elements of realism with those of the *bildungsroman* and romance; it contains detailed observations of life in the fictional town of Elgin, which is adjusting to the effects of economic growth, imperial policy, and encroaching Americanization at the dawn of the twentieth century; its white, settler

civility is complicated by the Moneida Reservation's threat to local settler government; and it provides sharp character analyses of those circumscribed by life in a maturing Dominion in a rapidly expanding world that is punctuated by an abundance of local and international print material. The novel's plot follows protagonist Lorne Murchison's political ascendancy, first as he wins a significant local court case (the Ormiston trial), next as he travels to England as part of the prestigious "Cruikshank Deputation" to "press for the encouragement of improved communications within the Empire," and lastly, as the Liberal Party's candidate for Fox County, where he champions the imperial "Idea" (Duncan, *Imperialist* 122). Lorne's and Canada's prospects are explicitly bound together. Making clear to the reader the connection between nation and character, the novel's narrator announces in the final page: "Here, for Lorne and for his country, we lose the thread of destiny. The shuttles fly, weaving the will of the nations . . . and he goes forth to his share in the task among those by whose hand and direction the pattern and the colours will be made" (296). The fate of the nation, mapped onto a novel's human characters, is central to a national *bildungsroman*, and Willmott reads *The Imperialist* as an allegory for the new Dominion. Lorne (and Advena) struggle to "to reconcile inner ideals with an outer social reality, as they strive to define their place in a newly postcolonial, newly modernizing world" (Willmott 19).⁹¹ Indeed, much has been written on the imperial politics of the novel, including Duncan's views thereon (Tausky, Moss, Bissell, Zezulka). One of the novel's concerns is the place of youthful idealism in the nascent nation. And yet, despite following Lorne's political aspirations, the novel is tragic, and his idealistic

⁹¹ Willmott makes clear that the use of the term postcolonial refers to post-Confederation Canada, where the land is perceived not as an old colony but as a young nation; it is a time of historical and cultural transition (18-9). Of course, this transition, from the perspective of Indigenous peoples, is to colonial control by the settler state.

views on imperial federation and cooperation with Britain are defeated. Consequently, a central theme is the tension between Lorne's imagination of Canada's emerging prowess dramatized against the background of communal small-town identity. *The Imperialist's* irony pivots on the failure of Lorne's romantic views on imperialism, and signals Duncan's experimentation with the "self-ironizing" realism Willmott suggests is a condition of generic interaction. Duncan employs elements of romance and realism to create this contest so that Lorne's idealistic vision meets Elgin's politics, which are squarely focussed on the budding industrial and agricultural economy. These pressures are present "at the making of a nation" (Duncan, *Imperialist* 79).

Written while Duncan was living in India, *The Imperialist* was first published serially in 1903 in *The Queen* (London), *The Australasian* (Melbourne, Australia) and *The Toronto News* (Canada) before it was published in 1904 in book form in New York, London, and Toronto. Duncan made edits during successive revisions that corrected "obvious errors, sharpened political analysis, and improved the characterisation of Lorne Murchison and his family" (Kelly qtd. in Dean, "Introduction" 39).⁹² The novel was poorly reviewed in England and Canada, receiving a "hostile reception; the critics were opposed in principle to the use of a Canadian setting to dramatize the issue of imperialism," and Tausky argues that these criticisms reveal the "prejudices aroused by Canadian settings and by women writing about politics" (*SJD and her Works* 3, 12). The *New York Times* considered the "story" to be "good reading," but criticized Duncan's political themes, which were "so-so," and "designed as an elaborate satire" ("Canada and

⁹² Tausky's notes to the Tecumseh critical edition explain that with each successive revision, Duncan increased her references to the South African War, but he does not substantiate why this was so.

Imperial Policy” 1). Confirming that Duncan’s portrayal of life in small-town Ontario was realistic, Jean Graham in *Saturday Night* claimed that before finishing the first chapter, “we know” that “it is the very life of our people . . . here is an Ontario town, with its every-day trials and triumphs, its local ambitions, and its national significance” (343). Not only were its depictions of local community perceived as being accurate, its imperial politics were a contemporary concern, and *The Canadian Magazine* conceded that the novel came “at a time when Imperialism is being calmly considered” (“About New Books” 279). While the novel’s political themes were the main sticking point for many Canadian reviewers, Duncan’s innovative realism and character portrayals were applauded, and *The Globe* signalled Duncan’s generic innovation by offering back-handed praise, saying that “there are glimpses here and there of a high range of accomplishment,” but when compared with Jane Austen’s social realism, the novel failed (“Library Table” 17).

Despite its early unfavourable critical reception, the novel has prevailed as a major Canadian literary achievement.⁹³ Dean notes how the novel is multivalent and has been viewed as a celebration of a “nineteenth-century form of Canadian nationalism,” critiqued through the lens of feminism in the 1980s and 90s, read as an interrogation of the postcolonial, and remains an “important Edwardian novel . . . an innovative Canadian one” because it offers the reader insight into the categories of “race, nation and gender”

⁹³ Recent canonization began in 1971 with the New Canadian Library (number 20) edition, containing an introduction by Claude Bissell that described it as one of Canada’s “liveliest” and “best” novels (vi, xi). In 1988, Tecumseh (Ottawa) published a version edited by Thomas E. Tausky, followed by a Broadview edition in 2005, with introduction by Misao Dean, ensuring that the text remains widely available. In this chapter, I use the Broadview edition which reprints the Canadian version of the text, which was identical to the British version published in 1904; the Canadian version is considered by scholars to be the “authoritative text” (Dean, “Introduction” 40).

in the “context of the waning British Empire” (“Introduction” 9). How Duncan creates this Canadian identity is significant, and Hammill argues that *The Imperialist* provides a detailed commentary on Canadian literary culture and its “interrelation with American and British culture,” which cannot be separated from its “political dimensions” (*Literary Culture* 49). The novel’s multiplicity—its richness in thematic content and character subplots—offer much for critical discussion, and I am interested in how the novel mediates these politics through Duncan’s literary innovations.

Fiction: “constantly to find new [forms], constantly to recur to old ones” (Duncan, “Saunterings” 111)

In *The Imperialist*, Lorne and Canada are depicted as youths maturing into adulthood, and in this teleology of national becoming, the romance of an imperial imaginary meets the reality of the emerging capitalist marketplace. Against a backdrop of sweeping political and economic changes in the early twentieth century, Duncan also wrote amidst great literary transformations. Chapter One on *The Canadian Magazine* described how writers were debating the nature and value of literature in reflecting, and articulating, Canada’s role in an enlarged and interconnected world. Within this debate, and in wider literary circles, literary genre was under discussion; it was termed a “realism war” because it challenged a readership who favoured popular romance novels. Much of the discussion between authors and writers centred on whether emerging forms of realism could be considered to be “art” (Dean, “Introduction” 14). Supporters of romance maintained that the genre uplifted and instructed readers through exaggerated tales of good and evil because inherited forms encoded “the values of a stable, hierarchically organized society with classes clearly demarcated and the route of culture clearly

marked” (Dean, “Introduction” 14-5). By contrast, proponents of realism argued that the genre offered readers a “way of seeing the world that was political and ideological as well as aesthetic,” as it represented new contexts and social structures such as the middle and lower classes, and could implicitly “challenge the status quo” (Dean, “Introduction” 14-5).

The Imperialist challenges the status quo of traditional British class structure, as it depicts a Canadian town that epitomises what Daniel Coleman has termed white, civil society. The town has a growing middle class, a ready labour force supporting the mills in East Elgin, and is typified by Mr. Milburn’s vision of Canada as a “practical, go-ahead, self-governing colony, far enough from England actually to be disabused of her inherited anachronisms,” while remaining close “enough politically to keep your securities up by virtue of her protection” (83). Elgin’s progress is rooted in settler self-government and industrial capitalism while it disavows British “inherited anachronisms.” It favours an emerging marketplace that allows hard-working (Protestant) individuals like the Murchisons and Milburns to prosper, while simultaneously revealing how this self-made community is encroached upon by a developing global trade and dependent upon ties with England for external defence.

Here in this “little outpost of Empire” (54), the characters of Elgin are intimately tied to imperial and global flows of commodity and communication. At one point, the protagonist and imperialist in the novel, Lorne Murchison, inquires of Englishman Alfred Hesketh: “Do you know where the boots came from that shod the troops in South Africa?” and in reply he discloses the manufacturing location to be “Cownpore,” India (153-4). The Indian boots that shod the soldiers in South Africa are emblematic of the

interconnectedness of people and traded goods in the imperial world, and the Murchison's house is no exception. It is flooded with imperial books (63), and newspapers from Toronto, New York, and the "pink paper published in Buffalo" (158); it has an American rocker and hammock (158), and the narrator tells a parable of the "adaptability of Canadian feet to American shoes" (158). Richard Lane argues that "Capital in the novel is highly fluid, following emerging markets rather than being restricted to old, static ones" (65), and so the novel highlights the "steel works in Canada, woollen factories in Australia, jute mills in India" (153). And the novel grapples with how Canada will find its place in this enlarged world of networks: is it possible that the fledgling nation can resist Americanism? Remain faithful to Old World ties? Or, will Canada shape its own identity? Everyone and everything in the novel is mobile, and as capital, people, products, and political ideas circulate through empire, Duncan adapts novelistic structures to reflect these conditions of interaction in the early twentieth century. *The Imperialist's* attention to the global and the local, and the ideal and the material, foregrounds Duncan's project of expanding how the novel responds to, and represents, the new and emerging contexts that shape Canada's self-representation.

Attempting to rigidly categorize the novel's genre undermines how it captures the ambivalence and uncertainty of the generic debates of the late Victorian and early Edwardian period. The novel is perhaps best thought of as a hybrid genre that makes many realist innovations, while not entirely discarding traditional patterns of romance. Duncan was acutely aware of these competing tensions. As early as 1887, in her January 13 "Saunterings" column for *The Week*, she acknowledged that a "general literary movement unfailingly controls the masses," and vilified the "autocrats" who announce to

their “scribbling emulators the only proper and acceptable form of the modern novel . . . and note departures from it with wrath” (111). The (male) writers whom she criticized (she calls them the “novel writing fraternity”) were those who advocated for realism, and would “put to the edge of the sword every wretched romanticist who presumes to admire the exotic or the ideal” (“Saunterings” 111). Duncan defines realism as “the everlasting glorification of the commonplace,” which reveals how art elevates even the mundane through representation, resulting in “glorification” (“Saunterings” 111). Rather than favouring one genre over the other, Duncan argues that fiction “is bound to present itself in more diverse forms than any other – constantly to find new ones, constantly to recur to old ones” (“Saunterings” 111). She suggests that writers could borrow from multiple genres; while infinitely innovative, Duncan maintains that fiction could not entirely discard traditional formal conventions such as the romance.

Critics have seized on these competing tensions in the novel. Gerson reveals that Duncan wrote that “life should be represented as it is and not as it should be,” not to “change the novel, so much as to expand it” (*Purer Taste* 59-60). Dean, meanwhile, suggests that in *The Imperialist*, Duncan is working with how novels should be “true to both ‘the ideal,’ and abstract realm of values whose mode is romance, and to ‘the real,’ the material realm perceived as modern, global, and ever-changing, whose mode is realism, while rendering both according to the dictates of ‘art’” (“Introduction” 16). In *The Imperialist* realism and romance coexist, and critics view it as an important transitional novel. Hill reads it as an example of early “traditional realism in Canadian fiction” (21), as its pre-1920s aesthetic gestures toward the later modern realists (35). Kertzer identifies how *The Imperialist* “expose[s] inconsistencies in the ideology of

romantic nationalism” because the rhetoric available to Duncan “was ill-suited to the practical realities of early twentieth-century Canada” (“Destiny”). These realities made life seem unstable and uneven, and Willmott takes Duncan to be the “original writer” of a form that continues to “insist upon an element of idealism, and its language of romance, in modern realist fiction” (22-3). With its references to the South African War, the novel presents a tangible event that signals how the politics and ideas of those in Elgin are affected by international occurrences and are emmeshed in a larger, global economy. Lorne Murchison, I will argue, appeals to romantic aspects of the War, yet his ideas are defeated in a political climate that disavows the perceived anachronism of militaristic imperialism. Peter Webb argues that the War affects Elgin society in subtle ways. Its evocation is less about the “traumatic fallout” of war than about reinforcing Elgin’s “place in the imagined community of the British Empire and to provide potential sources of profit” (82). As it is silent on battlefield details, *The Imperialist* cannot be categorized as a war novel proper, but Lorne’s appeals to Paardeberg and the context of Elgin’s politics in post-war Canada are nevertheless significant elements to the novel’s regional realism, since they offer a “vivid depiction of the political and social aftermath of the War” (Webb 76). As Shearer and Anderson note, while “war novel” tends to describe the world wars of the twentieth century, war still featured in fiction that “extended its generic resources” and demonstrated a “multi-generic realism through their description of the political and social repercussions of war and the expansion of empire (139). It is the ways in which the war is represented in fiction to extend the novel’s “generic resources,” deploying both romance and realism, that interests me in Duncan’s use of a “multi-generic realism” in *The Imperialist*.

“The Empire produces a family resemblance, but here and there, when oceans intervene, a different mould of the spirit” (Duncan, *The Imperialist* 144)

In *The Imperialist*, Lorne Murchison and Alfred Hesketh are the two central characters who support the empire and evoke the South African War. If Lorne functions as an allegorical character, representing the Dominion’s youthful possibilities, then Alfred Hesketh is his foil. Hesketh is an unlikeable aristocrat and symbolizes the crumbling British class system and is “vaguely conscious of having been born to late in England,” as there are limited prospects available to him (*Imperialist* 152). He is seeking a new opportunity in the Dominion, as the War has brought about an interest in the “new countries” evoked by their “sudden dramatic leap into the forefront of public concern” (152). The narrator remarks that Hesketh translates “his own case” into “his country’s, and offered an open mind to politics that would help either of them” (152). Hesketh is thus positioned as a “type”—his situation is also Britain’s—and his opportunism stems from a desire for self-preservation. A potentially ennobling fact is that Hesketh is a South African War veteran, but the narrator cautions he served out of self-interest rather than imperial duty, and he represents the notion that imperial wars were frequently fought to provide work in the colonies for the landed aristocracy’s sons. Despite his time in South Africa, Hesketh appears to have learnt very little about the distinguishing features and differences between England’s settler colonies. And his ignorance of unique Canadian identity is made embarrassingly apparent when he speaks to an audience of farmers in Jordanville at one of Lorne’s campaign events. This Jordanville speech in many ways anticipates Lorne’s culminating opera house oration and signals early in the novel that

Lorne's imperial ideals will fail. I read the moments of Hesketh's speech to the Jordanville farming audience and Lorne's election-eve speech alongside one another, and pay particular attention to how the South African War registers in each event, to reveal imperialism's uneven interpretation in Canada, and its ambivalent adoption when framed in militaristic terms.

Tausky explains that while comedy and farce are less important elements in *The Imperialist* than in *Sunshine Sketches of a Little Town*, "episodes such as Hesketh's election speech involve the ludicrous self-exposure we are accustomed to find in Leacock" (*SJD and Her Works* 9). Leacock satirizes his heroes to simultaneously deconstruct and exalt their actions, which are rendered as farcical. Duncan's deployment of farce in this scene, however, is assertive; it is a scathing indictment of the failure of England to read its settler colonies as distinct from itself. The narrator remarks ironically that Hesketh is "invested with the very romance of destiny," but this "romance" will turn to embarrassment, as Hesketh is unprepared for how little the audience cares for imperial references and aristocratic ideas (Duncan, *Imperialist* 181). Hesketh mistakenly assumes that throughout the empire, British views and opinions are universal. His appeals to ties of loyalty misfire because he constructs his analogy on the binaries necessary to romance, presuming a parental relationship of the metropole over the diminutive colonial offspring, rather than reading nuance, regional difference, and Dominion independence. By carefully setting the scene of the unique farming audience, Duncan powerfully demonstrates how Hesketh misreads his auditors. The assembled are:

big, quiet, expectant fellows, with less sophistication and polemic than their American counterparts, less stolid aggressiveness than their parallels in England, if

they have parallels there. They stood, indeed, for the development between the two; they came of the new country . . . they had the air of being prosperous, but not prosperous enough for theories and doctrines . . . Life was a decent rough business that required all their attention . . . They had the uncomplaining bucolic look, but they wore it with a difference; the difference, by this time, was enough to mark them of another nation. (221)

The men are representative of a “new country,” concerned with making a living in a distinct “nation” through the “rough business” of farming. Specifically, the narrator distinguishes these farmers from their American and English counterparts, and calls to attention how unique the men of the Dominion are. They are not pastoral relics from a Romantic English countryside, and they do not care for “theories and doctrines.” However, Hesketh is “wholly unconscious of anything special in his relation to them” (181) and misidentifies them as English offspring. He unselfconsciously delivers a speech to the farmers based on his preconceived notions of them being relics from a georgic landscape and misses how they are, in fact, distinctly shaped by their Canadian setting.

As he stands before the farming audience, Hesketh embodies the “inherited anachronisms” Mr. Milburn critiques. Hesketh appeals to the “value” of the colonies to England, quotes Rudyard Kipling, and defers to British aristocracy, showing his belief in an outmoded vision of imperialism. The narrative voice is crucial in this scene, as it switches between Hesketh’s speech and internal thoughts, and then shifts to the audience’s collective reactions: “They were looking at him and listening to him, these Canadian farmers, with curious interest in his attitude, his appearance, his inflection, his whole personality . . . *it was a thing new and strange*” (223, emphasis added). Rather

than feeling any familiarity with Hesketh, the farmers view the Englishman as an outsider. The narrator describes him in ethnographic terms, as a “thing” observed—a new species. Their collectivity is powerful, as the audience is portrayed as thinking and acting in unison, to show that representatives from a British cultural centre are not easily recognized.⁹⁴ This moment of dissonance is one that foreshadows Lorne’s election defeat, as it reveals how ideological and abstract appeals to an imperial centre are neither unifying nor homogeneously accepted. Hesketh imagines that appeals to empire will make a cultural connection with his audience; instead, the novel resists this subsuming idea to show how imperialism, on a local, Canadian level actually facilitated Canadian autonomy and identity as distinct from Britain.

When compared to the Jordanville farmers, Hesketh and his representative Old-World notions of imperial allegiance are farcical. Webb considers Hesketh to be “the antithesis of the ideal citizen-soldier on which the Canadian militia myth (the idea that the men of rural stock, used to hard work and physical discomfort, make the best soldiers) is based” (85). As Hesketh appeals to the South African War in his speech, he evokes it as an imperial touchstone, but the novel resists his inference, instead presenting the War as an unevenly signifying event in Canada. Hesketh cites the War as an occasion where the colonies “proved” their allegiance to the empire: “If we in England . . . required a lesson . . . in the importance of the colonies, we had it, need I remind you? In the course of the late protracted campaign in South Africa” (223). Jordanville’s response,

⁹⁴ Duncan further nuances her depiction of a nascent Canadian identity and shows differences in the development of regional settler identities. While Jordanville could be considered settled and developing, other spaces in Canada were being newly settled and opened to immigration. The narrator explains that “Far out in the North-West, where the emigrant trains had been unloading all the summer, Hesketh’s would have been a voice from home; but here, in long-settled Ontario, men had forgotten the sound of it, with many other things” (223).

instead, dramatizes how many in the colony did not identify with imperial allegiance and favoured national autonomy and detachment from England's international affairs after the War. Hesketh's use of the words "a lesson" are cited from Kipling's poem, "The Lesson," published in *The Times* in 1901, and widely republished in collected volumes of his works, such as *The Five Nations* (1903). Kipling's poem suggests the harsh "lessons" Britain learned in the Boer War, the speaker arguing that "*We have had no end of a lesson: it will do us no end of good*" (*Five Nations* 2-3). Kipling's poem highlights Britain's notorious War failures, depicting England as ill-prepared to fight in the vast African terrain because they had planned the war on an island that was no bigger than "nine by seven" (21-22). The poem alludes to a diminishing of British military prowess caused in part by poor planning and a presumptuous attitude that misread the difficulty of fighting in the South African terrain.

Hesketh makes the same error in transposition when he superimposes British ideas onto Canada, mistakenly thinking that he will find an eager, supportive audience unified by their common British heritage. Dramatic irony is created because the imperial reader would know that it is Hesketh who is "getting a lesson" in this scene. Instead, Hesketh continues to show this obliviousness: "Then did the mother country indeed prove the loyalty and devotion of her colonial sons. Then were envious nations rallying about the common flag, eager to attest their affection for it with their life-blood, and to demonstrate that they, too, were worthy to add deeds to British traditions and victories to the British cause" (223). The syntax of this sentence is telling, as Hesketh evokes the War as "proof" of Canada's duty to empire, and relates it to abstract notions of affection and service. There is ambiguity to this evocation of the verb "prove," as loyalty is proven by

the colonial actors themselves, not by the “mother country.” Hesketh attempts to portray England as a benefactor extracting service and ties of loyalty from colonial sons, who are eager to demonstrate their imperial allegiance. The audience, for its part, shows little agreement with these ideas. For Jordanville, the war’s “lesson” was not loyalty and affinity with Britain but rather regional identity and imperial distance. As the narrator earlier explains, the British monarchy and allegiance to the Crown were only present in a “sentiment of affection,” but had little relevance to daily life: “It lay outside the facts of life, far beyond the actual horizon” (90-1). This statement shows how “affection” for Britain is at odd with the “facts of life,” suggesting the disparity between romantic appeals to an imperial centre and Jordanville’s immediate, practical needs.

Hesketh’s droning speech is heckled as the men challenge his ideas with calls of is “That so?” (224). These interruptions simply prompt Hesketh to proceed with his discussion on imperial unity, which is framed in terms of military ties through a “closer union from the point of view of the army,” and the “necessity of a dependable food supply for the mother country in time of war” (224). Hesketh suggests that the ties that bind the colonies to England are cemented by the “bonds of brotherhood by the blood of the fallen” and cites imperial allegiance as a “loftier” principle than “those of the market-place and the counting-house” (224). These comments are ironic as he remains oblivious to the “market-place” and economic principles that are the heart of Elgin’s existence. When asked how England will guarantee holding to these “loftier principles,” Hesketh answers with an obscure quotation from a British aristocrat, the “Duke of Dartmoor,” and explains in abstract terms that it will be the “esteem, the inherent integrity, and the willing compromise of the British race” that binds them together. At this suggestion, an

audience member tells him to “shut up,” and the narrator adds further pathos to the situation by noting that when Hesketh takes the “yellow pinewood schoolroom chair,” it had been “used once before that day to isolate conspicuous stupidity” (225). Hesketh’s conspicuous stupidity is revealed to be his inability to read his audience through a mistaken notion of colonial identification and loyalty to Britain. The Jordanville audience reject appeals to militarism and British cultural evocations as examples of anachronistic imperialism. Hesketh’s jingoistic evocations reveal that he (and England) is ignorant of an emerging Canadian nationalism and that the War signalled Canada’s rising strength within the empire, rather than its inferiority.

This humiliating scene reveals the complicated responses to imperial war in Canada. Hesketh is distanced from Jordanville residents in terms of class and nationality, and the farming audience does not share his imperial fervour. The appeal to the South African campaign also functions to bring into relief the distance and potential irrelevance of the recent war and diminishes an interpretation that Canada’s contribution was one that boosted imperial affiliations. The cementing of “brotherhood” ties through the “blood of the fallen” are national, rather than imperial ties. Carl Berger argues in *The Sense of Power* that imperialism was an ideology favoured in city centres like Toronto, while the working classes and farmers disdained it (5). *The Imperialist* depicts this response, and reveals how to a rural, farming audience, upon which much of the economy of Canada rested, evocations of imperial union and fraternal bonds were not the “lessons” that small towns had taken away from the War. The narrator explains that there is some affinity to England because of a hereditary “belief” that was “in the blood,” which compelled many to take up arms in the high-drama of war when they heard “across the Atlantic . . . the

faint far music of the call to arms” (91). In this moment, Elgin was collectively fighting, and “we’ had lost or won” (91). Many in Elgin had supported the War effort and were caught up in a collective feeling that bonded them with *each other*, rather than with the imperial centre based on a shared English heritage. In terms of England’s foreign policy, after the War, Elgin was “Indifferent, apathetic, self-centred” (91), with the narrator explaining “the politics of Elgin’s daily absorption were those of the town, the Province, the Dominion” (91). In no way is Elgin interested in being directed in its settler politics by opinions from a distant imperial centre. Hesketh’s speech reveals that the War had little day-to-day impact on the rural community, and once the “extraordinary” (91) moment was over, Elgin’s attention returned to the “the immediate, the vital, [and] the municipal” (92). While *The Imperialist* is concerned with how imperial events shaped the Dominion, the novel ironically foregrounds that these connections shaped an identifiable, distinct identity—the roots of a white, Canadian settler nationalism.

“Youth in a young country is a symbol wearing all its value”: Lorne’s Dream and the Failure of His “Idea” (Duncan, *Imperialist* 113)

Hesketh’s imperial speech, delivered during the South Fox election campaign, is a blunder. Crucially, Hesketh’s ideals are satirized and the War intrudes as a moment that suggests the young nation’s rising prestige attained by virtue of Canada’s distinction from Britain. The conflict signals Canada’s independence, fracturing the dependent binary relationship between metropole and Dominion. It is also ironic that war veteran Hesketh cannot mobilize the South African War for political ends in the way that the protagonist Lorne Murchison does, who has never been to war. Lorne has an ideological attachment to imperialism, and his political campaign falters when he describes Canada’s future in

abstract evocations of imperial allegiance. In his idealistic belief in an “Idea,” Lorne anticipates the character of Graham Trent in *Cousin Cinderella*, as both characters are allegorical representatives of a young Canada who favour close ties with Britain.

Whereas *Cousin Cinderella* succeeds in depicting a symbiotic colonial-metropole relationship, and uses the romantic marriage to signal these ties, in *The Imperialist*, the relationship is asymmetrical, and the balance is tipped away from imperial ideology in favour of practical, local economic issues.

Berger reads *The Imperialist* as one of the most “sensitive and perceptive depictions of the Canadian imperialist mentality” because Lorne had a “dream” that “danced in his imagination,” in which Canada would inherit the “greatness and power of Britain” (261). Lorne represents a “youthful” Canada, which possesses the ability to regenerate that which is decaying in England; he is a reinvigorated version of Britain, which Alfred Hesketh allegorically represents. The metaphors of youth, race, and vigour serve to highlight this theory of Canadian regeneration, which is the corollary to the idea of “degeneration”—the notion that nations, like people, and the natural world, “all run down, grow old, and die” (Chamberlin and Gilman x). Youthful Canada and Lorne’s childlike idealism are the “symbol” wearing “all the value” of racial, cultural and economic renewal (Duncan, *Imperialist* 113). Lorne explains this idea to Hesketh during his visit to London:

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. . . . What has this

country got in comparison? A market of forty million people, whom she can't feed, and is less and less able to find work for. (152-3)

In this argument, Lorne associates the newer British “nations,” like Canada, as having the economic and military power to “carry out” imperial policies. Specifically, the overabundance of the British population stands to benefit from Canada’s rich natural resources. Lorne thus repeats a common argument intoned during the war that the poor British performance in South Africa revealed cracks in England’s military, economic and racial prowess. Lorne says that “England still has military initiative, though it’s hard to see how she’s going to keep that unless she does something to stop the degeneration of the class she draws her army from” (153). In this suggestion, Lorne evokes ideas promoted in the English print press (discussed in Chapter 2) that English soldiers were unfit to fight because of their weak physiques and inability to adapt to the harsh South African climate—that as a race they were “degenerating.” Poor maternal health was attributed as the cause of soldierly ill-health, and working and lower-class women were blamed for this degeneration. In the novel, Hesketh is the war veteran who shows signs of class decay; while he may not bear the marks of physical deterioration, he signifies an aristocratic class who finds little place in a new world order, especially when imperial wars are not being waged. And so, Lorne’s evocations of the South African War highlight how the imperial event revealed cracks in England’s prosperity. Lorne considers Canada’s ascendancy by looking to South Africa as a place where Canada demonstrated strong ties of loyalty to Britain, but he does so in order to position Canada, a “younger nation,” as one whose natural resources offer regenerative hope for an England weakened

by overpopulation, industrial pollution, and poor working conditions. As Lorne explains: “England seems to have fallen back on itself” (153).

While Lorne envisions Canada’s ascendancy, he still, however, holds to his imaginative “Idea” of strong imperial ties with Britain. Lorne’s final election campaign speech, his “supreme effort,” is a performative success, and an ironic, ideological failure (255). When read alongside the disastrous orations of Alfred Hesketh’s Jordanville rally, Lorne’s speech comparably fails because it, too, is redolent of abstract imperial ideology. He appears “standing for the youth and energy of the old blood” (256) and is accepted by the audience (unlike Hesketh) as one of their own because he embodies a renewed version of British ideals. The description highlights the idea of colonial population regeneration because Lorne “stands for,” that is he is a synecdoche for, colonial regeneration of the British race—the “old blood” (256). Lorne illuminates how settlers are defined by ambiguity. His identity is articulated in terms of an “affiliative connection” to ancestral roots that are located in the elsewhere of Britain, while simultaneously reflecting how he is rejuvenated in the settler context (Veracini 20-1).

Lorne’s youth also suggests his inexperience, and swayed by his emotions, he departs from his prepared notes on the “history of Liberalism in Fox County” and launches into his speech on the “Idea” (245-7). His initial evocations of imperialism are met with thunderous applause because he positions the “Idea” as one that unites the audience by declaring it to be a national issue: “and imperialism is intensely and supremely a national affair” (257). Here, Lorne demonstrates the argument Berger makes that Canadian imperialism was a manifestation of early nationalist thought because it allowed the nation’s character and duty to become clearly defined. Lorne’s romantic

“Idea,” signalled with a capital “I,” is elevated to the status of religious ideology. Losing his grasp on “reality,” Lorne succumbs to his passions and launches “for better or for worse upon the theme that was subliminal in him and had flowed up, on which he was launched, and almost rudderless, without construction and without control” (258). Lorne is unable to control his “subliminal” passions when he becomes overtaken by his imperial fervour.

Lorne’s speech dramatizes the clash between the languages of romance and realism. His passionate outpouring is linked to his “heart” because he is an “optimist” (254). Emphasizing the fateful allegiance to sentiment and feeling, the narrator describes how Lorne is swayed by his “eager apprehending” heart, to which “it seemed unbelievable that the great imperial possibility, the dramatic chance for the race that hung even now, in the history of the world, between the rising and setting of the sun, should fail to be perceived and acknowledged as the paramount issue” (254). Lorne is the embodiment of the imperial idea, and the passage emphasizes his British whiteness, repeating that his “blood” and his “heart” beat, and stand in for, the Anglo-Saxon “race.” Yet his evocations of sentiment and emotion are out of touch with Elgin’s more immediate, practical concerns. Tausky argues that Lorne’s fatal error is “his refusal to find any economic argument for imperialism that would make it attractive from the standpoint of individual and national self interest” (*SJD: Novelist* 157). While there is an economic weakness to his argument, Lorne’s speech also fails in its elocution. Carried away by his “heart,” Lorne diverges from his prepared notes and speaks with the unrestrained power of his emotions. The narrator has previously signalled Lorne’s oratory powers, calling his talk “vivid and pictorial” like a “grown-up fairy tale” (253). By

gesturing to the fairy tale, the narrator indicates how Lorne's ideas are likely to fail and overtly describes how the language of romance is used in political messages. Lorne appeals neither to tangible community infrastructure nor the "chink of hard cash," so that his evocations are symbolic, with little material value to his electorate (262). By contrast, the Minister offers up funding for the post office and a Drill Hall (another material manifestation of militarism) as community-building initiatives (262). Like Hesketh's abstract evocation of imperial unity, Lorne's "Idea" is not relatable to the audience's pecuniary and material needs. Lorne's imperialism fails in Elgin because it is an abstract idea that those with a lack of imagination cannot grasp.

In seeking a unifying image to describe his imperial vision, Lorne appeals to the British flag and asks the audience to "hold" to the Empire: "Let us not forget the flag" (259). Specifically, he incites his auditors to remember the "day after Paardeburg" (sic), that "still winter day," when Canadian "hearts" were "lifted," and "how it spoke to us" the "silent flag in the new fallen snow!" (259). The British flag is called upon through a moment that memorializes the battle at Paardeberg (February 1900), where national courage and imperial unity were displayed. It was the first major action involving Canadian troops and the first significant British victory in the war. After the War, annual commemorations were held in small towns across Canada on February 27, on what became commonly known as "Paardeberg Day," and this practice of remembering Canada's military contribution and war dead continued until after the First World War. Lorne's evocation of "Paardeberg" reveals how the word had entered common linguistic usage in the early twentieth century, as the term had become metonymical for a major battle that solidified Canada as a nation in an imperial world. And rather than evoking

military prowess, Lorne appeals to the flag to explain how we were “never more loyal, in word and deed, than we are now” (259).

The memory of Paardeberg is structured around heartfelt feeling and a collective pride in Canada’s military prowess, while the flag in the silent snow is a northern image that makes the moment distinctly Canadian. This image displaces a battlefield memory and renders the War as peaceful because it commands the reader to think of the snow and not the soldiers, who are “fallen.” The War is thus presented through the juxtaposition of the Canadian winter scene alongside a memory of a battle fought on South African terrain to reveal the metaphoric and euphemistic construction of war narratives. It is noteworthy that Lorne refers to this imperial battle because it acts as a central myth around which Canada—and his audience—can cohere. Lorne is not a soldierly hero, but he nevertheless reveals how martial events act as foundational moments of national identification. Neither Confederation nor the Battle on the Plains of Abraham are evoked in his speech. Instead, Lorne uses a recent international event and looks to South Africa to reveal Canada’s maturation and prowess in the empire.

The latter part of the novel extends how Lorne’s *romantic* view of his country’s future is trampled by the *reason* of his voters. Lorne is optimistic because he sees Canada’s ascendancy linked to Britain, which he casts as the “heart of the Empire, the conscience of the world, and the Mecca of the race” (155). His ideology is inflected with racial, religious and moral overtones that disclose how British whiteness was closely linked to the spread of imperialism. Duncan constructs Lorne as the novel’s heart and soul, as the likeable protagonist, despite how his ideas fail, so that the reader becomes empathetic to his progress. If Lorne is a “symbol” wearing all his “value,” he stands in

for white, racial renewal, and the novel constructs his Canadian identity around the perceived norms of masculine whiteness (113). Yet the vibrant passion of his youth flounders because it is subsumed by the emerging capitalist economy that favours the Milburn Boiler Company, agricultural exports, and material consumption over idealism. Duncan's novel suggests that this crass commercialization deserves little sympathy, and the victory of pragmatic nationalism over imperial idealism directs the reader to sympathize with Lorne's loss, making the norms of white masculinity, deriving from imperial ideologies, to be at the novel's sympathetic centre, which are by extension about the Canadian settler project.

With signs that England's power is declining, Lorne articulates the hopefulness that Canadian imperialists experienced after the War: "In the scrolls of the future it is already written that the centre of the Empire must shift—and where, if not to Canada?" (257). Fully inscribed in Lorne's view of Canada's ascendancy is a racial argument that those with British heritage are the dominant settler "race." In his speech, no mention is made of Indigenous people, immigrants, or French-Canadians. Lorne's view on imperialism is white and paternal, and his racism is apparent when he remarks that Canada's settler project is an extension of a global politics of whiteness because a time "will come which will usher in a union of the Anglo-Saxon nations of the world" (261). Lorne's portrayal of an "Anglo-Saxon" union is symptomatic of the language of exclusion used in establishing white, settler normativity. Kertzer argues that *The Imperialist* provides a view of early Canadian nation-building that offers an opportunity to imagine a "new sense of citizenship and destiny" ("Destiny"). This new destiny, however, was premised on assimilating Indigenous people and extending white

settlement and commercial endeavours in Elgin (modelled on Duncan's hometown of Brantford, Ontario), located on the land reserved for the Six Nations through the 1784 Haldimand Grant (Coleman 226-7). Indeed, Daniel Coleman reiterates that while Lorne's "Idea" fails, and he eventually steps down as the Liberal candidate, he *does* initially win the election. This election is contested, however, on the grounds of alleged vote-rigging on the Moneida Reserve. That the "Indians" are able to vote in the Dominion election is a reference to the Dominion Franchise Act of 1885 allowing Indigenous people to vote, which Prime Minister Laurier's Liberals rescinded in 1898. Duncan referred to this inclusion as her "Indian anachronism;" knowing that "Indians" were not allowed to vote in the 1903 Dominion election, she nevertheless includes references to the "red man of Moneida" as "dying fragments of his race" in order to include content on her "Indian interest" (Coleman 222; Duncan 270).

Coleman argues this intrusion marks a "dramatic instance" where the "traumatic history" of Indigenous dispossession "results in moments when the repressed violence that is fundamental to the establishment of civility returns to disturb the calm waters of its surface" (224). Devereux calls this moment in chapter 31 the novel's "crisis point," the "moment when the past comes crashing into the present and requires an accounting, the point beyond which the book cannot signify except in terms of its own colonizing politics" (Devereux, "Are we there yet?" 187). On election day, when Lorne visits the Moneida Reservation, he is oblivious to the manipulation of votes, and throughout the novel, is unaware of the encroachment upon Reserve land upon which Elgin is settled. The novel portrays the "Indians" as untrustworthy and troublesome; however, rather than being "long gone," there remain "plenty of them lying around any time there's nothing to

do but vote and get drunk” (Duncan, *Imperialist* 270). The scandal that costs Lorne the election is precisely a manifestation of Indigenous presence that he overlooks in his imperial perspective—he ignores the foundational dispossession at the heart of Elgin’s settler project. Just as Lorne alludes to a distant war in South Africa, and evokes “Paardeberg” to mobilize a sanitized, poignant national identification that disavows imperial violence, he ignores, too, the settler violence upon which his residency in Elgin is premised.

Ultimately, Duncan’s depiction of an emerging, small-town identity reveals the roots upon which various Canadian settler nationalism were grounded and the overlooked violence(s) they call upon in service of that ideal. Lorne’s defeat reflects a community motivated by material self-interest that chooses a certain economic future over an appeal to anachronistic imperialism. “The popular idea,” says Mr. Farquharson of the Liberal party, is that Lorne “would not hesitate to put Canada to some material loss, or at least postpone her development in various important directions, for the sake of the imperial connection” (289). The text is sympathetic to Lorne’s failure, which highlights the contrast between the youthful zeal of his imperial idealism and the practical, fiscal concerns of the town. This dichotomy is described as the “practical” versus the “sentimental,” where Lorne’s “allegiance to the old land” (287) is a “kind of chivalry” because he places “certain forms of beauty—political honour and public devotion,” above the “material ease and margin of the new country” (287). *The Imperialist* challenges the value of the “sentimental” and critiques the material “practical,” and these themes are again revived in *Cousin Cinderella*.

Regional Identity in Elgin and Minnebiac

Elgin is a fictional early-industrial Ontario town in *The Imperialist*, and it could be considered a distinct character in the novel that shapes, and ultimately rejects, Lorne. Elgin is an imagined place, while drawing characteristics from a town like Brantford, Ontario, and its construction represents the commingling of realism and romance that is the productive tension at the heart of the novel's generic innovation. Similarly, in *Cousin Cinderella* Duncan's interest in regional identity remains important because the Trent family hails from the invented lumber town of Minnebiac in Eastern Ontario, and the novel explores how this identity is encountered across imperial space. Recorded through the first-person narration of Mary Trent, narrative technique shifts away from the partial-omniscience in *The Imperialist*, and Duncan moves the action between Minnebiac, Ontario and Kensington, London. Consequently, *Cousin Cinderella* provides a metropolitan view of the Dominion while remaining concerned with what happens to Canadians when they confront their English heritage—a culture Graham Trent immediately idolizes. It is Mary who narrates the Trents' travels and romantic engagements, and she provides a critical view of London society to bring British idiosyncrasies to light. Graham's voice is thereby diminished, and as he falls in love with England's anachronisms of inherited wealth and property, he also loses much of his hard-won independence.

Reading these novels alongside each other reveals a number of ways in which communal and individual experience in Canada comes into contact with imperial and global events, which as Willmott argues, “invade its horizons and contradictorily transgress and constitute the logic of its social space” (47). The War is such an event, as

is the issue of tariff reform and imperial trade. Whereas Lorne cannot see an economic link to support his appeals to imperialism, which in part leads to the tragic unravelling of his political career, *Cousin Cinderella* makes economic imperialism its theme, and shows future success based on reciprocal, financial cooperation and sidelines affiliations based on martial imperialism. The sentimental ties of love and politics are evident in *The Imperialist*, and the narrator explains after Lorne's election defeat: "there is nothing subtler, more elusive to trace than the intercurrents of the emotions. Politics and love are thought of as two opposite poles" (288). Rather than oppositional, politics and romance are relational in *Cousin Cinderella*, and the novel dramatizes in theme and conclusion, through Mary Trent's marriage, what Lorne cannot achieve in Elgin. As in *The Imperialist* where Lorne's youthful idealism functions as an allegory for the nascent Dominion, the individual and the national are again conflated in *Cousin Cinderella* because Mary and Graham represent the gendered roles of national citizenship. They are portrayed as national types: Miss Canada and the Maple Prince. And like Lorne Murchison, young Graham is a character who possesses great imagination; both men are consumed by their naïve idealization of British values.

Consequently, *Cousin Cinderella* can be read as a novel that continues the imperial arguments that tragically fail in Elgin, but which, through romance and ties coded as feminine and sentimental, succeed in Minnebiac. Indeed, the texts have been considered companion pieces because Duncan is quoted in a 1904 letter written to John Willison, editor of the *Toronto News*, that the novel she envisioned writing after *The Imperialist* would see her "bringing Lorne Murchison over here [to London] and giving the critical colonial view of London society" (Tausky, "Writing" 309-10; Hammill,

Literary Culture 66). As novels that deal explicitly with Canadian character and identity, *Cousin Cinderella* and *The Imperialist* share much thematic continuity, and both novels trace “the painful progress towards maturity both of individuals and of a nation” (Tausky, *SJD and Her Works* 60). Lorne and Graham share a youthful attachment to imaginative ideals of politics and the arts, and both come from self-made men in Canadian small towns; they each suffer a failed romance. The South African War is a significant event in both novels, and in *Cousin Cinderella* it orients the reader to Graham’s and Mary’s social status in the empire. The topic of military service and training conveys Canada’s and Graham’s early education to reveal an ambivalent feeling regarding war in Canada’s political future. Graham’s veteran status also demonstrates how militarism was imbricated in civic life in the early twentieth century, inflecting Canadian ideas of masculinity, class, and the nascent capitalist economy.

Cousin Cinderella’s major generic innovation is in its surprising conclusion; Duncan rejects the polarization of politics and love with a practical resolution that blends the conventions of romance and realism to celebrate and centre the “Cinderella” of Canada. Duncan thereby adds an imperial twist to the maternal feminist argument that within the confines of prescribed gender roles for women lies great power. Indeed, Mary as an allegorical figure is poised as a future broker of political and economic cooperation between Britain and Canada. In the process, anachronistic ties of imperialism are dismissed as the contingent events of economics, politics, and international affairs displace Britain at the centre of the empire. To reveal the imbrications of the material and the allegorical, I consider the novel’s publishing conditions and reception history, and I reveal how Duncan deploys allegory, the trope of female authorship, and the romance

genre. *Cousin Cinderella* foregrounds the circulation of people and printed material and is interested in the reading and interpretation of these things through the networked connections that empire engenders.

4.2 *Cousin Cinderella*'s Various "Colonial Editions"

Duncan was already a popular novelist when she wrote *Cousin Cinderella: A Canadian Girl in London* (1908). She works her authorial experiences, as a writer working from various points in the empire, into the novel's depiction of imperial publishing conditions. Duncan also dramatizes how her characters and novels were tied to imperial networks in *Cousin Cinderella*'s themes of reading, circulation and interpretation—of both texts and Canadians. She also demonstrates literary innovations in terms of theme, character, and genre. The subject of imperial relations predominates, as the novel considers metropole-colonial differences by placing the "Canadian Girl" and character-narrator Mary Trent in fictitious Minnebiac, Ontario and factual Kensington, London. Like Maud Graham's memoir, *A Canadian Girl in South Africa*, Duncan's novel alludes to feminine imperial mobility and the cultural differences that become foregrounded when national types encounter one another. In *Cousin Cinderella*, Mary's Canadian narrative perspective reveals English misconceptions of colonial life to highlight metropolitan decay against which she and her brother Graham embody "the thinking qualities of health, energy and self-reliance" required to regenerate the Empire (Snaith 56). The novel is told by Mary who authors a "journal-novel" through which Duncan assesses the "relative merits of Canadian freedom and British traditions, and brings into focus her heroine's self-realization as a narrator with a specifically Canadian

point of view” (Hammill, *Literary Culture* 78, xiv). Mary inspects and describes the differences between Canadian, American, and English speakers, thus articulating Duncan’s sustained interest in cross-cultural interactions, which she previously explored in *An American Girl in London* (1891), *A Daughter of Today* (1894), *A Voyage of Consolation* (1898), and *Those Delightful Americans* (1902). *Cousin Cinderella* also revives the imperial debate on tariff reform evoked in *The Imperialist*; however, here the context is not the agricultural and early industrial districts of Elgin but rather an inspection of city life and flat dwelling in Kensington. This setting gestures to Duncan’s interest in life in London, as seen in her novel *Two in a Flat* (1908). Not only does *Cousin Cinderella* continue many of Duncan’s thematic projects, it also reflects end-of-century literary trends. Misao Dean argues that the novel is one of Duncan’s “most conspicuously [Henry] ‘Jamesian’ novels (“Note”), which reflects the late Victorian “technique of creating characters according to national stereotypes” (“Introduction” xi).⁹⁵ As character-narrator and national stereotype, Mary is a representative yet complex character, whose witty (and at times ironic) narrative voice conveys the Trents’ adventures in London. Dean notes how Mary “redefines the role of the heroine in popular fiction” (“Introduction” xx). Mary grows in confidence, independence, and authorial voice, and so advances Duncan’s project of redefining a women’s role in colonial and imperial affairs, which she initiated in the character of Advena Murchison in *The Imperialist*.

⁹⁵ Dean notes how Mary’s family name, “Trent,” alludes to a major river system, and so indigenizes the Trent family—they are of the land itself. The name “Trent” is like the family name “Hudson” in Henry James’s *Roderick Hudson*, while the name “Mary” is a representative female name (Dean, “Introduction” xii).

Cousin Cinderella was published serially in *The Queen* starting in January 1908. In the same year, the novel was published in New York by Macmillan with that American edition being the one that circulated in the Canadian market. In London, the novel was published by Methuen (Dean, "Introduction" xxi). Dean explains how serialization ensured publicity and higher revenues for Duncan's novels:

Duncan received £315 for *The Imperialist* from *The Queen*, much more than she received as an advance for its book publication by Constable (£175); for *Cousin Cinderella* she received £215, only slightly less than the £225 advance she received from Methuen for the same book. By publishing her novels serially before they appeared in book form, Duncan not only created publicity and a ready market for the release of the book; she also approximately doubled the income she received from any one book. ("Researching")

There are notable differences between the British and American editions of the novel. In the introduction to the 1994 Tecumseh reprint of the New York edition, Dean suggests that the London edition's differences may be "interpreted as toning down Canadian criticisms of the British" ("Introduction" xxii). A regional adjustment was made in the New York edition, where "Mary's analysis of Graham's motives in enlisting in the Boer War, which might suggest Graham's loyalty and imply a criticism of American attitudes toward the Boers, was deleted" (Dean, "Introduction" xxi-xxii). The passage deletion is one in which Mary explains how Graham "was born on the wrong side of the line for sympathy with the Boers; and as he said himself, he didn't see the use of belonging to the feudal system and not coming in for any of the feuds" (qtd. in Dean, "Introduction" xxii). These editorial amendments reveal the attitudes readers in the various English-speaking

book markets were believed to hold, so that even in 1908, the sentiments and antipathies concerning allegiance to Boer or Brit remained strong. Duncan's novel thematically stages the editorial practices she undertook to prepare versions of her work for publication, and her awareness of the differing reading tastes and national sympathies in the English-speaking markets of the Empire.

The theme of imperial readership is transposed onto Graham and Mary Trent, who are depicted as "colonial editions," whose colonial idiosyncrasies are "read" and "interpreted" by other English speakers. The witty frontispiece in the 1908 Macmillan edition is a black-and-white sketch of Graham and Mary in an outdoor, Canadian scene, wearing winter dress (with a figure snowshoeing in the background) entitled: "A pair of colonial editions." This caption is one of John Trent's phrases for describing his "offspring" whom he sends "as samples" (like the pieces of wood upon which his lumber empire was founded) to England, "to show forth his country for him" (10). This wry commentary makes clear by using the words "edition" and "sample" that Mary and Graham are representative *versions* of the Canadian character. The pun on the word "edition" alludes to the novel's publication history, and riffs on the understanding that colonial editions were often less embellished versions, and consequently cheaper, than London editions. The frontispiece thus positions Mary and Graham as stripped-down versions of more ostentatious imperial editions, foregrounds their international circulation, and emphasizes the narrative construction of national, gendered identities.

In addition to textual differences between the New York and London editions, there were also alterations made to the title. First editions were published as *Cinderella of Canada*, which Macmillan's editor G.P. Brett opposed because "novel readers here [in

America] . . . will consider it as a sort of fairy story in which they are not at all interested . . . and it won't, either, help the sale of the book in Canada, as the readers will . . . be offended by the title and be inclined to resent it" (Watt qtd. in Dean, "Researching"; Hammill, *Literary Culture* 73). Hammill explains that the title could have evoked offense if read literally, since Canada is equated to a poor humble relation of Britain (the Cinderella figure who seeks legitimation through marriage). Yet when interpreted ironically, it is the "British characters [who] eagerly court the Canadian fortunes" (Hammill, *Literary Culture* 73). Dean argues that the title changes reveal Duncan's penchant for making last-minute alterations to her novels; yet in this instance, the title edits have relevance to the novel's interpretation. Dean explains:

Duncan seems to have strongly favoured the title *Cinderella of Canada*, and engaged in a protracted negotiation with Macmillan, the publisher of the US edition, who wanted to change it to *Cousin Cinderella*. . . . When asked for alternative titles, Duncan suggested 'The Maple Prince' and 'Two from Arcady,' both of which are revealing: the former focuses attention away from Mary Trent onto a description of her brother as 'The Maple Prince,' underlining the original conception of the book as a sequel to *The Imperialist*; the latter refers to Minnebiac, Ontario, the home of Graham and Mary Trent, as Arcadia, a mythical ideal place. Clearly Macmillan's won this battle, and both U.S. and British editions were published under their preferred title. Macmillan's also won another battle: they refused to make the changes and corrections Duncan wanted so that the book would be uniform with the British edition, claiming that as the book was already set and plates made, the changes would cost them £180. The correspondence makes it clear

that the British edition incorporates later revisions and has authorial sanction, a surprising discovery since the changes in the British edition significantly mute the witty and challenging criticisms of the British which make the book so much fun. (“Researching”)

Dean’s 2003 research on Duncan’s correspondence with her publishers shows that the British edition was the one with authorial sanction; however, the edition readily available to scholars is the 1994 reprint of the New York edition.⁹⁶ I have used the in-print New York edition in this chapter, while pointing to textual variants that are significant concerning references to the War and South Africa.

Canadian reviewers found *Cousin Cinderella* to be a disappointing work from one whom they considered to be an established author. The *Toronto Star* and *Globe* listed it in their “books received” section, but neither reviewed the novel. It did receive sustained attention in two national periodicals. While one commentator in the *Canadian Courier* held that the latest of “Mrs. Cotes’ vivacious stories” contained some “interesting insights into Canadian character” (“Fiction” 14), an earlier commentator described Graham and Mary Trent as “half-baked specimens of colonial crudity,” and the book as “emphatically a disappointment and irritation” (“Literary Notes” 18). The same *Courier* review critiqued Mary Trent’s “annoying” narration, saying she “approaches the British Public very much as a pert small boy would regard a bald-headed veteran in a sound slumber,” and the conversations she retells as making the reader wonder if “he is reading of the

⁹⁶ The title is explained in the British version (but was eliminated in the American edition): “‘As to you, Mary,’ and Evelyn looked me up and down, ‘you’re like something out of a fairy tale, with your humble airs.’ ‘Cinderella,’ suggested Graham, and they both considered me with more humour than I thought I deserved” (qtd. in Dean, “Introduction” xxii).

inmates of a brain-fag sanitarium” (“Literary Notes” 18). Neither did *The Canadian Magazine* consider it a strong work from a “Canadian writer” who “scarcely succeeded in adding to her reputation” (“Canadian Girl in London” 89). While reviewers were quick to claim the imperial Mrs. Cotes as a Canadian author, *Cousin Cinderella* frustrated them because the novel’s Canadians were not read as allegorical characters. *Cousin Cinderella* attends to factual representations of custom and linguistic dialects, to regional description, and to the norms of London life; consequently, the Canadian characters were not read as representative types by the reviewers. The interpretative struggle results, in part, from Mary’s narrative voice, which is often tentative and naïve. This uncertainty should not be read as a stylistic weakness but rather as a structuring principle, which depicts the voice of a new writer who attempts to find her literary style at the same time as she negotiates her way in the world. Mary’s hesitations and growing self-awareness as author mirror her nation’s attempt to find its voice in international politics. This hesitancy also registers the insecurities women felt when writing about political issues. While Mary’s narrative style irked reviewers, it significantly reveals Duncan’s literary strategy of depicting the conditions of female authorship, and her own struggles as a writer.

The novel was also criticized as an imperial romance between national types. *The Canadian Magazine* disliked the Trents who “seem to be rather too egotistical to be typical Canadians, and the brother, who is supposed to be quite a strong character, is in reality something of a weakling. The jockeying of American and Canadian gold for old country titles is forced and hackneyed, and the love affairs are like lukewarm weak tea” (“Canadian Girl” 89). Yet the allure of imperial marriage amused the English reviewer in *The Observer* who noted that the “‘delightful Canadian,’ Mrs. Everard Cotes . . . has

turned the Imperial searchlight upon marriage,” and praised the “merry wit,” the “cleverness of the drawing of Briton, Canadian, and American” characters, and the “schoolgirlish alertness of Cinderella’s narration,” which make it a “sheer delight” to read (“Imperial Marriage” 4). Unlike her earlier works, *Cousin Cinderella* was not a spectacular financial or commercial success, but recent recuperation holds it alongside *The Imperialist* as one of her greatest achievements. Tausky considers both “among the enduring classics of Canadian fiction” (“Sara Jeannette Duncan” 104).

Anna Snaith reads *The Imperialist* and *Cousin Cinderella* to argue that the novels share thematic commonalities, as the imperial policy debate on tariff reform predominates in both works.⁹⁷ In *Cousin Cinderella*, in particular, Duncan explores how the “economic and political workings of imperialism affect women and the private sphere of personal relations” (Snaith 56). Where Snaith is interested in the effects of imperial policy on women in both novels, Peter Webb has pointed to the “political and cultural impact” of the South African War to suggest that the militaristic patriotism in *The Imperialist* has “sentimental but little practical value” because the novel “resists the urge to mythologize war” (78-9). Webb argues that in *Cousin Cinderella*, Mary and Graham Trent’s opinions of war are ambivalent, having little “practical and political significance to Canada,” even while their father, John Trent, values war for its symbolic value “only inasmuch as it involves a blood sacrifice” (86). Building on Webb’s analysis, I read *Cousin Cinderella* as a work in which Duncan’s overt reference to the South African War

⁹⁷ Important context to the Tariff Reform debate is that it arose in 1903 as a response to debt recovery. The War had cost England substantially more than expected, over £200 million, and substantially increased national debt. The corn duty in 1901 and the tariff reform debate over imperial preferential trade (as opposed to free trade) in 1903 were a direct response to the War’s financial pressures (some called it a fiscal crisis) on the British economy (Omissi and Thompson 9; Searle 204-5).

in the novel's first chapter renders the imperial conflict as an important event that defines Graham's character. National stereotypes, in general, and Canada's character, in particular, are dominant themes, which make Graham's role in the War a personally, and nationally, defining moment. Similarly, his participation in the Minnebiac Rifles is representative of the military citizenship that was important to the culture of early twentieth-century Ontario. I dismiss Webb's argument that the War has little significance. Rather, this imperial event is formative, as the War was understood as evidence of Canada's maturation from a colonial dependency to a contributor alongside England on the world stage. As Cecily Devereux has argued, the books are about how Canada signified before it was actually national, in an imperial context, to argue for "an empire with a Canada in it" ("Colonial Space" 41). In the post-War years, however, Duncan diminishes military cooperation as the political relationship that will bind Canada to Britain. While military citizenship and service elevated Canada's status, and evinced much pride, *Cousin Cinderella* instead suggests that future imperial ties should be moulded around sentimental and economic cooperation with Canada rejuvenating a visibly decaying imperial centre.

While the novel is set in London and examines the differences between a settler colony and metropolitan culture, Graham and Mary are examined not only in contrast to British society, but also against American ideals, which are represented through the American Evelyn Dicey. Canada's identity is thus shown to be defined in relation to multiple imperial powers, to complicate the simple metropole-Canada binary. Mary's nationality, argues Dean, is thus founded on "a revitalized British ideal, the median point between the present excesses of American immoral adaptability and British insensitivity

and commercialism” (*Canadian Nationality* 83). Dean points to Mary as the type of protagonist Lorne is depicted to be in *The Imperialist*, where colonial offspring are not “children” or diminutions of Britain, but are instead portrayed as set to inherit and revitalize the empire. Settler colonies, argues Veracini, frequently deploy this regeneration narrative, where settlers move away from the imperial centre and establish new communities while maintaining continuity with the norms of that centre, to “sustain and reproduce European standards and way of life” (*Settler* 22). These continuities between Canadian and British culture are represented in Duncan’s novels through the affinity the families like the Murchisons and the Trents feel towards the English metropole. The War, however, revealed the perceived physical degeneration of the British population, and so Canada, while closely linked to the metropole, also signalled as a site for renewing and strengthening the British race.

Settler sovereignty in a new settler space can also be grounded in opposition to a corresponding settlerhood (Veracini, *Settler* 24). This claim can be connected to the difference Duncan continually foregrounds between Canadians and Americans, as Mary and Graham distance themselves from the American Evelyn Dicey. Indeed, John Trent instructs his children to remind “curious” people that “this continent grows something besides Americans” (11). Dean’s argument that Mary embodies a “revitalized British ideal,” reveals how Mary reflects the Canadian settler project as distinct from that in America, while still retaining continuity with a British heritage. As national types, Graham and Mary act as a fulcrum on a scale, attempting to balance the excesses of American culture and the anachronisms of the British “feudal system.” That Graham and Mary are neither American nor British, and that they must continually explain themselves

to be Canadian, makes the process of national identification, representation and interpretation—of reading the characters—one of the novel’s central tropes, and the basis for many of the novel’s witty puns.

The Maple Prince and Militarism in Minnebiac

If the central characters are representative Canadian types, and the romance genre depicts Canada as maturing towards independent prosperity, then Duncan uses familial affection as a metaphor for the relationships that bind characters to each other, to place, and to their nation’s future. Significantly, as Duncan reimagines romance from a female perspective, the distant spaces of London, Minnebiac, and South Africa interact. To frame the novel, *Cousin Cinderella* inspects gender roles in a familial and authorial context, and it is in relation to Graham and John that Mary presents herself in order to authorize her adventure to London. “I will first introduce our father, as seems suitable” (1) she tells her reader, before describing Mr. Trent’s economic and political credentials. These familial bonds serve as paradigm for imperial relations, as Mary situates herself in relation to her patriarch, who financially and metaphorically authorizes her travels and her narrative. Yet, as I will argue, these structures are resisted when it is Mary, and not Graham, who solidifies the imperial connection through marriage.

Not only does Mary situate her narrative and national position in relation to her father, in the first chapter, she also introduces brother Graham who is significantly defined by his Canadian military training and war service. The South African War functions as a historical beacon, placing the narrative in the early twentieth century, after which imperial defence recedes into the background, and the economic debate on tariff

reform becomes the political topic that predominates. If Graham is to be read as a “Maple Prince,” who is a newly elected member of the Canadian parliament, and the heir to the imperial throne, then Mary presents her brother and the novel’s protagonist as a literal war hero—one who deserves recognition because he has received the Distinguished Service Order (DSO). The War is formative and symbolizes the culmination of his military training: it represents national and imperial loyalty; it is a source of pride for his family; it places him in a family militarist tradition because his mother’s “grandfather was a United Empire Loyalist” (3); and it marks his body symbolically and physically, as he is as a decorated war veteran who permanently carries with him the scars of battle.

While the introductory chapter features Graham’s education and military experience, *Cousin Cinderella* is not a *bildungsroman* like *The Imperialist*, as it is not concerned with Graham’s development from childhood into manhood, but selectively offers background information to illuminate his character. Nor is it a *künstlerroman*, despite hints that Graham is a “poet” who is skilled not with words but at “composing and carving things out of wood” (6). Both Lorne and Graham as protagonists could be considered to be possessed of a type of “imperialist nostalgia”—a longing for a past and a place as it was “traditionally” (Rosaldo 108). The irony of this type of nostalgia, argues Renato Rosaldo, is that what the actors long for is a form of life relegated to a past they have intentionally altered or destroyed through imperial or colonizing practices (107-8). Graham’s nostalgic view of the Canadian forests as a site of inspiration for his artistic woodwork carvings is a longing for the woods to be viewed as a rich source of Romantic, artistic inspiration (unpeopled by Indigenous inhabitants), for his “poetic” creations, rather than as resources for crass commercial extraction. In the same way, Graham’s

longing for a connection to a regal British heritage is in fact a nostalgia for an English aristocratic past transformed by expansionist imperialism, from which he directly descends. These artistic and romantic impulses contrast with Mr. Trent's desire for capital enterprise because the father sees lumber as a raw material for business ventures. There is irony in this tension, as Graham is of a younger generation who feels the unfulfilled "historicized wish," to use Willmott's terms, of a romanticized past that is slowly being eroded by the market capitalism of the lumber industry (23). Yet, Graham's inheritance and wealth, and his mobility in empire, are only possible through the commodification of these same forests. The contrast in generational views also plays out in Graham's choice of career prospects. Graham's notions of a commission in the British army, thought to be anachronistic in the go-ahead colony, are thwarted because Mr. Trent wants Graham to be "in the business" instead.

The romance of a colony's material potential is alluded to in the novel's title. Though the title underwent revisions, Duncan employed national identifiers and the fairy tale genre in her suggestions whether by suggesting the "Maple Prince" or the "Cinderella of Canada" in each of her reworkings. These choices signal to the reader that the romance sub-genre of fairy tale, and the theme of national character, are inextricably bound to the novel's interpretation. These generic characteristics are made apparent in the first chapter, wherein Mary Trent twice refers to the "fairy tale" of her father's commercial success (8). Mary says that John Trent was reluctant to travel "across the Atlantic" to show "what he himself had arrived at by believing in the fairy tale" (8). John Trent's humble birth in Yorkshire, followed by a move to Canada where he became a wealthy lumber baron, is emblematic of the opportunity the settler colonies represented,

and Mr. Trent embodies the idea of the self-made man. Indeed, Mary reduces the history of collective labour, Indigenous displacement, and land clearing behind his business success, as she describes how Mr. Trent “simply created Minnebiac” because he “made lumber pay from the very beginning” (1). The Trent fortune is “simply” created by harnessing the capital potential of the forest and is presented as self-evident fact. “The Hon. Mr. John Trent” (1) is an exemplar of this heroic success. The “fairy tale” in Canada resides upon the myth that any settler man (and this opportunity is gendered as masculine) through hard work can “create” prosperity from the colony’s raw materials and settlement, which drastically rewrites England’s aristocratic inheritance, which exists because of feudal land holding and birthright. *Cousin Cinderella* authors the next chapter in this fable, centred on a new generation of Canadians who are bolstered by their parents’ wealth. However, if Mary is a reimagined Cinderella figure who continues the fairy tale in which her father believed, she is not the helpless heroine of romance. Instead, Duncan’s ironic romance envisions Mary’s birthright signalling a new female-directed era in Canada’s future, while Graham’s place is diminished.

One of the novel’s central concerns is how Graham as an adult should discern where his cultural and fiscal loyalties lie. *Cousin Cinderella* is thus an allegory for national emergence, and dramatizes the period in Graham’s life when he must enter adult society. It is interested in the choices that will determine his—and Canada’s—future. For this reason, his early life experience is foundational to understanding his maturation. Graham was educated in Ontario and possesses real-life war experience, and his choice of wife and residence is a decision that dramatizes his conflicted loyalty to two financial empires. He must choose between a life tied to the “Old World” through his marriage to

Lady Barbara and the renovation of her crumbling Pavisay Court mansion, or a life in Canada, where the cultural and international experience he gains in England and South Africa will aid in managing his inheritance and his father's lumber baronetcy. Significantly, the novel ironically deploys the romance structure upon which to depict these options, as it undermines Graham's choices when his engagement to Barbara fails. Instead, sister Mary usurps his place as romantic hero(ine) and unexpectedly announces her marriage in the novel's culminating pages. This feminist reversal sees the romance ironically fulfilled as a symbolic and literal marriage of two worlds, centred on the sidelined female narrator-character. Consequently, Mary's marriage to Lord Peter Doleford is offered as a model for the "ties of sentiment" which Mary proclaims to be the "only wisdom" (362), in choosing a partner and representing Canada's commitment to England. Canada can choose England on its own terms, rather than through martial or economic dependence. The novel's feminism calls upon the discourses of race and regeneration because Mary, and not wounded Graham, will restore the crumbling Pavisay dynasty based on independent choice in marriage—the "sentimental" ties of imperialism.

The romance is ironic, but this conclusion is only reached after a lengthy narrative where Mary plays into readerly expectations by portraying her brother as a war hero, even if his romantic "quest" for English heritage and Barbara is later to be deflated. Graham's formative years included a privileged, private education at Upper Canada College, military training in Kingston, and knowledge gained from John Trent's lumber business. His education and opportunities are contrasted with Mary's when she satirizes her education at the finishing school of "Miss Vincent's in Toronto," where she took courses in "Domestic Science" and "Beautiful Thoughts" (2). It is clear that Mary sees

the education she received as little relevant to the metropolitan world she will inhabit in Kensington, yet Mr. Trent provides an education that moulds them as specifically Canadian. Mary does not go to finishing school in New York because her father said “no, I wasn’t an American” (2), and when Graham seeks a commission in the English Army, “father more or less discouraged it” (3). Mike O’Brien explains that commissioned officer status in Canada, as in the British Army, was organized along the lines of class. In Britain, officers were drawn largely from men of private means; while Ontario lacked this “leisure class,” the militia drew many of its officers from the “professional and business classes” (O’Brien 43). The commissioned ranks in Canada were attractive because they conveyed privilege, prestige and social exclusivity (O’Brien 43), and Graham’s wish for a commission would mark him as an Ontarian elite. Yet Mr. Trent directs his children according to the values he insists are befitting Canadians, and envisions Graham not as an officer but rather working “in the business” to operate the Minnebiac Planing Mill (3). Graham’s choice of career is thus poised between service to Crown (militarism) or Canada (resource capitalism), and yet neither choice seems a suitable option, which is why the indulgence of his desire to create works of fine woodworking sentimentally portrays his military and business options as crass depictions of Canada’s future. Graham, like Lorne Murchison, is imbued with a dose of idealism, which suggests that neither the path of militarism nor resource trade supported by imperial preference will succeed for the male protagonists, or the Dominion.

When war breaks out, Graham’s military training takes on a different tenor, and rather than discouraging him from volunteering, Mr. Trent “began to worry about the waste it was, all that drill and riding Graham had had at Kingston, if nothing was to come

of it; and he was perfectly delighted when Graham made up his mind to go out with the first contingent of Canadian Volunteers” (3). In the Trent household, the responses to sending a son to war are gendered. Mary and Mrs. Trent “were not delighted, though we pretended to be” when Graham was shipped to war, and while Graham’s actions are a source of pride for Mr. Trent, his feelings are complicated when “Graham was sent home wounded” (3). Mary explains how the “South African War had a great effect on father,” and while the dialogue is unclear as to what this “effect” was, the syntax suggests that Mr. Trent would have had difficulty losing his heir to an imperial cause (3). Webb argues that John Trent’s feelings create animosity in the house because for the women, “pride in militaristic action amounts to ‘pretence,’ a keeping up of appearances to satisfy the family patriarch’s thirst for seeing his son as a potential sacrifice to imperialist initiative” (87). But the women’s feelings are more complicated than that because Mrs. Trent’s grandfather was a United Empire Loyalist, so “she had to make more of a pretence than I” (3). Along the maternal family line runs support for Britain because Mrs. Trent’s family has been settled for at least two generations, while Mr. Trent is a recent British import who “adopted Canada forty years ago” (8).

In South Africa, Graham receives his desired commission and “shortly afterwards a D.S.O.”, but he also contracts Typhoid Fever and is injured. Mary dismissively describes how “We got him back then” (3). Mary diminishes the value of Graham’s service, using simple verbs to describe how he “went” to war, “took” his commission and “typhoid fever, and finally a piece of shell in his leg, which is still there” (3). Her use of the verb “took” is an example of zeugma, which is used for humorous effect to downplay the importance of his commission—grammatically equating it to a fever and a

piece of “shell in his leg.” Graham is like a parcel on the imperial mail route, who “got back” to his family when he is wounded (3). Mary downplays national military service, which their mother similarly does when she later mentions that his time in South Africa was like an opportunity for travel abroad: “Graham has had South Africa” (9).

Symbolically then—not through death, but through service and injury—Graham’s body retains the lingering effects of war. As he circulates in empire, Graham, as Mr. Canada and Prince of Arcadia, is a decorated, injured veteran. Canada is portrayed as being made both stronger through military service (receiving commendations), and also as becoming wounded, and these scars will be forever lodged in its national fabric. Graham’s maimed body is thus suggestive of why his engagement to Barbara Pavisay fails (it is unproductive), whereas Mary’s is the body that will be regenerative. Particularly, it is Mary who is emboldened in public because Graham’s war decoration provides her with social capital. She trades on this social status in a way that her brother, who has actually been scarred by war, cannot. Mary enjoys responding to questions of “What’s that your brother is wearing,” to which she answers: “The D.S.O. . . . Don’t you know it?” (6). However, she explains how Graham “took no satisfaction” out of these social encounters (6). The novel is silent on why Graham is dissatisfied, but the suggestion is that it is Mary who is ennobled through the prestige of service more than her wounded brother.

Graham’s time in South Africa is reflected ambivalently, and he narrates few details of his war experience. When he returns from South Africa, it is the continued performance of militarism in the militia, the wearing of medals, and attribution of war titles, which are relevant to Minnebiac where Graham “is a Captain in the Minnebiac

Rifles” (5). This tidbit of information is more significant than it appears. O’Brien argues there was a “flourishing” of Canadian militarism between the South African and First World Wars, “centred primarily in the province of Ontario” (39). O’Brien explains that after the “Boer War,” Canada’s part-time “citizen army” swelled to over 30,000 men in Ontario, in contrast with the 3,000 regular soldiers in the early 1900s (39). Men could participate in local militia units because service was part-time. Graham’s continued participation in civic militarism, therefore, is a small descriptor that speaks for his character, gender, and national duty. Indeed, Graham’s military service enters him into the political aristocracy of Ontario, when he “dines in uniform” with the Governor-General and wears his medals (5). Webb argues that Mary views Graham’s service as having little “practical or political significance to Canada” (87). However, I would disagree, since I have differentiated between Graham’s service in the War and his commitment to the militia as symbolic of Ontario’s attachment to military values. The militia reveals how important volunteer military service was to masculine citizenship in Ontario, and highlights the raced, gendered, and classed forms of service that were part of provincial identity. Graham’s War service provides him with symbolic capital and elevates his social standing in Canada, even while it wounds him and diminishes his physical productivity.

Despite Mary constructing Graham as a war hero and the romantic protagonist, the novel sets up these martial allusions only to dismiss them. *Cousin Cinderella*’s conclusion contains a surprising romantic reversal when Graham’s engagement is called off, and he becomes a tragic protagonist like Lorne in *The Imperialist*. In a plot twist hastily concluded (and summarily narrated), Mary, the overlooked “Cinderella” figure,

revives the imperial family and announces her engagement to Lord Peter Doleford. Mary's fondness for Peter has nowhere been developed in the novel, and while Mary's identity and voice gain certainty as her narrative unfolds, she speaks little of her own romantic opportunities, suggesting that her experience is less significant than Graham's in the imperial romance. It is the men of the Trent family who frame her novel, author her writing, and finance her romantic future, while her individuality is sidelined. The focus of *Cousin Cinderella* is on Graham's choices and actions, so the ironic and unexpected marriage featuring the Trent daughter overturns the romance convention of featuring a predominant hero who wins his bride. Mary's independence, mobility, and authorship, which are supported by New World money, triumph over Old World decay. She is the embodiment of imperial renewal; just as Graham's body suggests imperial loyalty as an injured war veteran, her body represents future racial regeneration in Canada. Duncan creates a female authorial figure who wields financial power in her choice of marriage partner and authorial self-definition, and unlike Graham, acquires greater independence and self-knowledge in her time spent away from Canada.

Sentimental Ties: A Model for Colonial and Imperial Relations

In authoring an unexpected conclusion to the "Cinderella" fairy tale, Duncan enacts a double disavowal because Lord Peter is an unlikely "prince" to Mary as Cinderella, and Mary is much more than a poor, orphaned step-sister. Peter is underdeveloped and unknown, and Mary describes that his good looks, "race," "order," and "character" were "written beautifully plain" (108). It is Mary who, ironically, "writes" him as "plain," and in her description she depicts him as of suitable white, racial stock, as he is well-bred and handsome, but she provides few details to round him out as

a fully-fleshed character. Indeed, it is his “race,” which she twice appeals to, that seems to make him most suitable for marriage. Mary humourously imagines Peter as a “Crusader”; this one small allusion foreshadowing his role as her fiancé is playful because it depicts him as a knight in shining armour (108). She says she “would like to see him in a coat of mail. It would look as if it had been riveted for him by his own armourer” (108). But Peter, unlike Graham, has never been to war and is neither a soldier nor a crusader. Duncan gives the love interest comic treatment, as it is the overlooked Mary who will renew the ailing Doleford family, while Graham’s intentions fail.

Peter and Mary’s dialogue foregrounds that their marriage is to be read as an allegory. Nowhere is marriage proposed or love named, and the conversation Mary describes relies on metaphor to convey their engagement announcement. In his abstract proposal, Peter describes how Canadian Mary “belongs” to England because “You are our own people” (361). “Belonging,” however, suggests ownership, and Peter corrects his comment saying “We can’t marry you on that principle” (361). Peter does not marry Mary in order to possess her, and suggests that Graham’s engagement failed because he is “much too good a chap to be married for a coat of paint” (360). Graham’s financial renovation of the Pavisay Court is a futile exploit, and so the novel dismisses marriages based on economic dependence or paternal ownership. Likewise, Peter cannot yet “see his way to tariff-reform” (361), and by invoking the topic of tariff reform, Peter references the primacy of the “contingent event,” the topic of imperial trade, over the “cosmogenetic world” of ideal love, which Willmott argues is a way the romance is reconfigured because it becomes the formal vehicle to register the intrusion of external events into the logic of the social space of daily life (Willmott 5). Instead, “ties of

sentiment” are suggested as the “only wisdom” to unite Peter and Mary, and the narrator offers that in “dealing with the colonies the heart is supposed to have more of a chance” (362). Mutual affection and choice are portrayed as the “wisdom” and basis of a marriage partnership.

This unexpected ending and Mary’s announcement that “ties of sentiment” are the “only wisdom” is Duncan’s feminist innovation. “Sentiment” connects the “here” of Canada to the “elsewheres” of empire, through “intimate” entanglements, to use Willmott’s terms (51). The Oxford English Dictionary defines “sentiment” as an “opinion” and “what one feels,” and it can be both a “mental feeling” and an “emotion” (“Sentiment”). Sentimental ties activate the emotional and the intellectual aspects of relationality between men and women, and between empire and Dominion. While the emotional aspects of these ties seem ironic because there is little affection narrated, it is the mental aspect of choice that signals a renewed imperial marriage. The union between Mary and Peter is further aligned with the economic discussion in the novel, so that freely chosen love is equated with trade between equal partners. Mary evolves not only as an author but also as an imperial figure, and she supersedes Graham in the novel. *Cousin Cinderella*’s innovation is that it foregrounds the maternal feminist argument that women exude much power through the confines of marriage, and Mary saves the crumbling fortunes of an English dynasty but without the loss of her independence and initiative. This marriage underlines the political message that Duncan gestures to in *The Imperialist*, but which is more fully realized in *Cousin Cinderella* in that the political and the sentimental are closely related.

Consequently, the marriage signals a rebalancing of power away from Britain in which Mary is neither subordinated, nor made to be an economic bargaining chip. The marriage that Mary authors, and authorizes, fulfills the romance plot of the novel, but it does so by replacing its male hero(es) and suggesting that Mary is the future site of renewal over Graham's martial and anachronistic ties to the Old World. Through Mary, empire is not only depicted in terms of literary setting in its historically grounded specificity of London and (fictional) Minnebiac, but also shifts to the space of her gendered body. Just as Graham's physique signifies that he is an imperial subject (he is a wounded, decorated War veteran), Mary's body inhabits and moves through imperial terrain as itself the space of empire (Devereux, "Colonial" 48). As Devereux explains in *Growing a Race*, maternal feminists were imperialists, and the idea of motherhood was embedded in the politics of empire- and nation-building (with all its social, classed, racial, and eugenic assumptions) (28). Pointedly, it is Devereux who argues that first-wave feminism is not only a gendered inflection of imperialism, but women signify, radically, as "imperialism itself" (*Growing* 27). Devereux explains that empire is not only the "space" of metropole and colonies, but also the "racialized bodies" that "move as themselves the space of empire" ("Colonial Space" 48). Mary and Graham Trent are representative Canadians who suggest the possibilities of Canada's future prosperity, and Duncan replicates these gendered roles of imperial agency in her fiction. Graham's injured body will not be the site of imperial regeneration; the novel instead upholds Mary's free will and choice, and she represents the site of future imperial renewal.

Empire-building is gendered, and the family (which Peter and Mary will produce) becomes the representative unit of a national-imperial community. The Trent-Doleford

children will reinvigorate the empire from a marriage that is based on choice rather than duty; significantly, this new generation will reside in Canada. Their marriage thus puts Mary and Peter on equal footing, which serves as an allegory for Canada's prominent future in empire. Far from private, Duncan reveals these ties to bear political and imperial weight, and allows women to be active actors in these affairs. Mary Trent diminishes her feelings and under-narrates her personal romance to reveal her sidelined experience in empire; Duncan revolutionizes this marginalization and construes marriage as strongly political because Mary chooses what is ideologically necessary for Canadian settler nationalism. Put differently, anthropologist Elizabeth A. Povinelli considers the intimate couple to be a "key transfer point" (terms which derive from the first volume of Foucault's *History of Sexuality*) through whom the reach of the settler colony stretches "way beyond the self-evident site of settlement itself" (17). Povinelli succinctly argues that if you want to locate the hegemonic home of social institutions, liberal logics and aspirations, "look to love in the settler colonies" (17). Povinelli and Devereux emphasize marriage and intimacy between the constructed, normalized, heterosexual couple (and challenge this construction) as a site where settler logics are reproduced. Duncan's novel insists on marriage as an allegory and women's role therein as active agents, rather than passive transfer points. Consequently, Mary's marriage works and is symptomatic of the type of coupledness that becomes the vehicle through which the settler nation naturalizes itself because this marriage is autonomous and freely chosen.

It is ironic that Mary, the "Cousin Cinderella" figure to England, triumphs in marriage; it is further ironic that this romance is rendered allegorically for practical ends. The conclusion to *Cousin Cinderella* as an "imperial romance" suggests a generically

hybrid solution that rejects the romance of martial imperialism in favour of a practically useful imperialism based on reciprocal economic benefit. More than simply a site from which to replicate patriarchal, centre-periphery models, marriage renews imperial relations and allows female agency and the reinvigoration of a British race. This union functions allegorically, and Duncan shifts the marriage to derive meaning not in London, but in empire's periphery in the settler colony of Elgin, Ontario.

Duncan was fond of Canada's role in imperial affairs, and in a letter to Archibald MacMechan, dated May 4, 1905, wrote that "The Empire is a big place and interesting everywhere, but ours is by far the best part of it" (qtd. in Tausky, *Works* 3). Even while she worked from various points in empire, Duncan considered herself attached to Canada and established success in a market dominated by male authors and metropolitan markets. Her perspective on Canada as a rejuvenating racial and economic presence in an enlarged world lent her to the type of generic experimentation seen in *The Imperialist* and in *Cousin Cinderella*. A strong regional realism is created in *The Imperialist*, and in both novels discussed, the romance is the formal, while merely foundational, vehicle through which to convey the intrusions of external events into Canadian experience. Canada and Duncan's characters are significantly reoriented in each novel by virtue of their participation in the War and by their attachment to imperial ideologies; these themes reflect the foundations of white, settler nationalism keyed to a metropolitan centre as well as Canada's perceived rising prominence in the world, networked through ties to Britain, America, and the other settler colonies. When *Cousin Cinderella* announces Mary and Graham's marriage, the narrator exclaims: "And then the sun rose" (362). The "sun," a metaphor for the benevolent reaches of the British Empire, rises on a new dawn that

shines on the Canadian-British marriage, shifting the centre of this union away from the metropole to the periphery in Canada. In *Minnebiac*, that “best part” of Canada is represented through emerging financial and settlement opportunities, and Mary’s and Peter’s return to Canada mimics the successful marriages depicted in *The Imperialist*. Alfred Hesketh, the loafing English youth, marries Dora Milburn, and their union suggests the extension of industrial capitalism westward as they expand the Milburn Boiler company into British Columbia. There is a strong suggestion that the future of Canada is moving west, and a parallel (and decidedly less ironic romantic subplot) situates the New Woman character, Advena Murchison (Lorne’s sister), marrying for love and intellectual equality. She and husband Reverend Hugh Finley leave Elgin to depart for the “White Water Mission Station in Alberta” (278). Advena’s move to the Prairies signals new opportunity and shifts white race-making and population growth to the frontier settlements, as her and Reverend Finley’s civilizing mission moves to empire’s newest outposts. Wayne Fraser argues in *The Dominion of Women* that the novel “tries hard to reconcile the conflict between the aspirations of the New Woman and the traditional bonds of matrimony,” as it allows Advena both autonomy and fulfillment in her marriage to Hugh Finlay, while her brother, Lorne, loses the election, his imperialistic fervour, and Dora Milburn (37). Departing from Fraser, however, I argue that Duncan intertwines New Woman agency and maternal feminist agendas to centre women at the heart of imperial projects. Through Mary and Peter, Dora Milburn and Alfred Hesketh, and Advena Murchison and Hugh Finley, Duncan rewrites the romance to feature women in race-making and nation-making projects where sentimental marriage functions allegorically for practical political and economic ends.

From the Veld to the Dominion: Concluding Thoughts on Transperipheral Imaginaries

Sara Jeannette Duncan's political and feminist themes reflect her novels' historical grounding in a hopeful period of Canada's perceived rising prominence that was short lived. While imperialists were filled with zeal over Canada's renewed role in international affairs, none could foresee how global power struggles would lead to the devastating world wars in the century to come. Duncan's novels, and published writing about the War such as that found in the *Canadian Magazine*, portrayed a sense of pride in English Canada for Canada's war contribution. An article in Toronto's *Globe* in June 1902 describes how "the men who went from these shores" have "acquitted themselves so well," as it reported an account from Sir Conan Doyle as evidence that "we have unimpeached testimony as to their heroism and soldierly qualities . . . the gallantry and brave determination of these raw troops have excited admiration as well as surprise" ("Canadians in the War" 6). Surprised admiration is perhaps an apt description for how what began as a reluctant submission of 1,000 men turned into a protracted war in which Canada "proved" its loyalty to Britain, demonstrated prowess on the battlefield, and supported a scheme to educate apparently uncivilized settler enemies.

These "Gallant Thousand" are the subject of a temporary exhibit at the Bytowne Museum in Ottawa, Ontario, curated to align with the 120th anniversary of the start of the South African War. Canada's First Contingent set sail aboard the *SS Sardinian* from the Port of Quebec on October 30, 1899, and the exhibit profiles Ottawa's volunteers and other Canadian soldiers who "through bitter fighting" became known as the "fighting germ at the heart of the British army" (*Gallant*). The 120th anniversary provides an

opportunity to consider the memory of Canada's participation in the War, and this dissertation will be submitted and defended within this period to present a critical view of how the War was constructed in English Canada. While the Bytowne Museum acknowledges support and resistance in French-Canada, it celebrates how the War provided a chance for Canadians to distinguish themselves overseas. For example, the Canadian nurses left an "indelible mark" in South Africa where they "treated soldiers for wounds, cases of typhoid, dehydration and heat stroke, and ran military field hospitals" (*Gallant*). The Third Contingent embodied the "iconic image of Canada's Western frontier," and the "Canadians received a baptism of fire" at Paardeberg, for which the British heaped praise on the "now-bloodied but still green Canadian troops" (*Gallant*). Repeatedly, then and now, exhibits, news reports, and literature reveal how Canada's participation in War provided an opportunity for the Dominion to present its expanding racial, military, economic, and resource capabilities to the world.

The Bytowne exhibit draws from archival text gleaned from the pages of the *Ottawa Journal*. Notably, while the museum includes reference to women nurses, and quotes Emily Hobhouse's opinion on the concentration camps, it omits the Ottawa teachers and the *Ottawa Journal's* own correspondent Florence Randal who departed for South Africa in 1902. This omission suggests how contemporary recollection still celebrates soldier heroes and nursing contingents to position the event as precedent setting in terms of achieving national distinction, while overlooking Canada's more hostile participation in devastating farm burnings and assimilation efforts. By drawing on the archives of the daily media, the exhibit acknowledges the power of local newspapers to inform, educate, and even mobilize public support for the War. For instance, the

Ottawa Evening Journal is noted because it started a campaign through which thirty thousand school children collected pennies to finance the construction of a memorial to the South African War veterans and the sixteen volunteers from Ottawa who died in the War. This monument still stands in Ottawa's Confederation Park.

While the Bytowne exhibit, like the permanent exhibit at the Canadian War Museum, frames the South African War as a “precedent-setting” event, this dissertation has not speculated on how the War came to be seen as precursor to the later World Wars. Instead, I have focussed primarily on the War years and writers' construction of the War in various literary forms to argue for a memory that was simultaneously celebratory, partial, and ambivalent. The South African War is frequently positioned as an overlooked or forgotten event because it would shortly be overshadowed by the First and Second World Wars in terms of scope and scale—of participation, loss of life, expense, and impact on all aspects of social life. Yet this memory is saturated with presentism, as the twenty-first century scholar has the privilege of examining history in retrospect; few people writing in the early twentieth century could see that the brutal internment camps, guerilla fighting tactics, and trench warfare adopted in South Africa would be used in more extreme ways in later wars. I believe the South African War should be read in its own right, not as a antecedent, or a precedent setting affair, but as this dissertation has revealed, one in which many social and political transformations occurred: the War generated national support for citizen soldiers and conversely heightened internal division over external military affairs; it solidified international recognition for Canada as a Dominion distinct from imperial Britain and its colonies; it created support for and the organization of local militia units and crystallized international recognition of the

mounted soldier of the North West Mounted Police; it generated new avenues of work, including imperial and philanthropic involvement for women; it demanded new material and generic requirements from writers, and facilitated global connections in print and trade.

English-Canadian participation in the War was raced and gendered, and saturated with British imperial biases—and writers seized on these elements for their own fictional ends. I have paid attention to the construction of race and gender to show the different ways that imperialism operated to distinguish men's and women's role in War. Canada's volunteer soldiers were initially seen as a small contribution to the large, standing British army, yet they proved themselves in battles such as the celebrated victory at Paardeberg. These successes demonstrated not only Canada's loyalty to empire, but also reflected the emergence of a distinct Canadian identity, where the dress of the North West Mounted Police and the Canadian maple leaf distinguished these volunteers from other colonial recruits. Writers and editors in the *Canadian Magazine* profiled and represented the soldiers' unique qualities, linking these national traits to themes of adventuring, hunting, and Indigenous dispossession, as the "Rough Riders" who policed the Prairies became imperial "Soldiers of the Queen."

The Canadian soldier and the war veteran also registered symbolically in fiction. Leacock's and Duncan's evocations of the war, and the war soldier, reveal a more nuanced perspective of the celebrated recruit. Neil Pepperleigh's battlefield death suggests that Leacock's mere evocation of South Africa was enough to draw on a deep awareness from his readers about the conflict. Leacock's text opens up the contingent aspects of war and its violence in order to foreclose criticism of these qualities of settler

life and imperial expansion. Duncan's depictions are more detailed and thoroughly interwoven into the social context of *The Imperialist* and *Cousin Cinderella*, and her novels suggest that the War reflects a form of imperial allegiance that was (at her time of writing) relegated to a not-so-distant past. She portrays Canada as a nation emerging from a colonial dependency into independent adulthood, but wishes to dismiss martial imperialism in favour of emotional, economic, and cultural connections to empire. Duncan includes the well-circulated belief that the War revealed how England had "fallen back on itself," and uses the tropes of racial degeneracy to contrast with Canada's vital and virile offspring (*Imperialist* 153). In the context of racial improvement, Duncan's female characters romantically succeed, while the hero-protagonists fail. Through women like Advena Murchison and Mary Trent, Duncan suggests a future of progressive imperialism centred on white settler femininity. The racial stock formed in Canada, created in the industrial towns of Elgin or the lumber regions of Minnebiac, provides both the raw material and the reinvigorated qualities of economic independence, racial vigour, and a British, civil settler culture, which will be the staging ground for imperial projects in the twentieth century.

The War also generated new avenues for women's work in empire. The Teachers for South Africa were recruited as athletic specimens of Canadian womanhood who travelled to South Africa to educate incarcerated women and children. The Boer settlers the teachers encountered were frequently portrayed in written English accounts as uncivilized and degenerate, and these depictions reveal how enemy populations are demonized in War—ironically, in South Africa, even when the Boers were of European descent and as white as their captors. The language of devolving civilization—the Boers

as backward, ignorant peasants—is evidence of the ways in which competing settler populations are organized around various contested categories, and the Boers were portrayed as “probationary” settlers awaiting inclusion into the settler body (Veracini, *Settler* 26). As the women’s writing reveals, the Boer women were contradictorily seen to have similarities to the Canadian teachers, but were also in need of refinement and knowledge of English language and culture in order to be incorporated into a ruling, white settler polity. Black women, however, were considered to be beyond the pale of inclusion. Rather than being transferred out, or “vanishing,” as the Indigenous people in Canada were being portrayed, black people provided the necessary labour to support the mining and agricultural industries, and to aid white, settler women in their homes.

Florence Randal and E. Maud Graham, who moved out to rural South African towns to teach after War’s end, drew on tropes of pioneering and settlement to present the South African project of British colonial rule as a new endeavour on an “empty” veldt, whereas Canada was portrayed, by contrast, as a more advanced Dominion. Consequently, South Africa and Canada represent spaces where settler projects of whiteness are constructed and reveal how these projects act across national lines in a comparative and global framework.

Graham’s and Randal’s adventures were novel for their time, and they wrote within acceptable generic forms for women in the late nineteenth century. Their autobiographical reflections satiated the Canadian public’s desire for first-person accounts of the Boer people and war conditions, and they readily corresponded with their Canadian audience from the veld. The women’s writing was based on their travel experiences and cultural encounters, and provided the “authority of experience,” their

eye-witness accounts, alongside the romance of an imperial adventure (Krebs, *Gender* 146). In war reports, this tension between romance and realism frequently arises. I have identified how writers drew on the romance genre and its tropes of intimacy, heroism, and adventure, as a foundational vehicle for articulating an emerging realism. Writers were arguing for the immediacy of experience and “truth” in fiction to articulate Canada’s place in an enlarged world. I have studied this body of writing by including texts that are fictional, visual, and factual, in order to extend ideas of literature, which are commonly focussed on published novels and poetry in book form. Rather than seeing this generic interaction as one of conquest, where old forms are supplanted by newer and more progressive styles, I have studied the ways romance and realism interacted, to counter the traditionally-produced narrative of Canada’s “national literature” as one of continuous, literary progress. Instead, I have suggested that writers drew on older forms while experimenting with an early realism to depict War’s complicated meanings: in *The Canadian Magazine* the War was curated as an event that portrayed Canada’s emerging prowess, while in literary texts, I have shown how this memory was resisted—and even rendered as ambivalent.

The ground for this literary hybridity is the interconnectedness of ideas, tropes, and authors that situated Canada in a networked relationship to print markets and international events during the War years. I have identified what I term the “transperipheral production of literatures” to offer a way of thinking about how writers worked in contexts that were materially and ideologically linked to larger infrastructures of meaning. My research has focussed on conditions of writing and authorship, and I have suggested that the War and South Africa presented new opportunities, and demands,

for writers. The romance's tropes of imperial belonging and heroism were called upon to articulate Canada's role in the War, but its resources were strained, as the binaries of romance, so frequently narrated as those between metropole and colony, failed to capture the complicated international role Canada now played, mediated by its networked relationships with Britain and the other settler colonies. Canada was no longer considered to be an insular outpost of empire; through war accounts, Canadian writers portrayed the settler nation as maturing as a direct response to its contributions in South Africa.

The connections between writers and their works has been a theme woven through this dissertation to reveal the shifting conditions and disparate places that fostered literature about Canada written by authors who were in some way affiliated with the Dominion. Sara Jeannette Duncan established herself as a journalist working from empire's outposts and as an author in a competitive market dominated by book publishing and male authors. Her journalism was an important precursor to works that Maud Graham and Florence Randal would produce. In her memoir on her time spent teaching in South Africa, Maud Graham alludes to Duncan and cites a literary predecessor Olive Schreiner whose *Story of an African Farm* was a text that was widely read and had created an international understanding of the African terrain and its inhabitants. Journalist Florence Randal espoused literary ambitions, and her letters written from the veld were published in *The Ottawa Journal*, and reprinted in magazines and newspapers in Canada, and in *The Canadian Magazine*. This periodical had an avowedly Canadian mandate, and a Toronto-centric perspective, but sought to assert itself as national and international, and sustained subscriptions from markets across the globe where English readers resided. During the War years, editor John A. Cooper read

Cape magazine and included accounts from South Africa to lend authority to salacious reports of the Boers and manly tales of hunting. The inclusion of reprinted eye-witness testimony and photographs from South Africa imparted authenticity to its construction of the Canadian soldier's prominence as a nationally-identifiable persona. *The Canadian Magazine* published imperial authors, was read by Rudyard Kipling, and fostered writers like W.A Fraser, Robert Barr, and Gilbert Parker, who were asserting that while Canada could not support a strong book publishing market, it could nevertheless foster a national literature (that included non-fiction writing) in the periodical press. Authors relied on periodical publishing to bolster revenue for their fiction; magazines both publicized and extended the reach of their texts.

The wide influence of magazines and books, and their large international English reading audience, benefitted authors like Leacock and Parker. Both men were politically connected and active in English literary circles and drew on their imperial experiences to articulate the War. Parker's work with the South African Association and his diplomatic influence in Britain and Canada reveal how closely connected the projects of British imperialism were, and how they infused the fiction he wrote. Throughout, I have attended to reception—the ways these print accounts were reviewed, read, and interpreted in the War years in order to provide literary evidence of the material connections I have defined. Writers used the War to shape ideas of Canada as an emerging nation *and* as a literary sphere in connection to other points in empire. Duncan's decidedly ironic riff on "colonial editions" subtly rewrites Canadians and Canadian writing as anything but diminished versions of English metropolitan culture.

The readings I have offered in the four chapters have sought to open up the frequently overlooked spaces that connect narratives centred on the “here” of settler projects in Canada to stories of a much wider “elsewhere,” and have drawn South Africa and Canada into dialogue through the frame of War, which illuminates the raced and gendered reaches of British imperialism. This transperipheral view reveals how settler colonial projects acted between and across territories and highlights the complex logics of the literary production of these settlerhoods. This work is a starting point to other projects that could further extend transperipheral analyses enabling investigations into the connections between settler projects in South Africa, New Zealand, and Australia, as well as in Canada. Firstly, further research could explore aligned experiences in settler colonies concerning different historical events, and secondly, future projects could extend the analysis of the War I have offered. For example, Greg Robinson and John Price have examined the history of shared racist legislation used to exclude Asian migrants in British Columbia and South Africa. In British Columbia, a series of race-based laws were passed in the 1890s that limited Asian migration; these bills were commonly referred to as the “Natal Acts” because of their similarities to racist policies implemented in Natal, South Africa. In South Africa, arriving South Asian immigrants were even subjected to the administration of a proficiency test in a European language (Price 631-2). Robinson and Price have examined the effect of these policies by reading legislation and newspaper coverage of the Vancouver race riots of 1907. These studies could also consider shared experiences in Australia, which Jeremey Martens has explored, claiming that the Natal Act drew from similar racist immigration bills passed in New South Wales in 1896. The twinning of racial exclusion and European language proficiency, and the connections

these racist policies illuminate between Australia, South Africa, and Canada, suggests that the work of studying transperipheral connections would extend understandings into the ways that whiteness and imperial ideologies influenced and augmented discourses of settler nationalism.

While the Vancouver Riots, or the Natal Act, offer an example of another historical event for study, the work this dissertation begins could be extended to include connections among the other settler colonies during the War. For example, the “Teachers for South Africa” campaign, which I have studied through the frame of Canadian and South African interactions, could situate these experiences alongside first-person testimonies from the Afrikaans women in the camps, and then read these accounts in conjunction with colonial reports, such as those produced by Emily Hobhouse.⁹⁸ Ellen Ellis has collected biographical and historical details on the New Zealand teachers, but their print accounts, and those of the Australian teachers, would form a truly transperipheral understanding of the teachers’ interconnected experiences and how these ideas informed their settler identities. This project would have trans-linguistic implications, for readings in Afrikaans and Indigenous languages would go far to include voices of those often excluded from unilingual studies.

In a similar way, while I include references to the work of the NWMP in policing the Prairies and providing mounted soldiers for war, it would be fruitful to produce alongside these masculinist, white accounts, Indigenous voices and experiences of othering that occurred in Canada before and during the War. Importantly, it would be

⁹⁸ Helen Dampier’s dissertation *Women’s Experiences of the Concentration Camps* explores Boer women’s testimony, written during and after the War. Frequently cited is Rabie van der Merwe’s 1940 work *Onthou! [Remember!]*. Collections of Boer women’s letters exist in the Anglo-Boer War Museum in Bloemfontein, South Africa.

productive to study how these experiences of coercion and settler violence are being overcome and remedied in the twenty-first century. The work of soldiering and policing are closely connected, and transperipheral imaginaries could account for Afrikaans accounts of Boer soldiers' experience, when read alongside memoirs such as the war diary by Black South African Sol Plaatje, to include Indigenous South Africans' perspectives. Martin Bossenbroek's novelistic history of the *Boer War* is a starting point, which is organized to highlight the various motivations and interconnections of war experience. This history is organized into three sections, with each one structured around either a Dutch-European, British-metropolitan, or Boer-settler perspective. These three sections work together to depict how the War was perceived and experienced by Boer and British colonizers, revealing the War's diplomatic reverberations across Europe and into the United States. However, while Bossenbroek's account is textured and multi-vocal, it elides the colonies' War contributions. The work does acknowledge women's participation, but it precludes a robust description of either women's or black people's experience of the War in South Africa.

Further, while I have focussed on print accounts of the War produced in Canada, much work is still to be done in understanding the public memory of the South African War in Canada and Britain's other settler colonies. While historical scholarship such as Cecilia Morgan's *Commemorating Canada* suggests that much money was raised initially for tending South African War graves, little scholarship attends to the surge of memorialization that sprouted in rural towns and cities across Canada in the post-War years, along with annual, fervent celebrations of Paardeberg Day—the first iterations of a Canadian Remembrance Day. Canada's contributions in South Africa were portrayed as

evidence of Canada's "maturity," and displays of Canadian support—in parades and memorials—and in the "brave words of editorialists and ministers" highlighted the "pride and belief in Canada's destiny as a nation" (Maroney 108-9). Further research needs to contend with the scripting, performance, and production of this public memory to ask specifically *what* was celebrated and memorialized in the years after the War? Importantly, scholars must consider the tropes of war, empire, and nation that were appealed to in ways that overwrote Indigenous culture and claims to land. A transperipheral project would consider Canada's public memorialization and connect it to settler projects in South Africa, New Zealand, and Australia, to dissect the various ways national memorials frame and remember imperial war.

Finally, while these ideas reflect future research sites that would extend transperipheral scholarship, in this dissertation I have offered a start by selecting various entry points into a body of what can be called "Canadian literatures" that were produced during and shortly after the South African War. I have included various genres, print sites, and differing voices—some widely known in Canada, and others like those of Florence Randal, frequently forgotten. I have unsettled these white, English, settler nationalist accounts by seeking omissions and silences that obscure violence, race-making projects, and the negation of Indigenous peoples, and have deconstructed these depictions of war to reveal the wider implications of settler projects of whiteness. My hope is that this study contributes to an understanding of the literary construction of imperial war in order to anticipate and resist the continued coercive power that settler colonial tropes of ownership, whiteness, and gender generate in the twenty-first century.

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