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Canada

LITERATURE AND SOCIETY IN THE CANADAS
1830-1850

by

Mary Lucinda MacDonald, B.A..

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of
Graduate Studies and Research in partial
fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of History
Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario

March 23, 1984

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ABSTRACT

The primary sources used are all the extant volumes of poetry and fiction, the literary periodicals and the newspapers published in English or French in what are now Ontario and Quebec, 1830-1850, plus allied documents.

Literature was perceived by residents of the Canadas as both an integral part of the civilized life they aspired to and a necessary component of national status. The dominance of European literary models was not seen as inimical to a native literature.

Both writers and publishers were entrepreneurs. Periodicals were launched in the hope of profit, and writers either paid for printing themselves or sold advance subscriptions to their books. Where books were published and reviewed, as well as the sources of outside literary influences, depended heavily on regional factors.

Biographical data on 94 authors, analyzed in four groups according to language and country of origin, show that all made their living from non-literary work. They were generally educated, urban and middle-class, with disproportionately few females and native-born. The attitudes of the native-born of both languages differed in many respects from those of immigrants.

Views of class were confused, but an educated, urban middle class was generally presented as the most worthy group in society. Stereotypical sex roles were universally accepted. Native peoples were depicted more often and more favourably by native-born than by immigrant writers.

Throughout the period, Canada is depicted almost entirely in positive terms. Modern literary critics have tended to focus on the negative exceptions without putting them into a comprehensive literary context. The dominant aesthetic criteria were related to ideas of the sublime, and the Canadas furnished many examples which met that standard. Over a broad range of social and aesthetic values, writers were in harmony with the ideas and attitudes of their neighbours and they have left a valid portrait of early nineteenth-century Canadian life.

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La littérature est donc aux nations ce que le style est à l'homme; s'il est vrai comme on la dit que le style soit l'homme, la littérature d'un peuple, c'est son histoire; c'est l'ensemble des écrits de ses citoyens les plus distingués, philosophes, savans, poètes, romanciers, jurisconsultes, politiques, prédicateurs, et, à notre époque, journalistes, c'est-à-dire un peu de tout cela. Elle renferme à peu près toutes choses et c'est grâce à la précieuse qualité qu'elle a de survivre à tout, qu'il nous est donné de connaître les sociétés qui nous ont précédés.

Pierre-Joseph-Olivier Chauveau
Le Ménéstrel, 27 Juin 1844.

It is obvious that Canadian literature, whatever its inherent merits, is an indisputable aid to the knowledge of Canada. It records what the Canadian imagination has reacted to, and it tells us things about this environment that nothing else will tell us.

Northrop Frye
"Conclusion", Literary History of Canada
First edition, 1965, page 822.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The terms "literature" and "society" will be applied very broadly in this thesis. Society will be considered as the aggregate environment of the people of Upper and Lower Canada - their political, economic and social institutions, as well as the details of their daily lives. In the nineteenth century, literature was a very general term, applied to everything in print and most of what was spoken and sung. In effect, to everything that involved words. The definition here is not that inclusive, but it will be broader than is common today, including some essentially didactic non-fiction prose and poetry, but excluding certain classes of writing such as religious tracts and sermons, political pamphlets and journalistic accounts of events, as well as travel writing and historical writing which have been extensively studied elsewhere. The emphasis will be on printed literature, since publication implies a desire to communicate ideas to a reader. Some exceptions with regard to diaries, correspondence, and newspaper articles have had to be made to this rule - most often in pursuit of as complete a picture as possible of an individual writer or literary event. Critical writing about literature has also been examined.

I have not attempted to define what constitutes "Canadian" literature. The question has been hotly debated for at least a century and no consensus has yet emerged.

Problems of citizenship and publishing locale have always been complicating factors. Although I have read and considered a number of works about Canada which were "noticed" in this country, my general criterion was that the work, whether it was published here or elsewhere, should either have been intended principally for an audience in British North America, or have had wide circulation here. Whether the author was native-born, or an immigrant born and educated elsewhere, has been an important factor in my analysis of their writing, but it has not been a factor in determining exclusion or inclusion in the study. Although there have been some exceptions, the decision has generally been based on the intended market for any work.

The terms "Canadian" and "the Canadas" in this thesis refer only to the territory of what is now Ontario and Quebec - known from 1791 to 1841 as Upper and Lower Canada, and, although the earlier terms never lost currency, from 1841 to 1867 as Canada West and Canada East, divisions of the united province of Canada.

Both theoreticians of historical writing and practical historians have decried the carving of humanity's past into centuries and ages, let alone decades, at the same time as they have engaged in exactly that division. Those who wish, for some reason, to divide Canada before Confederation into periods, can find justification for almost any choice they make. It is clear to the most casual researcher that the

1830s are different in many important respects from the 1860s, that the 1840s and the 1850s were preoccupied by different concerns. The choice of dates for this thesis is arbitrary in the sense that nothing can be said to spring full grown from the forehead of Zeus on January 1, 1830, and to cease to exist on December 31, 1849. Research has not been entirely confined to that period, although almost all of the primary sources used have fallen within those boundaries.

1830 was chosen as a starting date because it allows the better part of a decade before the rebellions to be examined to see whether the trauma of those events had any significant and immediate effect on Canadian literature. It marks the beginning of one of the cyclic increases, characteristic of early nineteenth century immigration, which brought to Canada a number of the individuals who subsequently achieved literary fame. It also marks the beginning of another cycle of literary production, similar to the one which had occurred in the early years of the previous decade. In Canadian political and economic history it is not a specifically significant moment, but rather a reasonable point at which to enter a continuum which stretched from about 1818 to 1836. Internationally, the year marked the end of an era; in England with the death of George IV; in France, with the July revolution and the accession of Louis Philippe.

A number of historians have seen 1850 as a rough dividing line in the history of the Canadas. Responsible government was granted in 1848, parliament moved to Toronto in 1849 after the Rebellion Losses Bill riots, and 1849 and 1850 saw the rise and fall of the Annexation movement. A new political order emerged in the 1850s, and a new economic order, which followed the British repeal of the Corn Laws and Navigation Acts also emerged. Railroads replaced canals in the minds of a population deeply interested in progress and development.

Sometime between 1845 and 1855 much of the community which had been "Upper Canada" was swept away and replaced by something new and significantly different, swept away by technology, by the railway and telegraph and the stationary engine, by decimal currency and the Toronto stock exchange.

'The era of rough roads, horse and saddle, weekly papers, factional politics and above all, of the farm as the backbone of the Upper Canadian way of life' gave way to 'the age of the railway, the telegraph, daily newspapers, free trade, the political party system, urbanization and industrialization.' The values and attitudes of a pioneer society called "Upper Canada" became those of "Ontario", though the name had yet to be invented.¹

A similar dividing line for Lower Canada is seen by Hamelin and Roby in Histoire Economique du Québec 1851-1896.²

1. J.K. Johnson, "Introduction" to Historical Essays on Upper Canada (Toronto, 1975), p. viii. Interior quotation is from J.S. Moir "The Upper Canadian Religious Tradition" in E.G. Firth (ed.), Profiles of a Province (Toronto, 1967), p. 189.
2. J. Hamelin and Y. Roby, Histoire Economique du Québec 1851-1896 (Montreal, 1971). The authors begin by describing the Quebec economy in 1851. Only by inference do they suggest that the decade of the 50s was different from the period which preceded it, as, for instance, in the case of transportation and communications where railroads and telegraph lines became more important than canals.

From a cultural point of view, it can be argued strongly that literature in both languages published after 1850 was written, for the most part, by different people, and that they chose different themes than the writers of the earlier period. In English, the termination of the Literary Garland in 1851 marked the end of an era. The works of Sangster and Heavysege of the late 1850s are, for many critics, the beginning of pre-Confederation literature. Of the dozens who published books in Canada before 1851, only Alexander M'Lachlan, W.W. Smith, and J.K. Liston published literary works in Canada in the next decades, although a number of periodical writers went on to publish books in later years. In French, most of the major novels of the nineteenth century, L'influence d'un livre, La terre paternelle, Charles Guérin, and Une de perdue, deux de trouvées had already been published in whole or in part by 1847. Les anciens Canadiens, which appeared in 1863, marked the beginning of the next period. Francophone writers who had participated in the remarkable flourishing of the 1840s turned to other activities about 1849, yielding in the 1850s to another generation of young men.

In examining literature and society the fundamental premise has been that the two are interrelated - that you cannot fully understand the one without understanding the other. This statement would be generally accepted as self evident by most of those who specialize in either literature

or history, although their interpretations of the nature of the interaction may vary considerably. Literary criticism is essentially concerned with aesthetic evaluation. Those critics who wish to link literature to society attribute to writers, perceived in our time to be "great", a quality of acuteness of observation which allows their literary productions to be considered as representative of the ideas of time past. For literary critics of all schools, the link between literature and society is in the writer's vision of the two. Except for purposes of biography, historians are rarely concerned with an individual's perception of time and place, and even in biographical writing the subjective response must be supplemented by objective information from other sources. If literature is to be considered as a valid witness to the past, the testimony must come from more than one source and the biases of those sources must be identified. To see writers as a social group, rooted in and responding to a particular social system, is to make historical context the link between literature and society.³

In twentieth-century Canada the relationship between literature and society is institutionalized in many ways. We live in a world of Canada Council grants to writers, artists, publishers, and cultural organizations. Legislation

3. For an extensive discussion of the uses of literature in the historical evaluation of culture, written in the context of American studies, see R.G. Kelly, "Literature and the Historian", American Quarterly, Vol. 26, (May 1974), 141-159.

prohibit the exportation of certain "cultural properties" and the demolition of "heritage buildings". The means by which Canadians can achieve full control of their cultural life has been the subject of numerous commissions of enquiry and forms part of the terms of reference of regulatory bodies such as the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission. Although we see writers, artists and musicians as gifted individuals, there are few who would claim that they live and work in isolation from Canadian society.

Compared to our time, pre-1850 Canada had few formal institutions. Government was rudimentary - limited both by colonial regulation and by lack of income. The population was small, and so, proportionately, was its literary output. Yet the idea of a connection between literature and society was current then as now. Culture had always been a component of territorial rivalries, but with the French revolution had come the concept of nation, the idea of the individual's absorption in an allegiance to that nation, and the belief that literature was the expression of a national consciousness. Just as the French identified the French nation with French literature, so residents of the Canadas accepted the idea that there must be a Canadian literature if there was to be a Canadian nation. Thus the combined Legislative Assembly of Canada found it possible in 1842 to grant the considerable sum of £250 to John Richardson for the completion of his

partial history of the war of 1812, a literary work which they saw as important, both as a promoter of pride in Canadian achievement and as an antidote to erroneous American accounts of the war.

In addition to this formal public view of literature as an expression of national consciousness, there existed as well the subtle, private interaction between an individual and the society in which he or she lived and worked - the bond of culture which everyone begins to accept from birth.

The most overt of the interrelationships between society and literature was that public events often served as direct literary inspiration. This inspiration could come from outside Canada as well as from within. Many immigrants brought their involvement in "the Irish question", Chartism, and other British matters with them to Canada. In their newspapers and periodicals they followed the progress of revolution and nationalism throughout Europe and South America, as well as British naval and military campaigns in China and India. The heroic Greeks of the 1820s were replaced as subject matter by the heroic Poles of the 1830s, and the heroic Hungarians and Italians of the 1840s. Closer at hand, the American threat posed by the "Aroostock War", the Maine boundary question, American supported incursions in the year after the rebellions, and the Columbia River boundary question, kept Canadians in a constant state of

apprehension as to the intentions of their neighbour, and generated anti-American attitudes which were often reflected in the literary culture.

Political loyalties often determined which periodical, newspaper, or printing press brought the colonists' literary works before the public; political events moved them to both poetry and prose - often satirical, but often seriously examining the principles involved. The main political events of these two decades are often seen as leading up to, and away from, "the rebellions of 1837". They were, of course, more politically complex than that, just as the rebellions themselves were more complex than the slogans they have become with time. A genuine debate was being carried on as to who should exercise power in the colony, the basis from which that power derived, the manner in which it should be exercised, and the objectives which should be pursued. Some citizens felt strongly enough about what they perceived as dangerous ideas issuing from certain printing presses that those presses were destroyed by vandals. Canadian writers, like their compatriots, rarely responded to these questions of political philosophy in a calm manner. A few were members of the Legislative Assembly, but even among those who did not stand for election there were many who wrote poems in praise of "British liberty", or the liberty of "the people"; "constitutional government" or "responsible government".

They praised or pilloried incoming and outgoing governors and they satirized their political enemies.

The subject matter of a number of literary works was also influenced by various disasters which shocked the colony - particularly the cholera epidemics of 1832, '34 and '49, and the typhus outbreak of 1847. Major fires in Quebec City in 1845 and '46 not only put some printing presses and publications out of business, they also functioned as literary inspiration.

Factors such as demography, expansion of educational opportunity, and economic cycles had an indirect effect on literature. During the 1830-50 period there were two major economic recessions. The first, which was worldwide as well as local, occurred in 1836 and 1837. The second, in the late 1840s, occurred when the colony had not yet adjusted to the major shift in British economic policy which had produced the repeal of the Corn Laws and the Navigation Acts. Both recessions were accompanied by political violence in the Canadas; both saw a sharp downturn in the quantity of published literary material. The economic development and technological progress which accompanied economic upswings provided subject matter for many of the poems and stories written in the province.

Perhaps the most notable change in the colony in this period was that the population more than doubled in the twenty years between the 1831 and 1851 censuses. Lower

Canada grew from 553,134 to 890,261 and Upper Canada from 236,702 to 952,004. This had two important effects on literature. First, in a quantitative sense, there were more writers - and readers - resident in the Canadas in 1850 than in 1830, consequently a greater quantity of literature was produced. Before 1830 almost all Canadian literary works had been published in Lower Canada. As the English-speaking population of Upper Canada mushroomed in these two decades the second effect, a shift of English publishing locale toward Upper Canada, and particularly to Toronto, occurred. Montreal has remained an important publishing centre for English works to the present day, but Toronto gradually became even more important - a process which began with the influx of immigrants in these two decades and with the removal of the government to Toronto in the autumn of 1849.

The increasing availability of education also meant that there was an increase in the number of potential readers and writers of native literature. Six Roman Catholic classical colleges existed in Lower Canada before 1830. They were joined by six more between 1830 and 1850, plus several others, begun with hope and enthusiasm, which survived only a few years. All French-speaking writers received a good classical education. Higher education in English became increasingly available with the establishment of McGill, Victoria, Queen's, King's, Knox, Regiopolis and Bishop's between 1829 and 1845. The common school system, as a

system, was instituted in 1846, although there had been some elementary schools in both Lower and Upper Canada for many years, generally operated in a less controlled manner. Although education was neither free nor universal, it was more readily available and of a much higher quality than previously. The resident pool of both readers and writers was thus increased, although before 1850 most English-speaking, Canadian-born writers had acquired their education through private tutoring or self-directed reading. A number of immigrants who wrote in English also earned their living as schoolteachers at one time or another.

Despite the many apparent connections between literature and society, no one has ever considered early Canadian literature as an historical document, a socially integrated whole, existing on more than one level, and having both French and English components. It was apparent that there was a lot of material available which had not been studied, especially in English, and also that newspapers were a potential source of literary information, as well as a literate lowest-common-denominator. As I learned more about early Canadians and their literature, there came a dissatisfaction with theories which explained pre-Confederation literature in terms of the works of John Richardson, Susanna Moodie, and the contributors to the Literary Garland - the "great books" school; theories based on pompous nineteenth century public pronouncements, divorced from their historical context - the "pure literature" school;

or "value" judgements which summarily dismiss the whole of pre-Confederation writing in both languages.

By examining the literature in terms of the society in which it was written and read, and by focusing on the ordinary rather than the extraordinary, the historian can hope to arrive at some conclusions about the attitudes of a fairly broad class of literate Canadians linked by an avocation, rather than an occupational, regional, religious, or political affiliation. Except that they were middle class, and almost all urban, writers were not set off from their fellow Canadians by socio-economic characteristics.

There were no literary geniuses resident in early nineteenth century Canada who could give expression to the dawning sense of national identity in one single, glorious work of art. However there were a surprisingly large number of writers, many of whom had a lot to say about the country they lived in, although there was no Shakespeare or Molière, Dickens or Balzac, among them to capture it all for future generations. None of the writers was so original that he or she separated himself from the models, ideas, and standards of the day.

As sources, literary works have the obvious intrinsic limitation of expressing the ideas of a relatively small group; nonetheless, writers were related by their very lack of originality to the ideas current in a broader society. Similarly, individual literary critics were self-appointed

spokesmen for the community; it is only from their unanimity of attitude and from the absence of expressed objections to their pronouncements that we can hope to project an idea of what the community may have regarded as acceptable standards and objectives. Most of the Canadian literature published in this period appeared in newspapers, the medium with the widest circulation, and can reasonably be taken as representative of the attitudes of that segment of the public which had acquired the habit of reading and could afford to subscribe to newspapers.

The principal research base for the thesis was all the extant separately published volumes, literary periodicals, and newspapers of the period.⁴ Complete series exist for many of the literary periodicals, although it is rare for all numbers to be located in the same institution. None of the newspapers, even the ones which are considered as complete series, are actually complete, although some come close. Where newspapers are concerned, in order to make reasonably valid judgements about the context in which a work appeared, the research plan was to read all extant newspapers which had a complete run of at least a year in the period studied.

4. Research has, of course, been limited to what has survived to our day. Appendix A lists the literary works which I know existed, because there are contemporary references to them, but which I was unable to find in any Canadian repositories.

This has been modified in the case of newspapers of particular interest, such as those published by John Richardson, which exist today only in scattered issues, or where scattered numbers are the only surviving witness to what was written and thought in a particular geographic area. These exceptions have, however, been used only for general impression and corroborating detail. They have been omitted from the detailed analysis which appears in Chapter III.

Since few of the titles which will be referred to in the following chapters are widely known, it may be useful to mention some of them in a chronological context now. A complete list appears in Appendix B. The 1830s began with Michel Bibaud's Epîtres, Satires, etc.,⁵ the first collection of poetry published by a French speaking Canadian; Adam Kidd's The Huron Chief; W.F. Hawley's The Unknown; and J.W. Willis' Scraps and Sketches. The second Canadian novel written in English, James Russell's Matilda, was published in 1833. In 1834, Ward's The Spring of Life appeared, followed the next year by Sweeny's Remnants and the Widow Fleck's Poems on Various Subjects.⁶ In 1836 and '37 we have two plays in French; Valentine, ou la Nina Canadienne by Leblanc de Marconnay, and Petitclair's Griphon. 1837 is the publication date for Aubert de Gaspé fils' novel L'influence d'un

5. Short titles will be used in this section. For the full title, see Bibliography.

6. The only surviving copy is a second edition. The first edition may have appeared earlier.

livre - the first Canadian novel in French. At the end of 1839 and the beginning of 1840, Dr. Walter Henry's Trifles from my Portfolio, John Richardson's Canadian Brothers, and Sawtell's Mourner's Tribute all appeared, and were often reviewed together as evidence of the giant strides literary culture was making in Canada. Stephens' Hamilton and other Poems was published later in 1840. The next year saw O'Grady's The Emigrant, and the first of Sir John Smyth's volumes, Select Poems. The novels Le Rebelle and Belinda were published in 1842 and '43. Liston's Niagara Falls and Gillespie's Miscellaneous Poems were also published in 1843.

The important works of 1844 were all in French - Doutre's Les fiancés de 1812, L'Ecuyer's La Fille du Brigand, and Gerin Lajoie's play Le jeune Latour. In 1846 Charles Guérin and La Terre Paternelle began to appear serially. The same year, in English, there appeared Breakenridge's The Crusades, Newton's The Emigrant, Mountain's Songs of the Wilderness, Alexander M'Lachlan's first book of poetry, The Spirit of Love, and Rev. Joseph Abbott's Philip Musgrave. The next year, Wylie's Recollections of a Convict and Ryan's The Spirit's Lament were published. At the end of 1846, '47, and '48 the first Canadian "coffee table books" - The Maple Leaf for 1847, '48 and '49 were published.⁷ In 1848 the

7. Whether or not The Maple Leaf can be considered the first Canadian annual - a popular publishing form of the time - is a moot point, depending on whether or not it takes more than one year's publishing to make an annual an annual. If not, then the Canadian Forget me Not for 1837, which had no successor, was the first annual.

first volume of Le Répertoire National, a compilation of some, but definitely not all, of the previously published poetry and prose written by French-Canadian authors, was offered to the public, as was Maximilien Bibaud's Biographie des Sagamos Illustres, and the posthumous collection of James Haskins' poetry. In 1849, Boucher de Boucherville's Une de perdue, deux de trouvées began serial publication. Cummins' Altham, which had appeared in part in Barker's Magazine, was published in its two volume entirety, and The Last of the Eries, by the still-unidentified H.H.B., also appeared. A number of books were published in 1850: W.W. Smith's Alazon, Appleton's Miscellaneous Poems, Page's Wild Notes from the Backwoods, Copway's Ojibway Conquest, and a posthumous collection of George Menzies' poetry.

Of the periodicals in this twenty-one year period, 1830-4 saw L'Observateur, Le Moniteur, Le Magasin du Bas-Canada and L'Abeille Canadienne in French, and the Canadian Casket, Canadian Garland, Canadian Literary Magazine, Canadian Magazine, Montreal Museum and the Saturday Evening Magazine in English. In the same language a few very minor publications, whose contents were almost entirely copied from other magazines, bridged the gap until the debut of the Literary Garland in December, 1838. 1837 marked the beginning of Le Fantastique which continued, irregularly, until 1849. A number of short-lived periodicals appeared in French in the first half of the 1840s: Le Coin du Feu, Journal des

Etudiants, L'institut, L'artisan, L'encyclopédie canadienne, L'abeille canadienne, Le castor, Le diable bleu, and Le charivari canadien. In 1845, La revue canadienne began publication. As it gradually turned into a newspaper, it spawned the monthly L'album littéraire et musical de la Revue Canadienne, which was taken over by La Minerve in 1849, and continued until 1851. Barker's Canadian Monthly Magazine, begun in 1846, was the first periodical in English to challenge the Literary Garland. It was also the first to be completely Canadian in content. The People's Magazine, the City Magazine, the Calliopean, the Victoria Magazine, the Gaspé Magazine, and the Magic Lantern followed in the next four years. All had an equally brief life of a year or less. The Snow Drop, the first children's magazine, lasted from 1847 to 1852, and Punch in Canada survived for sixteen months in 1849-50.

Newspapers, too numerous to summarize here, and more familiar to historians as a primary source, completed the research base.⁸

II

Few Canadian historians have attempted to integrate the early literature of their country into a comprehensive view of Canadian society. Indeed, a recent PhD thesis writer

8. Newspapers read are listed in the fifth section of the bibliography. They are discussed extensively in Chapter III.

notes on page one that literary culture was non-existent in the 1840-50 period.⁹ In The Last Cannon Shot, Jacques Monet links French-Canadian literary activity in the 1840s to the expanding economy of the time.¹⁰ J.M.S. Careless, in The Union of the Canadas¹¹ integrates a few pages about literature in both French and English into the general question of social and cultural development in the 1841-57 period. He sees, incidentally, a change occurring in literature in the 1850s, with different authors and themes emerging. Careless also, in an article examining liberalism in Canadian newspapers of the 1850s, sees the strong British influence on Canadian thought, not as evidence of a dependent colonial mentality, but as a natural human response on the part of English-Canadians, most of whom were born in Britain.

...Central Canada was still a long narrow settlement along the St. Lawrence system that pointed to Britain and channelled every impulse from the imperial centre deep into the Great Lakes country.

And so it was with ideas. They were channelled from Britain by steamship and telegraph, or carried with the immigrants, who so influenced their community that it kept looking to the centre of the British world for the source of its thought. This is not merely to be called dependence. Feeling a unity with Britain, English-speaking Canadians accepted the bulk of her ideas as their own.¹²

9. S. Kenny, Cultural Patterns in the Union of the Canadas: The First Decade, (University of Ottawa, 1979).
10. J. Monet, The Last Cannon Shot (Toronto, 1969), p. 131.
11. J.M.S. Careless, The Union of the Canadas (Toronto, 1967), pp. 32-34, 160-161, 164.
12. J.M.S. Careless, "Mid-Victorian Liberalism in Central Canadian Newspapers, 1850-67", Canadian Historical Review Vol. xxxi, no. 3 (Sept. 1950), 235.

Beyond these few mentions, historians are silent on the subject of pre-Confederation literature.¹³

Literary critics have not been as reticent and it is, therefore, to this group that we must turn in search of published interpretations of early literary works. Unfortunately, most of those who have attempted to integrate the early nineteenth century into a Canadian literature continuum have only produced what can best be described as a "Whig interpretation" of literary history, - finding in the past only those things which illuminate the theoretician's view of the present. This is particularly true of thematic analyses such as Margaret Atwood's Survival, and John Moss' Patterns of Isolation, and Sex and Violence in the Canadian Novel, which refer briefly to John Richardson, and/or Susanna Moodie's works as nineteenth century illustrations of theories about contemporary Canadian writing. In a slightly different context, in Second Image, an illuminating analysis of the twentieth century French- and English-Canadian novel, Ronald Sutherland reaches back into the nineteenth century

13. S.F. Wise's articles on sermon literature "God's Peculiar People's" in W.L. Morton (ed.), The Shield of Achilles (Toronto, 1968), pp. 36-61, and "Sermon Literature and Canadian Intellectual History" in J.M. Bumsted (ed.), Canadian History Before Confederation (Georgetown, Ont., 1972), pp. 253-269; and D. Owsam's book, Promise of Eden (Toronto, 1980) which deals with "the idea of the west" in the later nineteenth century are further examples of the historical use of creative works. The one deals with another type of literature and the other with a later period than that studied here.

only to prove that both cultures had their racists in writers like Susanna Moodie and Abbé Groulx.¹⁴

It is generally agreed, by even the most nationalistic of literary critics, that early writing in the Canadas was not of high quality. Consequently, all critical theory applied to the early nineteenth century is, essentially, an analysis of failure. In English the reasons usually given are: colonial mentality, frontier crudity, and preoccupation with economic survival. In French: cultural and political oppression resulting from the conquest, and ecclesiastical censorship, are the two most commonly adduced causes. Some contemporary critics also feel that there was intellectual colonialism in the influence of metropolitan French writing on the development of a distinctive Québécois literature.

The best known formulation of colonialism as a cause of inferiority was made by A.J.M. Smith in a speech to the Canadian Historical Association.

Colonialism is a spirit that gratefully accepts a place of subordination, that looks elsewhere for its standards of excellence, and is content to imitate with a modest and timid conservatism the products of a parent tradition.¹⁵

14. M. Atwood, Survival, (Toronto, 1972); J. Moss, Patterns of Isolation, (Toronto, 1974); Sex and Violence in the Canadian Novel, (Toronto, 1977); R. Sutherland, Second Image, (Toronto, 1971).
15. A.J.M. Smith, "Colonialism and Nationalism in Canadian Poetry Before Confederation", in Canadian Historical Association Report (1944), 74.

On the following page he extends his definition:

"...colonialism reveals itself most surely in the abstract and conventional patriotic poetry...while true nationalism rises out of the local realism of the pioneer." Almost a century earlier the first to articulate similar ideas had been Rev. E.H. Dewart in his "Introductory Essay" to the first anthology of English-Canadian literature, published in 1864. Dewart, a prescient man, also lamented "sectionalism and disintegration"¹⁶ in literature as in government, denominational bigotry in critical responses,¹⁷ and booksellers who were not interested in Canadian literature because they could make more money on British and American imports.¹⁸

As subdivisions of the "colonial" school of criticism there are the theories of J.P. Matthews who, comparing Canada with Australia, finds nineteenth century Canada too much like England to have developed a separate literary expression;¹⁹ and R.L. Watters, who argues in an interesting article that the absence in Canada of familiar British social structures inhibited the writers of Canadian fiction.²⁰

16. E.H. Dewart (ed.), Selections from Canadian Poets (Montreal, 1864), p. x.

17. Ibid., xv.

18. Ibid., xv.

19. J.P. Matthews, Tradition in Exile (Toronto, 1962), p. 33.

20. R.J. Watters, "English Social Patterns in Early Australian and Canadian Fiction" in K.L. Goodwin (ed.), National Identity (London, 1970), 69.

Wilfrid Eggleston is the principal exponent of the "frontier school" in explaining the deficiency of early nineteenth century literature. In The Frontier and Canadian Letters he argues that a diverse and scattered pioneer society, concerned primarily with survival, had neither the time nor the energy to cultivate literary endeavours, although a few families, who had brought cultivated values with them, continued to regard literature as important.²¹ Desmond Pacey²² agrees with Roy Palmer Baker²³ that, compared to the Maritimes, loyalist settlers in Ontario and Quebec were an illiterate group of farmers who could not be expected to produce or appreciate culture. In their view, the people were as crude as their environment. At the turn of the century a critic explained Alexander M'Lachlan's intellectual and poetic deficiencies with a similar argument:

...Circumstances were against him. To the general unrest and doubt of the century was added the disturbing influence of a change to frontier life....He was transplanted to what was then a wilderness, where the pioneer was struggling to conquer rude nature. The new "clearance", with its dense throng of blackened stumps and its fringe of blasted trees, stood there in frank hideousness. A rude and unorganized society, without leisure, without culture, could give him little criticism, appreciation or pecuniary reward. Care, toil and disappointment were his constant companions.²⁴

- 21. W. Eggleston, The Frontier and Canadian Letters (Toronto, 1957).
- 22. D. Pacey, Creative Writing in Canada (Toronto, 1967 ed.), p. 21.
- 23. R.P. Baker, A History of English-Canadian Literature to the Confederation (Cambridge, Mass., 1920), p. 20.
- 24. J. Duff, "Alexander McLachlan", Queen's Quarterly (1900), 144.

More recently M.B. Kline in Beyond the Land Itself sees Canadian writers rejecting the new world environment as uncivilized and untameable and retreating to descriptions of tidy English landscapes.²⁵ Northrop Frye's identification of the "garrison mentality":

Small and isolated communities surrounded with a physical or psychological 'frontier', separated from one another and from their American and British cultural sources: communities that provide all that their members have in the way of distinctively human values, and that are compelled to feel a great respect for the law and order that holds them together, yet confronted with a huge, unthinking, menacing, and formidable physical setting - such communities are bound to develop what we may provisionally call a garrison mentality.²⁶

combines both colonial and frontier schools in what might be called an environmental argument.

The most common reason given by contemporaries for a lack of literary production was that residents of the Canadas were busy establishing themselves in a new country and had no leisure time for pursuits such as literature. This argument recurred early in this century in T.G. Marquis' chapter on English-Canadian literature in Volume 12 of Canada and its Provinces. He begins his discussion of poetry with the writing of Charles Sangster, dismissing the early period as one in which settlers were too busy hewing the forests to be concerned over literature, or even education.²⁷

25. M.B. Kline, Beyond the Land Itself (Cambridge, Mass., 1970).

26. N. Frye, The Bush Garden (Toronto, 1971), p. 225.

27. T.G. Marquis, "English-Canadian Literature" in Shortt and Doughty (eds.), Canada and its Provinces, Vol. 12 (Toronto, 1914), p. 494.

The most common response to our earliest literature from English-Canadian literary critics has been benign neglect. Many critics start their nineteenth century analyses with the publication of C.D.G. Roberts' Orion and other Poems in 1880. A.J.M. Smith and E.H. Dewar incorrectly refer to Charles Sangster's The St. Lawrence and the Saguenay of 1856 as the first work by a Canadian-born poet. McMechan, in Headwaters of Canadian Literature, first published in 1924, skips preConfederation literature in English because he says it was not written by the Canadian-born. C.D.G. Roberts himself, in a 1933 speech, said that:

Our English Canadian Poetry may be divided, very loosely...into two periods, - the pre-war and the post-war. The pre-war period may be considered as beginning in the 80's, with the publication of Crawford's Old Spookses Pass, and Lampman's Among the Millets, 1888.²⁸

No mention has been made thus far of the work of C.F. Klinck, our first, and foremost, expert on early Canadian literature and the distinguished general editor of the Literary History of Canada. This is largely because Klinck has produced a number of detailed articles about individual writers or specific books and periodicals, but very little in the way of theoretical statements linking all the early literature.

28. C.D.G. Roberts; "Canadian Poetry and its Relation to the Poetry of England and America", speech delivered March 18, 1933, reproduced in Canadian Poetry No. 3 (1978), 80.

...My own experience with hard-core facts has persuaded me that what is "native" and distinctively "Canadian" is a progressive development, a myriad of identities mingling to form a North American society of unique complexity, expressed in our literature in individual creative variety by men and women of many different cultural backgrounds. I have no patience with the popular sport of squeezing our past into a single sacred formula of retarded existence to be memorized by school-children. One page of an annotated bibliography of our literature holds more truth for me in its rich and treasured diversity than a whole volume of objective over-simplified speculative history.²⁹

The statement appears, not in the Literary History, a standard-reference work, but in a speech made shortly before his retirement and printed in the Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada in 1973. It is interesting that the man with the greatest knowledge of early Canadian literature in English is the one most hesitant about theoretical pronouncements.

One of the earliest French-Canadian critics, Camille Roy, felt that literary endeavour arose from the attempt to preserve national institutions after the conquest, but, though he mentions Jacques Viger, Bibaud, and Chauveau, he begins his study in the 1860s with the poetry of Crémazie and the fiction of Aubert de Gaspé père.³⁰ Roy, a cleric writing early in the twentieth century, may have been attempting, either consciously or unconsciously, to exclude

29. C.F. Klinck, "Greeting the Unknowns with a Cheer", Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada XII (1973), 33.

30. C. Roy, "French-Canadian Literature" in Shortt and Doughty (eds.), Canada and Its Provinces, Vol. 1-2 (Toronto, 1914), p. 435-489.

French Canada's turbulent revolutionary past and the literature associated with it, or he may merely have, been, as he claimed, skipping over less polished early works in order to devote more space to later, better, literature. Guy Sylvestre is another who sees no literary value in the early works and begins his study with Crémazie.³¹

Tougas, in a standard university text, divides the early period into "les difficiles débuts" and "l'âge de Garneau". The latter section actually deals with writers anterior to this study. In the initial section he draws the conclusion that French intellectual colonization was, ultimately, beneficial.

Dans un monde anglo-saxon, il était fatal que ces écrivains, dont la langue était menacée, cherchassent refuge dans la tradition littéraire française. Ces imitations, si serviles qu'elles pussent être, ne doivent pas faire perdre de vue leur véritable signification. Par le truchement de ses Bibaud, le Canada français affirmait son immense désir d'accéder à une vie spirituelle autonome. Cette autonomie existait sans doute déjà en fait; mais il lui manquait ce signe distinctif de vie qu'est une littérature.³²

The division between very early writers and those who published after Garneau's history appeared is a common one in French-Canadian criticism. 1850 is the most common starting date for commentaries on nineteenth century literature,

31. G. Sylvestre (ed.), Anthologie de la poésie canadienne française (Montreal, 1971).

32. G. Tougas, Histoire de la littérature canadienne-française (Paris, 1960), p. 17.

although Lortie and some others follow a strict "Garneau = 1845" boundary line. /

Thematic criticism is perhaps even more common in the French language than in English. Lemire's Le roman nationaliste, Lortie's La poésie nationaliste, and Costisella's L'esprit révolutionnaire dans la littérature canadienne-française³³ are perhaps the best known examples. While they do give more attention to early writing than do their English compatriots, these critics are essentially concerned with only those works which prove their theses.

Writing in the early 1960s, J.C. Falardeau found that, after the rebellions, literature became abstract and intellectual, written by an elite for an elite. He also found alternating cycles of French influence and rejection of French influence.³⁴

Il y a eu, selon les époques et les écoles de pensée, soit une volonté délibérée de se soumettre à l'influence fécondante de la France, soit une volonté également catégorique de se soustraire à cette tutelle, et de s'en tenir aux seules inspirations locales. La vie littéraire canadienne a été faite d'une alternance entre ces deux ambitions. On pourrait écrire une histoire de cette littérature en suivant les mouvements de son oscillation entre ces deux pôles.³⁵

33. M. Lemire, Les grands thèmes nationalistes du roman historique canadien-français (Quebec, 1970); J. Lortie, La poésie nationaliste au Canada français (Quebec, 1975); J. Costisella, L'esprit révolutionnaire dans la littérature canadienne-française (Montreal, 1968).

34. J.C. Falardeau, "Recherche d'une voix", Canadian Literature, No. 11 (Winter, 1962), 7.

35. Ibid., 9.

For Falardeau, the greatest weakness of French-Canadian literature is "la pauvreté d'expression" resulting from "l'éloignement de la France."

Several years later, in a much-quoted article, Léopold Lamontagne wrote that French-Canadian literature got off to a good start in the 1840s, in the romantic era, but that it was prevented by moral criticism from continuing to follow fecund French modes.³⁶ Roger LeMoine, writing of the historical novel, suggests that about 1850 M^{rs}. Bouffet succeeded in imposing a new mentalité on Quebec through "...des critiques qui, s'arrogeant le rôle des censeurs, n'ont pas hésité à rejeter la littérature ou à l'amputer de ce qui constitue son essence."³⁷ LeMoine says that in the earlier period novels were so unimportant that they were carelessly written, and he laments the national epic which never appeared because of limitations placed on the mythic consciousness of French-Canadian writers.

It was a truism in the literature classes of Léandre Bergeron, author of the popular 1971 Petit Manuel d'Histoire du Québec, when I was his student, that early French-Canadian literature was worthless (the courses in fiction began with

36. L. Lamontagne, "Les courants idéologiques dans la littérature canadienne-française du XIX^e siècle", in Dumont and Falardeau (eds.), Littérature et société canadiennes-françaises (Québec, 1964).

37. R. LeMoine, "Le roman historique québécois", in Archives des Lettres canadiennes, Tome III, 3rd edition (Montreal, 1977), p. 73.

Aubert de Gaspé père, and in poetry with Crémazie - both hounded financially by nasty anglos) because no writer could possibly have risen about the social morass caused by conquest and oppression.

The word "préromantique" was first applied to early French-Canadian literature by Séraphin Marion. It was taken up by David Hayne in his sympathetic survey "Sur les traces du préromantisme canadien"³⁸ (the generation of 1869, centered in Quebec City, is seen as romantic, hence pre-romantic for the earlier one.) This literature was the work of a new, educated, politicized class of young men with access to books from overseas, Canadian periodicals, and discussion groups. They were profoundly influenced by French letters, but before 1845, he says "aucune oeuvre de valeur ne sortit de leurs efforts."³⁹

It is apparent from this brief summary of critical theory that literary critics have not looked at early Canadian writing as a whole body of work produced in a social context. Rather they have looked backward from the vantage point of their own day and explained what they perceive to be the weaknesses of the past by reference to a few selected writers or themes.

38. In Archives des Lettres Canadiennes, Tome I (Ottawa, 1961), p. 7-27.

39. Ibid., 22.

If Canadian writing before 1850 is to be aesthetically judged as of poor quality, one must enquire what standards are being applied. What was being written at this time in the two linguistic mother tongues? In the literary history of both France and England, the period from 1830 to 1850 was not a fertile one, - although this was less true of France than of England, - just as French-Canadian writing in the period was more developed than that of English-Canadians. In Britain the period constitutes a gap between the romantic era of Wordsworth, Coleridge, Scott, Byron, Keats, Shelley, (all but Wordsworth were dead before 1834, and he had long since ceased to be "romantic") and the early Victorian era of writers such as Dickens, Tennyson, Browning and Arnold. Of these, only Dickens, and possibly Tennyson, had reached his full powers before 1850. In French poetry there is a similar gap in time between the romanticism found in Chateaubriand and the early works of Lamartine and Hugo, and the era of the disenchanted later Hugo and the symbolists Baudelaire, Rimbaud and Verlaine. The "realistic" novelists, Balzac, Stendhal and Zola, however, more than fill that gap. In France the period was as unstable in the domain of literature as it was in politics; consequently neither realism nor romanticism established itself as a dominant feature of French literature.

American literature, in these decades, was struggling to find an identity. There were continuing calls for a distinctive American literature, but the best known writers were

those such as Washington Irving, N.P. Willis, and the poets W.G. Bryant and Lydia Sigourney who were faithful to British models. Gradually, during the 1840s, fiction based on unique American experience began to appear, but much of that really only used America as decor for events which could have taken place anywhere. Poe, Hawthorne and Longfellow came to public notice in the late 1840s. The one American writer with an international reputation was Cooper who, from 1826 well into this century, fascinated Europeans with his exotic "frontier" novels, translated into many languages. Cooper lived in Europe for seven years and, on his return in 1833, was criticized by many of his compatriots for adopting European attitudes and models.

While there were what we now consider to be literary giants writing in this period, these were not necessarily the most popular authors of their day. The works of Felicia Hemans and Letitia Landon appeared in print far more often than those of Wordsworth and Keats. Lamartine had a popular success in France, but so did Casimir Delavigne and Marie Aycard. Lydia Sigourney's works do not appear in modern anthologies of American literature, but she was far, and away the most popular poet of her day in the United States. It was generally these popular writers, now perceived to be second and third rate, whose works appeared in the newspapers and periodicals of the Canadas.

To illuminate the relation of literature and society in the context of early nineteenth-century Canada a number of questions were asked of the primary sources. First, and underlying the more specific questions, were ones of nationality and identity, and of chronological progress and development. The French and English of Upper and Lower Canada shared an environment and a political system: did these factors combine to produce similar literary works, or did differences in language and history result in very different literary activities? Did immigrants write about different things and see themselves differently than did the native born? Aside from the quantitative differences which went with a rapidly expanding population, were there differences in content between works written at the beginning and end of the period, and especially before and after the rebellions?

Given the small population, an amazingly large body of literary works were produced. In what context, national and international, were they written and under what conditions were they published and circulated? Who were the writers and how did they earn their living? What were their religious and political attitudes?

How much of the reading material which circulated in Canada had its origins outside the country and how much was Canadian? What were the principal sources of foreign material? Did readers experience different literary influences

according to the region in which they lived, the religious denomination to which they belonged, or the political party they supported?

What expectations did Canadian society have of its literature and how were they carried out? What do Canadian authors of this period tell us about Canadian value systems? Canadian identity? class, sex, and racial divisions? the developing myths of Canadian history? the response of Canadians to the natural world around them? Canada's place in the world order?

In considering these questions, the next five chapters will be devoted to an examination of the societal environment of early nineteenth century Canadian literature: copyright and the conditions of publishing, the national sources of newspaper and periodical literature, writers and the conditions of writing, and publicly expressed expectations of Canadian literature as a moral and national force. In the five subsequent chapters the literature itself will be analysed, in terms of moral values, concepts of Canada, social relationships, the development of historical myths, and attitudes to the Canadian landscape. This analysis will be conducted on a temporal level, as well as one of mother country and mother tongue.

The 1830-50 period in the Canadas is generally studied in terms of its economic, political and demographic changes. The creative literature of the time can be used to illustrate

all three, but it can also tell us something about the lives and the ideas of at least one group of residents, and it clearly demonstrates the interdependence of all these factors in society as a whole. The writers of this period form an unintentional group. As amateurs they are linked by a leisure activity, not by the occupational, religious, political, or regional affiliations which normally define the groups studied by historians. As such, their attitudes occasionally vary in some respects from those articulated by more cohesive groups, although they all generally support mainstream early nineteenth century middle class social and moral values. It will be seen that they were not marginal observers of Canadian life, but were all integrated in various ways into the society in which they lived. The ensemble of their works both fulfilled the expectations of an indigenous literature held by their compatriots, and formed part of the general growth and development of the Canadas.

Despite the fact that external literary influences were overwhelmingly European, not North American, we find much comment, generally positive and not showing any sense of colonial inferiority, about Canada and places and things Canadian. Where variations in these attitudes occur, they will be seen to be along French/English, native/immigrant, or male/female lines. Except in a quantitative sense, twenty years produced little change in the literature published here. The rebellions, although their effect was greater on

French than on English writing, prove to have been an important, but by no means dominant influence. The Canada which the literary works of this period portray for us is one which participates in European culture, but is also specifically located in North America. Our authors viewed it in two ways: the first, through a blur of received ideas and unfocussed personal response, and secondly, and often simultaneously, as the locus of singular events and the home of particular individuals.

CHAPTER II

FACTORS WHICH AFFECTED PUBLISHING AND DISTRIBUTION

A resident of the Canadas, interested in literature and having a small amount of cash, did not lack for reading material. In addition to the books, periodicals and newspapers printed here, the reader could import personally, or buy from local dealers, the books, periodicals and newspapers of the United States, England and France. Both domestic and imported works could also be borrowed from privately owned circulating libraries in the major cities or consulted in the reading rooms of a variety of organizations of which they might be members.¹ In this chapter the customs and copyright legislation which affected importation will be considered, as well as the conditions of domestic publishing. While no information has survived which would

1. For book importations see the 1836 Armour and Ramsay catalogue, reprinted on two full pages of the Montreal Gazette August 2 and 6, 1836. Jean-Louis Roy's article on the Fabre bookselling firm in Histoire Sociale V (Nov. 1972), 117-143 gives some indication of what was available in French. Almost every newspaper carried advertisements for local booksellers, many of whom also kept a circulating library on the same premises. See for example the advertisement for J. McMullen's "Circulating Library, Cheap Book and Stationary Store" (St. Catharines Journal, Jan. 1, 1849). A subscription to the library cost \$4 per annum. The libraries of organizations such as the Quebec Literary and Historical Society and the Institut Canadien, which have survived to this day, are well known. Smaller clubs, which did not last as long, furnished their "rooms" with books for the use of members. Other groups, such as the Mercantile Library Association in Montreal make their purpose evident in their name.

give us any indication of publishing costs or profits, we can, at least, establish some indication of what prices were charged for various types of Canadian works, and of the circulation a publisher or writer might expect for them.

Books and periodicals imported from England entered Canada duty free, but transportation and postage costs were very high. Before 1843, books and periodicals imported from the United States were subject to a customs duty of 30%, which had been established by the British parliament under the Canada Trade Act of 1822. However, American works were so much cheaper initially, and transportation costs over the shorter distance so much lower, that even with the duty, the same work was still cheaper in Canada in the American edition than in the British edition.²

2. "The publishing price in England of 'Zanoni', a novel, is £1 17s. 6d., sterling, and of 'Morley Erastein', another novel; is about £2 10s., sterling, and of 'Alison's History of Europe' is £12 10s., sterling; and the reprints from the United States of the same works can be afforded in this Province, the former for 1s 3d., the second for 1s 10½d., and the latter for £1 10s., currency, postage as newspapers included."

Reply of J.H. Tebbetts to questionnaire of Legislative Assembly committee, Appendix P.P. to Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada (henceforth JLAC), 7 Victoria, 1843. n.p. The reply of William Greig to the same questionnaire gives a price of 9s. 6d. for the English edition of 'Mammon' compared to 4s. 6d. for the American edition, even after he had paid "duties and other expenses to the amount of 40 per cent." The American reprint of 'Combe's Physiology' could be sold for 1s. 10½d. currency, as opposed to 10s. currency for the English edition.

The more one attempts to unravel the question of the country from which imported works were brought to Canada, the more one is forced to conclude that the United States was the principal source. A modern reader's first impression, based on occasional advertisements by booksellers which announced the arrival of a shipment from England, is that that country must have been the principal source. It would appear, however, that importation from the United States was so common that no one thought it necessary to mention it. One begins to have a glimmer of understanding when one reads petitions to the Governor-General from such august anglophile associations as the Montreal Natural History Society and the Montreal Library Association³ seeking exemption from the 30% duty for standard British reference works which they wished to purchase in the U.S.

The colonists were caught in the middle of a publishing war between Britain and the United States. An American author, publishing in his own country, was protected by American copyright. If he published an edition, however small, of the work in England, he also had the benefit of British copyright protection, which included all colonies. The United States recognized no copyright unless the author was a resident of that country. Pirating of British

3. Public Archives of Canada (hereafter PAC), R.G. 4, A 1 (Provincial Secretary's Office, Quebec, Lower Canada and Canada East), Vol. 368, p. 68-72, A.F. Holmes on behalf of the Natural History Society, Nov. 12, 1831; Vol. 261, p. 102-4, A.F. Holmes on behalf of the Montreal Library Association, March 31, 1828.

publications by American printers was a fact of life. The latest publications from England were often available in the United States within twenty-four hours after the docking of the ship which brought a copy to the American printer.⁴ No royalty was paid to either the author or publisher in England. Dickens, on his American tour in 1841, made himself very unpopular by pointing out at every turn that he had never received royalties from any American source, although he was the most widely read author in the country. The Americans considered his comments to be an ungentlemanly breach of their hospitality and went right on pirating, and reading, his novels. The pirating was not limited to the latest novels and periodicals. It extended to standard British reference works as well. The British claimed, rightly, that Americans were stealing the property of English writers and publishers. There was also another factor which offended the British - the American editions of English works were sold for a fraction of the price charged in England for the same work. The British said this was because the author had not been paid and because the quality of paper, printing, etc. was inferior. The Americans said it was because they believed that the masses were entitled to printed information at an affordable price. The concept of mass production had taken hold in American publishing - a small profit made on a

4. J. Tebbel, A History of Book Publishing in the United States, Vol I (New York, 1972), p. 208-9.

great number of sales brought greater return than the English system of a larger profit percentage from a smaller production run.⁵ In England, cheap literature for the masses still meant "improving" tracts. The Americans also pointed out that the British publisher had often bought all rights to a work from the author for a small sum and that, if they were stealing, they were stealing, not from the writer, but from a greedy, grasping, publisher. Although the argument does not excuse the theft, it was, in many instances, founded on fact.

Canadian publishers were not entirely innocent of pirating themselves. Most Canadian periodical editors "borrowed" all or part of their contents from English, French or American sources, and more than one Canadian edition of a work under copyright in another country was produced here.⁶

Although the Canadian market was a small one, British publishers considered that it was theirs alone. At their request Westminster passed a new law, taking effect early in 1843, which absolutely prohibited the importation into any

5. The "Editor's Table" columnist, in the Literary Garland, Vol I, N.S., no. 11, comments unfavourably on the British system as compared with the American.
6. Halévy's Histoire Morale was published by Fréchette in Québec in 1834; an edition of Charlotte Temple, by Susanna Rowson, was printed in Hallowell in 1832 by Joseph Wilson; The Ruined Merchant, published by Brewer and McPhail in Toronto in 1849, contained stories from the popular English work Diary of a Late Physician; and Richard Brewer published an edition of Wilson's Border Tales in Toronto in 1841. There are other examples.

colony of copyright British material reprinted without permission. English-Canadian editors and readers were caught in a dilemma. For years they had piously deprecated the American theft of British copyright material while reaping the benefits. Now that the benefits were suddenly withdrawn, how were they to complain without appearing disloyal? Protesters claimed that most of them could not afford British books and periodicals, and that they were thus dependent on American sources for the enrichment necessary to their culturally deprived lives.

To us in Canada this measure is one of great consequence, it is another barrier to the acquisition of knowledge, another difficulty thrown in the way of the student, and the scholar, - it is worse, - it is forcing back into the old plan of newspaper literature, and that of the very worst kind, and most to be avoided.

Through means of the American reprints, we have been put in possession of the standard works of the day, at a rate which places them within the reach of all; and if some worthless volumes found their way among us, they were more than counterbalanced by the good; to obtain British Editions of valuable works was far beyond the reach of many, and the demand for some years if confined to Canada, would not justify cheap reprints.

The complaint was echoed in similar fashion throughout the English language press in 1843, and must have been current in society because the Legislative Assembly resolved on October 17, 1843, to form a committee "....to enquire into the effect of the English Copy Right Act, the consequent

7. Cobourg Star, July 12, 1843. The Star was thoroughly British and Tory in allegiance. This and other editorial comments indicate that the response was not confined to any political party or philosophy.

exclusion of American reprints, and the policy of that exclusion, as connected with the probable influence on the minds of the rising generation of the Province..."⁸

The Select Committee addressed four questions to "every Importer and Publisher, or seller of Books in the Province."

1. Have you been in the habit of importing Books, Pamphlets, and Periodicals, from Great Britain?
2. Since the Imperial Act prohibiting the Reprints in America, from entrance into this Province, has the direct importation of these Works increased?
3. Would the free importation of American Reprints of English Works of Art and Literature, be likely to lessen (sic) the profits of English Authors and Publishers?
4. What, in your opinion, will be the effect on the minds and morals of the rising generation, of the exclusion of cheap English Literature, and the free admission of American Literature,⁹ religious and political?

Their replies, included in the committee's report,¹⁰ make fascinating reading, especially for students of early nineteenth century rhetoric. The firms of Armour and Ramsay in Montreal, and Rowsell in Toronto, both closely linked to the Tory establishment, replied that it was too soon to judge the effects of the new law, but that if it were rigourously applied it would indeed benefit British authors and publishers. The other eight respondents stated with varying degrees of intensity that the law was unenforceable and consequently would be of no benefit to those whom it was intended to protect:

8. JLAC, 7 Victoria, page 52.

9. Appendix PP to JLAC, n.p. Report dated Dec. 9, 1843.

10. Ibid.

...in general, British Publications, particularly such as are deemed worthy of being reprinted, are got up too expensively for the general class of readers in this country, and the sales of them are consequently very limited: because, in addition to the high price in Britain, the Canadian purchaser must necessarily pay the charges of importation, which, including the differences of currency, amounts to at least one third over the sterling: because the heavy rate of postage on British Periodicals has hitherto prevented, and will always prevent, the importation of that class of publications to any extent worthy of the notice either of Authors or Publishers: because no legislative restrictions can possibly prevent the importation of cheap American Reprints into this Province, possessing, as we do, a frontier on the Republic of about 1500 miles in extent. 11

On the 9th of November the Legislative Assembly, in committee of the whole, had passed five resolutions which were subsequently incorporated into an address to the Queen. They linked the advancement of useful knowledge with the principles of the British Constitution and saw this advancement best furthered by "the introduction of the best work of useful information, at the least possible expense." To discourage this was neither wise nor "consistent with sound policy". Then they threw in a resolution which suggested that the new law was depriving French Canadians of material which had to be imported from France. Lord Stanley's dispatch in reply to the address seized on the question of French books, the one explicit point made by the Assembly, and totally ignored the implicit main point.

...But Her Majesty finds that the Imperial import duty leviable in Canada on foreign books originally

11. Ibid., reply of Leslie (sic) Brothers to question 3.

printed and published in foreign countries as the same as on all other manufactures of paper - that is seven percent ad valorem - a duty imposed in the 5th and 6th year of Her Majesty's reign in substitution of a previous duty of 30 per cent ad valorem. If any evidence has been collected by the Assembly to shew that this low rate of duty materially impedes the introduction into the Province of original French Works from France, the Queen, on being placed in possession of that evidence will lose no time in considering how the evil may best be corrected.¹²

The London publisher, Murray, began producing in a "colonial library" some works of "useful knowledge" on which he held copyright. However, as William Greig wrote to the Select Committee:

...Murray, the great London Publisher, has put forth the prospectus of what he calls his cheap Colonial editions, - and what are the great advantages which he offers? Why, instead of issuing cheap editions of his latest works, he re-issues those that the "run" is chiefly over for, and which have been reprinted and extensively circulated on this side of the Atlantic long ago; and then he offers for 2s Sterling, equal to 3s. in Canada, what is sold in the United States for 25 cents, equal to 1s 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. currency in Canada.¹³

Other respondents made the same point and, despite the hopes of Armour and Ramsay, his Canadian agents, the few works which were printed in the series seem to have aroused little enthusiasm in the Canadas. No other British publisher followed his lead. Armour and Ramsay had also arranged for cheaper editions of well-known periodicals to be run off after the main English printing and shipped to them in bulk. It appears that the cost of these in Canada was about the

12. Appendix to State Book C, 186-7, dated December 21, 1843.

13. op. cit., reply of, William Greig to question 3.

same as that for the American edition, which arrived here months earlier. These efforts to make cheaper reading materials available in Canada were publicly applauded,¹⁴ but it appears that individual Canadians simply resorted to smuggling which, since no duty was paid, made American editions even cheaper.

Throughout the 1840s English-Canadians of all religious and political persuasions continued to complain in print about the hardship caused by the embargo on American reprints. As little attention as possible was paid to the source of the reprints, the argument was always couched in terms of the greatest possible availability of British writing. The following extracts from the Montreal Morning Courier of May 11, 1846, are typical of the arguments used.

It may be asserted without fear of contradiction by any man of sense, that a new country may better afford to tax any article of import, than books. There are many imports which are luxuries that people could do without and which if they choose to have, they can afford a high price for; but books are in our estimation a necessary. This country is in its infancy, and never can become great unless it has in abundance the means of availing itself of those stores of knowledge, accumulated by the wisdom of ages in the old countries of Europe. How are our children to be taught, our young men to be instructed in the arts, the sciences, the liberal professions, unless we have easy access to the works of the great masters in the different branches of science.

.....
We have heard it said that the Canadian people are not a reading people. We deny the fact; people here are as fond of the acquisition of knowledge as they are anywhere else, but they have many disadvan-

14. e.g. British Whig, October 1, 1844; Literary Garland, March, 1844, p. 143.

lagers to contend against, amongst the most prominent of which is the enormous price which they have to pay for good books. The cheap American works which find their way into Canada are eagerly sought after, as a proof of which we may mention the fact that there is more than one Store in town almost entirely devoted to the sale of such works.

We do think that the greatest boon that could be conferred on Canada, would be FREE TRADE IN BOOKS" concludes the editorial writer.

In 1847, the imperial government introduced the Colonial Copyright Act, under the terms of which an order-in-council could permit a colony to adopt its own legislation on the importation of British copyright material, provided that provision was made to protect the rights of British authors. Thereupon, the Canadian legislature assessed a duty of 12½% on British copyright material imported from the United States, the duties to be remitted to Whitehall for the benefit of British authors.

There must have been some unplugged loophole in the legislation¹⁵ because, beginning in April 1849, Pratt, the landing waiter in Montreal, began to seize shipments of American editions of British books, destined for Montreal and Quebec booksellers. Two volumes of Customs Plantation Records¹⁶ are devoted to these seizures.¹⁷ In each

15. It may have been that no Order-in-Council had been passed, it may have been a jurisdictional dispute between colonial Customs and H.M. Customs.

16. PAC, MG 40 K, Vols. 6217 and 6218..

17. The lists of works seized give us a good idea of what was being imported. It was chiefly periodicals and "useful" works. There were few novels.

case, the consignee protested that the goods had been imported legally and that the required duty had been paid at the former port of entry. It must have been a grey area, because the colonial authorities did not order the release of the books, they ordered them returned to the American shipper. It is obvious from the correspondence that the parcels of books returned to the States were then sent to Canada through some other port. The matter was referred by the Collector of Customs at Montreal to the Commissioners of H.M. Customs in London. They replied that the books should be destroyed because they were prohibited under 5 and 6 Vic, Cap 45, Sec. 17, and 8 and 9 Vic, Cap 93, Sec. 9, and that the importers should be fined double the value of the goods. However, they did not issue a specific order to do so, pending opinion of H.M. Treasury. Treasury did not give an opinion, pending a report from the Governor-General. In December 1849, Pratt destroyed the contents of 31 seizures which were under his supervision. He was ordered by J.W. Dunscomb, the Colonial Inspector General of Customs, to make restitution and his salary was withheld for the purpose.¹⁸ On December 7, 1849, Pratt had also seized the "Prince Albert", one of Molson's steamboats, because it was bringing in illegal books. Pratt said they were concealed, Molson said they were not. Pratt's superiors decided to believe the affidavits which supported Molson's version of the affair.

18. op.cit., pages 167-220 of Volume 6217.

The Lords of the Treasury ultimately decided that Pratt should not have had his salary seized, and that the colonial customs regulations should be amended to avoid embarrassment to representatives of H.M. Customs. It would appear that negotiations continued throughout 1850, because the Governor-General proclaimed the new provincial act on April 23, 1851¹⁹ and Whitehall simultaneously issued an Order-in-Council:

...suspending so far as regards this Province, during such time as the said Provincial Act continues in force within the same, the Prohibitions contained in certain Acts of the Imperial Parliament against the importing, setting (sic), letting out to hire, exposing for sale or hire, or possessing foreign reprints of Books first composed, written, printed or published in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and entitled to copyright therein.²⁰

All sums collected under the 12½% duty were to be remitted annually to the Secretary of State for the colonies with a statement showing the amount collected for each copyright work, so that the correct amount could be paid to each copyright holder.²¹

Before 1841 there had been some provision in Lower Canada for copyright of Canadian works. One of the first items addressed by the legislature of the new united province

19. The Act, 13 and 14 Vic, Cap 6, had been passed August 10, 1850.

20. State Book K, pages 301-3, April 25, 1851.

21. For a further instalment in this process, see R.A. Shields, "Imperial Policy and the Canadian Copyright Act of 1889", Dalhousie Review, Vol 60, no. 4 (Winter 1980-81), 634-658.

was An Act for the protection of Copy Rights in this Province²² by which residents of the province could protect their rights, only within the province, for a period of 28 years, renewable for a further 14 if they or their heirs were still in the province, by depositing one copy of their work in the office of the Provincial Registrar, and one in the library of the Legislative Assembly, and paying a 5s fee.

An assured Canadian copyright and an assured flow of British books and periodicals via the United States would seem to have solved all Canadian problems. However, another one, almost unforeseen in the 1830s, appeared in the 1840s, as Americans began to produce periodicals which owed little or nothing to British sources. They could not be excluded, because they contained no British copyright material. They were available in Canada at a very low price,²³ and many of them were the equals of the famous British models. Despite the fact that they were often editorially deprecated, principally because they were American and therefore a threat to British institutions, Canadians seem to have read them anyway.

22. 4 and 5 Vic, Cap 61. Passed September 18, 1841.

23. Some sample prices: New York Mirror, (1832), weekly, 8 pp. \$4 p/a; Waldie's Literary Omnibus (1838), weekly, \$3 p/a post paid; The Ladies' National Magazine (1847) monthly, \$2 p/a; Graham's Magazine, (1847), \$3 p/a post paid; Godey's Lady's Book, (1848), plus The Fountain (an annual); \$3 p/a. In 1836 Godey's had cost \$3 p/a and contained 48 pages monthly.

However little we may admire the working of the political institutions of the neighbouring republic, or however small may be our confidence in their stability, we are unable to repress, from time to time our admiration of the American periodical press. Many are the publications gracing the Union to which we are compelled to have recourse, both for amusement and to borrow occasionally from their store of gems the wherewithall to deck our humble sheet.²⁴

When the Literary Garland ceased publication in December 1851 the editors gave as their reason their inability to compete with a flood of cheap American periodicals. However, we know from occasional hints in the "Editor's Table" section of the magazine that the Garland's circulation had been declining for some years. Given a choice between the Garland and Godey's Lady's Book for the same subscription rate, few readers would have preferred the Garland. Godey's was not only larger, it was better. The same type of poetry and prose was published in Godey's, but in addition there were good engravings - the ones in the Garland were awkward and ugly, - fashions, handiwork patterns, plans for homes, and many other items of interest to a new middle class generation.

American competition affected the Garland in an indirect way, as well. John Gibson, who had edited the Garland since its inception, disappeared from its direction early in

24. Montreal Transcript, July 31, 1838.

1850.²⁵ The sisters, Mrs. Cushing and Mrs. Cheney, frequent contributors and friends of Gibson, took over the editorship. At the same time they were also the editors and proprietors of The Snow Drop, the first Canadian children's periodical. The firm of Lovell and Gibson had published both works. In July 1850 the Snow Drop's publisher became Robert W. Lay, with John Lovell remaining as printer. The relationship with Lay, an aggressive American who acted as Canadian agent for most of the leading American periodicals, was initially productive, since Lay turned his promotional talents to increasing the subscription list of The Snow Drop. However, in mid-1851, it appears that he attempted to oust the editors and take over the periodical himself. They fought back - which must have left them little time or energy for the Garland - against Lay, who was the agent for all the Garland's competitors, as well as their opponent for control of The Snow Drop. Ultimately, Lay had to admit that the ladies were proprietors of The Snow Drop, but he refused to give up the subscription list. Mesdames Cushing and Cheney got out one more number of The Snow Drop in August 1852, but they had no subscription list to send it to. Lay used the

25. M.M. Brown in her Index to the Literary Garland (Toronto, 1962) says that Gibson died in 1850. However, there is no mention in the Garland of his death, and no obituaries appeared in any newspaper. He just disappeared from the masthead without a word. The general silence, even by rival printers, indicates some sort of personal family problem. If there had been a public scandal, such as insolvency, someone would have mentioned it.

list to send out a new family periodical, The Maple Leaf, beginning in July 1852.²⁶ It seems very likely that the troubles of The Snow Drop also played a part in the termination of the Literary Garland. The "...abundance and cheapness of foreign publications..."²⁷ certainly was a factor in the termination of the Garland, but changes taking place in the Montreal publishing world, as well as the very high quality of the competition, were perhaps more significant factors.

In addition to the difficulties caused by copyright complexities and foreign competition, the high rate of postage charged for newspapers and periodicals had always been a complaint of the colonists. New postal rates imposed in 1843, which caused periodicals to pay a letter rate, were considered particularly unfair. All but two of the respondents to the Select Committee's questionnaire on American imported books mentioned high postal rates as a serious problem, despite the fact that they had not been asked any question related to postage costs. In 1844, the Literary Garland requested exemption from the new rates in a lengthy memorial to the Governor-General's secretary, the substance of which was that the new rates would put the

26. Allegations between the two parties can be found in the last two numbers of The Snow Drop and the first two of The Maple Leaf.

27. Literary Garland, December 1851.

Garland out of existence.²⁸ Exemption was denied, and the Garland continued for many years.

In April 1843, the British American Cultivator was forced to switch to a Toronto editor when the proprietor found that he could not afford to pay the postage back and forth to Montreal where the first editor, the well known agriculturist William Evans, resided.

In 1846, the editor of La Revue Canadienne apologized to its readers for:

...les charges exorbitantes imposées sur notre ALBUM par le Département des Postes en Canada. CINQ DENIERS, DIX SOUS, par livraison, est certainement un prix beaucoup trop élevé; c'est une taxe inique sur l'éducation et le progrès intellectuel du pays.²⁹

The editor suggested that country subscribers arrange to have someone pick up their copies at the office and forward them by hand. Forwarding by hand was a very common practice at all levels of society. The Literary Garland even lost a manuscript that way when the gentleman who was transporting it from "EMM" in Kingston to the Garland in Montreal, mislaid the only copy and the author was forced to reconstruct the text from memory.³⁰

The United States was also the principal source from which Canadians obtained printing presses and type throughout

28. PAC. RG7 G20, (Governor-General's Office) Vol. 26, p. 3068.

29. March 10, 1846.

30. Literary Garland, Vol. 3, no. 6 (May, 1841), p. 188.

this period, although the Royal Standard, which had a brief life in Toronto in 1836, proudly announced that its press had been made in Toronto by Mahon and Barber, and that its paper was produced at the Flamborough establishment of Hon. Jas. Crooks.³¹ No mention is made of the source of its type, so it was probably American. The account books of the Kingston Chronicle for 1833-4 indicate that new type and plates came from New York.³² There was a Montreal Type Foundry in business in 1850,³³ but the date of its inception has not been traced, nor do we know how many presses it supplied with type. In addition to Crooks', which produced its first paper in 1826 with the help of a "premium" of £125 granted by the Upper Canadian government on January 27, 1826, as the result of a petition collected by William Lyon Mackenzie,³⁴ there were at least two other paper manufacturies in the Canadas, Eastwood and Skinner on the Don River near Toronto established in 1827, and James Brown's at St. Andrews, along the Ottawa River west of Montreal, which had operated since 1805.³⁵

31. Royal Standard, November 11, 1836.

32. Queen's University Archives, Fairfield Family Papers. n.p.

33. Montreal Transcript, August 20, 1850. The owner was a Mr. Palgrave.

34. E.P. Fleming, "Paper Evidence in Toronto Imprints 1798 to 1841", Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada, 1980, 27.

35. A recent PhD thesis by Fleming, presently restricted while the author prepares it for publication, will shed more light on printing and publishing, at least in the Toronto area.

Although the use of lithographs to enhance literary works was of increasing importance in Canadian publishing, it is difficult to establish any systematic history of its development. The authoritative Printmaking in Canada. The Earliest Views and Portraits,³⁶ a study which terminates at 1850 because of changes in technology which followed that date, specifically excludes printmaking for books and periodicals, and concentrates on those printed on separate sheets. However, it does include lithographs produced by Adolphus Bourne for the Montreal Museum in 1832 and '33, and S.O. Tazewell's lithographs of Sir Walter Scott and John Galt, printed in the Canadian Literary Magazine in 1833. The Literary Garland, with the advent of its "New Series" in December 1842, began to publish one or two engravings per issue. These appear to have been imported from England. In May 1844, the editor apologized for the lack of engravings in that issue. They had been ordered in time, but, owing to "our distance from the marts in which such things are obtained"³⁷ the plates had not arrived. He looked forward to the day when "our Island City will possess capabilities in this respect". In January of that same year, in a petition to the Governor-General for relief from the new postal rates the Garland's publishers had written that "Considerable expense has been incurred in procuring

36. M. Allodi, (Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, 1980).

37. p. 240.

instruction for a gentleman who undertook the study of the art of Engraving...³⁸ Whoever he may have been, it would appear that he was not yet on the job in May.

In the late 1840s two publications, The Maple Leaf (annual) and The Canadian Gem and Family Visitor, sought to attract readers by advertising their engravings of Canadian scenes. The Maple Leaf contained many engravings, all made in England, in the first number (1847) which appeared in late 1846. The publication continued for two more years and in each of these, two Canadian engravings appeared; views of London and Toronto in 1848, and of Hamilton and Brockville in 1849. These were supplemented by imported British engravings. The monthly Canadian Gem advertised its engravings of Upper Canadian subjects such as Victoria College and the new provincial lunatic asylum.³⁹

Not everyone admired the engravings in the Canadian Gem, a "literary and religious periodical" published in Cobourg initially, and subsequently in Toronto. The Christian Guardian commented nastily:

38. PAC, RG 7 G20, Vol. 26, p. 3068.

39. Most of the engravings are missing from the bound set of Volume II in the Metropolitan Toronto Public Library collection, indicating that they were probably removed for framing by earlier generations. In the same manner, it is difficult to find a set of the Literary Garland in which all the engravings are intact. The ones removed from Godey's are collectors items.

The Gem is embellished with several engravings. The first adorns the cover, and hastily looking at it and glancing at the explanation, we conceived it to be the "Inside of a swine;" but a connoisseur, more closely examining the affair, corrected us, and at length convinced us that it was intended as a representation of the "Inside of a mine."

The chef d'oeuvre, however, is a caricature of Victoria College, which a Mr. Green-something, out of pure ill nature to the College, we presume, has prepared for the number. It is well for the artist that Lynch-law does not prevail in Cobourg, else the students, we are of opinion, would take the caricaturist into court for disgracing their Alma Mater....The Editor, who is daring enough to call a publication, which would do discredit to the natives of Otaheite, or shame the inhabitants of Liberia, a Canadian Gem, has the effrontery to call the view of the College an Engraving! ⁴⁰

This vehement denunciation may have had more to do with official Methodist disapproval of the clergyman-editor of the Gem, ⁴¹ than with aesthetic judgments. The Cobourg Star was kinder:

...It contains much useful, interesting, and amusing matter. The Plate for this month is a very well-executed view of Victoria College, Cobourg, by Mr. Greenleaf. ⁴²

Reviewers usually went out of their way to be kind to local publications, particularly in the matter of technical production, almost invariably mentioning that a work was "neatly got up and printed on good paper." The Mourner's Tribute, published in Montreal in 1840, evoked the enthusiastic response of the Morning Courier that it was so attractive it might have "come out of the hands of CAREY AND

40. Christian Guardian, March 29, 1848.

41. Rev. Joseph H. Leonard.

42. March 15, 1848.

LEA of Philadelphia or 'the HARPERS' of New York."⁴³ The Literary Garland was less enthusiastic about the book's appearance, finding that, though the typography was excellent, "the paper might easily have been of a better quality."⁴⁴

The Maple Leaf annuals were the works most generously, and to modern eyes most deservedly, praised for their handsome appearance. The first Canadian "coffee-table books", they were clothbound and gold-stamped, the paper was of the highest quality and the dozen engravings excellent examples of the state-of-the-art in the period. Almost every newspaper reviewed the annuals, and each one commented on the excellence of the physical production. At £1 6s it was an expensive work, intended for the Christmas trade, but no one complained of the high cost. To Canadian reviewers it was another indication of national maturity that a beautiful, expensive, Christmas annual was now produced here. No public explanation was offered for its termination after three numbers.

The £1 6s price for each Maple Leaf annual makes it the most expensive book published in the Canadas before 1850. Prices varied downward to ten pence for 'W.A. Stephens' Poetical Geography. It is difficult to establish the

43. January 22, 1840. Note that the standard of excellence is American.

44. February 1840, p. 143.

significance of book, periodical and newspaper prices to the general population since there are at present no studies which give us any indication of the purchasing power of money in the 1820s and 40s.

There was to be no distinctive Canadian currency before 1857, so prices for publications were quoted, throughout this period, either in dollars or sterling, without any apparent pattern. In 1841 the United legislature established that the American dollar was to be valued at 5s 1d, or four dollars as the equivalent of one pound, and 1s 3d as the equivalent of an American quarter.

At the most basic level of price/cost considerations it is impossible to discover what the printer's actual costs were. Account books exist for about five years of the Kingston Chronicle and one year of the Globe, but the ledger keepers dumped all items into one book, so that we have no idea what paper or ink was used, for which purposes. The only salaries recorded are for the Chronicle office in 1846, when Huneker, the binder, was paid £6 per month, and Cull, the editor of the newspaper, £10 per month.

It is no easier to establish a profit level. So many newspaper and periodical publishers went bankrupt that it is impossible to believe that profit margins were great, but there are no surviving records from which we could make an analysis. A disgruntled ex-employee of the British Whig claimed in the rival Argus that the revenue of the Whig was

£1100 p/a. plus £400 on job work and advertisements.

He, of course, does not balance revenue against expenses, since he is complaining that he had not been paid for his work. He was also publishing his claim in a newspaper owned by a man who hated the proprietor of the Whig, and anything said about one proprietor under the auspices of the other should be taken with a grain of salt.⁴⁵

All newspapers consisted of four pages, about the size of a modern newspaper sheet. Frequency of publication and a variation in charges to subscribers who picked up their paper at the office and those who received it by mail, plus credits for paying in advance, or paying in goods, complicate comparisons, but the rates in Table I, taken from the papers themselves, as published in each issue, give a sample of newspaper costs to subscribers.

It would appear that newspapers sponsored by religious denominations tended to be cheaper than ordinary newspapers, but there does not seem to have been much difference in price

45. Kingston Argus, June 5, 1849. The press of the British Whig had been advertised in a Sheriff's sale for debt in 1848, but the proprietor managed to salvage the paper. (Br. Whig May 13 and 31, 1848). Dr. Stewart, owner and editor of the Argus, started his paper in 1846 to defend himself against an attack by Dr. Barker, owner and editor of the British Whig. The third libel action between them was heard in 1849. The score was 2-1 in favour of Barker. Damages were minimal in all three actions. The issues were medical and editorial competence. Stewart sold the Argus in July 1849 and returned to his medical practice.

TABLE I - SAMPLE PRICES OF CANADIAN NEWSPAPERS*

YEAR	TITLE	FREQUENCY	COST	VARIATION
1830	Montreal Gazette	Weekly	£1 p/a	£1 5s by mail
	Brockville Gazette	Weekly	15s p/a	
	Oobourg Star	Weekly	£1 p/a	15s in advance
1831	Canadian Courant	Twice weekly	\$4 p/a	\$5 by mail
	Le Canadien	Twice weekly	4 piastres p/a	
	Kingston Chronicle	Weekly	15 s p/a	
	Christian Guardian	Weekly	12s 6d p/a	
	Canadian Watchman	Weekly	12s 6d p/a	
	Niagara Gleaner	Weekly	£1 p/a	25% discount in advance
	Canadian Freeman	Weekly	£1 p/a	
	Colonial Advocate	Weekly	£1 p/a	
1832	St. Francis Courier	Weekly	10s cash	10s in produce, plus 2s cash, By mail 15s p/a
				10s in produce, plus 7s 6d cash
	L'Ami du Peuple	Twice weekly	20s	
	Brockville Antidote	Weekly	£1	
	St. Thomas Liberal	Weekly	\$3	
	The Church	Weekly	10s	15s by mail
1833	L'Echo du Pays	Weekly	10s	
	Niagara Reporter	Weekly	15s	20s by mail
1834	Upper Canada Herald	Weekly	\$4	
	Bathurst Courier	Weekly	\$3	Lowered price to \$2 in 1850
	Kingston Spectator	Weekly	15s	Daily in 1849 at \$6
	Canadian Correspondent	Weekly	\$4	
1835	Morning Courier	Daily May 1-Dec. 1 week, Dec.-May	\$6	Daily in 1848 at \$6
1836	Brockville Statesman	Weekly	£1, incl. postage	
1837	Quebec Telegraph	3 x week	1 penny ea.	
	Le Populaire	3 x week	20s, incl. postage	
	Montreal Transcript	3 x week	\$2	In 1840, 20s for 13 months, 10 days
				In 1845, \$3 for 15 months
1838	Brockville Recorder	Weekly	15s	17s 6d by mail
	Western Herald	Weekly	£1	15s in advance
1840	Examiner	Weekly	\$4	In 1850, 10s in advance
1841	Chatham Journal	Weekly	15s, incl. postage	
	Toronto Star	3 x week	1 penny ea.	18s p/a by mail
1842	Journal de Quebec	Weekly	20s	
	Baptist Register	Biweekly	6s 3d	
1843	Banner	Weekly	£1	
1844	Globe	Weekly	£1	1846, 2 x week, same price
	Bytown Gazette	Weekly	\$3	Reduced from previous
1846	Kingston Argus	Twice weekly	20s	
1847	L'Ami de la Religion	Twice weekly	2 piastres	8 pages
	L'Avenir	Twice weekly	10s	1849, 3 x week at £1
				1850 2 x week at \$4
1848	Montreal Witness	Twice weekly	12s 9d	8 pages
	Provincialist	Twice weekly	£1	
1849	British Whig	Daily	\$6	

* As advertised during the year listed in Column I

according to the politics of the newspaper. The consciously "penny papers" were, of course, cheaper, but they did not put their more expensive rivals out of business. Prices did decrease over the period, because most of the newspapers increased their frequency without increasing prices. The Kingston Chronicle, Bathurst Courier, Bytown Gazette, St. Francis Courier, Ottawa Advocate and Brockville Gazette, all advertised at various times that they would accept payment in kind for annual subscriptions, depending on the local price of the goods offered.⁴⁶ Cash was always in short supply in the colony and it is likely that an enterprising reader could have struck a similar bargain with other proprietors as well.

While it might be possible to make a deal with a nearby newspaper proprietor to pay for one's subscription in goods, it would be more difficult in the case of a periodical subscription, since periodicals tended to be published in larger centres more remote from farmers and villagers. The necessity of scraping together a lump sum of cash to pay in advance for a periodical which, based on experience with its predecessors, might not last for the term of the subscription, would certainly have caused potential subscribers to

46. The Bathurst Courier, January 3, 1851, and subsequent issues, published notices requesting subscribers paying with wood, to deliver it immediately because the supply was nearly exhausted, so paying in goods was not an activity confined to the early years of the period.

TABLE II - SAMPLE SUBSCRIPTION RATES FOR PERIODICALS

DATE	TITLE	FREQUENCY	NO. OF PAGES	PRICE PER ANNUM	NO. OF PAGES PER SHILLING PER ANNUM
1831	Canadian Casket	2 x month	8	10 s	19.2
1832	Le Magasin du Bas Canada	Monthly	40	4 piastres	24
	Canadian Garland	2 x month	8	7s 6d	25.6
1833	L'Abeille Canadienne	Weekly	8	10s	41.5
	Canadian Literary Magazine	Monthly	64	\$6	25.6
	Montreal Museum	Monthly	64	20s	38.4
	Saturday Evening Magazine	Weekly	8	2d each	48
1835	Mirror of Literature	Monthly	36	12s 6d	34.6
1836	Le Glaneur	Monthly	16	7s 6d	25.6 (larger pages)
	Youth's Monitor	Monthly	56	10s	67.2
	Le Fantastique	Weekly	6	3 sous ea.	24
1838	Literary Garland	Monthly	48	\$3	38.4
	Literary Transcript	2 x week	4	10s	41.6 (newspaper format)
1840	Le Coin de Feu	Weekly	16	2 piastres	83.2
	Journal des Etudiants	Weekly	8	4 sous ea.	24
1841	L'Institut	Weekly	6	7s	41.6 (larger pages)
1842	L'Artisan	2 x week	4	2 sous ea.	24
1843	Le Diable Bleu	Weekly	4	4 sous ea.	12
1844	Le Charivari Canadien	2 x week	4	2 sous ea.	48
1845	La Revue Canadienne	Weekly	28-32	4 piastres	83.2
1846	Barker's Magazine	Monthly	52	10s	62.4
	People's Magazine	2 x month	8	\$1	38.4
	Album Littéraire	Monthly	32	\$1	19.2
1847	City Magazine	Monthly	32	7s 6d	51.2
	Victoria Magazine	Monthly	24	5s	57.6
	Calliopean	2 x month	8	\$1	38.4
1848	Canadian Gem	Monthly	24	5s	57.6
	Gaspé Magazine	Monthly	20	5s	48
	Snow Drop	Monthly	32	\$1s, incl. postage	76.8
1849	Magic Lantern	2 x month	4	3d ea.	16
	Punch in Canada	2 x month	8	7s 6d	25.6 (larger pages)

* Prices gathered from publications themselves or from their prospectus. At the end of 1845 when La Revue Canadienne became an ordinary newspaper, and the Album Littéraire began, prices were quoted in La Revue on December 27 as: Newspaper, twice a week, £1 p/a; Album Littéraire, monthly, £1 p/a; both together £1.10.0 p/a. The final calculation of pages per shilling per annum is based on the information in the preceding three columns. It is not absolute - occasionally issues were skipped, or the number of pages varied; postage costs are not included, and it is assumed that the subscriber paid in advance - it is merely intended to simplify somewhat the difficult task of cost comparison.

weigh the cost/benefit of the work carefully before parting with their money.

It is as difficult to compare subscription rates for periodicals as it was for newspapers. Their formats and frequency of publication varied widely. A few conclusions can be drawn from Table II: generally, a reader of Canadian periodicals got more for his or her money in 1849 than in 1831; low price did not guarantee high circulation and consequent success; whether contents were largely original or chiefly "borrowed" does not seem to have been a factor in determining price per page; satirical magazines were more expensive than purely literary, or improving ones; and magazines published in French tended to be cheaper than those published in English.

Throughout the 1830-50 period most American monthly periodicals and American reprints of British periodicals cost \$3 p/a, exclusive of postage, in Canada. The imported American periodicals generally contained two or three times as many pages as the domestic Canadian ones. Rowsell's response to the Select Committee of 1843 included the information that Murray's Quarterly Review, which they were now selling in a cheap colonial edition at 3s, would have cost 8s 6d in the English edition and 4s 4½d, including postage, in the American edition. Armour and Ramsay advertised widely that they were selling English periodicals for less than American reprints had cost before they were

banned⁴⁷ but in mid-1845 announced that they were discontinuing periodical importation because of high costs.⁴⁸ The periodicals could not go by post to Canada, except at letter rate, so they were sent as bulk goods to the United States, and then on to Canada, requiring the payment of two sets of customs duties. In 1849, an editorialist compared prices:

Cost of English edition in England	15s p/a	
Cost of English edition in Canada	25s p/a	
Cost of American edition in Canada	5s p/a	49

A comparison of prices for Canadian books is almost impossible here. To do it properly would take a separate thesis in which one could take into account the size of the printed page, the number of lines per page, and the size of the type. Newspapers tended to be of a standard dimension and to use similar type faces, as did periodicals, so one can fairly assume that apples are being compared with apples. Where books are concerned, the variation from one to the other is much greater. A further complication is the question of binding. It seems to have been customary to publish books with only a paper wrapper, the purchaser than having the binding done to his own taste.⁵⁰

47. Montreal Transcript, December 12, 1843.
48. Montreal Transcript, June 24, 1845.
49. Guelph Advertiser, August 1849. The writer is oversimplifying. Periodical prices varied. However, the ratio of 3:5:1 is probably close to correct.
50. Narrative of a Commuted Pensioner was advertised as bound; and a copy of Scraps and Sketches of a Literary Lounger in my possession is bound in what appears to be original, plain, boards. The price of binding varied from two to four shillings for a book, according to the Kingston Chronicle account book for 1843. The price would depend on the size of the volume and on the quality of materials used.

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TABLE III - SAMPLE BOOK PRICES

DATE	TITLE	NO. OF PAGES	PRICE
1834	Spring of Life	228	\$2
1835	Poems on Various Subjects	12	1s
	Remnants	64	half crown
1838	Narrative of a Commuted Pensioner	320	Bound. 5s
1840	Trifles from my Portfolio	503 (2 vol)	15s subscription. f later
	Canadian Brothers	447 (2 vol)	\$3 in advance. \$4 later
	Hamilton and other poems	132	5s
1842	Le Rebelle	38	30 sous
1844	Garland songbook	204	2s 6d
	Les Fiancés de 1812	521	3 instalments, 2s-6d ea.
1846	Philip Musgrave	158	2s 6d
	Mysteries of Montreal	32	7 ¹ / ₂ d
1847	Recollections of a Convict	197	2s 6d
	The Spirit's Lament	194	2s 6d
1848	Poetical Geography	36	10d
	The Guards in Canada	54	5s
	Répertoire National	384	\$2 per volume. (4 vols)
	Minor Miseries of Human Life	86	1s 3d
	Biographie des Sagamox	309	5s
1849	Last of the Eries	223	2s 6d
1850	Alazon	125	1s 10 ¹ / ₂ d

* Authors when they advertised for subscriptions rarely mentioned the price. For the few which could be found, the sources follow:

Spring of Life. Ad. Montreal Gazette, August 9, 1834.

Poems on Various Subjects. Title page

Remnants. Review Article. Montreal Gazette, May 21, 1835.

Commuted Pensioner. Ad. Morning Courier, May 16, 1838.

Trifles from my Portfolio. Ad. Kingston Chronicle, July 10, 1839.

Canadian Brothers. Notice. Quebec Gazette, September 11, 1839.

Hamilton and other poems. Prospectus. Hamilton Gazette, January 13, 1840.

Le Rebelle. Ad. L'Aurore des Canadas, April 15, 1842.

Garland songbook. Notice. British Whig, June 11, 1844.

Les Fiancés de 1812. Prospectus. L'Aurore, September 3, 1844.

Philip Musgrave. Paper cover of Murray's Colonial Library edition.

Mysteries of Montreal. Title page.

Recollections of a Convict. Ad. Montreal Transcript, March 9, 1847.

The Spirit's Lament. Prospectus. Montreal Transcript, May 25, 1847.

Poetical Geography. Ad. Guelph Advertiser, November 23, 1848.

The Guards in Canada. Ad. Morning Courier, December 25, 1847.

Répertoire National. Notice. Le Canadien, February 25, 1848.

Minor Miseries of Human Life. Prospectus. Pilot, May 13, 1848.

Biographie des Sagamox Illustres. Ad. L'Ami de la Religion et de la Patrie, November 15, 1848.

Last of the Eries. Ad. British Colonist, July 23, 1850.

Alazon. Ad. British Colonist, November 8, 1850.

Only the most elementary conclusions are possible: The Guards in Canada was the most expensive of the books listed above; and the second most expensive was the Widow Fleck's twelve page pamphlet, Poems on Various Subjects, published in a search for charity. Since I have been unable to find prices for the two other books printed with the same objective, I cannot determine whether this was normal for the genre, but one would expect so. The most notable conclusion is that the price of books appears to have declined after 1842.

Circulation figures for literary works and newspapers are as hard to pin down as the cost of production. For both, the source is generally the author or proprietor, who is at pains to prove to the world how successful his work is. Consequently, the statistics must be regarded as suspect.

Few newspapers publicly discussed their circulation figures. The Montreal Transcript, a penny paper which claimed to have the largest circulation in British America, announced that it had 2,250 subscribers in 1843. In 1849 it claimed 1800 to 2000 copies sold on each day of publication. In 1832, a few months after they started up, L'Ami du Peuple asserted that it had 750 subscribers, the Brockville Antidote 645, and the St. Thomas Liberal 600. In 1834, the Correspondent and Advocate said its circulation was 1400. The Quebec Telegraph of 1837, a paper which made an attempt at political neutrality, announced that it had 1200.

subscribers in Quebec City alone, but it only lasted three months - more likely killed by the pressures of the time than by its bilingual format.⁵¹

In 1838 the despairing proprietor of the Western Herald in Sandwich, U.C. reported only 150 subscribers and blamed this on a previous newspaper, the Canadian Emigrant, which had been so badly managed that no one would take a chance on his paper. L'Avenir claimed to have over 700 subscribers in April 1848, and 1000 in August of that same year, thus, the young editors hoped, demonstrating the strength of rouge sentiment. The British Whig claimed 1000 subscribers in 1848. A year later the proprietor announced that there were 378 for his new daily edition and 697 for the weekly.⁵² As the population increased, so did newspaper circulation.

Religious periodicals rarely published circulation figures, and those that did are suspect because the editors of those works were as anxious to prove support for their cause as were their secular counterparts. The Church was said to have nearly 1200 subscribers at its inception in 1837, and the Montreal Witness, which claimed to be

51. Transcript, June 16, 1843 and May 5, 1849; L'Ami du Peuple, October 6, 1832; Brockville Antidote, December 17, 1832; St. Thomas Liberal, November 15, 1832; Correspondent and Advocate, November 13, 1834; Quebec Telegraph, March 24, 1837.

52. Western Herald, November 16, 1838, and April 24, 1838; L'Avenir, April 20 and August 5, 1848; British Whig, October 14, 1848, and January 20, 1849.

non-denominational, but was probably Congregational, asserted that it had 1500 in 1847. A modern writer has said that the Bible Christian (Unitarian) had 750 subscribers in 1845.⁵³

The few figures we have for periodical circulation come as much from the farewells of editors ceasing publication, as from editorial boasting about success. Subscriptions were acquired through an advertised prospectus, or by sending sample copies to bookstores or printing establishments, who then collected subscribers' names and money on a commission basis. One unhappy publisher, Willys Smith, writing in the Canadian Garland November 24, 1832, gives us a glimpse of another method of adding to the subscription list. Unfortunately, it is impossible to know how typical his efforts were, even though he says he was following the custom.

We well knew that in commencing a publication of this kind and in the manner we did, that many would be the rebuffs we should meet, and that it would be a long time before the public became fully convinced of our intentions. This in view, we issued our first number without the consolation of seeing the name of a single individual on our list, and distributed them through the country to such, as we then thought, would be willing to manifest their good wishes towards sustaining us, by ordering it continued. It is the custom...for the printer, after paying a penny on it, to send his paper to whom he pleases; and as much the custom among men, on the receipt of any paper, to return it if they do not wish to have it continued...For within a few days past, after receiving four, five, and six numbers, some gentlemen have put us to the expense of paying postage on their letters, merely to inform

53. The Church, November 4, 1837; Witness, May 31, 1847. The figure for the Bible Christian is contained in a personal letter to me, dated March 25, 1976, from Dr. A.P. Hewett, author of Unitarians in Canada (Toronto, 1978).

us that they "wish to have our bill presented for payment and the Garland discontinued;" when the usual method would have been preferable much to our advantage, as these numbers are rendered useless to them, besides they are a loss to us. What can be the motives of such men, is to us a mystery; unless it is to subject us to as much cost as possible.

A brief note in the Literary Garland almost twelve years later, does give some support to the idea that it was common practice, but that is the only other instance noted.

This number of the GARLAND, being the first of the volume, will be forwarded for the inspection of persons who are supposed to take an interest in Canadian literature, but who are not yet subscribers. We invite their examination of it, and will be happy to receive their orders to continue to forward it. The expenses of the publication render necessary a large subscription list, and as it is the only magazine in British North America which has ever obtained a permanent footing, we think we are entitled to ask for it the support of the country.⁵⁴

The size of the Literary Garland's subscription list is one of the great mysteries of Canadian literary history. In his third number, the editor wrote⁵⁵ that the magazine had started with just enough subscriptions to pay for its paper and had added 200 names since its inception. After that he is silent.

The Literary Transcript, initially as much concerned with literature as with news, claimed about 1300 subscribers in July 1838. The People's Magazine supposedly had 1500 subscribers in June 1847, but, since it was out of business three months later, one wonders if this figure is correct. Garneau's

54. New Series, Vol. II, No. 1 (January 1844), p. 48.

55. Vol. I, No. 3, (January 1839), p. 96.

L'Abeille Canadienne started in 1833 with 250 subscribers and worked its way up to over 300 before it was suspended in 1834 for lack of support. Le Ménestrel had 200 subscribers at its inception in 1844, claimed to have doubled that in six months, then went out of business a few weeks later.

Barker's Canadian Monthly Magazine failed in 1847 because 1000 subscribers were necessary to sustain it at the price charged, and there had only been 400. A year later, the Moodies' Victoria Magazine had a circulation of just under 800, but it too only lasted twelve months. The satiric Punch in Canada appears to have been the most successful periodical - by Number 7 (April 14, 1849) it advertised a circulation of 3000.⁵⁶ Since it was relatively expensive, we can only conclude that Canadians preferred political satire to creative literature.

Books were published only by subscription. A list would be left in several public places, usually bookstores, for the public to sign. Often they paid part of the price in advance. If insufficient interest was shown, the book did not appear. Dozens of fascinating titles were advertised which were never published - one wonders what happened to the work and its hopeful author. In one instance, correspondence

56. Literary Transcript, July 19, 1838. The figure is given as 4000 weekly, which must be divided by three, since it was published three times a week. People's Magazine, June 2, 1847; L'Abeille Canadienne, 8 Février, 1834; Le Ménestrel, December 9, 1844; Barkers, last number, April, 1847. The subscription list of the Victoria Magazine is included in the modern reprint edition (Vancouver, 1968).

exists between one popular writer of political newspaper poetry and Henry Rowsell, in which Rowsell refuses to publish a volume of the man's poems until he has sold an adequate number of advance subscriptions.⁵⁷ A letter writer in the Montreal Gazette in 1830⁵⁸ mocked Adam Kidd for going door to door for subscriptions for The Huron Chief. Kidd, if we accept his account, seems to have been the only pre-1850 writer to sell more than 600 copies of his book, so the technique may have been successful. W.W. Smith tells in his Reminiscences⁵⁹ of another poet, W.A. Stephens, selling his book from door to door. Stephens had also advertised the book for sale in long advertisements which included sample poems.⁶⁰ W.F. Hawley published prospectuses for two works "The Legend of Niagara" and a "History of the Canadas" which never appeared. There were calls in letters to the editor⁶¹ for him to produce the latter book or return the money he had collected in advance. He replied that the book was forthcoming, but it never did appear, and one doubts that he ever returned the money. Hawley was a well known writer in the Canadas, and his defection must have permanently put off some prospective subscribers to other works.

57. Ontario Archives (hereafter OA), William Osborne papers, n.p.

58. June 7, 1830.

59. A manuscript copy is in the Ontario Archives. n.p. Dated 1900

60. Hamilton Gazette, January 13, 1840. He also published poems in the letters to the editor column.

61. Quebec Gazette, Feb. 5, 1840; Morning Courier (Montreal), March 12, 1838.

One way of encouraging potential subscribers was to persuade influential citizens to let their names head the list. The editor and writer John George Bridges publicized his constitutional textbook in the Quebec Gazette with a letter to the editor listing all the important people who had subscribed.⁶² The Literary Garland recommended Standish O'Grady's Emigrant⁶³ and Sawtell's Mourner's Tribute⁶⁴ with references to the distinguished subscribers. The one list which has survived, that for Dr. Walter Henry's Trifles from my Portfolio⁶⁵ shows that almost all the subscribers were military or government men, as well as members of the Quebec Literary and Historical Society, and Quebec City merchants. John Richardson, whose Canadian Brothers came out at the same time, only managed a third as many copies sold, probably because he knew none of the influential people Henry did, and because he was feuding with the resident military establishment. Richardson got an enormous amount of publicity from sympathetic editors, but according to his own account the book, which was also priced higher than the going rate, sold fewer than 200 copies.⁶⁶

For only two other Canadian books of the period do we have any indication of the number of copies sold. Adam Kidd

62. October 4, 1839.

63. August, 1841, p. 432.

64. January 1840, p. 95.

65. PAC, MG24 B1 (Neilson papers) Vol. 46: Part III of an unpaginated volume. Almost all subscribers had paid the full 15s. in advance.

66. J. Richardson, Eight Years in Canada, (Montreal, 1847), p. 108.

claimed to have 1500 subscribers for the Huron Chief in 1830,⁶⁷ and the subscription list for Walter Henry's two volume memoirs, shows just under 600 copies printed and sold.⁶⁸

It is generally assumed that the number of readers of any of these works considerably exceeded the circulation figures. To begin with, there was probably more than one reader per household. In addition, newspaper and periodical editors complained constantly in print that they lost revenue because people borrowed their publications rather than subscribing for their own copy.

The tendency of Canadians to borrow, rather than buy, their reading material was just one of many problems publishers faced. The principal one was that subscribers did not pay up. Those papers which survived complained of this at least quarterly, those that failed attributed their failure solely to the delinquency of subscribers. Even a work like Les Mélanges Religieux, whose subscribers should

67. Preface to The Huron Chief, xii.

68. To compare with one example of American circulation figures: according to an article on Herman Melville by John Updike (New Yorker, May 10, 1982), Melville's novel Typee, an American "bestseller" of 1846, sold 2,178 copies bound in muslin for a dollar each, and 3,575 paperbound copies at seventy-five cents each. If the American population of approximately 23 million purchased 6000 copies of a work, the English-speaking population of the Canadas, approximately one million, could be expected to have purchased about 260 copies of a similar work. Melville, incidentally, received \$786.46 as his share of the profits. A few years later, the Anglo-American Magazine, Vol. II, no. 5 (May 1853), p. 543, reported that 13,000 copies of Uncle Tom's Cabin had been sold in Toronto in a few months.

have seen it as a religious duty to provide support, threatened several times to cease publication. On November 28, 1845, in the midst of one of these crises, the editorialist was clear about the root of the problem:

...il se trouve dans l'indifférence d'un certain nombre de nos lecteurs, dans la parsimonie de plusieurs de nos compatriotes, dans la négligence de quelques-uns de nos souscripteurs.

It was not just a Roman Catholic failing, Protestant editors made similar complaints.⁶⁹

Many newspapers employed collectors to travel through the country calling on rural subscribers. Even that did not always work, as a notice in the Montreal Transcript indicates.

We beg leave to notify our subscribers on the St. Lawrence and Ottawa routes, not to pay any monies to Mr. John Henderson, till further notice from this office. He left this (sic) in November last, and as he sent no letter since the 16th Dec, (being then in Kingston) nor made any remittance in that letter, we have taken this step till we hear from him.⁷⁰

The newspaper continued to ask for word of Henderson, but it seems that he was never apprehended. Five months later, a notice announced that Enos Folsom was going, collecting on the Ottawa, and that "Those who paid John Henderson last winter will oblige us by showing the Collector the receipts they had from him; when everything will be amicably arranged."⁷¹

69. See Christian Sentinel, September 2, 1831; Berean, December 28, 1848; (both Church of England); Christian Mirror (Wesleyan), September 12, 1844; and the Register (Baptist), July 25, 1849.

70. Montreal Transcript, March 2, 1843.

71. Ibid., August 3, 1843.

A common method of attempting to collect was to try to shame the delinquent by sending his newspaper in a coloured wrapper which his neighbours would be able to identify. William Lyon Mackenzie used this method with all his newspapers; as did others as varied as L'Avenir, Les Mélanges Religieux, and the Transcript. Montreal English newspapers tried a united front in 1839, announcing jointly that new subscribers must pay for at least six months in advance, and that all present subscribers in arrears on December 31 would be cut off without exception.⁷² Since the Montreal papers continued, throughout the next decade, to complain about subscribers who did not pay, it would appear that their effort was ineffective.

Historians are aware of the long-running newspapers which survived to be microfilmed for modern use, but there were dozens which did not survive, some of which lasted a year or less and ended with the bankruptcy of the publisher. Of the fifty-eight periodicals produced between 1830 and 1851, only four, in the late 1840s, lasted more than two years: the Literary Garland, the Album Littéraire, Le Fantastique, and The Snow Drop. In all cases the proprietor, suspending publication, complained of lack of community support.⁷³

72. The ads were signed by the proprietors of the Herald, Gazette, Morning Courier, Transcript, and L'Ami du Peuple (proprietor John Lovell). For a sample, see the Gazette, October 5, 1839.

73. F.L. Mott, A History of American Magazines 1741-1850 (Cambridge, Mass., 1939), writes of the great number of short-lived American periodicals at this time. On page 341 he quotes with approval a comment in the New York Mirror in 1828 which gives the "average age" of U.S. periodicals as six months.

Publishing was by no means the only unstable sector of the economy. Gerald Tulchinsky, writing in The River Barons of Montreal merchants in the 1837-53 period, comments "...it is clear that there were comparatively few instances of commercial longevity in the city's business community during the period."⁷⁴ The observation is equally applicable to the printing trade throughout the colony. The difficulties of literary publishing in the Canadas were due more to the economic climate of the period than a reluctance on the part of colonists to support Canadian publications. Reading material was available to those who had the money to pay for it, but cash was not in plentiful supply and, even for most of those who received salaries, by the time food, shelter and clothing had been looked after, there was little left for culture. Even the newspapers, whose contents were essential reading for many people, found it difficult to collect the subscriptions due them.

The reliance on cheaper American literary sources for British material indicates the manner in which economics triumphed over loyal sentiment. That the Legislative Assembly intervened twice - in 1843 and again in 1848-50 - in a manner supported by all parties, to try to override the interests of the mother country in favour of the colonial reading public indicates the unanimity within Canada on this matter. It was not that Canadians were illiterate or uninterested, the problem was to produce the literary materials they sought, at a price they could afford.

74. G. Tulchinsky, The River Barons (Toronto, 1977), p. 23.

CHAPTER III

Literary Contents of Periodicals and Newspapers

Almost all the works discussed in this thesis are "Canadian" - written by residents of the Canadas and intended to be read by their compatriots. We know, however, that these works were not the only literature available to Canadians. Unfortunately, no records exist which would allow us to quantify the percentage of the literary market filled by imported works. However, one indicator of the extent of foreign influence on Canadian readers can be found in the indigenous newspapers and periodicals of the time. While publication of literature was not the primary objective of newspaper proprietors, the quantity published was nonetheless considerable, and for potential readers literature was cheapest and most accessible in this medium. The content of literary periodicals both reveals the editor's vision of what the public wished to read, and gives some idea of the amount of Canadian literature offered for publication. By analysing the literary content of newspapers and periodicals to discover what percentage of it was borrowed from England, France, or the United States, in relation to what was produced locally, we can get some idea of the influence of the literary culture of other countries on Canadian readers and writers, as well as answer some questions about regional, religious, and political influences on the type of literature available.

These objectives, and the nature of the sources, dictate a straight-forward methodology. For both poetry and prose titles were counted, not the number of lines - which means that a short poem has the same weight as a long one, and that the dozens of instalments of Dombey and Son were counted as one item of equal weight with a short story. A lineage count would be more accurate, but it would take years to complete. The chief distortion which comes from the use of titles as a base appears in the prose analysis where both British and French sources would have an even higher percentage than this count produced, since most of the novels published in instalments originated in those countries.

It was necessary first to determine what would be counted as poetry and what would be counted as prose. Short rhyming enigmas and riddles were eliminated from poetry, and fiction which was less than one column long in a newspaper, or one page long in a periodical was also eliminated. Editors chose these brief items because they filled a particular empty space, not because of any literary quality. The emphasis on prose length resulted in the exclusion of a number of snippets from Douglas Jerrold's "Mrs. Caudle's Curtain Lectures" borrowed from the English Punch (they also appeared occasionally in French, borrowed from the European translators) and very short anecdotes extracted from the various adventures of Sam Slick. What constituted fiction was often a difficult decision. Many imaginative works were

recounted as events which had really occurred, and many actual events are stranger than fiction.

Most newspaper and periodical literature was "borrowed" rather than of local origin. That is to say, it was copied, with or without acknowledgement, and certainly with no payment of royalties, from some other publication. Where the source of the borrowing could be discovered, that has been the determining factor in classification, rather than the nationality of an author, since we are concerned here with the locus of external literary influences. It is, therefore more important to know that a work is taken from a British, French or American periodical than to know the name or citizenship of the author.¹ If the published source was not acknowledged, but the author's name was given, then an attempt was made to discover the author's nationality. It was then assumed that the nationality and country of publication were identical.

The number of works whose origins were British, American, Canadian, French, or unknown were added and expressed as a percentage of all the prose or poetry in a particular publication. In some periodicals, particularly French ones, the source was so overwhelmingly one-sided that

1. For example: a story by the American, N.P. Willis, borrowed from Blackwood's is considered as British, while poetry by the Englishwoman Felicia Hemans, reprinted from an American periodical, is classified as American.

the exceptions have merely been counted and are not expressed as a percentage.

Several checks were made with long-running newspapers to see whether there were significant variations in percentage for the sources at seven year intervals. It appears that such differences were minor. Checks were also made to see whether a change in editor affected the percentages. The answer to that question would appear to be "sometimes". However, it is very rare to know when newspapers changed editors, so editorship must remain an undeterminable factor. Even when a newspaper changed owners and political affiliation the percentage distribution of borrowings does not seem to have been affected, although the nature of the actual works published might be different. A final test was made to see whether the country of birth of an owner or editor affected his borrowing pattern. Here again the answer appears to be "occasionally, but not generally".

The resultant statistics must be viewed only as indicating tendencies. The publications themselves were often cut, torn or illegible and there are many gaps in some of them. Some editors rarely bothered to print either the author's name or the source from which the work was taken, resulting in large percentages of "unknowns". Finally, there was the difficulty of identifying obscure writers a century and a half after their works were published - who on earth was "Mrs. Ellis", except one of the many "unknowns"?

Actually, given the hundreds of authors whose names appeared over literary works in Canadian publications, most of them unknown even to specialists, it is surprising that close to three hundred of them could be tracked down.

A few general observations should be made before a detailed analysis. The national source from which literature was borrowed has no correlation with either its form or its content. Radical political and social philosophies were as likely to be expressed in British as in American works. The significance of American writing appearing in Canada is in the indication as to the source of reading for Canadians, not in thematic or stylistic influences. There are a few "frontier stories" which were widely reprinted here, but in general the most popular American writers in Canada were the mid-Atlantic, middle class ones such as Willis, Sigourney and Lowell, whose works are virtually indistinguishable from those of their British contemporaries. Although the comment does not apply to all newspapers, it was generally the case, both in French and in English papers, that when the Legislative Assembly was in session the space usually occupied by fiction would be taken up by accounts of the Assembly proceedings. The prospects for theorizing about the relative importance and entertainment value of the two are endless, but it is apparent that when space was needed seasonally for Assembly reports, literature was the only expendable lineage - the rest of the paper being given over

to advertisements, world and local news. When a newspaper did not normally publish much literature, columns would be freed for Assembly reports by reducing the quantity of local and international news.

In the 1830s the British poets whose works were most frequently and widely reproduced in Canada would probably have been Felicia Hemans and James Montgomery. Extracts from the novels of Samuel Lover and Bulwer Lytton and from Wilson's Border Tales were probably the most reprinted fiction. In the 1840s many equally obscure poets shared the laurels, though Dickens was a clear winner in frequency of prose reproductions. Of European French fiction writers, S.H. Berthoud, whose works appeared in seven Canadian publications, was the most frequently reprinted, one more publication than Alexandre Dumas. Lamartine was probably the most frequently reprinted of French poets in Canadian newspapers and periodicals.

Among Canadian writers in English, we find J.H. Willis' "Canadian Boat Song" and Thomas Macqueen's "Our own broad lake" in five publications each, and Rhoda Ann Page's "Rice Lake by Moonlight" in four. J.H. Hagarty's anti-rebellion poems were copied from the Toronto Patriot by almost every loyal Tory or moderate editor. Extracts from "Sir John" Smyth's works also made the rounds. Fiction published by either English or French speaking Canadians in Canadian newspapers and periodicals does not seem to have been

reprinted after its first appearance. A French-Canadian poet's work would appear in one, and occasionally two, publications, but no one seems to have managed three appearances for the same work. Barthe and Garneau appear to have been the most prolific and popular Canadian poets.

In the eleven tables which follow the prose and poetry content of Canadian newspapers and periodicals is analysed separately to show percentages of British, American, Canadian, French, and Unknown sources for each form. The first two tables, dealing with literary periodicals in English and French combine tabular and narrative information in order to avoid explanatory footnotes many times longer than the tables themselves. The third deals with English language religious periodicals and the fourth with French language newspapers. Tables five to eleven give the results of an analysis of the literary content of English newspapers, grouped according to the region in which they were published. The publication dates of the religious periodicals and newspapers, being complex, have been omitted from the tables. They are listed in the bibliography.

Five short-lived periodicals in English which started and failed in the early 1830s contain a high percentage of material written by residents of the Canadas. After their failure, with the exception of the Literary Garland, no further attempt was made to produce a periodical mostly written in Canada until the advent of Barker's Canadian Monthly Magazine in 1846 - the first periodical to be

entirely Canadian. It lasted only a year. The Moodie's Victoria Magazine, almost a hundred percent Canadian, which followed, suffered the same fate. The percentage of content of Canadian origin follows a curve related to time - a great deal in the early 1830s, followed by a period of British material predominating, then, with the advent of the Literary Garland, a return to a higher Canadian percentage. The years 1846 to 1848 had the highest level of Canadian content in the two decades studied, but this level declined sharply, both in the long-running Garland and in other periodicals at the end of the 1840s. Periods of high Canadian content seem to have coincided with periods of relative economic prosperity. The reason for the correlation is unknown. Since only the Literary Garland ever paid its contributors, the cost of producing a periodical written in Canada cannot have been significantly greater than the cost of producing one in which the contents were "borrowed". Perhaps the years of prosperity were accompanied by an enthusiasm for Canada and things Canadian. (See Table I)

There is a different rhythm to French Canadian periodicals. Very few were published in the 1820s and 1830s - almost none if one looks beyond the numerous attempts of Michel Bibaud to instruct and elevate his countrymen.

Le Fantasque, a small magazine principally devoted to political commentary and satire, was the only periodical which survived the late '30s and continued into the '40s. It was suspended several times for long periods, but Aubin was able

TABLE I
SOURCE OF LITERARY CONTENT IN ENGLISH PERIODICALS

TITLE	PROSE					POETRY					COMMENT
	%	BR	AM	CAN	UNK	%	BR	AM	CAN	UNK	
Canadian Garland 15/9/32-31/8/33		5.26	15.79	47.37	31.57		3.92	3.92	72.55	9.8	
Canadian Casket 15/10/31-29/9/32											Can. content % low at first but increase rapidly.
Canadian Magazine 1833 (only 3 numbers survive of 4 published)											
Canadian Literary Magazine 1833											
Montreal Museum 13/32-3/34		20.5	1.7	29.9	30.76		29.7	5.4	37.83	16.2	Fr. - 1.71% 10.8% poetry.
Saturday Evening Magazine 9/11/33-31/5/34											
Mirror of Literature 1835											
Youth's Monitor 1836											

TABLE 1 (cont'd)

TITLE	PROSE					POETRY					COMMENT
	8	BR	AM	CAN	UNK	8	BR	AM	CAN	UNK	
Cabinet of Literature 11/38-9/39	All British except 7 poems by W.A. Stephens and 1 by "Evan"										
Literary Transcript 13/1/38-28/12/39		35.76	5.84	1.46	56.1		30.45	4.56	30.96	34.0	
Literary Garland 12/38-12/51	Mostly Canadian. Percent of borrowed material increased in last two years.										
Br.-Am. Cultivator 1/43-1/45	Almost entirely American										
People's Magazine 4/46-10/47		About 4 - 2/3 Br; remainder Am. except for a few Joseph Abbott items					44.0	20.0	-	36.0	
Barker's Magazine 5/46-4/47							100				
Victoria Magazine 9/47-8/48		100					All Canadian except a few poems by Br. friends of Moodies				
Agriculturist 1/1/48-15/12/48							16.66	29.16	12.5	41.66	
Canadian Gem 1849		9.17	11.0	17.43	62/38		8.33	2.78	50.0	38.89	
Gaspé Magazine 8/49-6/50		100					All Br. except 1 Can. poem				

2

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS
STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010a
1963-A-1010 (ISO TEST CHART No. 2)

to keep it going until May 1845. It was briefly revived in 1848, in support of Papineau, during the war of words between the rival political factions which centered on Papineau and LaFontaine. Although it had literary pretensions, Le Fantastique was vastly more political than literary. Literary periodicals, all generally of short duration, began to appear at the end of 1840. Eight came and went in the next four years before the advent of La Revue Canadienne. At first largely literary, it became more and more a standard newspaper. A monthly supplement, the Album littéraire et musical de la Revue Canadienne, was started in January 1846. The supplement was subsequently sold to La Minerve and continued, as Album Littéraire et Musical de la Minerve, until 1851. If one examines this publishing rhythm it is easy to believe those theorists who see French Canada turning its back on revolution and developing a national consciousness expressed in non-violent ways. The publishing rhythm is more independent of economics and more closely related to political events than that of the English.

In terms of Canadian content what is surprising in the French periodicals is that there is so little of it overall. Readers of modern anthologies receive the impression that there was a great deal of French Canadian literary activity in the newspapers and periodicals of the time. It is not until one returns to the periodicals themselves that one realizes how overwhelmingly European their contents were.

TABLE II
SOURCE OF LITERARY CONTENT IN FRENCH PERIODICALS

TITLE	PROSE		POETRY		COMMENT
	%	FR CAN	%	FR CAN	
L'Observateur 10/7/30-2/7/31					Almost everything unsigned, so source difficult to determine. Probably about 1/2 by Bibaud
L'Abeille 7/12/33-8/2/34	100		100		One poem may be Canadian
Le Glaneur 12/36-9/37		All French except A. Papineau's "Caroline"			
Le Fantastique 8/37-5/45 6/48-2/49		Only 5-Canadian items in 10 years		Only a few poems by Aubin are Canadian	Canadian content is in political satire
Le Coin du Feu 21/11/40-13/11/41	100			All French except for one poem of Chauveau	
Journal des Etudiants 12/12/40-27/2/41	100 - Minus one item		100 - Minus one item		
L'Institut 7/3/41-22/5/41		Mostly French, except for a few Garneau items			
Encyclopedie Can. 3/42-2/43					Canadian content is in historical sketches and occasional Bibaud poem or book review

TABLE II (cont'd)

TITLE	PROSE		POETRY		COMMENT
	\$	FR	FR	CAN	
L'Artisan 10/10/42-26/9/44	100	Minus one item	100	Minus one item	Contains two Louisiana French poems
Le Castor 7/11/43-14/11/44	100	Minus one item	100	Minus two items	Political satire is all Canadian
Charivari Canadien 10/5/44-3/10/44	100		41.2	58.8	All French except for La Fille du Brigand, 3 short pieces by "Pietro" and a 2-part story by "J.D."
Menestrel 20/6/44-16/1/45	89.	11.	40.54	59.46	50% of non-fiction is Canadian
La Revue Canadienne 4/1/45-3/10/48	91.22	8.78	73.61	26.39	
Album Littéraire 1/46-12/50	100		71.25	28.75	
Mélanges Religieux 11/12/40-20/9/50					

For the purposes of this study the literary content of English-language religious periodicals has been analyzed separately. These publications were neither newspaper nor literary periodical, although they all published some literature and most of them printed summaries of world and local news, often accompanied by comment on the denominational implications of the news. Were there denominational attitudes to literature as well? Given the American connections of some Protestant denominations, the question naturally arises as to whether or not they published more American than British literature in their periodicals - indicating that the editors looked to American sources. Certainly it is true that Presbyterian and Anglican publications contained the highest percentage of British material, and that Congregational, Methodist, and Baptist ones have the highest percentage of American borrowing. What is also interesting are the poetry statistics, which give the Canadian palm to that epitome of Tory Anglicanism, The Church. The Christian Sentinel, also Church of England, is tied for second with the Wesleyan Christian Mirror and only slightly ahead of the Methodist Christian Guardian. The Sentinel is perhaps a special case, since its editor was Adam Hood Burwell, better known today as the best of the early Canadian-born lyric poets, and much of the content can be attributed to him. If one introduces Les Mélanges Religieux for comparison, its Canadian poetry content runs a close

TABLE III
SOURCE OF LITERARY CONTENT IN ENGLISH RELIGIOUS PERIODICALS

TITLE	PROSE					POETRY					COMMENT
	%	BR	AM	CAN	UNK	%	BR	AM	CAN	UNK	
Christian Guardian (Methodist)	30	35	-	-	35	31.45	16.46	19.66	32.43		
The Church (C of E)	20	1.82	14.55	63.64		45.19	7.18	30.06	17.57		
Banner (Free Church)	-	-	-	-	-	40.57	7.43	16.	36.		
Canadian Watchman (Church of Scotland)	100	-	-	-	-	45.07	4.2	1.4	49.3		Only 2 prose items
Baptist Register	11.1	44.4	-	44.4		33.6	26.67	2.2	37.5		
Witness (Congregational)	7.7	53.8	15.4	23.1		28.73	17.18	4.5	49.58		
Berean (Evangelical C of E)	16.13	25.8	3.26	54.83		96.	4.				Most unknown prose appears to be British
Christian Sentinel (C of E)	-	-	-	-	-	31.48	18.5	20.37	29.63		Many unknown items are probably by Burwell
Christian Mirror (Wesleyan)	31.8	13.6	4.5	50.1		18.9	9.4	20.5	51.2		
Bible Christian (Unitarian)	-	-	-	-	-	26.	9.5	19.	45.5		

second to The Church. The other publication which contained a large percentage of Canadian poetry was the Unitarian Bible Christian. No particular denominational attitudes to literature are evident. Although almost all of the periodicals published an uplifting poem in each issue, there is very little inspirational prose. The number of prose items is lowest in Presbyterian publications, although only The Church, which published an average of slightly more than four pieces of prose literature in a year, gives the impression that prose could be a useful vehicle for religious instruction.

As in the case of periodicals, analysis of the literary content of newspapers reveals differences between French and English. It also shows marked regional variation in patterns of borrowing and percentage of Canadian content, although whether this is due to the greater number of newspapers and their essentially regional circulation, or to regional preferences in cultural contacts is unclear. Table IV will deal with French newspapers, and Tables V through XI will deal with English papers, grouped according to their location in Quebec City and the Townships, Montreal, the Ottawa Valley and Brockville, Kingston to Cobourg, Toronto, Hamilton and Niagara, and Western Ontario, in that order.

French Canadian newspapers show a heavy reliance on European prose sources, but their Canadian poetry content percentage, even when dragged down by the almost total

TABLE IV
SOURCE OF LITERARY CONTENT IN FRENCH NEWSPAPERS

TITLE	PROSE		POETRY		COMMENT
	FR	CAN	FR	CAN	
QUEBEC AND SOUTH SHORE					
Le Canadien	All French except 5 items		61.71	38.29	
Le Journal de Quebec	All French except 4 items		76.81	23.19	
Ami de La Religion	100		All Fr. except 1 poem		
L'Impartial	92.31	7.69	33.3	66.7	All Canadian material by one of editors.
L'Echo du Pays	100		85.71	14.29	
L'Echo des Campagnes	87.5	12.5	41.7	58.3	All Canadian material by Charles or Guillaume Levesque
MONTREAL					
La Minerve	All French but 5 items		61.7	38.3	
L'Ami du Peuple	100		75.74	24.26	
Le Populaire	All French but 5 items		52.63	47.37	All Canadian fiction is by the two Cherrier
Le Vrai Canadien	100		100		
L'Aurore des Canadas	98.14	1.86	79.4	20.6	
L'Avenir	82.6	17.4	27.5	72.5	Almost all poetry by Jos. Lenoir and L.T. Groulx

absence of anything Canadian in one publication, is almost double that of the overall English Canadian achievement. It is interesting that the two most European publications are L'Echo du Pays and L'Ami de la Religion, which were politically diametrically opposed. L'Echo du Pays was a vociferous supporter of the patriotes until the break between its owner, Debartzch, and Papineau in 1836. By contrast, L'Avenir, the late 1840s voice of the same political element, is the most Canadian-centred of all the newspapers. However, the three publications which follow it in terms of "Canadianism" are the three most politically neutral. These four are concentrated in Montreal and its hinterland - two in Montreal, one in Laprairie, and one in Berthier. Contrary to the statistics for periodicals, which show a marked increase in Canadian content in the 1840s, an analysis of the literary content of French language newspapers reveals no significant difference between the pre- and post-rebellion periods. The Canadian content of newspapers was most often the work of two or three local contributors, regardless of the decade.

It would perhaps be better to eliminate the English Eastern townships newspapers from consideration because only two have survived in any quantity from our period, and both of these have long gaps in the series. However, one is curious as to whether the reputed American orientation of the region is borne out in its light reading. It is obvious from the results that this is indeed the case. The highest

percentage of American content found anywhere in the Canadas is in the two Townships papers. Perhaps, as the patriote assembly claimed throughout the 1830s, English residents of the townships were really just Americans who happened to reside in Lower Canada, or perhaps the residents' complaints about the lack of roads connecting them to Montreal were justified and they had been left with much better communications lines towards the United States. (See Table V)

By contrast, the English newspapers of Quebec City have the highest percentage of British literary influence in both prose and poetry, the highest percentage of Canadian prose and the second highest of Canadian poetry. Quebec City, about the furthest settled community in the Canadas from the American border, shows a very low American content in all its newspapers except for the Quebec Gazette. There is, however, considerable difference between the statistics for the Quebec Gazette and those for the Chronicle. Unfortunately the Quebec Mercury, long-time political rival of the Gazette and equally solidly based in the Quebec City anglophone community, has not survived from this period, except in a few very scattered issues. The conservative Chronicle was not founded until 1847. Politics does not seem to hold the key to the differences between the two papers, since the two short-lived papers, the neutral Telegraph, and the reform Liberal, are equally lacking in American content. One would like to think that the Neilson family's deep roots in Lower

TABLE V

SOURCE OF LITERARY CONTENT IN ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS:

QUEBEC CITY AND TOWNSHIPS REGION

TITLE	POLI- TICS	PROSE					POETRY					COMMENT
		%	BR	AM	CAN	UNK	%	BR	AM	CAN	UNK	
Quebec: Gazette	MR		29.16	25	33.3	12.5		28.57	20.9	33.07	20.9	Canadian prose is all "Sam Slick"
Chronicle	MC		100	- except 4 American and 1 Canadian item			18.42	8.77	15.79		57.	
Liberal (bilingual)	R		All prose either British or French					All poetry either British or French except one Canadian poem in each language				
Telegraph	M		77.8		22.2		80.		20.			
Sherbrooke Gazette	MC		40	40	20.	-	22	66	11	-	-	Few items
Missiskoui Standard (Freilichsburg)	T		36.3	32.4	.9	30.4	25.7	18.1	9.3		46.8	

Canada explain the high percentage of Canadian content and the overwhelming North American orientation of the Quebec Gazette's literary publishing, but if this is the case it is an isolated phenomenon because the same does not hold true of William BuelT's Brockville Recorder, the Bytown Packet under H.J. Friel, or the Upper Canada Herald under Hugh Thomson, where the editor-proprietors were also Canadian-born. The only other editor-proprietor known to be Canadian-born was Henry C. Grant of the Western Herald in Sandwich, Upper Canada,² who, like the Neilsons, published an unusually high percent of Canadian literature.

The Montreal newspapers are notable for their very high percentage of British, and quite low American, prose content. British poetry sources were also highest, next to Quebec's. The exception to the local tendency is the Transcript, a high circulation "penny paper" begun in 1836, which devoted one of its four pages to literature on almost every publishing day. The Transcript is above the national average³ for American content and below it for British and Canadian. The same holds true, as far as prose is concerned, for the only other "penny paper" of the time, the Toronto Star, but the Star's Canadian

2. In the Western Herald, October 21, 1839, Grant states that, he was born in Kingston, U.C. He seems to have been continually defending himself against accusations of being American. He had worked as a journeyman printer in Albany, New York, for 11 years.
3. The "national average" for English newspapers, rounded off is Prose: British 39%, American 18, Canadian 7, unknown 36 Poetry: British 27%, American 12, Canadian 21, and unknown 40.

poetry content is above average and its American and British content are below. Since these were conceived as newspapers for "the masses" it seems likely that they borrowed more from American papers of the same type, widely advertised here, rather than from the British models, which do not seem to have circulated in Canada.

Montreal newspapers, despite the fact that the city was a major English-language publishing centre, have the lowest Canadian poetry content of any area except the Eastern Townships. Political interest does not seem to have been a determining factor in Canadian, or in any other content. The Tory Gazette is, as the stereotype would lead one to expect, the most British in literary influence, but it is closely followed by the Vindicator and the Pilot, its political opposites. The Vindicator follows the Transcript in American content, then comes the "loose fish" Courant, owned and edited at the time by an Irish immigrant, Benjamin Workman, who, from his editorial comments, was certainly not pro-American. (See Table VI)

The Ottawa-Perth-Brockville triangle has an above average percentage of unknowns - something which occurs again in Southwestern Ontario. It is as if the editors in these more remote areas either did not think attribution was important, did not think their readers cared, or, more likely, knew that they were copying second hand (e.g. from a Montreal paper which had copied from a British or American one) and did not want

TABLE VI
SOURCE OF LITERARY CONTENT IN ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS

		MONTREAL										
TITLE	POLI- TICS	PROSE					POETRY					COMMENT
		8	BR	AM	CAN	UNK	8	BR	AM	CAN	UNK	
Gazette	T	70.6	12.8	16.5	-	-	53.15	11.34	12.15	23.36		
Vindicator	R	52.5	20.1	5.	22.5		47.67	14.	9.5	28.8		
Herald	T	78.6	-	-	21.4		32.46	5.26	9.64	53.5		
Courant	N	47.3	13.5	2.7	36.5		34.15	13.66	23.64	28.54		
Morning Courier	MR	47.6	8.7	19.8	15.9		38.4	9.	12.2	40.4		
Transcript	MC	29.6	20.4	3.59	46.4		22.46	13.46	17.7	46.9		
Pilot	R	75.	-	12.5	12.5		44.	8.	14.	34.	Very little prose	

to admit it publicly. The most notable feature of these papers is the high percentage of Canadian poetry they published, especially in Ottawa and Perth. In all the papers this high Canadian percentage is due to local writers whose work was regularly published, rather than to Canadian material borrowed from other sources. Even when there was more than one newspaper in a community the poetry of individual writers was usually published in only one of them - presumably, the one to which they and their friends subscribed. As in most other areas of the Canadas, the British prose influence was dominant. (See Table VII).

In the Kingston-to-Cobourg area another shift in emphasis takes place. The British influence drops sharply to little more than half what it was in Montreal, and there is almost twice as much American prose, although the percentage of American poetry remains about the same. Canadian prose is also similar to the Montreal average, but the percentage of Canadian poetry is almost double. Four of the eight newspapers published more Canadian poetry than either British or American poetry. This region is next to the Eastern Townships in the amount of American prose published. There was regular communication by boat with towns on the American side of Lake Ontario, and at least one editor, James MacFarlane, had connections in Oswego where his wife's family lived. Except that, as was often the case, reform newspapers published little or no fiction, and that the outright Tory paper reflected somewhat higher British prose influence,

TABLE VII

SOURCE OF LITERARY CONTENT IN ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS

OTTAWA AND VALLEY TO BROCKVILLE

TITLE	POLI- TICS	PROSE					POETRY				
		8	BR	AM	CAN	UNK	8	BR	AM	CAN	UNK
Bathurst Courier (Perth)	MR	17.49	14.2	3.8	64.48	54.23	13.08	8.46	24.23	54.23	
Bytown Gazette	MC	44.	17.3	9.3	29.3	45.7	22.5	11.8	19.9	45.7	
Ottawa Advocate	T	14.5	18.18	18.18	49.09	31.4	9.8	.98	57.8	31.4	
Bytown Packet	R	-	-	-	-	61.98	21.74	10.56	21.12	61.98	
Brockville Gazette	T	52.17	8.7	-	39.13	39.	36.17	9.93	14.9	39.	
Brockville Statesman	T	-	-	-	-	48.4	13.04	3.1	35.4	48.4	
Brockville Recorder	R	33.9	33.9	-	32.1	39.7	27.3	16.7	16.3	39.7	

political affiliation does not seem to have been a factor. Even if we eliminate the Kingston Argus, in which Dr. Stewart rarely deigned to identify his literary sources, there are no significant changes in proportions. Three Kingston papers, the Chronicle the Herald, and the Whig, changed political position in this period without significantly changing the proportions of their literary sources. (See Table VIII)

Toronto presents an interesting departure in prose percentage, being second only to Quebec City in its British influence, and the lowest of all groups for American and Canadian. Except for American poetry, the percentage of which is below average, the poetry proportions are almost exactly the national average. The two highest in Canadian poetry content are the Patriot and the Mirror - about as politically opposite as two papers could be. Since most of the surviving Toronto newspapers for this period were reform in orientation, it is difficult to draw conclusions about political influence. For contrast there is only the Tory Patriot which, as those who have read it know, is incomparable anyway. (See Table IX)

Analysis of the newspapers for the Niagara peninsula and Hamilton shows that the two areas exhibit some different characteristics - the St. Catharines papers being notably more American in orientation⁴ and the Hamilton ones being

4. The St. Catharines Journal was owned and edited by Hiram Leavenworth, a native of New York State who had, if the "births, marriages and deaths" column is any indication, continuing ties to that area.

TABLE VIII

SOURCE OF LITERARY CONTENT IN ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS

"THE FRONT" KINGSTON TO COBOURG

TITLE	POLI- TICS	PROSE					POETRY				
		8	BR	AM	CAN	UNK	8	BR	AM	CAN	UNK
Kingston Chronicle	TEMP	36.03		25.	6.25	32.72	28.65	14.38	31.244	25.53	
Upper Canada Herald	MR&MC	23.76		24.86	6.08	45.3	19.26	12.6	25.74	42.38	
Kingston Spectator	R	-		-	-	-	28.4	10.23	11.36	50.	
British Whig	MR&MC	29.63		11.11	29.63	29.63	25.69	4.59	44.95	24.77	
Kingston Argus	MC	17.5		8.8	1.75	71.9	31.4	8.1	4.	56.5	
Hallowell Free Press (Belleville)	N	10.		50.	2.5	37.5	23.4	28.2	20.2	28.2	
Cobourg Reformer	R	-		-	-	-	25.4	6.35	9.52	58.7	
Cobourg Star	T	45.83		16.66	5.55	31.94	27.94	4.92	37.26	29.88	

TABLE IX

SOURCE OF LITERARY CONTENT IN ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS

TORONTO

TITLE	POLI- TICS	PROSE				POETRY			
		% BR	AM	CAN	UNK	% BR	AM	CAN	UNK
Patriot	T	44.58	6.02	6.02	43.37	38.46	4.81	38.46	18.27
Canadian Freeman	R	-	-	-	-	43.9	7.32	12.2	36.59
Colonial Advocate	R	-	-	-	-	22.58	6.99	29.57	40.86
Recorder	T	-	-	-	-	24.07	14.81	18.52	42.59
Correspondent	R	-	-	-	-	39.29	8.33	9.52	42.86
British Colonist	MR	45.83	12.5	8.33	33.33	21.62	5.41	7.09	65.88
Examiner	R	-	-	-	-	27.84	14.49	8.8	48.86
Mirror	R	100.	-	-	-	19.85	5.34	48.85	25.95
Star	N	32.29	20.31	8.85	38.54	22.14	4.64	27.14	46.07
Globe	R	100.	-	-	-	28.65	7.81	18.23	45.31

noticeably more British. In four of the six, more poetry comes from Canadian than any other sources. Unfortunately, newspapers for the town of Niagara have not survived in any quantity. As in the Toronto area, there was less fiction published in newspapers than in other regions, but what there was was definitely very American in source. In poetry the drop in British borrowings is balanced by an increase in "unknowns". (See Table X)

Western Ontario, the furthest interior region has the highest percentage of unknowns. One might expect, after reading Fred Landon's Western Ontario and the American Frontier (Toronto, 1941), that it would show the greatest American influence, but this is not the case. Three other areas had more American prose and it has the lowest percentage of all regions for American poetry. In fact, its American prose average is just about exactly the English Canadian average, and its American poetry comes well below. It is the border areas of Niagara and the Eastern Townships which have shown more American and less British influence than other parts of the Canadas. The two Sandwich newspapers, however, although they were published almost within sight of the United States, are very British and Canadian-oriented. Politically, one sees the St. Thomas Liberal, a pre-rebellion radical newspaper, having much the highest percentage of American content - the only reform-oriented newspaper studied which fits the stereotype. The Western Herald which had an unusually

TABLE X

SOURCE OF LITERARY CONTENT IN ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS

HAMILTON AND NIAGARA AREA

TITLE	POLI- TICS	PROSE				POETRY				COMMENT
		% BR	AM	CAN	UNK	% BR	AM	CAN	UNK	
St. Catharines Journal	MR	17.34	35.26	4.04	43.35	10.77	15.12	16.4	57.72	
British Colonial Argus (St. Catharines)	MR	16.67	16.67	11.11	55.55	17.27	22.72	21.81	38.18	Incl. 7 chapters of Wacousta
Niagara Gleaner	T	-	-	-	-	19.12	4.41	22.06	54.41	
Hamilton:										
Western Mercury	T	10.	20.	-	70.	5.78	3.47	32.37	58.38	
Gazette	T	-	-	-	-	28.89	7.78	31.11	32.22	
Provincialist	R	-	-	-	-	21.9	16.2	10.5	51.4	

high percentage of Canadian poetry, "borrowed" about half of it from Upper Canada Tory newspapers. It is the only newspaper for which local writers did not provide almost all of the Canadian content. (See Table XI)

Despite all the qualifications and exceptions some general conclusions can still be drawn about the literary influences operative on English-Canadian newspapers at this time. First, marked regional differences did exist. The greatest British influence is seen in the three largest cities, Quebec, Montreal and Toronto. On the other side of the coin, Montreal and Toronto papers published the least American prose. The greatest American influence is in the Eastern Townships, in towns like Brockville, Kingston, and Belleville, and in the Niagara Peninsula where there was constant trans-border contact, although Western Ontario is an exception to this pattern. Nowhere did the political orientation of a paper significantly affect the proportion of British, American and Canadian content, although the staunchest Tory and the most radical reform papers were usually the most British in their borrowings, and reform papers generally published less fiction than their conservative counterparts. Tories were somewhat more inclined to publish material of Canadian origin. French Canadians published more native works than did English Canadians, although Upper Canadians newspapers did at least publish almost exactly twice as much English Canadian poetry as American poetry. In general, European influences predominated

TABLE XI

SOURCE OF LITERARY CONTENT IN ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS

WESTERN ONTARIO

TITLE	POLI- TICS	PROSE					POETRY				
		%	BR	AM	CAN	UNK	%	BR	AM	CAN	UNK
Guelph Advertiser	MR	-	-	-	-	-	18.75	6.25	26.25	48.75	6
Dundas Warrier	MR	-	-	-	-	-	25.64	-	17.95	56.41	
Oxford Star	MR	-	-	-	-	-	21.67	5.	6.67	66.67	
London Times	MC	36.36	27.27	18.18	18.18		29.41	5.88	20.59	44.12	
St. Thomas Liberal	R	-	28.57	-	71.42		17.07	24.39	17.07	41.46	
Chatham Journal	N	13.46	13.46	3.85	69.23		13.45	3.36	22.69	60.5	
Chatham Gleaner	MC	4.5	12.8	1.5	81.2		7.25	2.72	12.39	77.64	
Chatham Chronicle	MC	-	-	-	-	-	6.82	-	18.18	75.	
Canadian Emigrant (Sandwich)	MC	32.26	16.13	3.23	48.39		26.96	12.17	13.04	47.83	
Western Herald (Sandwich)	MC	13.3	10.	10.	66.7		9.14	10.86	49.14	30.86	

over North American, and in English language papers there is well over twice as much British material as there is American. There is very little Canadian prose in either language, - that there is a little more in English than there is in French is due to the availability of Haliburton's "Sam Slick", and of the Literary Garland as borrowing sources. Canadian poetry, when it appeared, tended to be of local origin.

Taking the newspapers and periodicals together, one is impressed first by the dominance of European literary influences over North American. It is no wonder that the standards for Canadian literature, which will be examined later, were so solidly based on European models. However, as we move from books, to periodicals, to newspapers, the percentage of Canadian poetry published becomes increasingly greater. If the idea of newspapers as the intellectual "lowest common denominator", - literature available to the greatest number of people at the lowest price - is accepted then literary Canadian residents were most active at the bottom of the scale. They may not have been able to afford to publish their own books, but they could at least see their works in print in the local newspaper. A relatively large amount of poetry, the most common form of literary expression for the average Canadian capable of creative writing, appeared in the newspapers, where it was read by the greatest number of people at the lowest possible cost. A reader of early nineteenth century newspapers must conclude that the Canadas were not devoid of individuals with literary interests.

CHAPTER IV WRITERS AND THE CONDITIONS OF WRITING

The relatively small population of Upper and Lower Canada included a surprisingly large number of people who were moved to publish literary works. It is with these individuals and their prose and poetry that this thesis is principally concerned. At the most elementary level, writers who occasionally used their own names, but generally signed themselves by initials or by pseudonyms such as "Lyra", "Rustic Bard" or "Le Solitaire", published short poems in the newspaper to which they subscribed. The next level was periodical publication and this too was most often anonymous. A literary periodical had more intellectual status than a newspaper, but it probably had fewer readers. Except for the Literary Garland in its early years, no periodical or newspaper paid its contributors¹. Given the limited market, a surprising number of books - about 65 in the twenty year period - were published. A few of these have completely disappeared (see Appendix A) but most can be found in one rare book collection or another, giving the lie to statements by some of the literary critics referred to in Chapter I that

1. Most students are familiar with Susanna Moodie's account, in the "Introduction" to the English edition of Mark Hurdlestone, of being paid £5 per sheet by the Garland's proprietors. The proprietor of Barker's Canadian Monthly Magazine apologized on the last page of the last issue for his inability to pay his contributors. Payment to periodical contributors was not common in the U.S. until the 1840s, and then only in the most prestigious and most widely circulated magazines.

Moodie, Richardson and Garneau were the only Canadian writers before 1850. Nine of these works, excluding the four volumes of Le Répertoire National, were in French.

For the purpose of analysing just who the writers were, a list of ninety-four individuals has been compiled. It includes all those who can be identified as the author of extant, separately published volumes; and those contributors to newspapers and periodicals who can be identified and for whom any biographical information was available. A few individuals fall into all three categories, and many into two. The 94 have been divided into four groups according to language and place of birth.²

There are no literacy statistics for Upper Canada before 1851, but it is generally conceded that, although few of the colonists were university graduates, most of them could read

2. Although they are listed as Canadian-born, and will subsequently be referred to in that way, W.P. Lett and Holmes Mair were born in the United Kingdom, but were brought to Canada by their families before they were two years old. The dividing line is based on the possibility of memories of another country or of early education elsewhere. Thus, E.T. Fletcher, who was brought to Canada at about age 11, although educated at Daniel Wilkie's school and the Quebec Seminary, is listed as British-born, as is Rhoda Ann Page who arrived at age 6. I have not been able to establish a specific date and place of birth for Mary Graddon Gosselin and John Howard Willis. Both were referred to by contemporaries as Canadian-born and Willis wrote of Canada as his "native land". Willis' father was in Canada by at least 1810, and there were merchants by the name of Graddon in Quebec City early in the nineteenth century. "Richard Ryland", author of The Coiners of Pompeii, has been omitted from the list because the name is probably a pseudonym.

and write at at least a basic level. It has been estimated³ that rural French Canadian literacy about 1838-9 was 14.9% (adult francophones of both sexes who could read and write), while the anglophone rate for the same regions was 68.5%. Rates for Montreal and Quebec appear to have been considerably higher for both groups, with a blended rate of 60% literacy being suggested for these cities. The number of francophones in the ensuing survey is 25 of 94 - 26.6% - about one in four - probably about what it should be if the literate portion, rather than the total population, of the Canadas is to be our basis.⁴

As far as the actual publications are concerned, everything available to me has been consulted in both languages. The number of separate volumes in French appears

3. Allan Greer, "The Pattern of Literacy in Quebec, 1745-1899", Histoire Sociale, XI, No. 22 (November 1978), 314-315. See H.J. Graff, "Interpreting Historical Literacy: The Pattern of Literacy in Quebec - A Comment", Histoire Sociale, XII, No. 24 (November 1979), 444-445, for a critique of Greer's methodology and conclusions, as well as Greer's reply "Misinterpreting Historical Literacy - A Reply", 456-460 of the same number.
4. Contemporary French-Canadians have been more interested in their cultural heritage than their English-Canadian counterparts. Consequently, almost all anonymous and pseudonymous French-Canadian writers of the early nineteenth century have been identified and biographical information has been published. By contrast, few of the enormous number of anonymous and pseudonymous writers in English have been identified. To maintain a reasonable balance related to the literate population, some minor writers in French have been omitted even though biographical information is available.

low, as compared with English, in part because four major novels appeared in French-Canadian periodicals during the 1840s, but did not appear as separate volumes until a later date.

The twenty-five francophone writers studied have been sub-divided to make 22 native-born and 3 European-born. The sixty-nine English writers are divided into fifteen Canadian-born and fifty-four British and American born. The greater percentage of native-born among the French writers reflects the reality of Canadian demography in the period. Even three European-born of twenty-five on the French side severely distorts the amount of francophone immigration, but the individuals were too important to be eliminated from the study. Inclusion of one of the three, Regis de Trobriand, can be questioned since that gentleman emigrated to the United States and never resided here. However, his novel Le Rebelle (1842) was the first to deal with the rebellions, it was published in Canada, and it was certainly well known here. Trobriand was editor of Le Courier des Etats-Unis in New York. This newspaper seems to have been widely read in Canada, since it was frequently referred to by others. It commented freely and frequently on Canadian affairs - being very anti-British and pro-French Canadian. There is some dispute among scholars as to whether Le Rebelle should be included in the canon of French Canadian

literature: quantitatively it adds to the total, but qualitatively it subtracts from Canadian achievement. It does, however, meet my fundamental criterion that a work should be intended for Canadian readers.

Detailed biographical and bibliographical information and references for the 94 will be found in Appendix C. A summary of that information as it relates to the tables which follow is produced here as a reference point for readers who will want to know, without having to take the trouble of compiling their own summary, who the writers are. Occupation, religion, and politics of individuals are given as of the dates when they published works, or at the first known date thereafter - making, for example, R.B. Sullivan, who published his poetry in the early 1830s, a moderate reformer⁵.

5. The four political classifications are: Reformer, Moderate reformer, Moderate conservative, and Tory. F., as an occupation, refers to a female who did not work outside her home. C.S. is a civil servant - a government or civilian military employee. Pauper really was the occupation of John Smyth, who was a resident of the Toronto House of Industry. Military refers to wives of officers, and one Chelsea pensioner, as well as members of the army.

TABLE. I
BIOGRAPHICAL SUMMARY

CANADIAN BORN (ENGLISH)	Principal Occupation	Religion	Politics
John Breakenridge	Law	C. of E	M.C.
Adam Hood Burwell	Clergy	Irvingite	Unknown
George Copway	Clergy	Methodist	Unk.
Charles Durand	Law	Presbyterian	R
Henry John Friel	Editor	R.C.	R
Mary Graddon Gosselin	Editor	R.C.	Unk.
William F. Hawley	C.S.	C of E	T
Abraham S. Holmes	Law	Congregational	Unk.
William P. Lett	Editor	Unk.	M.C.
Holmes Mair	Merchant	Presb.	Unk.
Rosanna Mullins (Mrs. Leprohon)	F	R.C.	Unk.
John Richardson	Editor	C of E	T
John Smyth	Pauper	Unk.	M.R.
William B. Wells	Law	C of E	R
John H. Willis	C.S.	Unk.	T
IMMIGRANT (ENGLISH)			
Joseph Abbott	Clergy	C of E	T
Lydia Appleton	F	Unk.	Unk.
Mrs. H. Bayley	Military	C of E	T
James M. Cawdell	C.S.	Unk.	Unk.
Mrs. Harriet Cheney*	Editor	Unitarian	Unk.
Emily Coxon	Teacher	Unk.	Unk.
John Swete Cummins	Land Agent	C of E	M.C.
Mrs. Elizabeth Cushing*	Editor	Unitarian	Unk.
Widow Fleck	F	Unk.	Unk.
Edward T. Fletcher	Surveyor	CS	C of E
John Gaisford	Theatre	Unk.	Unk.
George W. Gillespie	Unk.	Unk.	Unk.
Mrs. J.P. Grant (Emma J. Donoghue)	F	Unitarian	Unk.
John H. Hagarty	Law	C of E	T
James Haskins	Medecine	C of E	Unk.
Walter Henry	Military	C of E	T
George A. Hill	C.S.	Unk.	M.C.
Adam Kidd	Occasional Journalist	C of E	R
James H. Liston	Teacher	Unk.	Unk.
Mary Ann Madden (Mrs. Jas. Sadleir)	F	R.C.	Unk.
Daniel Haydn Mayne	Teacher	Unk.	Unk.
James M'Carroll	Editor	Unk.	Unk.
R.J. McGeorge	Clergy	C of E	T
Alexander M'Lachlan	Farmer	Presb.	R
Mrs. Elizabeth M. MacLachlan	Military	C of E	T

	Principal Occupation	Religion	Politics
Thomas Macqueen	Editor	Presb.	R
George Menzies	Editor	Unk.	M.C.
J.W.D. Moodie	C.S.	C of E	M.C.
Susanna Moodie	F	C of E	M.C.
George Mountain	Clergy	C of E	T
John Newton	Unk.	Unk.	Unk.
Standish O'Grady	Unk.	C of E	Unk.
Rhoda Ann Page	F	C of E	Unk.
Andrew Picken	Unk.	Unk.	Unk.
Stephen Randal*	Teacher	C of E	R
Frederick P. Rubidge	C.S.	C of E	T
John Rumsey	Law	Unk.	T
Gavin Russell	Medecine	Unitarian	R
James Russell	Unk.	Unk.	Unk.
F.B. Ryan	Medecine	R.C.	R
Michael Ryan	Farmer	Unk.	R
M. Ethelind Sawtell	F	C of E	T
William Wye Smith	Clergy	Congreg.	R
William A. Stephens	Farmer	Campbellite	R
Robert Baldwin Sullivan	Law	C of E	M.R.
Robert Sweeny	C.S.	C of E	T
Catherine P. Traill	F	C of E	Unk.
Reuben Traveller	C.S.	Unk.	Unk.
J.G. Ward	Editor	Unk.	R
Alexander J. Williamson	Medecine	Methodist	T
John Williamson	Military	Presb.	Unk.
David Willson*	Clergy	Children of Peace	R
Henry Wilton	Military	Unk.	Unk.
David Wylie	Editor	Presb.	M.R.

CANADIAN BORN (FRENCH)

P. Aubert de Gaspé (fils)	Journalist	R.C.	M.R.
J.G. Barthe	Law	R.C.	R
Maximilien Bibaud	Law	R.C.	M.C.
Michel Bibaud	C.S.	R.C.	M.C.
G. Boucher de Boucherville	Law	R.C.	R
P.-J.-O. Chauveau	Law	R.C.	R
O. Cherrier	F	R.C.	Unk.
R. Cherrier	Law	R.C.	Unk.
Joseph Doutre	Law	R.C.	R
Charles W. Dupont	Law Student	R.C.	Unk.
F.X. Garneau	C.S.	R.C.	R
A. Gerin-Lajoie	Law	R.C.	R
E. Groulx	Law	R.C.	R
Patrice Lacombe	Law	R.C.	T

	Principal Occupation	Religion	Politics
Eugène L'Ecuyer	Law	R.C.	Unk.
Joseph Lenoir	Law	R.C.	R
Charles Levesque	Law	R.C.	R
Guillaume Levesque	Law	R.C.	R
Amédée Papineau	Unk	R.C.	R
Pierre Petitclair	Teacher	R.C.	Unk.
A.S. Soudard	Law	R.C.	R
U.J. Tessier	Law	R.C.	R

IMMIGRANT (FRENCH)

Napoléon Aubin**	Editor	Prot.	R
H.P. Leblanc de Marconnay	Editor	R.C.	M.C.
Regis de Trobriand	Editor	R.C.	R

* Born in the United States

** Born in Switzerland

Does this group of individuals constitute an elite? In the sense that they were part of an educated minority with essentially urban skills, they certainly were. If the sense is that they were a privileged group set apart and above the mainstream of Canadian society, the answer is no. As individuals, in their non-literary capacity, some of them eventually achieved power and influence. In a political context, four of them - Sullivan, Wells, Barthe and Chauveau - who were, coincidentally, among the most talented writers - were at one time members of the Legislative Assembly, and Sullivan and Chauveau achieved high status. These two, with Barthe, did their writing as young men embarking on careers. Although family letters⁶ indicate that he had always been known as a writer among his friends, Wells published most of

6. Queen's University Archives, Wells Family papers, letters to W.B. Wells from two sisters (signature illegible) n.p., n.d.

his creative work in the 1840-5 period, when he was in his late 30s, while practicing law in Prescott. As one of the most outspoken reformers in the Upper Canada Legislative Assembly he had fled to the United States in 1837. In 1850 he was appointed to the bench. Others - David Willison, Bishop Mountain, Garneau, Hagarty, Dr. Henry - were, or came to be, influential in Canadian society. Of these, only Garneau could be said to have exercised that influence through his writing. In his case, although he was one of the best of Canadien poets before he turned to history, it is through his historical writing, not his poetry, that the influence was felt.

Some critics have seen the French-Canadian writers of this period as part of an elite - the first generation to emerge from the new classical colleges. Both David Hayne⁷ and John Hare⁸ have identified the enthusiasm, secularism, and nationalism of this generation. They were young when they did their writing, and they ceased publishing their works once they were established in their profession. Of the twenty French Canadian males in this survey only the Bibauds, père et fils, Doutre, Gerin-Lajoie, L'Ecuyer and Garneau continued to write in later life, and only the latter three in a creative sense. English Canadian males show the same inclination to youthful writing, although it is not as overwhelming. Immigrant writers tended to be older.

7. David Hayne, "L'Evolution du Roman Canadian-Français", Archives des lettres canadiennes, Tome III, p. 38.

8. John Hare, "Introduction" to Contes et nouvelles du Canada français. Tome I, (Ottawa, 1971), pp. 9-22.

TABLE II
AGE AT PERIOD OF PUBLISHING ACTIVITY

	<u>English</u>		<u>English</u>		<u>French</u>		<u>French</u>	
	Br. & Am.		Can. Born		Eur. Born		Can. Born	
<u>MALES *</u>	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Young (roughly under 30)	6	14.63	6	46.15	1	33.33	14	66.67
Middle Aged and Older	17	41.46	3	23.08	1	33.33	2	9.5
Published Throughout Life	6	14.63	4	30.77	1	33.33	5	23.81
Unknown Age	12	29.27						
	41	99.99%	13	100.00%	3	99.99%	21	99.98%
	<u>English</u>		<u>English</u>		<u>French</u>			
	Br. & Am.		Can. Born		Can. Born			
<u>FEMALES</u>	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
Young (roughly under 30)	1	7.7	1		1			
Middle Aged and Older	0							
Published Throughout Life	5	38.46	1					
Unknown Age	7	53.85						
	13	100.01%						

* The second category lumps together those whose works were published when they had passed the 30 barrier. Those whose works appeared in both parts of their lives are counted in category three.

Twenty-three percent of the English Canadians were middle aged or older when they began to write, 46% wrote only as young men, and 30% continued to publish throughout their lives. Overall, 58.8% of the native-born males did their creative writing only as young men - a sort of youthful self-

immigration.⁹ The largest group among the immigrants is the middle-aged and older. Most of these had emigrated as adults and did not begin to publish until they had achieved some degree of economic security. For this group, writing would be a leisure occupation for gentlemen. The six immigrants who wrote only as relatively young men had all emigrated in their youth. Female writers differ from the males in that a much higher percentage published throughout their lifetime and that their age distribution was much more even. The occupations of these writers are summarized in Table III.

TABLE III
OCCUPATIONS

	Overall %	Br. & Am. Born		Eng.-Can. Born		Eur. Born		Fr.Can. Born	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Law	24.47	3	5.56	4	26.67			16	72.73
Clergy	7.45	5	9.26	3	13.33				
Teacher	5.32	4	7.41					1	4.55
Doctor	4.26	4	7.41						
Female: Not Employed Outside Home	10.64	8	14.81	1	6.67			1	4.55
Editor	14.89	7	12.96	4	26.67	3	100		
Civil Servant	11.70	7	12.96	2	13.33			2	9.09
Farmer	3.19	3	5.56						
Military	5.32	5	9.26						
Miscellaneous	6.38	3	5.56	2	13.33			1	4.55
Unknown	6.38	5	9.26					1	4.55
	100%	54	100.01%	15	100%	3	100%	22	100.02%

9. See *L'Avenir*, October 31, 1848.

"L'age de la poésie chez l'homme du Canada est très court. Nous ne connaissons guères de poètes de trente ans. Tous ceux dont les noms figurent dans le *Répertoire*, nous ont légué ces quelques mélodies comme le dernier soupir de leur jeunesse. En effet dans un pays où il n'y a d'autre carrière pour l'intelligence que celles qui ont pour principes d'action les intérêts matériels, l'âge mur précipite brusquement l'homme dans la réalité. Emporté alors dans le tourbillon des affaires et plaçant lui-même et de nécessité son enjeu dans les intérêts divers qui s'agitent autour de lui, il ne lui arrive plus que rarement et dans des moments dérobés, de s'entretenir avec lui-même."

There were no full-time creative writers, making a living by the pen, although a number worked in para-literary fields as editors and occasional journalists. Male anglophone immigrants were widely distributed in occupation, although with the exception of the three farmers, their occupations were all urban ones. Urban in this instance does not necessarily mean Toronto and Montreal; many of them settled in small towns and villages in both colonies. The native-born anglophones also seem to be fairly broadly distributed occupationally although half of the males are to be found in just two categories - law and editing. The lack of doctors, teachers, farmers and military is perhaps notable: John Richardson had, of course, been a British officer, but shortly after he returned to Canada he had sold his commission. The army was not closed to the Canadian-born as a career, but, in fact, very few became regular officers unless there was already a military tradition in the family.

It is interesting also that there is only one merchant among the English-speaking despite the fact that merchants would have comprised a considerable percentage of the literate class. That individual, Holmes Mair, was still a youth when his poetry appeared in the Bathurst Courier in the late 1840s, although in the 1851 census, age 23, his occupation is given as merchant. He was, incidentally, an older brother of Charles Mair, one of the best known of the next generation of Canadian poets. Hugh Montgomerie, who was a merchant, active

in the Montreal Shakespeare (sic) Club, and one of those charged with inciting the Rebellion Losses riots, was the translator of a number of stories, originally published in France, which appeared in the Literary Garland. A third of the anglophone women - Cheney, Grant, Madden, Mullins and Gosselin - were wives or daughters of merchants.

There are many fewer native-born women writers than in the immigrant group - perhaps reflecting the state of education in the colony and the level of female literacy. The two anglophone females on the Canadian-born list - Rosanna Mullins and Mary Graddon Gosselin (who appears in the statistics in her role as editor) - were daughters of prosperous Irish Catholic families who would have received good convent educations.

Among the French writers it is the concentration of the immigrants in one field - editing, a concentration found in a much lesser degree among English speaking immigrants, and of the native-born in just one profession, the law, which draws the attention. Even among the non-lawyers (the term applies here to all branches of the profession), both Garneau and Petitclair had had some legal education. Like the English, they are an urban group, although not necessarily residents of Montreal or Quebec. Petitclair, off in the Labrador as a teacher, is the exception. Some of the native-born French acted as newspaper editors, but this never seems to have been a principal occupation. The absence of women writers is

interesting, given the long-standing evidence that French-Canadian women were more likely to be able to write their name than their male counterparts. Greer¹⁰ has suggested that a high proportion of the females were concentrated in the semi-literate category. Certainly, very few received the high level of education which would have prepared them for creative writing. In addition to Odile Cherrier ("Anais" in Le Populaire, older sister of Romuald Cherrier, the famous "Pierre André" of the same journal) only one other French Canadian female appears in print - the individual who used the pseudonym "Josephte" for two poems which appeared in La Revue Canadienne in 1845.¹¹

When the native-born, both French and English, are taken together it is still the domination of law as an occupation for those whose avocation was writing, and the almost complete absence of female writers which comes to our notice. If one includes the clergy as well, then almost 2/3 of the native-born males were professionals. It is curious too that the other "liberal profession", medicine, is completely absent among the Canadian born of both sexes, although this class certainly participated in most other aspects of

10. Greer, op.cit., 317.

11. The author is specifically identified in a gallant editorial comment as female. It is not a case of a male using a female pseudonym as Barthe did with his "Marie-Louise" poems in Le Populaire. There are two other French female pseudonyms attached to several poems in this period, but there is no evidence that the writers were actually female.

society. Away down the percentage scale, the second most frequent occupation for the Canadian-born males is that of civil servant.

The occupations of all these individuals have, for statistical purposes, been frozen at a moment in time, although in a society experiencing rapid growth and change it is not surprising that most of our writers worked at more than one thing during their lives. This is equally true of women, who were editors, wives, daughters, boardinghouse-keepers, and teachers as well as writers. Many of the males earned small amounts of money in journalism, some eventually went into the civil service after farming, editing, or law, others gave public lectures on educational topics for which entrance fees were charged. W.W. Smith, for example, was a Congregational minister as a principal occupation, but he started as a farmer's son and also worked as a teacher, newspaper editor, and court clerk. W.A. Stephens also started on his father's farm near Hamilton. His diary for 1855¹² when he was living in Owen Sound, shows that he was Collector of Customs, sold insurance, was a magistrate, newspaper writer, Campbellite minister, paid lecturer, and had something to do with the management of a steam pump and a tannery - all at the same time. "Sir" John Smyth had been

12. No diary entries are extant for the pre-1850 period. Stephens was appointed Collector of Customs at Owen Sound in 1848. It may have taken him a year or so to get into high revenue-producing gear.

successively a farmer, surveyor, and land agent, before he became a writer and a resident of the Toronto House of Industry. John Richardson moved from military, to editor, to chief of police, to journalism. J.W.D. Moodie from military, to farmer, to civil servant; Chauveau practised law, went into politics, became a civil servant, and went back into politics. And so it was with almost all the others. Of the male anglophone writers, almost three-quarters of those whose biographies can be established worked at more than one occupation during their lifetime. Those who stayed with just one, were all professionals - clergymen, lawyers, and army officers.

Only one writer in French, the Swiss-born Napoleon Aubin, was Protestant, so no breakdown of religious affiliation has been made for the French. Among the anglophones there is a fairly high percentage of unknowns. For many of these it is possible to determine what their religion was not, even though exactly what it was is unknown.¹³ The number of protestant denominations in the Canadas was very great and the differences between them are not as obvious now as they were at the time. It is unfair to our literary

13. For example, none of the unknown Canadian-born were Catholic; Willis was probably Anglican, Smyth was probably Methodist, and Lett was either one or the other. Among the immigrants, I am certain that 12 of the 19 unknown were Protestant, although I can only make guesses about their denomination based on the content of their writing, their place of birth, or the groups they associated with. Two of the remaining seven were almost certainly Catholic.

ancestors, for whom the distinctions were terribly important, to lump together the Church of England and the Church of Ireland as well as all varieties of Methodists and all varieties of Presbyterians as has been done here, but each generalized denomination at least represents a tradition and a distinct view of the world.

TABLE IV
RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

Denomination	Overall	Br. & Am. Born		Canadian Born	
	%	No.	%	No.	%
Church of England	32.23	21	38.89	4	26.67
Presbyterian	8.7	4	7.41	2	13.33
Roman Catholic	7.25	2	3.7	3	20.0
Unitarian	5.8	4	7.41	0	0
Methodist	2.9	1	1.85	1	6.67
Congregational	2.9	1	1.85	1	6.67
Campbellite	1.45	1	1.85	0	0
Irvingite	1.45	0	0	1	6.67
Children of Peace	1.45	1	1.85	0	0
Unknown	31.89	19	35.19	3	20.0
	100.02%	54	100.00%	15	100.01%

The immigrants whose religion can be identified were largely Church of England - not surprising when one considers that protestant England and Ireland, the homelands of most of them, were predominantly Church of England or its Irish counterpart. Four of the twenty-one known Anglicans were clergymen and there is a high percentage of Anglicans among the immigrant professionals, but there does not seem to be any strong correlation between religion and principal occupation. Among the Canadian-born, known Anglicans are also the largest single group. Known protestant dissenters make 24.65% of the total English group as compared to 36.23% Church of England. For the British and American-born, dissenters are

22.2%, as compared to 38.89% Church of England, and among the Canadians dissenters are 33.3% - 6.67% greater than Anglican, but that 6.67% represents only one individual. (Catholics are not counted as dissenters.) Although the sample is small, it is interesting to note that Roman Catholics are the second largest group among the native-born English.

A researcher might reasonably expect that it would be difficult to determine the political affiliation of writers, since their stereotype is that of an "other worldly" group. However, they all made their living at various kinds of "worldly" activities, some of which were closely connected to politics. Some, of course, were directly involved. Friel, Wells, Hagarty, Sullivan, Barthe and Chauvau were all elected to either local or provincial office. Durand was found guilty of treason and exiled after 1837. Wells, Boucher, Papineau, and the two Levesques left Canada temporarily at the same period, and Barthe and Aubin were jailed in January 1839 for the publication of a poem of Barthe's, dedicated to the Bermuda exiles, which was deemed to be seditious. Many of the others made their political sympathies very clear in their writing and were often active in local political organizations. The terms "Tory" and "Reform" used in the analysis are unequivocal. However, there were many shades of political gray in the period and the terms "moderate Conservative" and "moderate Reform" have been used to indicate these tendencies.

TABLE V
POLITICAL AFFILIATION

	Overall	<u>English Speaking</u>			<u>French Speaking</u>		
	% of <u>Fr. & Eng.</u>	Am. & Br. Born	Can. Born	% of Eng. Sp.	Eur. Born	Can. Born	% of Fr. Sp.
Tory	17.02	12	3	21.74	0	1	4.0
Moderate Conservative	12.77	6	2	11.59	1	2	12.0
Moderate Reform	3.19	2	1	4.35	0	1	4.0
Reform	30.86	11	4	21.74	2	13	60.0
Unknown	36.17	23	5	40.58	0	5	20.0
	<u>100.01%</u>	<u>54</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>100.00%</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>100.0%</u>

Here the most striking thing is the concentration of francophones in the reform camp, and the significantly lower percentage of "unknowns" among them. The French writers, largely young lawyers, were involved in political as well as literary activity. The much lower percentage of females among the French writers - one (politics unknown) of twenty-five, contributes to the impression of political commitment. Fifteen of the sixty-nine anglophones are female, and only four of these expressed their political attitudes. The fairly even distribution of anglophones between those who perceived themselves as being on the political left and those who perceived themselves as being on the political right, with an equal number of publicly uncommitted, is probably a fair sample of the anglophone population in this politically unstable period.

Although it cannot meaningfully be compiled in tabular form, since it degenerates into a long list of place names, the place of residence of the writers, at the period when

they were publishing works, is also revealing. In this regard, if the presence of other writers in the community is of any assistance to an aspiring author, those who wrote in French had an advantage over their English compatriots in that almost all of them lived and worked in either Montreal or Quebec. Some of them were friends from student days. By contrast, the fifteen English-Canadians, as adults and amateur writers, lived in eleven different communities. There is no evidence that even those who lived in the same town knew each other. It is unlikely, for example, that Adam Burwell and John Breakenridge - of different generations, occupations and religions, and related to prominent families of politically opposite views - would have known each other personally, even in a small town like Kingston in the 1840s. Among the larger group of all those who wrote in English there certainly were some links - especially for those who were based in Montreal and in the Peterborough-Cobourg area. Thomas Macqueen and Gavin Russell, both Scottish-born reformers who lived in what is now Lanark County, united by their interest in phrenology, even went on a lecture tour together in 1847. Within a year, Russell had moved to Montreal and Macqueen to Goderich, so it is unlikely that they would have known other identified local writers such as the young Holmes Mair in Lanark, or Mrs. J.P. Grant in Perth.

There is evidence that those who published their creative works were not the only colonists interested in

literature. A considerable number of literary clubs are known to have existed. They were part of a social phenomenon which included athletic clubs, dining clubs, Mechanics Institutes and fraternal and national organizations, all of which brought together like-minded individuals for self improvement, mutual support, and human good fellowship. The membership of all the library associations, debating clubs, and literary societies included many who never published a word in their lives, although they came together to hear the original works of others, to read and hear papers on literary topics, or to debate literary subjects.

Henry Scadding is perhaps the best known of those with "literary interests". As a student at Upper Canada College he wrote two long "prize poems"¹⁴ which were published in Toronto. His journal and diaries show his continuing interest in literature, although it was always subordinate to his clerical duties. Elected president of the Toronto Literary and Historical Society in 1845, he declined to serve "feeling that I had not time properly to discharge the duties of such an office".¹⁵ The bibliography of his historical and antiquarian works, published in later years, is a lengthy one. Larratt Smith who won a U.C.C. poetry prize in 1837

14. "The Abandonment of Athens by its inhabitants after the battle of Thermopylae" was published in pamphlet form in 1832, and "Emigration" was printed in the first number of the Canadian Literary Magazine in April 1833.

15. Diary, January 30, 1845.

for his historical poem on "The Accession of Queen Victoria"¹⁶ is another whose diaries show continuing interest in literature. Smith became a lawyer. Another U.C.C. prizewinner was John Breakenridge, whose poem "Canada" was printed in the Montreal Gazette, January 5, 1837, and appeared in his 1846 volume The Crusades and other Poems. Thomas Hudspeth, a Cobourg resident, won the U.C.C. prize in 1848 for a poem about William Tell. His prize poem was printed in the Cobourg Star. A few other poems followed,¹⁷ then nothing more.

Another candidate for literary society membership would have been the gentleman who placed the following advertisement in the Montreal Gazette on May 12, 1848.

A gentleman of established Literary reputation, a Master of Arts by Collegiate honors, and who has been engaged during the last Summer and Fall as editor of one of the City Papers, is desirous to obtain a situation embracing similar duties. Being conversant with the literature of England, France, Germany and the United States, he would be willing to associate his labours with the Proprietors of some respectable, first-class Book Store, with a view to the careful selection of the most important and popular works now being published in the various departments of Letters, and bringing their merits before the public by judicious Criticisms and favorable Reviews. In such an association, assisted by the literary talent of the Province, he would be willing to conduct a Quarterly Journal, embracing Criticism, Reviews, and subjects of general Literature and Philology. This publication has reference alone to Montreal, the writer having permanently located himself in that City.

16. Montreal Gazette, February 10, 1838.

17. Star, December 6, 1848. Others: same date and January 1 and March 14, 1849.

Anonymity has long clouded the authors of items published in the three Maple Leaf Annuals. However, one copy of the 1849 edition in the possession of the University of British Columbia Library contains handwritten marginal attributions. There is no guarantee that the unknown annotator is correct, but one item is attributed to J.H. Cameron, two to S. Thompson, one to Reverend MacGeorge, and eleven to a mysterious "H", who might possibly be J.H. Hagarty. Cameron, Thompson and MacGeorge (as well as Hagarty) were all active in Church of England affairs, as was the editor, Reverend John McCaul.¹⁸ In Samuel Thompson's Reminiscences, published in 1884, (a somewhat unreliable account of this early period), he lists the five men named above, plus the Reverends Henry Scadding, Alexander Dixon, J.D. McKenzie and Walter Stennett, Miss Page, Mr. Justice Wilson, Judge Cooper, and others, as contributors to the three annuals. The connection in this case was not a literary society. It was membership in the Church of England which brought these literary gentlemen¹⁹ together.

Whatever the basis for the individual's interest in literature, there were an astonishing number of literary societies in Canada in the 1830-50 period. At least eight in Quebec, seven in Montreal and Toronto, and one each in Trois Rivières, La Malbaie, L'Orignal, Perth, Kingston, Cobourg,

18. See Dictionary of Canadian Biography (hereafter D.C.B.), XI, p. 540-41.

19. Rhoda Ann Page was the daughter of Thomas Page, editor of the Newcastle Farmer, who was also active in Anglican affairs.

Elora and Amherstburg.²⁰ Very few of them were long-running institutions. Like most clubs they were usually dependent on the interest and enthusiasm of a few individuals who might depart the area, or become bored with the whole idea, leaving no one to carry on. Several foundered on the rock of personal disputes. Only the Quebec Literary and Historical Society, the Quebec Library Association, and the Montreal Institut Canadien seem to have lasted more than twenty years. Two years was about average.

20. No doubt there were many others, but these are the ones of which I have found some record.

Montreal: Athenaeum Club - held weekly meetings in Montreal in 1848, 1849., i.e. Montreal Gazette 21/2/48, 12/11/49.
 L'Institut Canadien, founded 17 Dec. 1844. Notices and accounts of meetings can be found in La Revue Canadienne, La Minerve and L'Avenir. L'Avenir was run by members of L'Institut.
 Shakspeare Club, founded 1844, ceased operations 1849.
 Mechanics Institute. Mentioned Literary Garland, May 1840 as recently established.
 Addisonian Literary Society. Montreal Transcript 14/12/50.
 Société des Amis. Continuous mention in early days of La Revue Canadienne and L'Album Littéraire.
 Mercantile Library Association, founded 1841, Montreal Gazette 21/1/41.

Quebec: Quebec Literary and Historical Society, founded 1824.
 Quebec Library Association - also Association de la Bibliothèque de Québec. Appears to have been bilingual, ie. Journal de Québec 2/5/44, 14/1/45.
 Institut des Artisans - Journal de Québec 17/2/48.

All these organizations had grandiose statements of purpose, as befitted the serious literary men who wrote them, (there were no female members, although women were usually allowed to attend the lectures and debates as guests).

20. (cont'd) Quebec Debating Club, 1835. Mentioned in E.T. Fletcher's memoirs.
 Société Canadienne d'Etudes Littéraires et Scientifiques. Le Castor 11/4/44 and other French language newspapers of that year.
 Société des Amis de Québec. Ami de la Religion 2/10/48
 Société de Discussion de Québec. First mention noticed Le Journal de Québec 21/11/43. Still operating L'Ami de la Religion 27/11/48.
 L'Institut Canadien de Québec. Journal de Québec 17/2/48

Toronto: Literary and Philosophical Society of Upper Canada, founded 1831. Mentioned in Chatham Journal 4/2/43 and in the president's speech to the founding meeting of the Western District Literary Phil. and Agric. Society.
 York Literary and Philosophical Society 1832. May have been the same organization as above. Constitution and bylaws have survived in TPL.
 Toronto Athenaeum. British Colonist 19/1/47.
 Toronto Literary Club. Established 24/1/36. Moss Papers. Rowsell Diaries.
 Toronto Ethical and Literary Society. Established September 1836. R.A. Jarrell, "Science as Culture in Victorian Toronto", Atkinson Review of Canadian Studies, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Fall 1983), p.7.
 Shakspeare Club, 1835. Rowsell diaries.
 Toronto Literary and Historical Society. British Colonist 11/1/43.

Three Rivers: Société Littéraire de Trois Rivières. L'Aurore 15/4/42.

La Malbaie: Société des Amis de la Malbaie. Le Canadien 29/3/48.

L'Orignal: L'Orignal Literary Society. Christian Guardian 25/5/42, 4/1/43.

The verbiage distilled, purposes boil down to self improvement and mutual support. One critic, complaining of the quality of "original" works submitted to his journal, suggested to the writers that:

They should, however, if practicable, get up Literary Clubs in every locality, before which compositions in prose and poetry might be read, and due credit awarded to the best.²¹

This had, in fact, been the basis for the Montreal Société des Amis. The Société then sponsored, at least in part, La Revue Canadienne which published many works, both fiction and non-fiction, originally read before the society's members. A lengthy article "La Société Canadienne"²², although not referring specifically to the Société des Amis before which it had been read, gives us another insight into the reason for its founding - French Canada must be organized as the English were seen to be, in order to take control of their own society, and ensure its future health.

20. (cont'd) Perth: Perth Debating Society. Bathurst Courier 18/9/35. This organization was also active in 1849.

Kingston: Kingston Literary Society. Constitution appeared in British Whig 10/2/36.

Cobourg: Cobourg Book Society. Cobourg Star 18/10/31.

Elora: Elora Library and Literary Association. Guelph Advertiser 31/10/50.

Amherstburg: Western District Literary Philosophical & Agricultural Society, founded 1842. Constitution and bylaws have survived in TPL.

21. Montreal Witness, December 31, 1849.

22. La revue canadienne, June 14, 1845.

A prize essay on "The Influence of Mercantile Library Associations"²³ sees their objectives as the dissemination of knowledge and the improvement of "the moral and social state of its members". This is to be accomplished through companionship, through lectures, through the society's "cabinet" of natural history, the library, and discussions.

All the literary societies which have left any detailed record charged entrance and annual fees, and proposed new members had to be approved by vote of the membership. These two qualifications point to the conclusion that such societies considered themselves to be associations of gentlemen.

The fees varied: from 1824 to 1831, the Quebec Literary and Historical Society had an entrance fee of £5, and an annual fee of £3. In 1831 the annual fee was lowered to £1.5.²⁴ In 1832, the York Literary and Historical Society's annual fee was 2 guineas for a member, and one guinea for a subscriber. New members had to be proposed by 3 members and accepted by ballot. The same qualification was made for subscribers, but no definition of the distinction between the categories appears in the bylaws. The 1838 bylaws of the Toronto Mechanics Institute list an entrance of 5s and an annual fee of 7s6d. Honorary members paid £1 per

23. Literary Garland, N.S. Vol. VII, No. 8, p. 345-351.

24. G. Bernatchez, "La Société littéraire et historique de Québec 1824-1890" Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française, Vol. 35, No. 2 (September 1981), 183-4.

annum. Mechanics Institutes were intended for the lower classes seeking self improvement. Those who wished to support a good cause were obviously the ones who paid a more expensive honorary membership. Only ordinary members were allowed to hold office, and a new member could join by giving in "...their own name, and the names of two Members to whom they are known", paying the fees and subscribing to the constitution. There does not appear to have been any balloting on new members.

The Western District Literary, Philosophical and Agricultural Association required payment of a two dollar entrance fee and a two dollar annual fee. A proposed new member had to be a resident, or non-resident land holder, in the district, proposed by 2 members and accepted by the ballot of 2/3 of the members. Aside from these details the only membership qualification is stated to be

... a love of knowledge, and a patriotic desire to forward the prosperity of the Province in general, and of the District in particular by promoting the advancement and diffusion of literary, philosophical and agricultural knowledge.

The Institut Canadien's bylaws established four classes of membership - Actifs, Titulaires, Correspondants, and Honoraires. Active members paid 5 chelins per annum, titulary - those who wished to support the organization but did not wish to be active, paid 10 chelins. Article IV states:

...être membre actif, tout canadien d'origine française, de père ou de mère, ou tout individu qui aura épousé une canadienne-française, sans distinction de classe, de profession ou métier; pourvu qu'il parle la langue française.

The Kingston Literary Society established it as the annual fee and the first five shillings of that had to be paid on election.²⁵ The Montreal Shakspeare Club reports and bylaws make reference to initiation fees and annual fees, but the amount is not mentioned. The Québec society's fees, at least in the early period, and those of the 1832 York society, were high enough to have excluded most of the city's residents. The others were much more modest, but one pound was still the equivalent of an annual newspaper or periodical subscription and much more than the price of a book.

The health of literary societies in the three largest cities seems to have had a considerable relation to at least one outside force - the location of the seat of government. Bernatchez has documented the rise and fall of the fortunes of the Quebec Literary and Historical Society as that city was or was not the seat of government.²⁶ Toronto could not sustain a literary society in 1843-4 - no doubt in part because the president, W.H. Draper, and several of the officers were required to be away from Toronto when the legislature was sitting. Most of the Montreal literary societies were formed after that city became the seat of

25. British Whig, February 10, 1836.

26. op.cit., p. 182-3.

government in 1844. The Shakspeare Club, founded in September 1843 by a civil servant, foundered in 1850 after the government had moved off to Toronto in 1849. However, the rule cannot be considered absolute, since the two years in which the government was located in Kingston did not produce any literary society of which a record has survived, and Quebec continued to foster literary societies throughout the 1840s.

Another feature of these societies is that, except for the Quebec Literary and Historical Society, those in existence in 1836 do not seem to have survived the trauma of the rebellions or the depression which accompanied them, and it is 1842 and 1843 before new societies began to appear, in a more stable political situation and a period of increasing prosperity.

While a number of literary societies existed simultaneously in Quebec and Montreal, in Toronto they were successive and not simultaneous. The Toronto Literary Club of 1836-7 was founded by members of the Toronto Shakspeare Club of 1835-6 who had resigned over the blackballing of a proposed member, J.G. Spragge:

"I think truly, that no gentleman would allow himself to be proposed as a Member, when he found that the respectability and talents of Mr. Spragge were insufficient to secure him from the insult of being rejected."²⁷

27. Diary of Henry Rowsell. February 1, 1836.

The club was formally dissolved and its possessions bought by Mr. Street for £20. A week later the "Toronto Literary Club" was formed. It immediately bought the effects of the Shakspeare Club from Street for £20, but took several meetings before there was agreement on club rules. The first election of officers saw a contest between John Kent, former president of the Shakspeare Club and R.S. Jameson, a new member of the Literary Club. When Jameson was elected, Kent declined to accept the post of first vice-president.²⁸

Difficulties continued. On the 11th of April, Rowsell records a stormy session of the club because William Powell had been blackballed the previous week and a Mr. Fitzgerald had resigned in consequence. Nothing was done to change the balloting. A week later there was another "...stormy discussion and rather a personal one, in some instances..." about the minutes of the previous meeting. A few weeks later a provincial election was called and Rowsell's diaries turn to his activities as a member of the Committee of the Constitutional Society, leaving us to wonder about the fortunes of the Toronto Literary Club. The Toronto Ethical and Literary Society, formed in September of the same year, could have been either a competing or a successor organization.

In Quebec there had initially been an essentially francophone rival to the Quebec Literary and Historical

28. Information in the Moss papers, OA. A notebook, n.p., n.d.

Society. The two were united in 1829, but in the 1840s Quebec also sustained, more or less simultaneously, a Société Canadienne d'Etudes Littéraire et Scientifique, a Library Association, and an Institut Canadien. Attempts to bring them together met with failure. Montreal, in the 1840s, had the Institut Canadien, the Société des Amis, the Shakspeare Club, the Mercantile Library Association, the Mechanics Institute, the Athenaeum Club and the Addisonian Literary Society. These did not come together either. It thus seems that, even among literary gentlemen, there were divisions and gradations in Canadian society which we can only dimly perceive from our distance in time because so few records and almost no membership lists have survived.

The most common activity of all these organizations was a lecture series. Since a number were announced weekly in the newspapers we can put together a good overview. The Quebec Literary and Historical Society, as its records show, was more concerned with science than either literature or history. Although it did make a considerable contribution in the latter field, the 49 page index to its nineteenth century activities²⁹ lists only four entries under "literature". Again, the QLHS is an exception. Of the others, the topics for their papers are virtually undistinguishable one from the

29. F.C. Wyrtele, Index of the Lectures, Papers and Historical Documents published by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec 1829-1891, (Quebec: 1927).

other. For example, in 1846, the Shakspeare Club heard papers on: the Oregon Question, Hamlet, Single Life, the character of Falstaff, Sincerity, the Safeguards of English Liberty, the Supernatural Beings of Shakespeare's Plays, Gastronomy, and the Last Moments of celebrated men - among other topics.

A number of literary societies maintained libraries and natural history displays for their members, as well as publishing some of the papers presented to them. The Shakspeare Club attempted to sponsor a periodical in 1847, but the idea foundered because the prospective publisher wanted a list of 200 subscribers in advance, and only 168 had come forward.³⁰ The Shakspeare Club also had two books dedicated to it - Wylie's Recollections of a Convict and John Gaisford's Minor Miseries of Human Life. However, Gaisford's Theatrical Thoughts, published the same year, includes a most unflattering account of a meeting of the club, so the dedication was either not sincere, or not successful in increasing the sale of the dedicated book.

A number of societies also established literary competitions. The entries were to be formal essays on set topics, such as the Toronto Literary Club's one "How far is the literature of a nation influenced by and indebted to the early superstitions of the people?"³¹ The Montreal

30. Montreal Transcript, January 12, 1850.

31. I have been unable to find any record of the £12 book prize being awarded. The judges were Sir F.B. Head, R.S. Jameson, and John Strachan.

Mercantile Library Association held a competition among its members for the best essay on the topic "The advantages to a Commercial Man of a Literary Education.". The winner was the corresponding secretary, Mr. Winn. Only the scientific essay competitions of the Montreal Natural History Society received wide publicity and seem to have attracted many entries. The literary competitions were intended to stimulate Canadian writing. Others were run by newspapers and periodicals, which offered small prizes of books or cash for the best submission by local writers. Despite all the effort, the only prize work that we know today is Boucher de Boucherville's "Louise Chawinikisique" which won a prize from L'Ami du Peuple in 1835.

Grouped together in statistics, or in literary societies, the Canadian writers of the period are good, grey Canadians. As one searches out biographical details one discovers that many did, indeed, follow their youthful fling at literature with decades of settled, prosperous, middle class life, during which they wrote nothing more than legal briefs. Most were respected and respectable citizens like the poet and editor George Menzies, lower class Scot by birth, conservative in politics, whose obituaries in 1847 reflect the high regard in which he was held by his opponents, as well as his friends. The women, too, were all wives, mothers, and widows who shared the respectable status of their families. There were none who

overtly challenged the social order by remaining single, or by criticizing the organization of society, as some female writers in Britain were doing at this time.

Not all the men, however, can be fitted into the "good grey" mold. Of those who do not, John Richardson is by far the best known. No psycho-biographer has yet dared to analyse the life and works of this sacred bull of Canadian letters, although a few critics have mentioned some of the unusual aspects of his fiction in the course of dissecting individual works. Richardson must be classed with the Canadian-born in this study, although the 20 adult years he had spent elsewhere link him by shared experience to the immigrant group.

Richardson, jobless and on half pay in England, and somewhat of a celebrity because of the public accusations he had made against Lt. Gen. de Lacy Evans, commander of the volunteer British force with which Richardson had served in Spain, arrived back in Canada after the 1837 rebellions as a correspondent for the Times. Fired by that newspaper because his dispatches praising Lord Durham were contrary to editorial policy, he remained in Canada and began trying to establish himself here. Because of his printed attacks on Evans and some of his activities in Spain, he was persona non grata with the Canadian military establishment and consequently could not use army connections to obtain preferment. He turned, therefore, to writing.

He began to trumpet his Canadian birth and to suggest that people should buy his books because they were about Canada and written by a Canadian. He got a great deal of free publicity from Canadian newspaper editors and from the editor of the Literary Garland. However, his personality was proudly and flamboyant and it was not long before many of the same newspaper editors were referring to him, in quotation marks, as "the gallant Major". The fact that he fought four duels in his first four years did not help the image.

Richardson did succeed in getting a large subsidy of £250 from the Assembly to help him finish his account of the War of 1812. His newspaper publishing efforts in Brockville were not meeting with success in 1841 when he petitioned Governor Sydenham for a pension. In an eight-page petition and a three-page supplement³² Richardson states that he "...is generally known and acknowledged as the only Author this country has produced...", refers to his new novel The Canadian Brothers as an attempt "to rescue from oblivion the names of great and good men whose deaths not less than their lives have reflected lustre upon this Province." As further evidence that he deserved a pension he declared that both Wacousta and Canadian Brothers had been approved by William IV, that he had been neglected by his countrymen and compelled to sell his commission because of their lack of

32. PAC.RG 7 G20 Vol 4, 414 and 452.

support, and that he and his family had served the colony in peace and war. When this petition was denied, his supplemental one sought financial assistance for his newspaper the New Era as a supporter of the governor. This too was unsuccessful. Subsequently, he had no luck at all with the military administrator, Sir Richard Jackson, nor with Sir Charles Bagot, but he did get an appointment from Sir Charles Metcalfe, with whom he was on good terms. In May 1845 he was made superintendant of police on the Welland Canal at a salary of 10 shillings a day, with no expense allowance. He was immediately involved in controversy, and had alienated Tories and Reformers alike by the time that the government, now under Earl Cathcart, terminated his job at the end of January 1846. Richardson gave up trying for government preferment and turned again to journalism. Three years later he emigrated to New York where there was greater opportunity to make a living by his pen. He died there in 1852, supposedly of starvation.

Richardson was not the only literary figure to become involved in a duel. Robert Sweeny, well known writer, son of a prominent Montreal Tory family, a lawyer and assistant inspector of pot and pearl ashes, killed Major Warde, one of the military heroes of the Lower Canada rebellions, in a duel in 1838.³³ After the event it was said to have been a

33. Montreal Gazette May 22, 1838; Literary Transcript May 24, 1838; and many other newspapers. Details of inquest, and then of Warde's funeral, followed.

terrible mistake - that Warde had mistaken Mrs. Sweeny for another lady who had shown interest in him - but Sweeny defended his wife's honour, and Warde was instantly killed. Warde was buried with full military honours. Sweeny and his second fled briefly to the United States, but soon returned to Montreal and were never prosecuted. When Sweeny died two years later at the age of 42, it was said that he had never recovered from the tragedy. One poem, published in the Literary Garland³⁴ after his death, expresses regret that a brave soldier should have suddenly been cut down.

Duels were not uncommon in French Canadian politico-literary circles. Ludger Duvernay, editor of La Minerve, was almost as disputatious as John Richardson.³⁵

In 1834 E.E. Rodier and his former friend P.E. Leclère fought when Leclère refused to give the name of the author of an article which had appeared in L'Ami du Peuple. Rodier

34. R.S., "The Soldier's Grave", Literary Garland, December 1841, p. 26.

35. Duvernay-McDougall: Courant, February 20, 1833.

Duvernay-Rimbau: Duvernay papers PAC M624 B149. Three letters dated 26 February 1835.

Duvernay-De Bleury: Morning Courier, May 10, 1836.

Duvernay-Barthe: Morning Courier court disposition April 28, 1845; La Minerve, July 29, 1844.

Duvernay-Dessaulles: account of trial in L'Avenir in 7 issues beginning December 22, 1849. Award of court in L'Avenir, December 18, 1849.

In the first two, no blows were struck. In the third, Duvernay was wounded. In the fourth, he was fined and jailed for attacking Barthe on the street. The last was a libel action.

fired and missed. Leclère fired in the air, but refused to apologize. In 1848 G.-E. Cartier found an article in L'Avenir insulting. Joseph Doutre accepted the challenge, but the police, warned by Cartier's brother, intervened. The two did fight the following day with no injury and no apology.³⁶

Since print was the medium in which writers felt most at home, there was more than one duel in print in this period. That between "Pierre-André" and Aubert de Gaspé fils, over the literary quality of L'influence d'un livre has been well documented and discussed.³⁷ Mocking reviews of each other's works and possibly slanderous personal remarks were traded by W.F. Hawley and Adam Kidd through the Vindicator and the Montreal Gazette in 1829 and 30, and by James Haskins and John Breakenridge (who used the pseudonym "Claud Halcro") in the Kingston News and the British Whig in 1844 and 45. After Haskins' death in 1845, the editor of the Whig carried on the fight against Breakenridge, both in that paper and in Barker's Magazine. When Breakenridge published a volume of poems in 1846, Barker's criticism, published in the Magazine, was devastating.

Adam Kidd suffered in another manner after the publication of The Huron Chief. Taking exception to a footnote in

36. Rodier-Leclère: Canadian Emigrant, May 24, 1834.

Doutre-Cartier: The Last Cannon Shot pp. 322-3.

37. Original comments of "Pierre-André" (Romuald Cherrier) and de Gaspé fils can be found in Le Populaire October 11 and 24, and November 15 and 17, 1837.

which Kidd had criticised James Buchanan, the British Consul in New York, for his views on the navigation of the St. Lawrence, Buchanan's sons and a friend attacked Kidd on a Montreal street. The poet was carrying a stout walking stick and defended himself so that only his dignity was hurt. He challenged his opponents to defend their position in print instead of physically, but they replied that he was beneath the notice of gentlemen.³⁸

Kidd was not the only one whose poetry evoked a violent reaction. In the papers of William Osborn,³⁹ author of a widely-copied series of political "Songs for the Times" which originated in the Toronto Patriot, there are three threatening letters, dated in June and July of 1850, referring to poems "Our Church and Our Queen" and "A Cheer for the Queen". The middle one reads:

Wm Osborn Esq.

I wrote to you some days past which I take for granted you have not received if so I wonder at you inasmuch as that I see another piece of poetry in the Daily patriot of this morning and I now again repeat my warning to you that if I see another piece of Poetry written by you praising the infernal bitch of a Queen it will only put me to the trouble of going over to you and shooting you with a neat pair of pistols which I bought at Mr. Green the Gunsmith's the other day.

Your obt Servt
A Gentleman.

38. The events are described from several points of view in Canadian Courant, March 13, 1830; the Gazette, March 15, 1830; and the Vindicator, March 12 and March 19, 1830.

39. OA. MU 2249, William Osborn Papers.

A further poem appeared, and Osborn survived for some years. So few records have survived that we cannot tell whether other writers of political poetry had similar experiences.

There were other varieties of deviation from the normal. The eminently Tory Dr. Haskins was accused of being a drunkard,⁴⁰ and he did indeed "die of a liver disease" brought on by attacks of ague caused by the unhealthy swamps near where he lived at Frankford, C.W.⁴¹ Abbé Casgrain wrote that Aubert de Gaspé fils died of alcoholism. According to Aegidius Fauteux in Lives of the Patriots, Guillaume Levesque died in a drunken stupor and his brother Charles was a suicide. Thomas Macqueen certainly was an alcoholic at some periods in his life, as his letters to Andrew Dickson indicate.⁴² One, dated July 29, 1845, in almost illegible handwriting, describes the horrors of drying out - a process he was then undergoing after being drunk for five weeks. In the same letter he describes an afternoon spent in Belleville drinking and playing the flute with J.W.D. Moodie, although Macqueen says that he does not think the Moodies knew he had been drunk for weeks. He had also delivered public lectures during the period. A letter to another individual almost ten years later⁴³ shows the

40. Kingston News, August 15, 1844.

41. Biographical sketch by Henry Baldwin in Preface to Haskins' Collected Works.

42. OA. MS 98. (Inderwick Collection) n.p.

43. PAC. MG 24 K19, (Education and Cultural Development). Thomas Macqueen to Peter Robertson, February 4, 1852. n.p.

same lapse from his normal handwriting. From the content of that letter, Macquëen is obviously upset, but he makes no mention of drinking. When an individual who had all the appropriate qualities for success never achieved it, one is always curious as to the reason. Alcoholism was a most prevalent disease in the colony, but whether there were others like Macquëen we do not know.

In 1845 The British Canadian⁴⁴ published a short piece soliciting charity for "poor old O'Grady the poet", descendant of "a highly respectable Irish Protestant family" who was destitute with winter coming on. The Examiner reprinted the paragraph with the following comment:

We would like to know if the Editor of that paper wishes the name of Poet O'Grady to be put on the pension-list of this Province, or if something like the Upper Canada Gazette could not be started for the support of his declining age. We should have thought that Sir John Smith had the first claim. Really, a life of dissipation deserves something.⁴⁵

"Sir John Smyth, L.L.D. and P.L.", the P.L. standing for Poet Laureate, published two small books of poetry and prose in Toronto in 1841 and 1845, plus many poems in local newspapers. His career had been varied before he "discovered" in 1837 that he was a poet. Someone had shown

44. No copies survive. It could have been either a Port Hope or a Toronto paper. Whether or not this is the same Standish O'Grady who published the volume The Emigrant in Montreal in 1841 we do not know. The note was picked up and reprinted by Montreal papers, which could mean it was the same person.

45. November 19, 1845. It was from this source that I copied the British Canadian information.

Smyth a copy of a British peerage register which listed a John Smyth Bart., Royal Engineer, of Canada, and Smyth decided it could only refer to himself. His fellow citizens humoured him by using the title. He was introduced to Captain Marryat when that gentleman visited Toronto and the two carried on a correspondence thereafter - Marryat flattering the innocent Smyth with subtle mockery. Smyth was the Canadas' very own figure of fun. Everything he published was solemnly reviewed with tongue-in-cheek. In a world where there were a lot of bad poets who published in local newspapers, Smyth was so noticeably bad that it was safe for everyone to laugh at him. He was also poor, eccentric, and without connections - which made it even safer. For purposes of this study his poetry is nonetheless quite "good", since he is one of the few who can give us an indication of lower class native-born attitudes. Smyth died in the Toronto House of Industry on September 1, 1852, having "long been supported by public benevolence."⁴⁶

Despite the above exceptions pre-1850 writers do have certain similarities as a group. First, they were all amateurs. However much some of them may have wished to be able to support themselves by writing none of them did. Because they were all dependent on other activities for their income, writing had to be a leisure activity of secondary

46. British Colonist, September 10, 1852.

importance. While the number of literary societies indicates a considerable interest in literature among the educated, priorities for both writers and readers, all of whom needed an income on which to live, are best illustrated by Henry Rowsell's diary entry for January 18, 1846

I went to the Shakspeare Club this evening and we had a very good debate upon "whether a life of business or a life devoted to literature is most conducive to happiness" and we decided in favour of business.

The authors whose views of Canada and the world will be analysed in the last half of this thesis were generally educated, urban, and middle class. There is nonetheless considerable variation in the profile of the three principal groups of writers, with the native-born English being closer to their French-speaking compatriots than they were to the immigrant English. The French Canadians are the easiest to classify, most of them being young male Roman Catholic lawyers who supported reform causes. Among the English-Canadian males whose occupations are known, just under half were either lawyers or clergymen. The next largest groups were government employees and editors. In religion, more native English belonged to the Church of England than to any other single denomination, although there were a greater number of dissenters overall. About half were under thirty, as compared to two-thirds of the French. Their political affiliations are almost equally split between tory, reform and unknown. Women make up 4% of the French writers, 13% of

the English-Canadian, and 24% of the immigrant English. Editorial work occupied all the immigrant French, and 17% of the immigrant English males, - along with the civil service, the largest single occupation for this group. The immigrant English tended to be older when they began to publish in Canada and their occupations are much more varied than those of other groups. Sixty percent of those whose religion is known were Anglicans; and, like their Canadian-born compatriots in the same language group, their political preferences are quite evenly distributed. Although none of the writers was wealthy, with a few exceptions they would all have considered themselves ladies and gentlemen. Despite the fact that their writing could not have first claim on their time and energy, they nonetheless took it very seriously - perhaps because it was something they deliberately chose to do. In this they were encouraged by public recognition of the value of literature in Canadian society. The prevalence of libraries and literary societies, the concern for the availability of books and periodicals at the lowest possible price, all indicate that, even if "a life of business...is most conducive to happiness", writing was an acceptable pursuit for respectable people. Although they were not paid in cash for their literary endeavours, authors did enjoy the interest and approval of the community.

CHAPTER V

THE SOCIAL UTILITY OF LITERATURE

The context in which Canadian literature was published has been examined in the light of economic factors, of its quantity in relation to literature from other countries, and of the lives of those who did the writing. Another important aspect of the context is literary criticism, particularly as it defined the goals and objectives of Canadian literature. Material in this and the following chapter will be drawn from comments about writing and its purpose which were published in prefaces to literary works and in the criticism of those works. Chapter VI will examine the perceived role of Canadian nationality in the writing of Canadian literature. This chapter will deal with a more general social utility: the moral principles which must be taught, what constituted acceptable amusement, and the intrusion into literary criticism of those two great social forces, religion and politics.

In both French and English the traditional view of the purpose of literature was that it should "plaire et instruire", "amuse and instruct". But behind both of these categories was the assumption that nothing could be either pleasing or instructive which was not first morally correct. The definition of what was morally "good" was not unanimous in all details, but it was nonetheless so fundamental to society that it underlies all the direct literary criticism.

of the period and all that was written about the role of literature in society. Even ideas of beauty were not exempt from moral judgement, since it was assumed that nothing could be beautiful which was not also good - "le Beau" was dependent on "le Bon". Similarly, a correct moral attitude was fundamental in questions of nationality, since no one would wish it to appear that Canada and Canadians were in any way morally inferior to older civilizations.

Where morality in literature is concerned a reference to chronology is of little use. In 1830-50 we are at the beginning of a "bourgeois monarchy" in France, and of what we now call "the Victorian era" in England. Historians are aware that Victorian society encompassed many conflicting values, but also that the surface unanimity remained undisturbed. Towards 1850, in the face of European revolutions and new technology, Canadian critics may have become more articulate about the necessity of portraying correct attitudes to church, state, family and society in literature, but these attitudes were the same as they had been in 1830, when the need to state them was not as great.¹

1. Two recent works on nineteenth century education in Canada, both of them beginning with the 1840s, A.B. McKillop's A Disciplined Intelligence (McGill-Queen's Press, 1979) and Alison Prentice's The School Promoters (McClelland and Stewart, 1977), dealing respectively with university level education and with common schools, have had to deal in introductory chapters with the deep pre-1840 roots of nineteenth century attitudes on the fundamental interdependence of education and morality.

Literary criticism in the Canadas between 1837 and 1850 was occasional, brief, and, except in the case of the editor of the Literary Garland did not represent the continuing point of view of any one individual.² Canadian books and periodicals were reviewed, or more often, merely "mentioned" by those newspaper and periodical editors who had received a free copy of the work. In practice this meant that new publications received publicity only in the district in which they were printed, unless an ambitious author or editor such as John Richardson or John Gibson distributed review copies with an open hand. Despite its almost incidental character and regional basis Canadian literary criticism nonetheless displays considerable unity of vision throughout the period, because it was based on a coherent system of accepted social values. Since we have not yet come to the era of experiment with literary forms, critics rarely mentioned that aspect of a literary work. Praise was given or withheld according to the content. Did it amuse and instruct? Emphasis was heavy

2. An extended analysis of criticism in the Literary Garland will be found in R.L. McDougall, A Study of Canadian Periodical Literature of the Nineteenth Century, PhD thesis, University of Toronto, 1950. The literary critics of this period were the editors of newspapers and periodicals. Except in the instance where the editor was also the proprietor, they were anonymous. Occasionally we can discover their identity in the pages of opposition journals, although this information is unreliable. Modern biographical research has revealed a few additional names. All available evidence from the period suggests that most editors of publications in English were immigrants who stayed a year or two in one job and then moved on.

on the latter quality. Did it teach additional values? Did it have national utility? Not all reviews were laudatory but, overall, the tenor of criticism was far more positive than we find it today. The nation was in a state of becoming and so was its literature. The general tone was hopeful.

For both French and English, moral values were defined first, and most rigorously, in a religious context.³ In studying Quebec literature and ideologies we are accustomed to the use of a dividing line of 1850 as the moment when ecclesiastical control of thought and writing became the dominant feature of Quebec life.⁴ With hindsight we can see in the detailed critical analysis of each new work, which appeared in Mélanges Religieux in the 1840s the shadow of things to come. However, these critiques should be seen here in the context of their own period. They are similar to ones

3. Writers in religious periodicals were, not surprisingly, most certain about what constituted right and wrong. It is difficult to resist the temptation to quote only from the Mélanges Religieux and the Christian Guardian on the subject of morality in literature. The editors of both these journals changed a number of times throughout the period, but each new one seemed as definite and articulate as his predecessor when it came to why some literary works were good and others bad. Where other Protestant periodicals, and the quasi-religious Ami de la Religion et de la Patrie, would become vague and generalizing, the Christian Guardian and the Mélanges were always specific and certain.

4. The most notable example is the book Idéologies au Canada Français 1850-1900 published in 1971 by Laval University as the first volume in a series "Histoire et sociologie de la culture." Roger LeMoine in "Le roman historique québécois" in Tome III of the series "Archives des lettres canadiennes" places the date in the late 1840s.

published by English Canada and the two together form part of the international atmosphere of conservatism which supported what we now term "Victorian morality".

In Protestant Canada divergence from the overall publicly accepted moral norm was just as rare, but a variety of denominations, some of which were congregational rather than hierarchical in organization, a variety of racial strains, and a variety of communities, allowed at least the appearance of some latitude for individuals. Any Protestant denomination would have been delighted to exercise the control over society which the Roman Catholic bishops exercised over the faithful in Canada East, but no denomination represented a majority, so the means was lacking.

What were the moral values which determined the success of a literary work? On the most basic level it meant that virtue must be rewarded and vice punished. Although it was never overtly defined, virtue meant Christian piety, honesty, devotion to family, and acceptance of God and the state as a source of all order. Vice meant atheism, alcoholism, murder, sexual or economic profligacy, and a concept of order as stemming from a democratic social compact. It was unnecessary to define what was generally understood. It is only when outrage is expressed at some overly attractive or unpunished vice that a modern reader catches a glimpse of the underlying assumptions.

For example, Les Mélanges Religieux, in expressing its opposition to contemporary French literature, explained what was vicious about it:

Égarant l'esprit public par ces éternels cris de réforme qui ne manquent jamais de réussir dans les jours d'innovation et de décadence; décrétant l'abolition de toutes les règles que le génie avait acceptées jusque-là comme de fidèles auxiliaires ou d'utiles entraves; proclamant l'art justiciable seulement du caprice et de la fantaisie individuels, on les a vus renverser les statues des grands hommes, afin de couronner sur ces piédestaux leurs royautés éphémères. Après les chefs est venu le troupeau des imitateurs, multitude aveugle, mais surtout turbulente, à qui il suffit d'ouvrir la porte pour qu'elle fasse irruption. On a exagéré les doctrines des maîtres, on a crié encore plus haut qu'eux à l'indépendance et à l'affranchissement de toute règle; on a proclamé le culte du laid et de l'horrible; on a enfanté par milliers des œuvres déplorables pour venir en aide à des théories absurdes; on a flétri toutes les vertus et réhabilité tous les vices; on a étalé avec une fécondité malade, toutes les plaies (sic) d'une société corrompue, qui loin de rougir d'elles-mêmes, se montraient au grand jour avec orgueil, demandant des suffrages et des applaudissements au lieu de la honte qu'elles devaient recueillir.⁵

The accepted rules of taste which had governed literary content had been abandoned. After restating the moral role of literature at some length, the critic concluded:

Voilà donc quelle est notre doctrine. Avant tout, nous plaçons les vérités morales et religieuses comme base fondamentale de tout système littéraire.⁶

One of the few secular examples, much more general in expression than that of Mélanges Religieux, appeared in the editorial column of the Western Herald (Sandwich, U.C.) on

5. December 17, 1841, p. 393.

6. Ibid., p. 395.

May 6, 1838. Deploring the lack of moral material in the newspapers of the province, the editorialist went on:

Why this fundamental principle of order and happiness in the social state should be so generally neglected, we cannot divine. If the whole class of newspaper readers were virtuous, honest, "temperate in all things," industrious, and possessed of all those qualities of mind and heart which add lustre and dignity to the human character, the question could be solved without difficulty; but when the reverse is so palpably obvious, it certainly argues little solicitude for the welfare of society on the part of conductors of public papers, to suffer the vices which enthrall and debase mankind to pass unreprieved, and thereby permitting them to spread through the land, diffusing darkness, disease and death in their unobstructed course. Many may urge that it is not the province of political journals to meddle with the subject of morality, as there are numerous periodicals in the country devoted exclusively to that in connection with religion. - This certainly seems very plausible, but at the same time, does not convince us of the necessity of its being overlooked by those of a different character. It is well known that exclusively religious and moral prints are only patronized by those who feel an interest in religion and its natural concomitant, morality, - and whose minds are, by assimilation to the grave and sacred subjects treated upon, capable of deriving both entertainment and profit from the perusal of them. But the daily and weekly political papers possess attractions for all classes and denominations of men, and are therefore capable of disseminating precepts of morality more extensively, and with the prospect of accomplishing a greater amount of good, than if they were the organs of either of the many Christian denominations.

The application of these views to specific works of literature was consistent. Something as innocent as La Lyre Canadienne, a collection of well-known French and Canadian songs, published in Montreal in 1847, met with only qualified approval in the Mélanges Religieux⁷ because in some songs

7. October 19, 1847.

7

"on fait l'apologie de l'ivrognerie et de l'interpérance", in another "l'on blasphème en riant", other pages "ne sont certes pas remplies de principes admissibles".

The first instalment of Mes Loisirs, by L.T. Groulx was condemned.

L'ouvrage de M. Groulx est un mauvais ouvrage; c'est un livre immoral et de la pire immoralité. C'est une production telle que nous n'en avons encore vu de semblable dans ce pays. Nous serions même étonné que dans les pays les plus corrompus on pût trouver quelque chose de pire.⁸

In this case, the lengthy condemnation which follows gives no hint as to the nature of the immorality. Good things are singled out as well as bad. Labour, courage and patriotism are worthy of praise.

Il [thé compiler of La Lyre Canadienne] a su faire plus d'un fois des choix judicieux; ce sont des pièces de poésies où l'on voit le courage du soldat, où l'on fait l'éloge de guerrier qui abandonne tout pour la défense de son pays; d'autres fois c'est la travail que l'on exalte; c'est le bon citoyen que l'on préconise; c'est l'exilé avec lequel on verse des pleurs et que l'on console dans son [illegible].

A review of The Canadian Brothers, evidently published first in the Montreal Courier and copied in the Toronto Examiner⁹ and the Kingston Chronicle,¹⁰ begins a description of the work by assuring the potential reader that it is morally correct.

...the Characters, from the chivalrous and ever to be lamented Brock, to the detestable and guilty murderer and traitor Desborough, are appropriate and in keeping with their profession and spheres in life; and, while the clever author was "adorning a

8. June 27, 1848.

9. March 11, 1840.

10. February 15, 1840.

tale" he did not neglect to "point a moral." The brave, loyal and virtuous, though often surrounded with dangers, are supported under their trials, and end their days in the paths of glory, - whilst the guilty reap the reward of their crimes, in disgrace and misery.

Prospectuses and prefaces were always careful to point out that a publication would be morally acceptable..

Original tales, essays, and poems, will grace our pages, and these shall be drawn, as far as possible, from native talent. These, it is expected, will do credit to the literati of the Province, whose efforts hitherto have met with little encouragement. In our selections we shall not be over rigid, for youthful talent requires a fostering hand; and though the standard will not be unusually high, nothing which is not above mediocrity shall be admitted, and everything having an evil tendency will be most rigidly rejected.¹¹

Le Coin du Feu's proprietors stated in their preface:

Ainsi ce recueil se composera de productions écrites pour les journaux de Paris de la plus haute respectabilité, et pour les classes de lecteurs du goût le plus raffiné; c'est assez dire que l'utile, ou l'agréable s'y rencontrera toujours...¹²

Vigilance regarding the moral precepts explicit in a literary work was generally expressed in terms of a regard for the well-being of society. For some, the source of concern went deeper. To them, salvation was the reward of a life of earnest piety. One of the qualities of piety was its rejection of all that was light and frivolous. When society condoned the trivial it both put temptation in the path of the righteous and condemned the unwary to perdition. Many residents of the Canadas whose own religious views were not

11. Barker's Canadian Monthly Magazine, May 1846, p. 5.

12. November 21, 1840.

nearly as strict as these nonetheless held, in a more and diluted form, similar attitudes. Thus, people who had no objections to music as a part of their church services would criticize "the Children of Peace" because music played too great a part in their religious life. Similarly, a little fiction to sugar-coat a moral was admissible, but care had to be taken that the human imagination was kept within acceptable bounds.

An account of a lecture by the Rev. Dr. Wilkes on the subject of "Imagination" which appeared in the Montreal Transcript January 17, 1850, gives an indication of this ambivalence.

"...The Rev. Gentleman shewed that Imagination was not an original action of the mind, but was produced by a combination of ideas, leading those gifted with it though possessing equal powers of intellect, to a widely different manifestation of their feelings. For this purpose a variety of extracts from the works of some of the best poets were read in a very beautiful manner.

The lecture was concluded by a few remarks on the propriety of curbing the imagination and keeping it in due bounds, the lecturer observing that although the possession of a refined and sensitive imagination was of infinite value as an intellectual gift, it was liable to be mistaken, and to be abused.

Censure was applied to frivolous or overly-sentimental poetry, but in general that form was regarded as conducive to sound morals and elevated thoughts.

La poésie, cette fille des cieux, cette philosophie de l'imagination qui, dans son expression la plus sublime, nous révèle, pour ainsi dire les mystères de nos réminiscences déposées sous un voile au fond de notre âme...¹³

13. Mélanges Religieux, March 18, 1842.

14. Kingston Chronicle and Gazette, November 16, 1833.

Poetry is soul - a bright emanation from the Deity. It is spiritual, not material. It is pleasure, honour, glory, elevation and happiness, all in one sensation.¹⁴

If poetry was acceptable, theatre was, however, in the eyes of many, beyond the moral pale.

We do not intend to enter into a discussion on the propriety or impropriety of the amusement [theatre]; but we are constrained to say that he, who takes a wife or sister, to witness the exhibition, has different ideas on the subject from ours.¹⁵

It was not just melodramas which were considered unsuitable by a large section of the community. Almost twenty years after the above quotation was published a lecture by Joseph Lee "Religion inculcated by the writings of Shakspeare"(sic), given before the Montreal Mercantile Library Association brought a protest from the editor of the religious periodical The Witness, which was followed for almost a month in the letters columns of the Gazette by a number of writers vociferously defending Mr. Lee on the one hand and the editor of the Witness on the other.¹⁶ The questions debated were: was Shakespeare a moral and religious writer? and was the study of his plays suitable or necessary for aspiring merchants? The Witness editor and his supporters were shocked that anything but the Bible could be claimed to inculcate religion. A lecture on Shakespeare was likened to "a little drop of sweetened spirits, which smooths to after and more dangerous indulgences." Even Shakespeare's most

15. Canadian Courant, June 17, 1829.

16. The discussion summarized here appeared in the Gazette, February 11, 16, 18, 21, and 23, 1848.

vehement defenders admitted that there were many scenes and speeches of dubious propriety in the plays, but for them the good far outweighed the bad. They justified Shakespeare's deficiencies on the grounds that the Elizabethan era for which he wrote was not a refined one. No one defended general culture as important to merchants and society. Shakespeare was defended as a moral author, and therefore suitable reading. In the end, the lecture committee of the Mercantile Library Association came forward "to admit their share of blame in this matter. They gave Mr. Lee the opportunity of delivering a very dogmatical harangue on a very uncalled-for topic, in a very unsuitable place."

Periodicals, particularly those devoted to "light literature" were considered by many to be unsuitable reading, consequently, commentators recommending the Literary Garland were at pains to reassure the public that the Garland was safe.

We cannot say that all the reading in this periodical is of the most useful sort. Yet we have not noticed articles of an immoral nature, nor so trifling as are often seen in similar works. Moral tales are numerous, with occasional pieces of religious sentiment intermixed. If the editor take care that all the narratives and other articles have, if not a religious, at least some moral tendency, there will be no room open for censuring the only periodical of the kind in the Province, or for admitting it into families having the strictest government.¹⁷

17. Christian Guardian, April 30, 1845. The contradiction of the last two clauses is as originally printed.

The reassurances were most frequent in the early days of the Garland. There were dozens of editorial commendations similar to the following:

It will be sufficient to say that they are all [the contents] of a very superior moral and literary character, and do infinite credit to the taste, talents, and genius of the writers....While such a pen as that wielded by "E.M.M." is employed in writing for the Garland, it cannot fail to be a welcome guest, wherever good taste, good manners, and good morals are appreciated. ¹⁸

The Garland's editor had, of course, given assurances of his serious intent in his initial prospectus. Similarly, the editor of the Montreal Museum published in her second number a lengthy article "On the Immoral Tendency of Modern Novels" to indicate her disapproval of light fiction in which imagination was taken beyond respectable bounds.

A mistrust of fiction was not peculiar to any one religion or political attitude.¹⁹ The tory Patriot linked French novels with what it saw as French political immorality.²⁰ The reform Globe took on penny serials published for the masses.

...The greater portion of them consists of tales and romances all turning upon scenes of robbery and seduction, both of which are delineated with an infinite amount of particular details of an exciting and most unhealthy nature. The robber or the pirate is always made a hero - daring, impassioned, with resolute will, loose character, cruel, and yet chivalric after a rude fashion. These are the elements of an idol in the school of romance. The

18. Montreal Gazette, February 5, 1839.

19. For a lengthier discussion of this subject see Chapter II "The Validity of Fiction" in Carole Gerson, Shaping the English Canadian Novel, PhD thesis, University of British Columbia, 1977.

20. August 30, 1836.

betrayed and culpable heroine is a martyr, the disgusting anatomy of whose mind is often attempted to be given, and in whose history and adventures the sympathies of the untutored, and especially female, reader are feverishly engrossed. All the incidents of the story are in keeping with the characters of the chief personages. A succession of sickly but exciting scenes is kept up - theft, seduction, violence, adultery, and murder, stalk through their pages, as if they were the most commonplace and agreeable things in the world. Contact with such a literature is inevitable corruption. Nothing can prevent it.²¹

The People's Magazine, devoted to the instruction of the labouring classes, published the following item on February 17, 1847:

BEWARE OF FICTION. - An agent employed by the Franklin County Bible Society, to distribute the word of God in that county, in making his report, says: "An aged man of ninety years, 'did not want a Bible, but a story book' - that is, a novel! Let novel readers ponder this result of a depraved taste: a passion engendered in youth, now clinging to the very extreme of age. How unspeakably sad the view! An aged man tottering a step or two more to his grave, from eternity's entrance turns back his sunken eye, reaches forth his feeble, trembling hand, and calls for fiction, as one dying of delirium tremens does for more of the fatal poison which has already destroyed him! What will he do with his passion beyond the grave? Can he throw aside God's truth and have fiction in heaven? Can he have it in hell - though more fitting there than in any other department of eternity? Let the young, let parents, beware of the poison which eats out all relish for the truth, and especially the truth of God, from the soul."

Bishop G.J. Mountain, in a letter to his daughter Harriet, warned her against allowing her maid to read novels, since it

21. January 1, 1848. The idea of fiction as particularly dangerous to females who lack "that disturbance and interference of real business, and worldly interests" to rouse them from their dreams is the subject of an article on "Novel Reading" in the second number of The Mirror of Literature (December 1835).

might have the result of "her becoming unnerved for the station appointed for her in the providence of God."²²

The Christian Guardian, which gave as much space to deploring the existence in toto of fiction as did the Mélanges Religieux, based the anti-novel case on the same "attraction of vice" and mistrust of the imagination thesis which the Globe was to highlight later:

First, we know that what we read is fiction; and, according to a well-known law of our minds, it cannot strengthen, but rather weakens the impression that virtue and vice tend to the issues indicated. We finish the novel, lay it aside, and the charm being broken, the first labour of the mind is the recollection that this is a fancy-piece. All the circumstances wrought into the thread of the story are fabulous; and the issue in which vice suffers defeat and virtue is made to appear triumphant and honourable is understood to be equally unfounded. Instead, therefore, of strengthening the belief that virtue and vice tend to such retributive results, novel reading invariably, though imperceptibly, weakens the conviction derived from other sources. Second, the novelist places vice in too great notoriety. Thousands are abandoned to such a degree of moral profligacy, that they would prefer the notoriety of crime to the obscurity of innocence.²³

It is not uncommon in "morally correct" fiction of this period to find that the reading of novels by a female character is a signal that the individual lacks moral fibre and will be either a corruptor or a corruptee as the plot unfolds. The Patriot, reporting from the London (England) Times on a divorce action just decided in Surrey, in

22. Nicolls papers. G.J. Mountain to Harriet Nicolls, May 3, 1851, quoted in D.C. Masters, "G.J. Mountain, Frontier Bishop", CHA Report, 1963, 90.

23. March 31, 1841.

which the "educated and accomplished" wife of a solicitor went off with a private soldier, quotes the Times judgment and recommends it to the reflection of local readers.

The lady appears to be one of those persons who, having been taught to read, has abused that power by the perusal of trashy novels and rhodomontade verses.²⁴

The Montreal Transcript discontinued the printing of Ainsworth's Old St. Pauls after a number of instalments because it was discovered "...to be unworthy of a place in the columns of a paper, which, like the Transcript, professes to be the ally and not the opponent of sound morality..."²⁵

A year later, the same newspaper, commencing serial publication of Sue's Mysteries of Paris, the scandal sensation of the day, reassured its readers "...that the moral of this work has been pronounced to be unexceptionable, and that any scenes which may not be considered suited to the taste of this community, will be omitted."²⁶ The editor went on to announce that additional copies of the Transcript would be printed to meet the demand.

Fiction did have its defenders. Joseph Doutre, in his lengthy preface to Les Fiancés de 1812, took on the "vieillard" who opposed novels as lacking in moral

24: April 21, 1840.

25: January 8, 1842. It is evident that the editors of the Transcript had been reprinting the novel from monthly instalments in some British periodical, and that they had embarked on this project without knowing any more about the work in advance than their readers did.

26: November 7, 1843.

instruction. First, he suggests that the older generation might have learned from classical literature, but that the new generation required other models.²⁷ Doure takes Les Mystères de Paris as his example. He says that thousands of readers have learned from, and been regenerated by, the vivid description of vice and virtue, but he also defends the work as having brought about the social changes which its author had hoped to produce.

De grandes améliorations ont eu lieu depuis la publication des Mystères de Paris. La classe pauvre a reçu une protection éminente; des institutions publiques ont propagé les oeuvres de charité; le système légal a aussi subi d'heureux changements.²⁸

Criticism of the recently deceased Sir Walter Scott in the Upper Canada Herald brought a defence from the Niagara Gleaner that Scott had banished "weak vicious and effeminate writers", that he had "uniform rectitude of moral distinctions", showed the "moral and intellectual equality of mankind in all ranks", and shunned "pictures of vice and pleasure".

He kept the enervating and unprincipled efforts of corrupting minds in check, and thus served as a mighty diversion in favour of virtue, leaving the higher tasks to its appointed defenders and inculcators.²⁹

The most common defence of fiction, however, was that it was not a work of imagination at all, but that it was based

27. A similar argument is advanced by the editor of Le Ménestrel on December 19, 1844.

28. p. xiv.

29. November 24, 1832.

on fact. Many authors attempted to disarm the critics in advance by stating that the events of their novels had really happened:

I am truly at a loss (Reader) what name to give this little work; to call it a Novel is an appellation which, in some measure it does not deserve, as it is founded on fact - the author having heard the outlines from the lady herself...³⁰

The anonymous author of The Mysteries of Montreal,³¹ the most unbelievable of all works written in Canada in this period, had the temerity to claim on the title page of the first, and only surviving, instalment that it was "A novel founded on fact".

This defence provoked two counter-arguments: did it really happen? and, if it did, should the events be better left forgotten than published for posterity? The best known example of the first question occurs with the first French Canadian novel. Aubert de Gaspé fils had written in his preface:

J'ai décrit les événements tels qu'ils sont arrivés, m'en tenant presque toujours à la réalité, persuadé qu'elle doit toujours remporter l'avantage sur la fiction la mieux ourdie.³²

The objections of "Pierre-André" (Romuald Cherrier) in Le Populaire³³ - that the work was not believable, that alchemy and avarice were not Canadian characteristics, that

30. James Russell, Matilda (Three Rivers, 1833), Preface, p.1. The plot is, in fact, a most unrealistic one.

31. Montreal, 1846. Two instalments only.

32. P. Aubert de Gaspé, L'influence d'un livre (Quebec, 1837), Preface, p.2.

33. October 11, 1837.

chance played too great a role, and that folk tales had no place in a book, were answered by de Gaspé in La Gazette de Québec.³⁴ He reiterated that the story was true, that he personally knew both misers and alchemists, and that legends were part of life in his corner of the world. It has subsequently been established that the murder which forms part of the plot did in fact take place at St. Jean-Port-Joli in August 1829. The murder was much publicized, but Cherrier, an eight year old resident of Montreal at the time it occurred, is unlikely to have been aware of it. No doubt other parts of the story are equally founded on fact - a point not terribly relevant for contemporary literary criticism except that it establishes de Gaspé's bona fides.

The second question about reality in novel writing is typified in the Christian Guardian's indignant review of The Mysteries of Paris:

We know not why the sinks of iniquity in Paris should be uncovered... or the dens of robbers, or the haunts of obscenity and infamy discovered to the world. The man is guilty before God who makes the discovery, whether he be writer or publisher...³⁵

The same review recommends truly factual reading - history, travels, the works of Cowper or Milton or Montgomery:

...fact which discovers man in all his misery, men in all the heroism of philanthropic enterprise, God in all his mercy, and the Gospel in all its hallowed might and glory.

34. October 24, 1837.

35. December 27, 1843.

A favourable review of Wacousta, published in the Kingston Chronicle on March 12, 1841, when Richardson was trying to arouse interest in a Canadian edition, nonetheless takes the author to task for errors in geography, inconsistency in characters, use of chance, and unbelievable exploits.

One novel "founded on fact", and intended to illustrate an instructive moral, David Wylie's Recollections of a Convict, accumulated a number of patronizing reviews, based on the author's humble prefatory remark that he had received no formal education. Wylie was a Scottish-born Montreal printer, and a prominent Oddfellow with reform sympathies, who was shortly to buy the Brockville Recorder from William Buell and spend his remaining forty years as one of Brockville's most prominent citizens. In 1847, when the book was published, he had been in Canada only two years and, as a self-educated, reform-minded printer, did not meet the social, intellectual, and political standards of at least some of the arbiters of literary taste. The Literary Garland review was the most severe. His statement about lack of formal education brought the rebuke:

On the contrary, this very circumstance makes it more imperatively incumbent upon us to point out its various faults and deficiencies, if for no other reason than to prove to our readers the necessity and importance of education in the publication even of so trifling a work as the one before us.³⁶

36. Vol. V, no. 5, p. 243.

It would be ungentlemanly, however, to reject the work because of the author's social class, so the reviewer's attack is principally based on the question of authenticity. Wylie claimed that the story had been told him by a friend of the protagonist, and that it had been written down for the purpose of showing the young how easy it was to fall into error. To the reviewer, authentic geographic and scenic detail were lacking - the story could as easily have taken place in New Brunswick as in New South Wales.

This defect, in the abstract, is of little consequence, and therefore might be deemed a venial one; but when brought to bear on the authenticity of the work, - the only ground upon which any real interest in it could be felt, - it becomes a matter of importance, inasmuch as by leading us to doubt the truth of the story, it deadens, if it does not paralyze our sympathies with the suffering subject of it.

The writing style is also mocked, despite the fact that to a modern reader it is better than many, and certainly no worse than others. It would appear that Wylie was considered by the Garland's editor as more fit for instruction himself than for the role of instructor.

While the Garland may have attempted tact, the Mélanges Religieux did not hesitate to link the question of social class with instruction in appropriate social objectives.

Telle n'est pas cependant la véritable destinée de la littérature. Elle ne saurait être renfermée dans les murs d'une école et uniquement enseignée dans une langue morte, et si elle ne doit pas être négligée dans les hauts rangs de la société, elle ne saurait non plus être le partage des classes inférieures. Dans le premier cas il lui manquera la vitalité; dans le second, ce sera la perfection de l'art. Elle risque de devenir stérile dans les écoles et grossière dans les rangs du peuple. Pour

qu'une civilisation soit parfaite dans son ensemble, toutes les classes doivent y participer dans une juste proportion, mais avec prépondérance de celles qui sont dépositaires de la doctrine religieuse, et qui ont l'habitude des affaires et l'élégance d'une vie dont l'emploi relevé les rend capables de donner l'exemple et d'être les organes par excellence de l'ordre social.³⁷

As in the quotation above, most references to instruction as literary objective mention some group - women, children, the labouring classes, Canadians in general, - which would be corrupted by the wrong sort of reading, and set up the critic, or the group to which he belongs as the arbiter of correct attitudes.

Now, while every effort should be made by all good men to keep out the pernicious and trashy portions of the literature in question, [low priced and popular journals] yet it is almost impossible to overrate the importance of introducing speedily into general circulation that which is wholesome. Without it a stunted and dwarfish growth of the public mind must ensue as the result of a deficiency of mental food; and in that case the people of Canada must occupy a much lower place in the intellectual scale than other nations. An effort worthy of the public confidence which may be made to remedy so great a prospective evil, should therefore surely meet with a cordial reception from all who have the welfare of Canada at heart...³⁸

The decade is unimportant. The prospectus for Garneau's L'Abeille Canadienne, dated October 26, 1833, states that the periodical will be directed particularly to "le peuple" and "la jeunesse".

Le manque de tems ou de moyens pécuniaires prive un grand nombre de personnes des connaissances nécessairement variées que renfermera notre publication. Tout le monde et particulièrement la classe à

37. March 18, 1842.

38. Prospectus for the People's Magazine, 1846.

laquelle elle est destinée, ne peut lire ou acheter les ouvrages où on peut les acquérir; (sic) nous nous efforcerons de remédier à ce mal, en tâchant de mettre à leur portée les choses les plus intéressantes et les plus instructives qu'ils contiennent, et ce sous une forme et à un prix qui en faciliteront l'acquisition.

The prospectus was much applauded in the French press, but L'Abeille only achieved a circulation of 300 and was terminated after ten numbers.

Thirteen years later the prospectus for the newspaper L'Echo des Campagnes stated that it would be:

...une feuille que le Cultivateur, lorsque les travaux du jour seront finis, puisse lire avec sa famille et ses amis, près du foyer domestique; une feuille qui, dans un langage simple et à la portée de tous, lui présente, sous une forme amusante, et lui enseigne les connaissances utiles et pratiques, dans les Arts et l'Industrie.³⁹

Just as the editor of the Echo wished to educate "le Cultivateur", so the editor of the Montreal Transcript wished to uplift "the people".

The large and increasing circulation of the TRANSCRIPT has taught us the vast importance which must necessarily attach to publications that by the lowness of their price are brought within the compass of the most limited means, and the command of everyone who knows and cares to read. The penny press penetrates every where, and if so conducted as to amuse and instruct, it will light up the thirst for knowledge and information, which is indispensably necessary to the success of vast schemes afloat for general education. What an extensive field does the moral advancement of the people open to those who have the spirit to labour for so noble an object; for, be it remembered, pecuniary advantage can hardly be attained - much of the recompense of those who labor for the people must be derived from the consciousness of doing good, where the

publication is respectably conducted - and let it also be remembered that if it be not respectably conducted, the Penny Press, like every other, becomes a fearful engine of mischief.⁴⁰

The publishing firm of Armour and Ramsay, announcing in 1843 a "people's Edition" of Scott's novels, addressed the prospectus to "Mechanics, Tradesmen and others" and stated that the purpose was "to put these marvelous performances within the reach of the masses."⁴¹ There were to be about sixty parts, published monthly, at 9d each - not really that cheap in total.

The class of people to be instructed was not always the economically inferior. Maximilien Bibaud's Biographie des Sagamos Illustres (Montreal, 1848) was intended to gather stories of North American Indians, particularly the chiefs, for the purpose of passing on to posterity a concept of the Indians' nobility in the early days of white contacts. A reviewer commented:

...on se surprend à regretter la sort de ces enfants des forêts dont les qualités généreuses, le courage et l'énergie ont été jusqu'à ce jour peu connus des nouveaux habitants de l'Amérique du Nord qui foulent les lieux occupés jadis par les puissantes tribus sauvages dont il ne reste plus que le nom.⁴²

At least three books, each extending to hundreds of pages of verse, were published in the Canadas with specific instructive intentions. F.B. Ryan's The Spirit's Lament (Montreal, 1847) catalogues the atrocities committed by the British in Ireland over a period of several centuries, with the intention of persuading his readers that the British

42. Ami de la Religion et de la Patrie, November 15, 1848.

should leave his homeland. The Emigrant and Other Poems by John Newton (Hamilton, 1846), an account in poetry of the making of a Chartist, his jailing, repentance and emigration, first to the United States where,

... of the joys of freedom JOHN soon tired,
And in disgust with petty trick and fraud,
Integrity and firmness now admired,
And 'gan Britannia's greatness to applaud.⁴³

Disillusioned with American liberty he settles in Canada and becomes a respected landowner. The moral, both implicit and explicit, is that the working class can be led astray by a little learning which allows them to get above themselves.

The Spring of Life: A Didactic Poem, in four books, with historical and illustrative notes, by J.C. Ward, was published in Montreal in 1834. In 228 pages the author discusses the rise of society, and of arts and science, not in a large sense, but in terms of a young person's developing consciousness. Its fundamental message is the importance of education. It is doubtful whether any of these books which, except for The Spring of Life, dropped unreviewed and unnoticed into Canadian society, convinced any other than the already converted of the truth of their theses. Two other works, W.A. Stephens' A Poetical Geography and Rhyming Rules for Spelling, and John Rumsey's Curiae Canadenses use rhyme as a mnemonic aid for Canadian students.

⁴³. Pages 32 and 33.

Despite the constantly reiterated emphasis on moral instruction, most of the thousands of pages of fiction published in Canadian newspapers and periodicals in this period were devoted far more to plain amusement than to morality. A modern reader cannot avoid the feeling that our forefathers protested their seriousness so often and so vehemently in order to downplay their human enjoyment of much of what they read. As long as the bad were ultimately punished and the good rewarded, novelists, readers, and editors were obviously not inclined to be too finicky about what went before. Those who genuinely believed in the immorality of all fiction probably did not read any. However, it is evident that many people did read fiction, since most newspapers devoted a lot of scarce space to it; fiction was a prominent feature of Canadian, ~~British~~, American and French periodicals; and bookstores in every community advertised current works as well as old favourites for sale.

Because it was viewed principally as an amusement, newspaper fiction was expendable. As we have already seen, fiction was dropped from the papers in favour of the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly. In the economically busy summer season less fiction was published than in the fallow winter period. The two coronations which took place in the 1830s took up many pages of the same space otherwise occupied by fiction, as did detailed accounts of Victoria's wedding and of the christenings of her first two children.

By the time the third and successive children arrived editors appeared to be becoming bored with the proceedings and christenings only merited a few paragraphs. Another substitute for fiction in the newspapers was a transcript of the latest sensational murder trial, which had the advantage of being factual, as well as thrilling.

Male editors were inclined to refer to the fiction they printed as a regrettable, but necessary, sop to their female readers.

...we feel confident that a tale of love and melancholy, seasoned with the approved ingredients of a duel and a broken heart, will be quite a refreshing variety to our fair readers, who, we never forget, are one half of the whole, and who, it is our belief, care not one jot about Repeal of the Union, Responsible Government, or the English Corn Laws.⁴⁴

A similar tone is evident in some of the reviews of the Montreal Museum and the Literary Garland. There is, however, no evidence that fiction was read by a predominantly female audience. Most popular writers were male, and most of them, like Captain Marryat and Dumas, produced tales of adventure in which "love and melancholy" were minor components. The only subscription list for a Canadian periodical of this time, which has survived, that for the Victoria Magazine,⁴⁵ lists only 77 female names out of 778 total. Some of the

44. Montreal Gazette, March 4, 1844.- The editor was complaining that the season was dull, and excusing himself for beginning a continued story.

45. It is reprinted in the modern photo-reproduction volume of the Victoria Magazine, published by the University of British Columbia Library in 1968.

copies sent to males were, no doubt, read by females, but the reverse could equally well be true. Males were as capable of being "amused" by literature as were their sisters.

The preface to The Corners of Pompeii: A Romance, a curious work published by Rowsells for the author, Richard Ryland,⁴⁶ in Toronto in 1845, does not see the desire for amusement as a specifically feminine interest, or amusement as something which must be repressed:

A "Novel or a Romance," we will all at once admit, is written not so much for instruction, or for the giving of a moral lesson to the reader, as for the amusement of his or her mind in their leisure moments, and when they have nothing else to engage their attention: hence we conclude, that as everyone, when in search of amusement, generally seeks for that which affords him the greatest pleasure - the best of the two, whether a novel or a romance, is the one that would be required. The novel merely tells of events which have happened or do happen around us every day: but the romance tells of matters and things far more exciting; it speaks of the marvellous - of blood and murder - of things which do not happen before us every day, and consequently of those things which being strange and new to us, would be likely to give us the most pleasure in those leisure moments, of which we have just now spoken.

As stated a publication as L'Ami de la Religion et de la Patrie could state in its prospectus, issued in the fall of 1847, that it would publish agricultural information and literature to modify "la sécheresse des articles politiques ou philosophiques".

46. No one seems to know who Richard Ryland was. The book does not seem to have been reviewed on publication. No person of that name appears in the Toronto directories for 1843-4, 46-7, 50-51, or 56. It could have been a pseudonym, or it could be that Ryland resided near, but not in, Toronto. The book itself is not listed in British Museum or Library of Congress catalogues.

Political convictions were used to define what constituted "good" literature in the same manner that religious beliefs provided a definition of it. Whether an action or an idea, as presented in a literary work, was judged by the critic to be "right" or "wrong" was often a function of the critic's political beliefs. In some instances a rhetorical use of the language of morality is merely a mask for political bias of the "good guys/bad guys" variety, but in many cases the link between correct politics and correct morality reflects the deeply held beliefs of the critic. Did God ordain that social and political structures should flow downward from Him to a monarch, and thence to an ever-widening pyramid, or did He ordain that power go directly from Him to each of His people, who then chose their own structures? A critic who took the first position would find any literature which showed French or American republicanism in a positive manner to be morally bad, one who took the second position would find stories of benevolent monarchs and aristocrats to be morally bad. In the heated political atmosphere of the Canadas at this time we find critics of both schools, as well as those who used political labels as a short cut to literary criticism.

The nature of Canadian publishing was such that no all-powerful clique could prevent a work from being published, or condemn it to oblivion when it did appear. Publishing of

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separate volumes was done at the author's expense, regardless of his or her politics. Among the periodicals there were a variety of political stripes, so there was usually one which would strike a congenial philosophical match between author and editor. The newspapers, of course, were overtly political, so newspaper reviews - of each other, and of books and periodicals, tended to be more explicit.

Since books and periodicals were reviewed only when the authors or editors had offered a free copy for review, the fact that a work was ignored does not prove editorial malice. A young author, who had had 200 copies printed at his or her own expense, would almost certainly have been unable to resort to this means of self-promotion. If the Literary Garland did not review Belinda or The Spirit of Love it was not the result of a conspiracy against Western Ontario reformers; the Garland's editor would have been completely unaware of the books' existence.

R.L. McDougall has described the Literary Garland as rejecting faction but retaining a fundamental bias which was "reactionary, anti-democratic, pro-British Conservative".⁴⁷ However, in the atmosphere of 1838-9, the bias is certainly partisan. The editor of the Garland claimed to be politically neutral yet in his third number he praises those who

47. The quotation is from the abstract of A study of Canadian Periodical Literature of the Nineteenth Century, PhD thesis, University of Toronto, 1950. The matter is discussed on pages 16-19 of the thesis itself.

have defended Canada against rebels and says that the anglicisation of French settlers would have a beneficial effect on the settlers.⁴⁸ In the fourth number he praises Britain and "industrious and loyal" British settlers. He says that the "events of the last year" have not added to the esteem in which Canada is held, and he complains of the "lawless excesses" of the American invasions in support of the patriotes.⁴⁹

At its inception the Literary Garland had generally received brief, positive mentions in French language newspapers, even including L'Aurore des Canadas, which was about as radical a paper as existed in French in the post-rebellion period. However, the Garland's fourth number brought a rebuke from the editor of L'Aurore.

En parcourant le 4^e NO du Garland, nous avons pourtant vu avec chagrin, parce que nous pensons que la politique ne peut que tuer la littérature et faire perdre au moins au propriétaire le support de ceux de ses abonnés qui auraient d'autres vues que les siennes sur les affaires publiques. Dans l'intérêt du propriétaire, nous espérons que sa Guirlande redeviendra purement littéraire.⁵⁰

That comment appeared in the editorial columns. In the same issue "Un Ami de la Justice" complained to the editor of political comments in the Garland's two previous issues and announced:

48. Vol I, no. 3, pp. 141 and 143.

49. Vol I, no. 4, p. 190-191.

50. March 12, 1839.

...que je me propose de lui renvoyer ma souscription, si la politique continue à trouver place dans une publication qui, suivant son titre même, doit être exclusivement réservée à la littérature; et je connais un bon nombre de personnes qui sont décidées à en faire autant que moi.

Religious politics certainly could affect the reviews of published works. The Anglican Church disapproved⁵¹ of the Calliopean, produced at the Methodist Burlington Young Ladies' Academy. Rev. Joseph Abbott's Philip Musgrave; or, Memoirs of a Church of England Missionary in the North American Colonies, though published in London, circulated widely in Canada and brought on Abbott a storm of criticism from writers of other Protestant faiths who were reacting to his insulting portrayal of non-Anglicans. The work even sparked a pamphlet of 24 pages, The Plain-Speaker; being a review of a work entitled "Philip Musgrave" by "Henry Scalper" of "Peppertown", which refuted many of Abbott's assertions and attacked the "beloved pastor" persona he had created for himself in the person of "Philip Musgrave."

Barker's Canadian Monthly Magazine was caught in another variety of literary/political tangle. It was published in Kingston in 1846 and 7 by Dr. E.J. Barker, editor and proprietor of the British Whig, who had, until the time of the rebellions, been a vociferous, combative supporter of the Upper Canada reformers. By the early 1840s Barker's political position could be described as moderate conservative.

51. November 26, 1847.

He supported John A. Macdonald in various Kingston elections, but on many issues he took positions far closer to reform policy than to that of the Tories. The reformers never forgave him for his desertion and the Tories never trusted him, so that when he began his literary periodical in 1846 his professions of political neutrality were greeted with scepticism on both sides. The Brockville Recorder, staunchly reform, greeted the first number:

It is neatly printed, and as a Canadian Magazine, apart from its political principles, which we learn from some of our cotemporaries [sic] is pretty well spiced with Toryism, we wish it every success.⁵²

The Toronto Mirror, self appointed spokesman for Irish Catholic reformers, welcomed the first number as a contribution to Canadian literature, but immediately began to run it down:

We do not refer merely to the talent which some of the articles evince, a rough, practical, superficial sort of talent which is not without its value in treating certain subjects. But we refer to the political doctrines that are professed, and to the moral principles on which these doctrines are to be maintained.

The political doctrines are the highest Tory doctrines, presented in the broadest and most uncompromising form....⁵³

Tory papers greeted the magazine briefly and recommended it, with no great enthusiasm, to supporters of Canadian literature. Two political articles which appeared in February 1847, "The Present Crisis" by "the Reformer" and "Lessons from the Past" by "a Conservative of 1837," were castigated and approved by both reformer and tory. They

52. May 21, 1846.

53. May 15, 1846.

appear to a modern reader to be moderately pro-reform but, as the confusing reviews indicate, it was a confusing period for moderates. Perhaps the combination of reform disapproval and tory mistrust accounts for the fact that the magazine which was, in many ways, the best of the period, found only 400 subscribers.

Another variety of political criticism - that of finding French or American prose literature dangerous to sound morals, was often repeated. It was generally quite specifically directed; for example, against some work of fiction which used the American Revolution as a background. But there were always some who, like the editor of The Church, would make blanket condemnations. Reviewing three works published by the S.P.C.K. on August 6, 1847, the editor concluded:

Would that works of this description could be brought to supersede the worse than useless trash which, in the imposing designation of "cheap literature" is now being poured into our colony from the other side of the Lake. The Society's publications inculcate reverence to God, and honour to the Sovereign: maxims which are seldom indeed to be met with in the baneful works to which we have referred.

The quotations from Mélanges Religieux with regard to morality in literature earlier in this chapter were all presented in a context which connected immorality in French literature with French republicanism. Although France remained a monarchy between 1814 and 1848, republican sentiments were never far from the surface of French political life. Two examples which appeared in Le Journal de Québec

late in 1848, when Louis Philippe had been deposed, show the way in which literary and political orthodoxy were linked.

On December 2, 1848, Le Journal attacked Le Canadien for what it perceived as anti-Catholic attitudes which were leading its Canadian readers astray, sarcastically suggesting that the intellectual emancipation of young Canada in a manner approved by Le Canadien, if one were to judge by the literature it published, would result in revolution.⁵⁴

The second, a lengthy article, "De la littérature en 1848," taken from a French periodical, comments:

Qu'on pense et qu'on écrive beaucoup, rien de mieux: la première vie d'un noble peuple est dans son intelligence. Mais qu'on pense sans réflexion, qu'on écrive sans idées conçues d'avance, pesées, choisies, arrêtées, ce n'est pas de la vie, c'est de la fièvre.⁵⁵

Perhaps the most striking linkage of politics and literature is the number of times the two are brought together in a review without any reason at all. Le Canadien commented on a book which the reviewer had read about, but not read, Bellegarde, the adopted Indian boy, a work, published in England, in which all the villains, except for one French-Canadian anglophile, are English, and all the heroes are Irish, French-Canadian, or American. The Canadien reviewer protests the loyalty of French Canada to the British crown in spite of exclusion from government favour and in spite of

54. The quotation is too long to be reproduced here, and its sarcasm is so intricate that no convenient extract can be made.

55. December 28, 1848. . .

"...le mépris, la calomnie, et les tentatives les plus tyranniques contre nos droits [sic], notre liberté et notre existence même comme peuple."⁵⁶ A comment which had a great deal to do with Lower Canadian politics in 1833, but very little to do with a novel set in the period of the American Revolution and which the reviewer had not even read.

On the other side of the political fence, two years later, on November 1, 1835, the Toronto Patriot welcomed a new literary periodical, The Mirror of Literature, but cautioned that:

Readers are not sufficiently numerous to sustain such publications. Another ten years will make a great difference in this respect, that is, if we can purge the dross from our Assembly, otherwise we shall travel like a crab.

La Minerve, on December 24, 1832, enthusiastically⁵⁷ greeted the new periodical the Montreal Museum. The Minerve editor managed to move, in a lengthy one column review, from approval of the periodical, to a discussion of female education, to education in general (both of which he also approved), to a criticism of the forces which retarded education, to a criticism of the seigneurial class. The Montreal Museum, itself, was determinedly non-political.

56. March 8, 1833.

57. The enthusiasm could have been related to the fact that one of the editors was a sister of Dr. Tracy. No reason was given when she dropped out after two numbers, leaving Mary Graddon Gosselin as sole editor.

We find only one instance of overt political censorship of literary material.⁵⁸ Some copies of Trobriand's Le Rebelle were seized by the authorities and the Montreal bookseller Louis Perrault was charged with uttering a seditious libel. However, Napoléon Aubin, who had printed the work in Quebec, was not prevented from producing it. After the usual manner of censorship attempts, it was unsuccessful. Aubin gleefully reported in Le Fantasque that the Montreal action:

...nous a valu une vente de plus de 300 exemplaires de l'ouvrage incriminé en sus de ce que nous en avions débité lors de sa saisie. Ceux qui en veulent encore feront bien de se presser car il nous en reste fort peu.⁵⁹

What may have been more common was the variety of censorship noted in the Quebec Seminary's copy of Matilda. Pages 69 and 70 are missing from the book. Neatly removed. Just at a point when the author seems to be suggesting that not all British officers are gentlemen. A complete copy, held in the United States, confirms that this is indeed what was printed on the missing pages.

Although priorities, and the means of achieving them, varied, most critics saw literature as a means toward achieving desirable social objectives. In both French and English, literary order was linked to social order, and readers sought in literature a confirmation of the value of

58. The case of newspapers during the period of the rebellions is excluded.

59. April 7, 1842.

the political, economic and social status quo. This was as true of works intended for the middle class as it was of those intended for the labouring class. There was an insistence on fact and reality as being more trustworthy than imagination, which occasionally reveals an undercurrent of awareness of the relativity of reality. A heavy emphasis on instruction as being more important than amusement is belied by the wide circulation of literary materials whose virtues are all in the latter category.

CHAPTER VI

THE NATIONAL UTILITY OF LITERATURE

La littérature fonde la gloire des peuples; chaque nation regarde comme un bienfait l'avantage de compter, dans son propre sein, des hommes capables d'honorer leur patrie par leurs écrits, des hommes propres à placer leur pays sur la même ligne que les Etats voisins.¹

In the late eighteenth century, and particularly with the French Revolution, the idea of a nation as more than a simple political entity with defined geographical limits became important in those parts of the world influenced by Western European ideas. It was considered that a national literature was an essential part of this new concept of nation in which the political determinant was broadened to include economic, social, and cultural factors. Establishing critical criteria for a national literature was an evolutionary process, and all countries struggled with the same questions. Was everything written in the critic's own country good because it was part of his heritage? Was it good if it instilled national pride by recounting the glories of the past as well as by articulating collective aspirations for the future? Was it good because, in describing places, people, and events, it both took possession of these details on behalf of the nation and inspired respect in the minds of outsiders? How should a national literature be related to other national literatures?

1. Le Télégraphe, April 14, 1837.

European books and periodicals, and the critical theories they contained and exemplified, arrived daily in the Canadas. It is not surprising therefore, to find Canadian literary critics emphasizing in a Canadian context the national utility of literature. Canadian critics were not theorists who examined or extended the ideas which came from outside. The concepts of nation and of national literature were accepted as given and applied to works produced here without any evident enquiry as to their relevance. Indeed, the words "nation" and "colony" are used almost interchangeably when the Canadas themselves are referred to. Despite this rather cavalier attitude to the terminology of political status, some distinctive attitudes to the country and its inhabitants do underlie critical comments on the literature of the time.

Those critics writing in French were native-born. Of the English critics, all but one were immigrants.² It is not surprising, therefore, that the two groups, although they had been in agreement on questions of morality, should respond quite differently to questions of national identity.

In addition, two non-literary events affected the cultural attitudes of the 1840s. Politically, French Canada had been defeated for a second time. Lower Canada was governed

2. The immigrant French editors, Aubin and Leblanc de Marconnay, were more interested in politics than in literary criticism. Mary Graddon Gosselin, the only one of the native-born, English-speaking editors to produce any criticism, was more concerned with female education than with questions of national identity.

by Special Council, then merged with Upper Canada in an assembly where French had no status as a language of record. Demographically, it was during the 1840s that English-speaking colonists finally outnumbered those whose mother tongue was French.

Literary critics, newly arrived from the United Kingdom, expected English culture to be dominant. French Canadians were fighting for their cultural lives. For the French critics, Canada was the home of a spiritual, rather than a spatial, nation. "Le peuple" and "la patrie" were more important than scenery. Canada was old. It was the place where one's ancestors were buried. For the English immigrant critics, Canada was a new land to which they had consciously committed their future and that of their children. The family graves were elsewhere. For the immigrants, Canada was a legal entity which occupied a defined space. These two contrasting attitudes recur throughout the "national" literary criticism in both languages.

There is nothing here of the "nation-building" concepts of post-Confederation Canada and its literature. Although both views go beyond institutional political mechanisms, they are nonetheless fairly narrow. They are also almost mutually exclusive. Competing views of the nature of Canada, its past, present and future, and of who should have the right to define and describe the country were put forward.

All the criteria set out in the first paragraph of this chapter had both national and international implications. Even the response to the simplest question - was a work good because it was Canadian - had many layers. If it gave an opportunity to young Canadians to develop their literary skills and if it added to the corpus of Canadian literature - thus showing that residents were intelligent and capable - then it was good. If the quality of the work was so poor that it let down the side - implying a lack of education, ability and standards in the Canadas - then it was bad and must be severely criticized - thus showing that Canadians were sophisticated enough to make critical judgments and also instructing the next native generation in proper writing techniques.

Beyond the question of the manner in which something was presented were the questions of subject. If Canadian history was shown to be glorious, this encouraged the pride of the reader in his place of residence and give it dignity in the eyes of the outside world. If the land was perceived to be beautiful and fertile, residents would feel fortunate and perspicacious in their choice, new settlers would be encouraged to join them, and outsiders would envy them. If fiction showed that the Canadas were a place where one could achieve financial security through one's own endeavours, then the residents would be pleased with their own success and the Canadas would appear to others as a land occupied by worthy

... The ultimate objective of all these requirements of a national literature was to inspire pride in those who identified themselves with the nation and envy in those who did not.

In this chapter we will be considering the national utility of literature in the Canadas as it was perceived by resident critics. First will be the question of whether indigenous literature had intrinsic worth because of its place of origin, then the allied question of the relation of that literature to the American, British, and French national literatures which circulated here. Finally, the interrelated questions of the domestic and international objective of Canadian literature will be examined.

French and English were agreed only in their response to the first of these questions - a "qualified yes". Although approval of native works was by no means given without hesitation or qualification, critics appear to have seen the encouragement of native writers as one of their primary duties. A long, laudatory review of Robert Sweeny's Remnants in the Montreal Gazette on May 21, 1835, terminates with this stern injunction to Gazette readers:

We would earnestly recommend every person in the free unincumbered [sic] enjoyment of a half crown, to apply it in purchasing a copy of the "Remnants". In addition to the actual value of the article, it has other important claims to consideration. It is written, printed and published in this city. Authors are scarce commodities in this matter-of-fact country, and it is the duty of our citizens to use them well when they do make their appearance.

Periodicals, as well as individual authors, met with the same response. The first Garland, the Canadian Garland of 1832-3 was recommended to the readers of the St. Thomas Liberal in the following terms:

The Garland, we believe is the only periodical in the Province, exclusively devoted to literature, and for that reason presents additional claims to the patronage of Canadians - the literary genius of our own country should be encouraged in preference to that of any other.³

The second Garland, the Literary Garland was almost universally recommended as a Canadian work which should be purchased by Canadian readers. One of the bluntest comments appeared in the Upper Canada Herald (Kingston) shortly after the Garland began. Referring to works in that month's issue, the Herald writer commented "...most of them have the additional merit of illustrating Canadian history, manners and scenery, besides keeping our money at home."⁴

Newspaper editors, who were most often the recipients of the least polished products of Canadian genius were the ones who had to face the fact that to be Canadian was not enough. From time to time they all responded in their editorial columns to individuals whose works had not been published.

Does I.H. really think, we are to be hoaxed by such base plagiarism?

Juvenis had better go to school, Forlorn will not rhyme with dawn.

Is H.D. (We spare the name in pity!) a knave or a fool?⁵

3. November 8, 1832.

4. March 28, 1839.

5. Kingston Chronicle, August 21, 1830.

Whatever the location or the date, the message was the same.

Every one who takes it into his head to scribble a "bit of prose or poetry," becomes affronted because we do not insert it in our "widely circulated and useful Journal" as the writer flourishingly styles our "little hebdomadal" - not perceiving, in the rapture he feels at the idea of having his name in print, that the insertion of his tissue of ungrammatical nonsense, would only entail on himself the epithet of a fool or a jackass.⁶

Each column of condemnation always finished with an invitation to other writers to submit their work.

French-Canadian critics responded in a similar manner to questions of inherent national worth.

...il nous semble bien écrit et nous croyons devoir recommander à ceux qui ont à coeur l'avancement des talents canadiens, de donner quelque attention à cette première oeuvre d'un jeune homme dont le debut dans les lettres possède certainement du mérite, de l'attrait, et promet pour l'avenir un écrivain distingué.⁷

Periodicals were similarly praised. On March 8, 1841, Le Canadien greeted L'Institut, Garneau's successor to the Journal des Etudiants with praise, not for the contents, but because of its very existence.

Nous aimons à voir ainsi se multiplier ou s'agrandir les Journaux, c'est une preuve du progrès des lumières, et du désir de les répandre.

In the 1830s French-Canadian literary critics were less willing to automatically applaud native literature than they became in the 1840s. No one had even commented on Bibaud's

6. Chatham Journal, August 20, 1842.

7. Le Castor, November 12, 1844. The critic was referring to Doutre's Les Fiancés de 1812.

volume of poetry, Epitres, Satires, etc. when it was published in 1830, although it was a first for French Canada, but in 1831 La Minerve reprinted a condescending critique of it published in France by Isidore Lebrun. Debate raged in La Minerve for months⁸ with Bibaud defending himself against "Z", "W.V." and "Parnassi Abortivus". It is difficult to know whether the attack on Bibaud was the result of his break with Duvernay, or the cause of it, although one suspects the former, because La Minerve had applauded Bibaud's efforts until that time. Throughout the dispute the Minerve's anti-Bibaud correspondents gleefully seconded the half of Lebrun's criticism which referred to Bibaud's lack of poetic skill, but they made no comment on his criticism that Bibaud's choice of subject showed French Canadians to be boringly like the citizens of every other country. Lebrun was looking for something more exotic.

Il existe encore des peuplades d'aborigènes, restes des tribus belliqueuses, aimantes et féroces, qui conviées à la civilisation par des moines, et non par des agronomes et des William Penn, ont préféré la vie indépendante. Leur énergiques harangues, leurs assemblées, leurs chasses et leurs amours n'ont pas encore été traitées par la poésie. Combien d'épopées lui procurait le Canada!

The silence of "Parnassi Abortivus" and his friends in the face of this condescending view of their homeland seems to indicate that they were more interested in personal attacks

8. October 20 to December 20, 1831. The quotation from Lebrun which follows appeared on October 20. Bibaud published the Lebrun review with a reply in the first number of Le Magasin du Bas-Canada in January 1832.

on Michel F. L. than they were in discussing the future of literature in Lower Canada.

The next published volume, L'influence d'un livre received similar treatment. The critique of Pierre-André and the replies of de Gaspé files are well known to students of French-Canadian literature.⁹ However, a chapter of the novel had appeared in the Quebec Telegraph/Télégraphe on April 14, 1837, and was greeted with praise in Le Populaire five days later. The editorial commentator put the projected novel in its context:

Le Canada pourra donc un jour montrer son Walter-Scott, son Cooper, qui transmettra aux siècles futurs les souvenirs d'une jeune terre, et qui apprendra à toute l'Europe, en l'amusant par des fictions mêlées à des vérités, les moeurs, les usages et les faits [sic] importants [sic] d'un sol que l'on s' imagine encor [sic] être sans fertilité de l'autre côté de l'Atlantique.

The question of whether writing had inherent merit because it was produced in Canada had another resonance in English which was unknown in French. Who was a Canadian? It is obvious from critical comments that anyone who lived in the Canadas was considered Canadian for literary purposes, yet there was an underlying concern for the native-born who, after all, were likely to be the immigrant critics' children. The many mentions of John Richardson as a native son are not really a part of this. That particular means of self-

9. Le Populaire, October 11, 15, 24, November 15 and 17, 1837. They have been reproduced in most-modern editions of the novel.

promotion originated with Richardson himself. Whether it served to make his contemporaries more conscious of the native-born as writers we do not know, but a number of comments about native authors did appear about the same time as the prospectus of The Canadian Brothers.

It is, perhaps, ungenerous, to quarrel with the Garland, because native talent is not plentiful as black-berries in summer-time; but we feel vexed and mortified, there is so insignificant a turn-out, of it.¹⁰

The critic goes on to mention Richardson's prospectus as "the work of a 'British American', then refers to two others "A gentleman named, LONGMORE"¹¹ and "A Mr. WILLIS"¹² both of whom were "British Americans" who had published works in their native land. "So Canada is not barren, entirely."

The Montreal Gazette¹³ also mentioned "our excellent and highly gifted friend, Major LONGMORE" in conjunction with Richardson, as natives of the province who had been recognized in the world of letters. Both these anonymous critics are making a clear distinction between native-born and immigrant writers for the purpose of proving that the one was as competent as the other.

10. Montreal Morning Courier, December 13, 1839.

11. George Longmore, born in Quebec in 1793, author of the pseudonymous The Charivari (Montreal, 1824) and other works which were published in London and Capetown.

12. John H. Willis, of Quebec, anonymous author of Scraps and Sketches of a Literary Lounger (Montreal, 1831), and a frequent contributor to newspaper literary pages. See Appendix C.

13. Quoted in the Western Herald, September 18, 1839.

The Bathurst Courier (Perth, U.C.), one of the newspapers which published a very high percentage of Canadian literature also reflected on the question of native-born writers. Mrs. J.P. Grant, who published poetry frequently in the Bathurst Courier is praised, but rejected because:

...her lays are the utterance of sentiments more akin to the recollections of her "Island Home", than to thoughts originated by the superior grandeur of Canadian Scenery...

"J.S.M." is considered, and rejected, because he "likewise, is not a poet of the Bathurst District."

To "H. MAIR" alone, of all that largely contribute for the "Poet's Corner" of the Bathurst Courier, belongs the honour of being a native of the District. Of him we say, "he belongs to us."¹⁴

The writer, having established that it is all in the family, then goes on to explain to young Holmes Mair, in considerable detail, why he is a bad poet, and what he must do to improve his writing so that he may bring honour to the Bathurst District..

There is nothing to indicate that the English immigrant critics considered immigrant writers to be superior to those born in the Canadas. Nor, as a standard of comparison, did they see the literature of Britain as embodying perfection. The very best works were certainly British but, as recent emigrants, they were certainly aware of the existence in the United Kingdom of much that was less than first-rate. Thus Wylie's Recollections of a Convict could be praised as

"...a good a story as nine out of ten of what appears in English Magazines..."¹⁵ and the Maple Leaf for 1849 as "...a production to which provincial towns even in England can rarely produce a parallel..."¹⁶

American literature was quite another matter. For some critics, like those quoted in the previous chapter, anything written in the republic was morally damned. Nonetheless, a lot of American periodicals circulated in the Canadas and individual Canadians had the opportunity to make their own evaluations. National pride and international jealousy are most evident in comments about American literature.

Periodicals like the Literary Garland were almost invariably compared to their American competitors.

If it has not the outward dress and the pictorial embellishments of the Lady's Book and Lady's Companion, and similar periodicals of the United States, it is not a whit inferior to them in the character, style and interest of its original matter.¹⁷

With such a magazine as the Garland among us, we cannot see why there should be any necessity for the importation, from the United States, of the second-rate periodicals with which our neighbours are all deluged. The literary contents of the Garland are almost entirely free from that mawkish sentimentality which so heartily disgusts the reader of taste and judgement.¹⁸

It were a derogation to the Garland to compare it with many of the trashy monthlies that issue from the American Press; and it would suffer nothing from a comparison with the best Magazines published by our neighbours - always excepting, however, the engravings.¹⁹

15. Montreal Transcript, December 26, 1846.

16. Toronto Patriot, December 18, 1848.

17. Montreal Transcript, May 10, 1842.

18. Montreal Gazette, July 17, 1845.

19. Christian Guardian, July 29, 1846.

Not everyone thought the Garland superior to its American rivals. A critic in the Morning Courier of June 22, 1849, who obviously thought Canadians a very poor lot to begin with, asked rhetorically:

Is it equal to the New York Knickerbocker, or to any other Monthlies....No, - it is not! Then why call you it, "this charming periodical?" - Because it is Canadian!

The writer does think that the Garland "is a work of far superior literary merit to anything we could have expected here." He continues for another column's length on the theme:

Is it not a most painful reflection, - the very backward condition of things literary in Canada, compared with the adjoining States.

A commentator on the Garland, late in that periodical's life, summed up the general tone of criticism in the previous decade:

It is pleasing to reflect that we have in the Province even one monthly literary periodical which Canadians may claim as their own, and that its articles are the productions of residents of the country, not inferior in manner and matter to many of the articles which grace the pages of similar periodicals in the British isles, and infinitely superior to much of what appears in some of the publications of the neighboring States, which, unfortunately, many of our Provincial readers seem to prefer to the better description produced in their own Province.²⁰

French-Canadian critics are almost completely silent about the relation between literature written in France and that written on Canada. That the standard of excellence was European is evident from the predominance of European

20. British Colonist, January 2, 1849.

Literature and literary criticism in Canadien newspapers and periodicals, but no direct comparisons were made. Although there are occasional suggestions by young Canadien writers that preference for European literature is a snobbish affectation, in general European literature written in French seems to have been regarded as a symbol of the superiority of French culture to English, and thus by reduction of the superiority of French-Canadian culture to that of the immigrant English.

While the national origin of authors and their works was important to critical evaluation, the actual subject matter was of equal concern to Canadian critics. Many editorialists and reviewers came forward to suggest suitably Canadian topics for native writers. In 1831 an editorial critic in Le Canadien found verses submitted by "Melthène" too imitative and recommended as a subject:

Le Canada, ses grandes beautés naturelles, ses habitants libres et heureux, et dignes de l'être, ses souvenirs, son état actuel, son avenir plus beau encore que son état présent...²¹

A correspondent of Le Canadien a decade later wanted Canadien authors to turn their:

...belles et nobles pensées sur les avantages si variés qui découlent de l'instruction, sur les sacrifices que devraient faire pour la procurer à leurs enfants les intéressants cultivateurs des deux rives de notre majestueux fleuve, sur la beauté et l'aimable simplicité de la vie champêtre, et surtout sur la stabilité et le bonheur que procure aux nations un système d'agriculture amélioré et sagement mis en honneur.²²

21. July 30, 1831.

22. April 23, 1841.

J.-G. Barthe, a literary as well as a political activist, questioning in L'Aurore des Canadas the lack of French Canadian literature asked rhetorically:

Manque-t-il de douleurs à soupirer, de noms à honorer, de beautés à chanter, de gloire et de beaux jours même à célébrer? Notre patrie n'a-t-elle pas aussi son sanglant thermidor, ses fastes de triomphe, son pâle horizon, ses vertes campagnes, ses hermitages, ses libérateurs et ses guerriers?²³

For French-Canadian critics Canada had beautiful scenery, fine people, and a past, present and future, all meriting inclusion in literary works.

Pride in these component elements had been a feature of Michel Bibaud's periodicals of the 1820s and 30s. Articles on French Canadian history, biography, language and science were complemented by French-Canadian poetry - usually written by the editor himself. In his historical writing and in the accounts of various voyages of discovery Bibaud writes about a Quebec with its old boundaries - all of North America north and west of the Appalachians. His French Canada is a particular place inhabited by particular individuals or, in his "satires", particular types of people.

His successors of the 1840s do not mention any particular space as belonging to French Canada and they see le peuple canadien as a collective entity, rather than as individuals. James Huston, soon to become the compiler of Le Répertoire National wrote in L'Aurore des Canadas, welcoming

L'Album Littéraire et Musical de la Revue Canadienne that

L'Album merited:

...plus que ses soeurs aînées, sous le rapport national, l'attention particulière du Canada français, et l'encouragement de tous les hommes qui désirent voir les enfants du sol cultiver l'art d'écrire et celui de la musique; car toute entreprise qui tend à consolider notre nationalité, si je puis m'exprimer ainsi, ou qui peut lui donner un nouveau lustre, un nouvel éclat, ne doit pas être l'oeuvre d'un seul, mais bien l'oeuvre de tous; tous doivent contribuer à son succès, les uns par leurs travaux, les autres par leur argent.

Six long paragraphs later, he enjoined his compatriots:

Travaillons, hommes du Canada français, travaillons à créer une littérature canadienne qui deviendra bientôt, le second appui de notre nationalité comme la religion catholique en est le premier.²⁴

Literature, then, had a national component. Reviews of Huston's Répertoire, an anthology of Canadian writing of the past, most often referred to its national importance:

Ce travail est vraiment national dans son objet et par les recherches que celui qui s'en est chargé a été forcé de faire...²⁵

Le Répertoire est un ouvrage national, et le public canadien serait ingrat, s'il ne reconnaissait pas le mérite de ceux qui travaillent à enrichir l'histoire de pays, à y ajouter des pages brillantes.²⁶

This national identity had a strong component of references to past glories and it was, for critics as for most writers of the 1840s, the very recent past, not the glories of New France, to which they referred. Barthe's "sanglant

24. March 3, 1846.

25. Le Journal de Québec, October 28, 1847.

26. L'Avenir, October 31, 1848.

"...rindor" and "libérateurs" were fresh in his memory. The same review in L'Avenir quoted above praised the memoirs of the executed De Lorimier which had appeared in the second volume.

Nous souhaitons que M. Huston puisse encor glaner sur ce champ glorieux quelques uns de ses souvenirs qui font honneur à notre caractère national.²⁷

A review of Charles Guérin²⁸ refers to it as "un roman local, brodé sur une grande pensée sociale, nationale et politique, l'encombrement des professions libérales dans le Bas-Canada." Charles Guérin is set in the 1830s.

Huston himself called up the more distant past as a support for literature in his long article on the Album littéraire in L'Aurore:

Mais, surtout, retraçons souvent dans cette littérature nationale les souvenirs du passé, source inépuissable d'enseignements utiles pour nous guider dans notre marche de présent vers l'avenir; car les souvenirs du passé sont les plus beaux ornements dont l'on puisse parer l'édifice de la nationalité; car les souvenirs du passé d'un peuple, entouré comme nous le sommes de populations étrangères forment aussi une [illegible] indestructible contre les envahissements d'usages étrangers qui tendent naturellement à faire disparaître les traits caractéristiques des mœurs nationales. Pour nous, canadiens, les souvenirs de notre passé, si riche en grandes choses et si glorieux, deviennent plus que pour tout autre population, par rapport à notre position exceptionnelle, la pierre angulaire de notre nationalité.²⁹

Uncertainty about the future of the French language in Canada forced most critics to resort to appeals to the

27. October 31, 1848/

28. La Revue Canadienne, February 10, 1846.

29. March 3, 1846.

superiority of French culture as a final justification for what was written in Canada. The best example is an article of Garneau's, too long to quote here, which was published in Le Canadien on February 22, 1841, titled "Abolition de la langue française par l'acte de réunion des deux Canadas". Garneau begins with an extended discussion of the virtues of knowing more than one language, but he turns soon to two full columns of a list of French inventions in a number of varied fields. He begins his peroration in favour of bilingualism in Canada: "Voici la liste des principales inventions dues au génie de la France. N'est-elle pas grande et belle?"

Two quotations from 1844 elaborate the theme:

Nous sommes attachés à nos mœurs, à notre manière d'être, et surtout à notre langue, si noble, si polie, si élégante et si correcte. Alors nous devons tenir à la culture, à la survivance de cet idiome et de ces mœurs. Comment mieux propager cet esprit français, personnifié et incarné dans le langage et les mœurs, qu'en réveillant chez nos jeunes compatriotes, ces goûts littéraires et artistiques, qui ont distingué nos ancêtres de tout temps, et qui font briller la France aujourd'hui d'un si vif éclat.³⁰

The prospectus to La Revue Canadienne, dated December 1844, uses exactly the same words quoted above - giving us a strong suspicion that "Un Ami de Son Pays" above, was Louis Letourneau, the editor and proprietor of La Revue. In the prospectus he continues:

...C'est notre pensée de tous les jours, celle de populariser au pays la belle littérature française

30. "Un Ami de Son Pays", "De la littérature en Canada", La Minerve, April 8, 1844.

et par là de nous rapprocher en quelque sorte de l'Europe, de nous réchauffer au soleil de sa civilisation et de suivre ses immenses progrès en fait de sciences et d'art.

Calls to a national literary vocation and reminders of the glories of France were insufficient to stimulate a thriving native literature. Almost all the positive statements quoted above were accompanied by sad comments on the state of Canadian literature.

Souvent on s'est étonné que dans un pays comme le nôtre, tout chaud de souvenirs, tout empreint d'une heureuse originalité, la littérature, cette douce inspiration des hommes instruits et intelligents, ne fût pas plus en vigueur et plus honorée. Souvent l'on s'est demandé à quoi attribuer cette espèce d'inertie dans une science qui répand sur une nation le parfum suave du génie et la met au niveau d'elle-même. Quelle raison donc à donner au manque d'écrits littéraires chez notre peuple canadien.³¹

The reasons for lack of achievement most commonly adduced all refer in some manner or other to the English presence in Canada. The writer just quoted answers his own question:

Nous attribuons donc, sans crainte d'être réfuté, ce peu de littérature à la race qui nous environne, froide et égoïste...

As a colonial power the British government

...ne s'est pas arrêté devant ce qui, pour nous, est plus cher que les lois, que les mœurs, que tout, le reflet de la pensée et l'expression du cœur, ce symbole de notre originalité, la langue de nos pères et de nos enfants!³²

Lack of primary education, one of the most commonly given reasons for the small amount of French Canadian literature,

31. Le Canadien, November 14, 1845.

32. La Revue Canadienne, June 14, 1845.

was, of course, also traceable to the English who, in the patriote view, had sabotaged all attempts to provide it.

...l'éducation du peuple n'est pas faite; il n'y a pas d'écoles primaires et vous voulez de la littérature; nous n'avons pas les moyens.³³

The English argument was also used in an attempt to stimulate more writing. In 1839 L'Ami du Peuple commented on the prospectus for M. Ethelind Sawtell's Mourner's Tribute:

Le Canada fait honneur à la littérature depuis quelque temps, et nous remarquons avec plaisir qu'une foule de Dames anglaises occupent activement leurs loisirs à illustrer leur plume en vers et en prose; nous nous estimerions heureux de voir les mêmes progrès s'effectuer parmi les Dames canadiennes, car nous sommes persuadés que leur modestie seul les empêche d'entrer dans la lice.³⁴

It might be suggested that L'Ami du Peuple was anglophile anyway, but L'Aurore, which definitely was not, commented approvingly on the Literary Garland in the same year, and continued to do so. On March 7, 1843, the editor wrote:

La Guirlande prouve toujours une chose, c'est que les littérateurs anglo canadiens ont le dessus sur nous autre, [sic] parce que nous n'écrivons pas. Il est d'autant plus honteux de nous laisser ainsi surpasser qu'il y a parmi nous des femmes-poètes et de jeune littérateurs qui, s'ils étaient ou moins modestes ou moins paresseux, pourraient se placer avec avantage devant le public littéraire.

In his 1842 prospectus to the Encyclopédie Canadienne, Michel Bibaud had one last try at rousing his fellow canadiens:

Si l'on n'en jugeait que par l'apparence, sans se rappeler en même temps, combien elle est quelquefois trompeuse, on pourrait être tenté de croire que l'instruction, le goût des arts, l'amour des

33. La Minerve, April 8, 1844. The writer does suggest, however, that literature results from secondary level education, of which French Canada has no shortage.

34. September 25, 1839.

sciences et des lettres, sont à peu près nuls parmi la population Canadienne d'origine française et que, sous ce rapport, cette population est infiniment au-dessous de celle qui parle la langue anglaise.

A sense of frustration at having to share the Canadian literary world with a large population group who wrote in another language was one of the few common grounds between French and English critics when they discussed the idea of a national literature. In general, English-speaking literary critics saw the essence of Canada in quite different terms from the French. They were less concerned with the past as a subject, far more concerned with the present and the future. Since only one of them was native-born, and her principal interest was in female education and writing, this is not really surprising. They were "emigrants", not "immigrants". They were defined by what they had left, and looked on Canada as a new land which, in the future, must be brought up to the standards they had previously known. The idea was first expressed by David Chisholme in his two literary reviews in the 1820s, and was repeated in the 30s and 40s by succeeding generations of immigrants.

The one Canadian-born critic, Mary Gradion Gosselin, editor of the Montreal Museum, commenting on an original story "Sketches of an Idle Moment" by "Francis H."³⁵ recommends that the author:

³⁵ Vol 1, no. 2 (January 1833), p. 102.

...direct her descriptive talents to local society and manners.... Sketches from her pen of fashionable life, as it is at home, would be more to the purpose, more piquant, than stories told of "gallant lords and ladies fair" who figure in a "far far land".

The exhortation to describe things within the writer's range of experience was a common one, but if it had been an immigrant critic, rather than a native, the "home" to which he referred would have been somewhere other than Canada. One of the few immigrants to suggest subjects from the Canadian past was the editor of the Canadian Literary Magazine who listed:

The sufferings of the U E Loyalists, - the privations of those who sunk beneath the gnawings of Famine in Hungry Bay, - the adventures of the Hunter, especially if he possessed the romantic spirit of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, - the Guerilla-like achievements of the late War, - the past and present condition of the Aborigenes...³⁶

It is interesting to note that history begins for him with the arrival of the loyalists in Upper Canada. There are Indians in his scheme of things, but no French Canadians.

General description of present places and events was more often suggested than references to the past. A writer in the Canadian Casket in 1832 mentioned:

The cloudy grandeur, and trackless extent of our mountains; the solemn whispers of our deep and rapid rivers - the awful stillness and sublimity of our vast ocean-like lakes - our endless labyrinth of forests - the magnificent variety of our landscapes - and the simple but intruding aspect of our cities and villages, breathe the very air of poetry, which the contemplative enthusiast must inhale.³⁷

36. Vol I, no. 1 (April 1833), "Address to the Public".

37. June 16, 1832, 119.

It was also important to describe the Canadian people in a positive manner, as this Literary Garland review of The Canadian Brothers indicates:

Altogether the work deserves well of the Canadas, and the British Provinces in general, for in it is the colonial character vindicated from the aspersions hitherto too frequently cast upon it, as being secondary in sterling worth to that of the parent country - an idea the expression of which was as impolitic as its belief was erroneous and unjust. It is indeed obvious that the materials composing colonial society are of the best producible by the mother country, with occasional exceptions unworthy of remark, for the very fact of a wish to emigrate argues a desire to rise to a more elevated position, and there is no ingredient in the human composition more deserving of commendation than a just and properly directed ambition.³⁸

Praise for those writers who described Canada was usually coupled with a mention of the purpose of the description. For most of the immigrant critics this purpose was to let those "at home" know what Canada was like.

A very laudable effort is made to direct a fair share of public attention to the favored and happy land of "our birth or adoption" by presenting descriptive pieces of the splendid scenery by which we are surrounded, and the everyday life of the rural inhabitants....³⁹

Writing of the same publication, the Maple Leaf for 1849, the editor of the Toronto Patriot recommends it to any reader who seeks -

...to diffuse among his acquaintances in "the old country" a rational idea of the actual position of things amongst us, and to disabuse them of the strange notions respecting our outlandishness which linger so obstinately in the minds of the good folks in the British Isles.⁴⁰

38. Vol. II, no. 3, 139.

39. British Colonist, December 26, 1848.

40. December 18, 1848.

This was, in fact, one of the roles the Maple Leaf had assured. The first of the three annuals, although entirely written in Canada, had as its subject European places, events and people. Annuals, in all the English-speaking countries, were most often purchased as Christmas and New Year gifts. The Maple Leaf's editor discovered that many of the Canadians who purchased his annual were sending it as a present to "the old country" and that they wanted the contents, not only to be written in Canada, but to be about Canada. The Maple Leaf for 1848 and for 1849 are thus very different in content from that for 1847.

Description of Canadian places and events with the ultimate objective of encouraging emigration was the whole purpose of a publication like the Canadian, British American and West Indian Magazine, published in London in 1839.⁴¹

If non-residents were to be impressed and attracted by Canada and its literature, then "civility and refinement" would be necessary characteristics in order to counteract an image of backwoods crudity. The editor's address "To our Patrons" in the Canadian Garland in 1833 states:

The progress of science, and the cultivation of literature has had considerable effect in changing the manners of our nation, and in introducing that

41. The eleven issues of this magazine, located in the University of Western Ontario Library, give accounts of Canadian politics, examples of Canadian literature, and descriptions of races, balls and regattas in Toronto. Although other colonies are given some space, most of the coverage goes to Upper Canada.

civility and refinement by which we are now distinguished; and we have now arrived at that state of society, in which those faculties of the human mind that have beauty and elegance for their objects, begin to unfold themselves. [sic]⁴²

James Holmes, one of the Literary Garland's poets, wrote to the editor in 1840 "The literature of a country is the measure of its progress towards refinement."⁴³

The preface to the first Maple Leaf, the annual for 1847, states that the editors' "principal object" was to "assist in promoting the diffusion of a taste for Literature and Art."

In this way, they conceived, the soft influences of the refined taste, which they desired to spread, would make surer and more rapid progress....⁴⁴

That the Maple Leaf was to some extent successful in its objective can be seen in one of the many favourable reviews - in this case, of the last Maple Leaf, the one for 1849. A reader should buy the annual for several reasons:

Does he desire to increase in this fair young land of Canada a taste for polite literature, and to encourage the efforts of those who incur labour and expense, at a heavy risk, in order to produce in Toronto something worthy of a civilized community?⁴⁵

If some of the immigrant English critics appear to be looking nervously over their shoulders at what they perceived to be negative British views of life in the Canadas, they show no such defensiveness where the future of the colony was

42. Vol. I, no. 1.

43. Vol. II, no. 9, p. 432.

44. No pagination.

45. Toronto Patriot, December 18, 1848.

concerned. The editor of the Maple Leaf for 1848, discussing in his preface an engraving of the city of Toronto printed in that number, rejects the subject of much of the romantic literature of the past:

To the traveller who looks with greater pleasure on evidences of health and vigour - on the busy wrestling of civilization with the wilderness - than on ruin and decay and the ivy creeping over the fallen remains of man's past energy - there are few places capable of exciting a livelier interest than Toronto. The Present and the Future occupy her thoughts far more than the Past.

A cynic might say that this was making a virtue of necessity, but the attitude was nonetheless common among the English-speaking critics. Thus if Canadian literature did not have much of a present, it at least had a future:

It is gratifying to see Literature gradually showing itself in Canada. Let us welcome and cherish it - and we will be doing a service to our own, as well as future generations.⁴⁶

remarked a writer in the Toronto Mirror, announcing that J.K. Liston's long poem The Falls of Niagara was about to be published.

Early in 1840, the Montreal Gazette critic, faced at the same time with three new Canadian works, Walter Henry's Trifles from my Portfolio, Richardson's The Canadian Brothers and Sawtell's The Mourner's Tribute commented:

Let us be permitted to hope, that, with so fair a promise, literature in every department, is destined to be cultivated in CANADA in a manner not altogether unworthy of the ENGLISH tongue. There is at present, indeed, but little encouragement in this portion of the Empire for the cultivation of polite literature. But let not the pioneers of the

wilderness despair. If they will not be able in their own lives to enjoy the fruits of what they have so carefully planted and assiduously watered, they cannot fail to look forward with confidence to the hope of having been the means of opening a path that may get [sic] lead to glory and to honour. Let them persevere!⁴⁷

It was important to the future of Canadian letters that the literary taste and ability of young writers be developed. The editor of the Canadian Casket saw this as one of his duties. In his 1832 preface he wrote:

It is true we may obtain from the mother country and neighboring states the most interesting publications of every character perhaps afforded in the world; yet in these we do not find the strongest incentive for calling up the energies and developing the faculties of the youth of our own country, by affording repositories to the effusion of native genius.

He returned to the same theme in a number of comments throughout the year of the Casket's publication. The periodical did indeed publish many effusions of native genius which indicate today that the youth of Hamilton region possessed more enthusiasm than literary skill. Since the only contributors who have been identified⁴⁸ did, in

47. January 18, 1840.

48. W.A. Stephens and Charles Durand. Stephens used the pseudonym "Newburn", Durand used "Briton". Durand, the donor of the copies of Casket held in the Baldwin Room, initialled all the poems and articles he had written. Durand was convicted of treason after Mackenzie's rebellion, was banished and returned to Toronto after amnesty was granted, where he practised law. He edited and published several temperance periodicals, and contributed to the Canadian Gem. He published his memoirs in 1885 at the age of 74.

fact, improve their writing with time, perhaps it was a worth while objective.

Particularly in the late 1840s, critics in English began to discuss literature in terms of progress.

...the progress of literature has been co-equal with that of the settlement of the wilderness; and if the latter has been made to bloom and blossom as the rose, the literature of Canada likewise blooms and blossoms beautifully.⁴⁹

A rather romantic view of the linkage, which nonetheless has the same message as the following, more prosaic one.

Canada, in its various relations of immigration, population, agriculture, commerce, literature, science, and political power, seems destined to follow the general rule of nations, as traced out by the Almighty Disposer of empires. Her agricultural products are increasing; her mineral stores are being brought to light; her commerce is daily extending; her literature is steadily, though slowly, improving; and perhaps, at no very distant period, may be rendered celebrated by the genius of bards and writers, to whom Canadian soil may give birth.⁵⁰

An article "Canadian Progress" in the British Canadian⁵¹ was reprinted in The Church on April 20, 1848. Improvements in agriculture, manufacturing, trade, railways and canals are canvassed before the writer turns to cultural affairs; fine arts and architecture are mentioned before he turns to literature. "The country has suffered, as every new country must from the lack of a good native literature... Here, however, a change is taking place." Thanks to improvements in education, soon:

49. Literary Garland, N.S. Vol. I, no. 1, 2.

50. Montreal Witness, March 8, 1847. Part of a two-part series "Canada and its literary prospects".

51. No copies have survived.

...we shall be enabled to send forth men, who will contribute freely to the formation of a standard Canadian literature - and whose writings may, in time, find a place on our shelves by the side of the classic productions of the Wilsons, Macaulays, Fonblanques, Croyls [sic. He probably means Croly] and Levers of the British Isles - the men whose master minds have created and fed a literary taste, the influence of which is felt in all civilised parts of the world.

Immigrant British critics were well aware that Canadian writing was not the best in the world. However, since they perceived Canadian literature as something for the future to produce, the tone of their excuses and their comparisons is far more positive and less defensive than we find today. Because it was in a state of becoming it need not be judged as rigorously. The reasons for its inferior quality were matters which time would change. These reasons, - that it was a new country, the residents were few and too busy establishing themselves to have the leisure for reading or writing, that education was not general, and that a large portion of the population spoke another language,⁵² - were repeated many times. They were all considered in "The Literature of a New Country", a lengthy article which appeared in the short-lived political journal The Monthly Review in 1841. It is an unusually perspicacious article, unfortunately much too long to quote here, which mentions

52. Illustrations of this summary can be found in a number of newspapers and periodicals. For example, Montreal Morning Courier, September 9, 1839; June 1, 1843; December 29, 1846; Montreal Register, June 22, 1843.

all the difficulties listed above, but which goes on to examine literature in a specifically colonial context:

A colonial author, should such a black swan appear on our waters, would have two evils to dread - two courses to adopt. ...to attempt to lay the foundation-stone of a national or colonial literature... [or] he would have to become an English author.⁵³

The first choice would probably lead to a conspicuous failure, the second, to oblivion. Both the independent route and the dependent route lead to dead ends. The author of the article argues at length that lack of tradition is the chief factor which inhibits the development of literature in a new country. Emigrants cast off much of their past in crossing the ocean, and while retaining "the leading characteristics of their father-land"

...invariably commences a new social existence, and enters on a new era of recollection, thought, and feeling...⁵⁴

The author's concluding remedy is, of course, time. At some undefined point, which appears to be fairly far in the future, Canada will improve physically and intellectually. Then a literature will emerge which will give "substantial evidence of Colonial greatness."⁵⁵

While there are some similarities between French and English-Canadian applications of "national" critical criteria, the differences are far more striking. The two are

53. Page 56.

54. Ibid., 55.

55. Ibid., 62.

closest when putting a value on the national origin of a literary work, furthest apart in their vision of the way in which Canada itself should be described. It is not surprising that the idea of nation should be applied by the French critics to a people rather than a space. The parti nationale and its successor the parti patriote had represented themselves as the voice of a people seeking control of a space and now, in the 1840s, when the possibility of control over that space seemed lost forever, the idea of nation had to rest on cultural identity alone.

For similar reasons French-Canadian critics were defensive about their literature when it was compared to native productions in a rival language. The English critics grumbled about the continued existence of French culture but, reinforced by political facts, they are not defensive. Where the English are defensive is with regard to American literature, and they spend much time debating the relative merits of Canadian and American literary productions. Both French and English critics seem to have accepted the idea that Canada's best literature would rank no higher than second-best in the linguistic mother countries.

Thus the competition between French and English for political and economic domination of the Canadas was reflected in the cultural area. Was Canada to be "la patrie" of a collectivity which spoke and wrote French although surrounded by English interlopers, or was it a new country

with great promise for a future which would be recorded only in English? In promoting their separate cultures, in opposition to each other as well as in opposition to that of other nations, the immigrant English critics thought of Canada as a legally defined space, the native-born French saw it as a spiritual entity. French-Canadians referred to its glorious past; English-Canadians to its bright future. In both languages, critics were very aware of native literature and continually expressed concern for its health and survival. They had very clear expectations of its role in giving them national status in a world of national literatures. We shall see in the next five chapters whether or not Canadian writers interpreted the country in the manner prescribed for them by resident critics.

CHAPTER VIICONFRONTING THE VERITIES

The social context in which pre-1850 literature was written must always be kept in mind. Public arbiters of taste demanded correct moral attitudes and the promotion of Canadian nationality. Native works appeared in a world in which most of the available reading material had originally been published in Great Britain or France. The many literary societies which existed are evidence that the educated portion of the population was interested in literary matters, although for most readers economic considerations were paramount. To get the most reading material for the least amount of money they turned to Canadian newspapers and to inexpensive American reprints of British works. Politics, religion, and regional divisions also influenced the selection of reading material. None of our early authors made their living by the pen, and only one seems to have expected otherwise. Separately published volumes of their works, which were generally fairly expensive to produce, brought the authors little, if any, financial return, and only one of the many periodicals ever paid its contributors. Writing was the avocation of a large group of amateurs who were well integrated into Canadian society.

Here and in the next four chapters, the actual literature, rather than its political, social, and economic context, will be examined. In this chapter and the one which follows we will see whether writers accepted the prescriptions for moral and national utility set out for them by resident literary critics. Subsequent chapters will analyse attitudes to various aspects of Canadian life as they appear in the literature of the time.

Most of the literature written in the Canadas between 1830 and 1850 dealt, in one way or another, with fundamental human experience. Birth and death, love and loneliness, despair and hope, nature, -- all these were felt, observed, and transformed into poetry and prose. The conventions of literary expression required that all these varieties of experience be related in some way to the Deity since they were all part of God's plan for the human race, whether that God was seen only as a first cause, or as one who predetermined every detail of every life. This was particularly true of poetry, where the last stanza routinely thanked the Divinity for gifts of love, hope, nature, etc., or expressed resignation in the face of death, despair and loss.

Religious belief or observance was the ultimate sanction for the accepted ideas of society, just as it was the ultimate explanation of individual experience. Religion, morality, progress, improvement, and nation building were all intertwined. Both institutional religion and private faith improved a person and a society. Conversely, the perfect society and person would be devout. Personal and national improvement were rewards granted by God to deserving nations and individuals:

Progress was a gift bestowed by the Almighty only upon a people worthy of His munificence. Canadians assumed that progress was as much a function of grace as it was of human industry.¹

These attitudes, as they were worked out in literature, were not subtle or philosophical. They were simplistic and conventional, an intellectual least-common-denominator. The villain was punished and the hero or heroine lived happily ever after. Writers were observers, not deep thinkers, and

1. L.S. Fallis Jr., "The Idea of Progress in Canada", in W.L. Morton (ed.), The Shield of Achilles (Toronto, 1968), p. 181.

thus every day reality often triumphed over abstract ideals. Religious faith was so important as to be taken for granted, but what strikes us today about their writing is the amount of day-to-day interdenominational squabbling which surfaced. Lip service is paid to progress and improvement in general, but it is the variety of technological change which conquers distance and the visible clearing of land which provide literary inspiration. This chapter will examine the concepts of religion and of progress as they appeared in the literature of the 1830-50 period.

There is some evidence that comforting generalities were the attitudes most acceptable to literate society. The first indication, is in their very pervasiveness. Newspaper and periodical editors, as well as writers with books to sell, would be unlikely to incur public displeasure by circulating literature which did not meet with general approval. Second, the few extant diaries and "commonplace books" contain the same sort of literary works. Anne Langton has left us superb descriptions of life in Upper Canada,² but those of her unpublished poems preserved in the Langton papers,³ are conventional works dealing almost exclusively with death and consolation. The commonplace book of Charlotte Powell,⁴ dated 1833 to 1837, contains twenty-four poems of love, death, patriotism, melancholy and exile by such poets as Byron, T.H. Bayly, Mrs. Hemans, Caroline Bowles, and Thomas Moore. The only Canadian works are three patriotic poems of 1836 and '37 by J.H. Hagarty. Francis Goring's Notebook of thoughts, essays,

2. Anne Langton, A Gentlewoman in Upper Canada, published for the first time in Toronto in 1950.
3. OA: MU: 1691 (Langton Papers), n.p., n.d. Quite bad poetry. No forgotten masterpieces here.
4. The young lady was the daughter of Grant Powell. She married John Rideout on September 19, 1839, and her commonplace book subsequently wound up as part of the Powell-Rideout Papers, held in the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library at the University of Toronto.

poetry, comments, etc., dated 1837,⁵ contains both poetry and stories on the theme of moral uplift, carefully copied into the book by Goring. They have titles like "Filial Affection", "Virtue the Best Treasure" and "On generosity and disinterested honesty". There are several long moral poems by Hannah More. These works, considered important enough to be collected by Powell and Goring, and preserved by the Langtons, all appear to a modern reader to be works of banal and conventional sentiment.

Canadian readers seem to have expected it, and Canadian writers produced it. In religious matters most writers contented themselves with following the non-denominational surface forms in which they almost certainly believed: the bad were punished and the good rewarded; contemplation of nature revealed the wonders of God's creation; and disease and death were trials which led to heaven and salvation.

Punishment of "bad" characters in fiction very rarely took the form of a painful death in full consciousness of damnation as it did in the case of Matilda in The Canadian Brothers. More often the villain repented, as did Louise's father in Les Fiancés de 1812, or was disgraced and ostracized like Coswenago in The Last of the Eries, or the notary Barterèze in Le Rebelle, or simply "s'en va aux chiens"⁶ like H. Wagner in Charles Guérin. The good lived happily ever after, rewarded by God with love and/or prosperity according to the circumstances of the plot. In only one instance is there direct divine intervention. As the resolution of "La Fille du Brigand" begins to unfold, Eugène L'Ecuyer invokes an angel to solace the captive Helmina and her servant.

5. Hiram Walker Museum, Windsor, Ontario, 20-103. Dated at Niagara.

6. Page 348.

Vierges captives; le Seigneur a entendu votre prière, et l'encens de votre vertu a traversé les nuages épais de la voûte céleste, et s'est répandu autour de trône de JESUS comme une odeur de myrrhe et d'ambroisie. Et le Seigneur ayant abaissé les yeux sur la terre, a dit des paroles qui ont réjoui les anges: Bénies soient les vierges du Canada qui gémissent dans les ténèbres pour la vertu et la religion.

Puis les jeunes filles entendirent en même temps la harpe de David et les mélodies des anges. 7

Perhaps the most prevalent form which religion took in literature was in the assumption that all nature came from God. "God the Creator" was the theme of hundreds of poems, for which the following, from J.W.D. Moodie's "Religion", will serve as an example.

Short-sighted man -- go seek the mountain's brow,
And cast thy raptured eye o'er hill and dale,
The waving woods, the ever blooming vale,
Shall spread a feast before thee, which till now
We'er met thy gaze, -- obscured by passion's sway;
And nature's works shall teach thee how to pray: 8

Bishop Mountain's Songs of the Wilderness⁹ are all in the same vein, as are the nature poems of James Haskins. The three cantos of J.K. Liston's Niagara Falls¹⁰ dealing with the falls themselves and with the battles fought nearby culminate in the phrase "A God there is". In the novel, The Last of the Eries, a long disquisition on God as Creator ends "...there is no school for the conversion of atheism like the forest, none for that of deism like solitude."¹¹ Only in Adam Kidd's Huron Chief do we meet with a different response to nature. Kidd, anxious to put the case of the Indians because of "the deep wrongs which they have received from those calling them

7. Le Ménestrel, September 19, 1844, p. 313.

8. Literary Garland, Vol II, no. 4 (March 1840), p. 164.

9. London, 1846.

10. Toronto, 1843.

11. Published for the author "H.H.B." in Simcoe in 1849. Page 136.

selves 'Christians'....", ¹² presents in his poem and its many footnotes the Indians as practitioners of a natural religion--evidently much purer than that provided by Christian theology.

In addition to questions of punishment and reward and of natural creation, both the fact and the idea of death were considered to be religious matters. Along with nature and human relationships, death was one of the main preoccupations of nineteenth century writers. Among Canadian literary works of this period are two, one a pamphlet of twelve pages¹³ and the other a book of over two hundred pages,¹⁴ published by women suddenly left destitute in a strange country on the death of their husbands. The "Widow Fleck", whose pamphlet was published in 1835, after the death of her spouse from cholera, was certainly literate, but apparently not as well educated or as well connected as M. Ethelind Sawtell, whose husband Luther had died early in 1839 as a result of illness contracted when serving as a militia lieutenant against the insurgents of 1838. Both plead with the public, in slightly different tones, to buy their book and thus provide them with some income.

Mrs. Sawtell dedicated her book to Lady Colborne, and had it reviewed in the Montreal Herald, Kingston Chronicle, Montreal Transcript, The Church, the Morning Courier, the Montreal Gazette, and the Literary Garland.¹⁵ It is a long book and some of the works show considerable poetic ability and a mastery of a variety of forms. One doubts that they were all dashed off in the months following her husband's death. The poems, which deal with death of children and friends, as well

12. Preface, p. x.

13. Widow Fleck, Poems on Various Subjects (Montreal, 1835).

14. M. Ethelind Sawtell, The Mourner's Tribute; or, Effusions of Solitary Hours (Montreal, 1840).

15. Chronicle, October 23, 1839, quotes the Montreal Herald; Transcript, January 23, 1840; The Church, February 22, 1840; Morning Courier, January 22, 1840; Gazette, January 18, 1840; Literary Garland, Vol II, no. 2 (January 1840).

as a husband, are almost all melancholy and return consistently to religion as solace. The emotion is controlled and correct, the verses more notable for the beauty of the sentiment than for any sharply-delineated immediate grief. It is perhaps not surprising that the poem most quoted by reviewers was "The last request of Sir John Moore" -- not a meditation on Moore's death, but a lengthy poem in praise of Moore's "brave companion" Colborne, in his Canadian military capacity of 1838.

"On your sympathetic bounty, a Mother, whom that pestilence has left destitute, throws herself and her humble verses" writes Widow Fleck in her brief "Address to the Public". Her six poems are entitled "Dialogue between a Dying Husband and His Wife", "On the Resurrection of the Body", "On the ravages of cholera", "On the certainty of a future state", "On the danger of atheism" and "In praise of a good cup of tea".

One of the widow's consolations is certainty of bodily resurrection when the Archangel blows his trumpet "so loud, / As will wake the dead underground."

Oh then, my dear husband and I,
Will awake from our long silent sleep,
Ne'er again from each other to part,
For our happiness will then be complete.

Each soul its own body shall know,
Nor e'er again from it shall roam,... 16

She also believes that cholera is a scourge sent by God to turn people toward Him.

It was him that did give you [cholera] order to roam,
That his wicked people to him might return; 17

Almost all the literary works inspired by death exhibit the characteristics of what Philippe Ariès has labelled "ro-

16. Page 6.

17. Page 7. As far as I have been able to determine the Widow's work was not reviewed in any newspaper or periodical.

matic death": happiness, reunion after death, death equated with infinity and sleep, the survival of the deceased in the memory of the living, the absence of perdition, the visiting of graves.¹⁸ It is the death of others, not the writer's own death, which is depicted. If death resulted in a crisis of faith, that crisis does not appear in Canadian literature before 1850.¹⁹

James Haskins, a frequent contributor to the Literary Garland and The Church, whose poems were republished in many newspapers, and who lost his young wife in childbirth shortly after their marriage, wrote almost exclusively about his melancholy feelings. He relies on religion for consolation, since only in heaven is happiness possible. All of Ariès categories may be found, many times over, in Haskins' poetry.

Farewell! I stand upon the voiceless shore
Of the dread deep, that all must one day cross--
And view, beyond its intervening gulf,
Worlds fairer than the fairest realms of earth;
Skies brighter than yon dome magnificent,
With all its stars; blossoms that never fade;
Friends faithfuller than the beloved of earth;
HIM, first, last, best, Creator, Saviour, GOD! 20

When Haskins himself died at the age of 40, in 1845, Susanna Moodie wrote a poem to his memory.²¹ She does not, however, invoke the consolation of religion. Haskins was a "Neglected son of Genius" and for him she sees a poetic immortality when the value of his work is recognized.

F. Cinq-Mars, editor of L'Aurore des Canadas, published a lengthy poem in that newspaper on the first anniversary of his

18. Philippe Ariès, The Hour of Our Death (New York, 1981). Three chapters, pp. 409-601, deal with this category.

19. Tennyson's In Memoriam, published in 1850, was the first notable work to encompass this theme.

20. James Haskins, The Poetical Works of James Haskins. The book was edited by Henry Baldwin and posthumously published in Hartford, Conn. in 1848. The quotation is from page 318.

21. The poem appears in the preface to the Poetical Works, and also in the Literary Garland N.S. Vol IV, no 2 (February 1846). It was reprinted in a number of newspapers.

young wife's death.²² A melancholy visit to her grave was the inspiration.

Quand près de ton tombeau je viens verser les pleurs,
Ah! viens, mon ADÉLINE, adoucir mes douleurs!

One idea, which was not part of Ariès "romantic death" was also common in this period: -- the idea of death as the great leveller of distinctions between people. In a twenty year period which saw four major epidemics of either cholera or typhus, it is not surprising to find this response. The traditional form of mourning poetry was gentle and contemplative:

Breathe not a sigh, to the air around,
Tread softly on this hallowed ground,
Look on yon urn, vain man and see
The end of all mortality. ²³

However, the epidemic-inspired form is harsher and more explicit.

Sans tombe, leurs titres, leur gloire,
Déjà ne se retrouvent plus:
Don, ce n'est que par leurs vertus
Qu'ils vivront dans notre mémoire, ²⁴

In English as well as in French, in 1847 as well as in 1832:

The young, the old, the rich, the poor,
Are daily snatch'd away;
The train of mourners at the door,
The last sad rites to pay.

22. April 9, 1844.

23. Emily Coxon, "Written after seeing the tomb of a deceased friend", Canadian Courant, December 11, 1834.

24. Michel Bibaud, "Elégie sur les ravages du choléra à Montréal, en Juin 1832", Le Magasin du Bas-Canada, Tome II, no. 1 (Juillet 1832), n.p.

Now lusty youth, now feeble age,
 Now smiling childhood falls,
 The maiden fair, the hoary sage,
 When Death relentless calls. 25

Cholera produced another literary response to death which, like "death the leveller" goes back to an earlier era in which death had a more frightening aspect. "Emma, ou l'amour malheureux. Episode du choléra à Québec, en 1832" appeared in Le Télégraphe on May 1 and 3 in 1837. In it, the author, J.J. Tessier, describes the horror felt by a young man who, opening his beloved's coffin, discovers that she had been buried prematurely. He dies of shock. In Charles Guérin there is a hint of the same possibility when the returned prodigal, Pierre, demands that his just-deceased mother's coffin be opened so that he can bid her farewell. It is the epidemic of 1834, and, fortunately for the reader, Mme. Guérin is truly dead. In fact she shows one of Ariès characteristics, beauty in death.

In contrast to the passive "Christian-death-leads-to-life-everlasting" view, some prose writers used the event of death as a means of showing the way to salvation. The most notable of these was "E.M.H." 26 in the Literary Garland. Her stories are full of morally edifying deathbed scenes in which good and evil actively struggle for the soul of the dying, and which result, not only in the salvation of the deceased, but in the conversion of all who have witnessed the event. Between the first issue and her death in 1845, this writer published more than a dozen stories in the Garland. Selecting

25. E. "The Pestilence", Cobourg Star, September 29, 1847. See also: Anon., "The Cholera", Canadian Courant, July 28, 1832; W.F. Hawley, "Stanzas, Suggested by the heroic dévotion of the Clergy, and others, who have fallen victims to their generous efforts in the cause of humanity", Montreal Transcript, August 3, 1847; David Wylie, "The Legion of Honor", Montreal Transcript, August 21, 1847.
26. After the writer's death in 1845, the Literary Garland (December 1845) identified her as Mrs. MacLachlan, sister to Sir William Colebrooke and wife of Colonel MacLachlan of the Royal Engineers.

one, "The Pride of Lorette", because it was set in Canada, we find a variation on the "young-officer-meets-beautiful-Indian-maiden" plot so popular with Canadian writers in both languages.²⁷ Bouverie, a frivolous, but gallant and charming young naval officer of good family, arrives in Quebec. Letters of introduction bring him the friendship of a wise older man and his beautiful, pious, young wife, Constance. With them he goes to the Indian village at Lorette, where he meets and is attracted to the beautiful Aulida, who falls in love with him. He attempts to disengage himself before she is hurt, but the attraction is too strong. On his side we have the pious Protestant wife, concerned about the girl, and on Aulida's side the Roman Catholic priest, whose concern for her is great, but who threatens damnation. Aulida, whose love for Bouverie has taken her out in a storm, catches a chill, sickens and is dying. Enter Constance with her account of a loving, forgiving, God and Aulida is enabled to die convinced of God's love, having blessed her lover and given him a silver cross before Father Clement arrives to administer the last rites. Bouverie, a changed man, goes off to die at Trafalgar. His dying words as he hands the cross to a shipmate to be given to his mother are "tell her that her son died a Christian". A tricky bit of theological footwork -- not insulting Catholic beliefs, but showing the superiority of Protestant ones, where the salvation of the dying is concerned. And above all the conversion of someone who would otherwise have died without repenting of his sins.²⁸ While Mrs. MacLachlan's stories are not typical of the generality of Canadian fiction, they were probably the most critically praised works in the Garland's early years.

27. See Chapter XI.

28. Literary Garland, Vol II, no. 8 (July 1840), p. 337-351.

Where writers tended to be explicit about religion it was generally in the interests of the "us vs. them" denomination-ism which was a part of their everyday life. Most were not as subtle as "EMM". For French Catholic writers it was almost a matter of convention that Protestant characters in fiction, like M. Wagnaeŕ in Charles Guérin, are going to turn out to be villains. Protestants often returned the compliment, but generally they were more concerned with their own interdenominational strife. This was particularly true of Anglican writers who were inclined to introduce Methodist "ranters" as unprincipled villains. A story by Agnes Strickland which appeared in several newspapers has a particularly puritanical dissenter lured by a coquettish neighbour into loving her, so that she can enjoy the triumph of rejecting him. He strangles her, but another man is charged and the dissenter is foreman of the jury which almost convicts an innocent man of the crime.

...while, with strange self delusion he excused his crime by denying the existence of free will, he exercised it in resisting the strivings of conscience, and making himself the instrument of those who, acting in ignorance, formed their judgement according to outward appearances, when as foreman of the coroner's jury, he stood forth and with his own lips pronounced the verdict of "Wilful murder against William Perry". 29

Reverend Joseph Abbott's Philip Musgrave has the tone of a thinly-disguised account of real events. His Canadian critics -- dissenters all -- claimed that it was pure fiction. In it, the SPCK missionary-hero describes a newly arrived Methodist preacher: "His countenance, that index of the inner man, was so warped and twisted that I could not read it." He has "a certain cunning, sinister expression." 30

29. Agnes Strickland, "Barak Johnson; or, the Blind Witness", Montreal Transcript, April 9, 11, 13, and 16, 1844. The quotation was printed on April 16.

30. Page 43.

Anglican tracts in story form, such as "Old Ambrose", written in England and reprinted³¹ and widely circulated in Canada, inevitably portrayed Methodists as dangerous to the salvation of those poor simple souls who could not see through them. Both Dr. Walter Henry and Mrs. H. Bayley, in works of non-fiction, refer casually to Roman Catholics as superstitious and Methodists as American ranters. Mrs. Bayley was also quite scandalized by a visit to an American Shaker colony.

In "Lines commemorative of the awful conflagration of St. Roch's", attributed to Bishop G.J. Mountain, published at Quebec in 1845, following the first fire of that year, the Bishop condemns Catholicism at such length³² that one wonders why this work was printed and sold to invoke charity for all those dreadful Catholics left destitute by the fire.

Some works, of course, directly promoted one religion. These, positive in tone, most often appeared in denominational publications. For example, poems by Rev. R.J. Macgeorge, which appeared in The Church, deal with aspects of Anglican liturgy. Adam Hood Burwell's early poems in the Christian Sentinel are similar. His two last long poems, published in pamphlet form and in the Literary Garland, reveal the truth of an Irvingite world view. The Mélanges Religieux, which was initially concerned with combatting Protestantism, and published literary works which supported those attitudes, shifted gradually in the late 1840s to seeing atheistic socialism as the greatest threat. Both literature and criticism in its pages reflect this shift.

31. Rev. W. Gresley, Old Ambrose (Toronto 1841), first published in England.

32. Three of eight and one-half pages.

Not all writers approved of institutional religion. Although they were the exception, they are interesting nonetheless. In particular, two young native-born novelists, Joseph Doutre and Abraham Holmes, attacked the hypocrisy they perceived in the two different religions in which they had been raised. Doutre was nineteen when Les Fiancés de 1812 was published, and on the brink of a long career as a liberal militant which was to bring him into conflict with the Roman Catholic church through the Institut Canadien and the Guibord affair. It is not surprising then, to find him writing a long section, supposedly about the religious beliefs of one of the novel's heroes, defending rational devotion to God against hypocritical religiosity.

Que ne peut-on sonder les secrets de ces hommes machiavéliquement hypocrites! Quelles fraudes cachées! Quels crimes ignorés! Quelle immoralité secrète! Plus le méchant se cache, plus ses coups sont terribles. Mais quand il paraît dans le public, c'est toujours pour quelque acte de bien-faisance. 33

Another one of his heroes has been the mastermind of a successful worldwide gang of thieves. Although disgusted with their aptitude for vice, he has made much use of ecclesiastics as members of his gangs.

Une expérience constamment réalisée à (sic) prouvé qu'il n'y avait pas de place où le crime se déchaînait avec plus d'impétuosité que dans l'état ecclésiastique. Un homme d'église ne peut tenir de milieu entre la vertu et le vice. Il doit être tout vertueux ou horriblement criminel. S'il penche vers ce dernier abîme, rien ne pourra s'opposer à sa marche d'abominations. Dans le court examen que j'en ai fait, j'ai découvert des crimes dont l'atrocité surprendrait les bandits des galères. 34

We do not know how old Abraham S. Holmes was in 1843 when Belinda, or the Rivals was printed for him in Detroit, but

33. Page 363.

34. Pages 434-35

from later census returns it appears that he was about twenty-two, only a little older than Dautre. Belinda is a satirical view of the career of a coquette. The narrator characterizes the heroine repeatedly as hypocritical -- chiefly through her use of religion to manipulate others and to raise herself in public esteem. Her pious aunts are gossip, malicious hypocrites. A deathbed repentance and reconciliation with her parents has an aura of hypocrisy about it too. Although no denomination is mentioned, it appears that he is writing about Methodists, the denomination served by his father, the late Rev. Minian Holmes. Abraham Holmes became a Congregationalist, then a member of the Church of England.³⁵

Adam Kidd's opposition to the institutional church is obvious in a reverse way throughout The Huron Chief. The natural religion of the Indians is always shown as superior to the Christianity of the whites who mistreat them. Among the miscellaneous poems which complete the volume, most of them addressed to various young ladies, is a "Monody to the shade of Lord Byron" in which Kidd inveighs against the hypocrisy of the Dean of Westminster who would not allow Byron to be buried there, despite the fact that individuals whose behaviour had been much worse had been interred in the Abbey.

For some writers an element of class enters into their opposition to institutional religion. It is not surprising to find Alexander M'Lachlan first among these:

I've seen the bigot at his shrine
How! praises to an imag'd God

.....
I've seen the holy men of God
Combine to shackle human thought

35. Census returns for Chatham, C.W., for 1851, '61, and '71.

appears in the same poem with:

Shall man for aye be bound to earth
 By man in a tyrannic [sic] chain?
 Did nature stamp us brute at birth?
 Were freedom's battles fought in vain? 36

In the title poem of the collection, "The Spirit of Love", bigotry and hypocrisy are weapons used by society against the poor and unfortunate. On more than one occasion the poet writes of his willingness to bow to God, but not to man. His belief is not atheistic, it is anti-institutional.

Class also entered into the attitudes toward religion expressed in the City Magazine, a periodical published in Montreal in 1847, in aid of the early closing movement. It is vocal on behalf of the clerks whose interests it supports, and opposes "the contemptuous and degrading manner in which, from force of custom, many of them are obliged to toil for their subsistence." A long article in the first number on "the progress of the nineteenth century" sets up science and education as the friends of the working class. Superstition is the greatest obstacle to such progress. The examples of superstition given are all ones in which religion is the motivating force.

...those who retain power by keeping the human mind in leading-strings, by acting on its timidity [sic] and exciting its apprehensions--those whose highest objects of ambition is [sic] dominion over the consciences of their fellow-creatures--they, like black magicians, raise up their hideous phantoms to guard their enchanted ground, and call forth foul shapes to fill the mind of man with doubts and fears, in order that it may not venture to pierce through that circle of ignorance in which they would confine it, and ascend upwards to its own appropriate sphere of knowledge. 37

36. "The Sage", in The Spirit of Love (Toronto 1846), p. 35.
 37. Page 19.

When the humour of Punch in Canada is turned against religious objects this may also be a form of denominationalism. The more ridiculous poses of Baptists and Catholics, temperance advocates, and those who want to purge the Mercantile Library Association's shelves of Unitarian literature are all satirized, although mainstream Protestantism gets off scot-free.

Despite the heavy emphasis on religious belief and practice in Canadian society the idea of "material improvement" fared much better in Canadian literature than did "moral improvement". The validity of the general concept of Canada as a place with a future, or as the home of a collectivity with a future, is most readily established by reference to visible, tangible growth. In the United States, the idea of America as the land of the future was accompanied by an overt, almost messianic, rejection of perceived European decadence. In the United Kingdom, enthusiasm for moral and technological improvement was accompanied by literary nostalgia for a simpler agricultural and artisanal past. Neither of these attitudes was present in the Canadas. Pride in the "old country" went along with pride in the new, and the past was perceived as one of hardship whose chief justification was an improved present and a glorious future.

The material aspects of an improved present were what Canadian writers saw around them, and it was this that they described. It should come as no surprise that their imagination was caught particularly by the conquest of distance by steam and by telegraph. Railroads were still a rarity in Canada, and were thus not often mentioned by authors in the pre-

1850 period,³⁸ although most immigrants would have been acquainted with them in Great Britain.

Canals, as well, do not seem to have sparked the literary imagination, although they figured prominently on newspaper editorial pages and in travel writing. The advance of newly-cleared land, familiar to the eye of most Canadians, was a favourite topic. In literary works produced in French there is less evidence of an interest in material improvement, although the periodicals contain numerous examples of speeches in which the text exhorts French Canadians to embrace industry and technology so that they may control their future and prove their worth to the world.

A number of poems praising steam-powered transportation over water which appeared in newspapers were borrowed from British and American sources. Some Canadians also took up the pen. "Le Solitaire", writing "pour L'Ami du Peuple"³⁹ on "La Navigation et la Vapeur" contrasted the old slow days of sail, when one made "un bon testament" before embarking, with the use of steam to conquer the vagaries of wind and weather. He also contrasted the Indian's fright "en voyant des maisons flotter sur l'Atlantique", with the fright presently caused by seeing a vessel, "un monstre fabuleux" without sails or masts, "sa bouche vomissant la flamme et la fumée". He concludes:

38. The Champlain and St. Lawrence, 14 miles, from Laprairie to St. Johns opened in 1836; the Montréal and Lachine, 7 1/2 miles, opened in 1847; and, as of the end of 1849, only 30 miles of the St. Lawrence and Atlantic, from the south shore of the St. Lawrence toward the Eastern Townships, had been constructed. G.R. Stevens, Canadian National Railways, Vol I (Toronto, 1960), pp. 27, 35, 62. The Anglo-American Magazine Vol I, no. 5 (November 1852) published on p. 464 a short item on the recently introduced "First Locomotive in Upper Canada".

39. April 1, 1840.

Honneur, cent fois honneur à l'illustre génie,
 Qui d'un pareil présent enrichit sa patrie!

Espérons désormais, qu'ayant vaincu les mers,
 Nous tracerons de même un chemin dans les airs,
 Et qu'on verra bientôt pour nous mener en France,
 Et ballons et steamboats entrer en concurrence.

...A. Stephens begins Book III of "Hamilton":

See yonder vessel in the distance ride,
 Near where the heav'ns dip into the tide,
 She, independent of the inconstant gale,
 He'er woos the winds to fill her flapping sail,
 Proudly aloft she bears her floating form,
 And sweeps triumphant on through calm and storm,
 She drinks a portion from the rolling wave,
 Which changed to vapour, gives her pow'r to brave
 Or lake or ocean, in its calm or ire,
 With fiercely boiling breath and lungs of fire,
 She smokes along, a gift to every land
 From science, sent by Fulton's honour'd hand... 40

and so on, for six pages.

J.K. Liston in the second canto of his Niagara Falls catches a bit of "Le Solitaire's" prophetic vision. As "Le Solitaire" proceeded from the conquest of water to that of air, Liston proceeded from an account of mills driven by Niagara's water power to:

Nor are we sure but in some future age
 The vast descending sheet itself may not
 Lend power immense to some vast engine formed
 By human skill, and useful to the race
 Of then existing men, whose views enlarged
 By Science, with its still progressive march
 Of vast improvements, shall demand more power
 From Nature in propulsion of machines
 Of bulk and power exceeding far the bounds
 Which limit now the extent of man's designs. 41

The emphasis on science and progress in this citation are also notable.

40. Page 69.

41. Page 55.

The magnetic telegraph was also the subject of many poems. The one which was printed most frequently was by the American poet, Rev. J.G. Lyons.⁴² Two verses praise the telegraph, two praise God -- not as the giver of the telegraph but as the intelligence, reached by faith, which knows more rapidly than any human invention. Another popular American poem⁴³ on the telegraph did see it as an invention sent by God to unite man. The most widely reproduced Canadian poem on the subject was J.W.D. Hoodie's, which appeared first in the Victoria Magazine of November 1847. Depending on the reader's response to puns based on the word "pole", it is, or is not at all, a witty and amusing account of the effects of the telegraph on daily life. In a final verse he hails:

Thou trusty messenger from heav'n sent forth,
To spread the words of truth through the earth,

An "Impromptu. To the Electro-Magnetic Telegraph" by "E" in the Cobourg Star, April 25, 1847, is completely secular in its praise of this "Thou greatest men's wonder of this wonder working age,". Both Hoodie and "E" give special attention to the rapid transmission of commodity prices. The two non-Canadian poems speak of news in more general terms.

The day of the railroad was yet to come in Canadian literature. Sir John Smyth's prose work "A West Proposed Line of Steam Communication from London, in England, to China and the East Indies, etc. etc."⁴⁴ is certainly a work of imagination, but not in the usual sense. He is quite specific about the location of a railway from Halifax to the mouth of the Columbia River, and particularly about its route through the Western District. Keefer's prize winning Philosophy of Railroads, which was published in 1849, just at the end of the period, was widely applauded and recommended. By 1853 it had gone into a fourth edition. A poem written in France, "Chant des

42. See Montreal Gazette, January 17, 1848.

43. See the Agriculturist, April 1, 1848.

44. A Small Specimen of the Genius of Canada West... (Toronto, 1845), p. 25.

Chemin de Fer", and published in La Minerve on August 17, 1846, is fulsome in its praise of "tant de bienfaits" which accompany railroads. An anonymous Canadian nay-sayer did publish in pamphlet form in Quebec in 1835 "The New Road to Ruin", a long poem opposing a railroad from Boston and Portland to Quebec. The author's opposition is, however, political rather than moral or technological. He sees the railroad as facilitating an American invasion of Canada at a time when the Maine boundary was not yet settled.

Two writers, both associated with newspapers, also spoke out in praise of the printing press as the greatest instrument of progress and improvement. Thomas Macqueen wrote in his poem "The Age" of many improvements -- steamships, railroad, and telegraph -- but

'Tis through the printing press alone,
The mind of nations can be known.

Then hail the magazine - it forms
A centre for a lengthen'd chain
Of minds, whose strange magnetic charms
Shall vibrate and be felt again;
Till this our country shall secure
A fair and fertile literature. 45

David Wylie's "Ode on the Press", published as a broadside, dated February 22, 1848, praises the press as an active agent of enlightenment.

It gives us hearts, and heads, and pens, to scorn the
tyrant lord;
It gives us victories nobler far than e'er was won by
sword;
It yet will bind around the earth a peace-uniting belt,
And hurl the idols from their thrones, to which war-spir-
its knelt.
It gives us cause to magnify the blessings to us given;
It warns us from the scorner's path, and leads us toward
Heaven;
It scatters seed, and gathers fruit, of peace and righ-
teousness--
Oh, thank we God for boon so great--sin-levelling, virtu-
ous Press.

These two, praising the tools of their trade -- and incidentally their own worth as men of the press -- are the only ones whose involvement with technology is specific and personal.

Interest in the improved present is seen in a sort of generalized "things are getting better and better" attitude which was often applied to the clearing and settling of land. "The Settler's Axe", a lengthy poem by the pseudonymous "Theophilus Endus" which appeared in the Bathurst Courier April 5, 1850, is addressed to the axe and the opportunity available in Canada to him who wields it.

Give, then, the axe-man room,
Where'er his lot be cast;
He'll soon disperse the gloom
Which hangs upon the past.

"Kuricola", a correspondent of the Cobourg Star⁴⁶ almost two decades earlier describes "A Vision" which takes him a thousand years into the Canadian future. What does he see?

A wide expanse of fertile fields,
Which grain, and fruit, and forage yields;
With smiling cots, and grassy meads,
With grazing herds, and bounding steeds,

Civic improvement, a visible, tangible form of progress, had its place as well. Runsey's Curiae Canadensis is solid in its praise of "Favour'd Toronto",⁴⁷ especially when compared with Kingston. Sir John Smyth produced "A Poem, Upon the Seat of Government being removed from the City of Toronto".⁴⁸ He suggests that the citizens should not be alarmed at the prospect, but rather proceed with constructing railway connections to Lake Huron and to Balsam Lake, and "within this town to bring the Don and Humber"

46. August 2, 1831.

47. Page 40.

48. Smyth, op.cit., p. 28-9.

The great advantages of these projected improvements,
 Will make this town flourish and blossom like a rose,
 Independent of the profit of fifty governments,
 And when these improvements are made we'll laugh at
 our foes.

G.W. Gillespie's Miscellaneous Poems, full of Scots-dialect nostalgia for his native land, contains one thirteen-stanza poem praising Toronto:

Toronto, Canada's delight,
 Rite may thy roofs of silver rise,
 The burnish'd spires, tall, glittering, bright,
 Majestic tower toward the skies;
 Thy steamers grace Ontario proud,
 And trade and commerce active ply,
 While countless craft thy wharves do crowd,
 To please the venturous merchant's eye.
 Improvement's rapid strides are thine,
 Years after years successive show,
 And may the Muse dare to divine,
 Year after year they'll greater grow. 49

Gillespie's poem also goes back to the city's torest past, and forward to its great future.

Toronto's rivals, Montreal and Quebec, do not seem to have experienced this literary "boosterism". Small centres in Canada West occasionally inspired similar works,⁵⁰ although not in the quantity devoted to Toronto. It could be that the Ontario communities were newer, and thus more defensive. Perhaps they had a higher percentage of literate inhabitants. Perhaps, because they had come a long way in a short time, they showed that there was hope for the future.

49. Pages 68-71.

50. See London Times, April 11, 1845, and A.S. Holmes poem "The Brothers" in the Western Herald, May 9, 1841, as examples.

As with religion and other subjects, there was not complete unanimity among Canadian writers on the subject of progress. Although insistence on the need for improvement was general in newspaper editorials, as well as in popular newspaper literature, there were doubts expressed as to the effectiveness of particular means of achieving it. This was particularly true of speculation.⁵¹ W.A. Stephen's long poem "Hamilton" shows some of this doubt. It contains praise for things like steamboats and civic growth, but also deplores the speculations of Colin Ferrie and Sir Allan Denab, and the empty buildings of Port Nelson, -- "a bubble burst".⁵²

The only outright literary opposition to progress comes in a long poem "Le Progrès" which appeared September 19, 1846, in Mélanges Religieux. The author, Hippolyte Minier, a European, is sarcastic about the advantages of progress, particularly because change takes people away from faith, and speculation separates them from their savings. Of twelve verses, three are devoted to the decline of literature from patient polishing of a master work to rapid production of shallow books whose authors become rich. In the end, God is seen to triumph over human works. The poem is a foretaste of attitudes which were to become common a little later in the same ecclesiastical context.

In contrast to the many examples of approval of material progress, particularly in its visually evident applications, to be found in the literature of the Canadas, comparatively little attention is paid to the question of moral improvement. The major exception is the quantity of temperance literature.

51. For examples of editorial disapproval of railway speculation, see the Montreal Transcript, December 5, 1846; and the Bytown Gazette, November 3, 1847. Editors of newspapers which did not subscribe to the telegraph service also complained that unscrupulous people used it to transmit false information, profiting from the time gap between the original transmission and the slow follow-up of truth. See the British Whig, May 17, 1848, or the St. Catharines Journal, November 18, 1846, for examples.

52. Page 120.

published in books, periodicals and newspapers. The emphasis in these works is on temperance, rather than on literary value, but it is interesting to note that temperance advocates accepted the use of fiction as a form in which to further their cause. A number of temperance books and periodicals were published in the Canadas -- Le Moniteur, The Canadian Temperance Minstrel, The Canadian Son of Temperance. The newspapers, in particular the Brockville Recorder and the St. Catharines Journal, both reform newspapers, published dozens of short stories and poems in which the evils of drink are revealed.

Vile seducer, joy dispeller,
Peace disturber, blackguard's guest:
Sloth planter, liver sweller,
Brain distractor, hateful pest. 53.

The most common fiction plot is one in which a daughter, sometimes on her deathbed, persuades the alcoholic father to reform, thus saving the family.

A number of poets wrote on temperance themes. W. W. Smith, in Alazon includes a poem "Water Pure, Water Pure" (the beverage for me). Lydia Ann Appleton's Miscellaneous Poems contains three explicit ones: "The Deathbed. Composed on reading an affecting piece in the Temperance Advocate", "Temperance Likes" and "The Sword of the Lord and of Gideon. Composed on hearing Mr. B., lecture on Temperance, January 15, 1844." The message is implicit in other poems as well.

David Wylie also includes three temperance poems in the poetry section of Recollections of a Convict: "A 'Social' Song", "The Drunken Mother", and "The Daughter's Appeal". Anonymous writers contributed many others to the pages of their local newspapers.

Although temperance themes recur consistently in literature throughout the period, it is notable that the three volumes of poetry cited above were published between 1847 and 1850, and that there was an increase in the number of temperance periodicals towards the end of the 1840s. The contents of the periodicals show an awareness of the temperance movement in Britain and the United States, although most of the newspaper short stories in this vein seem to have originated in America.

Another aspect of moral improvement which concerned Canadians was education. However, it was "knowledge" and "learning" as vague, fuzzy, concepts which appealed to Canadian writers, not the more specific ideas of "education" or "schooling", which implied that someone was instructing another person. The exception is J.G. Ward's 228 page poem The Spring of Life, which goes into much detail in listing the steps in an ideal education system. Generally, our authors, whatever the means by which they had acquired their own education, tended to write about characters who are literate adults with a completed education. In this period, no Canadian resident produced a fiction plot of the genre, not uncommon elsewhere, in which a poor young man becomes successful through education. Literary poor young men in Canada became successful through hard work. In fact, in John Newton's The Emigrant it is the education of a young working man beyond his station which leads him to Chartism and prison.

It is not that Canadians were unconcerned about education. Education by whom, for whom, and at whose cost, was one

of the great political issues in both provinces.⁵⁴ The debate was not, however, reflected in the literature of the time. The only direct references I have found to any aspect of education are six poems related to the foundation of King's College in Toronto. The earliest, published in the British Colonist on July 17, 1839, "De University of U. Canaday" (sic) is vociferously anti-Strachan, criticizing the future Bishop's triple role as president, lecturer, and administrator of funds. Two poems recited at the Toronto St. George's Day banquet in 1842 praise Sir Charles Bagot for his role in establishing the university;⁵⁵ and another, published in the Christian Guardian, opposes higher education when its purpose is the encouragement of upper-class frivolity.⁵⁶ Two poems celebrate the laying of the King's College cornerstone. They agree on the weather and the crowds, but then they diverge.

54. The literature on this subject is vast. See for example: Alison Prentice, The School Promoters (Toronto, 1977), and the articles on Upper-Canada included in Education and Social Change, Katz and Mattingly (eds.), (New York, 1975). Almost any work on John Strachan or Egerton Ryerson touches on debates about education. It is also interesting to note that Allan Smith in "The Myth of the Self-made Man in English Canada, 1850-1914", C.H.R. LIX, No. 2 (June 1978) finds examples in literature showing self-reliance as a virtue, but has to turn to sermons, articles and similar forms of commentary in order to demonstrate that the idea of the importance of education as a means to prosperity was prevalent in the second half of the nineteenth century. Since he gives no examples of the latter idea in literature, we assume that he encountered the same phenomenon after 1850 as is apparent before that date.
55. Toronto Patriot, April 29, 1842. The first poem, recited by "Master Bethune", is full of allusions to the various classical gods and goddesses who are pleased at the establishment of the university and who, along with the youth of Canada, thank Bagot for his role in bringing it into existence. The second, in both Latin and English versions, was recited by its author, W.H. Draper. It concentrates on praise for Bagot.
56. Christian Guardian, January 24, 1844, "King's College, Toronto".

All ranks to testify good-will,
 Crowded the gorgeous train to fill;
 With hopeful smiles, in groups, the fair
 Survey'd the scene with fostering care,
 And youths ordain'd perchance to shine
 In every branch beneath this shrine,
 Felt warm inspired with feelings meet,
 Congenial with this noble feat.
 May Heaven the grand beginning shield,
 And every guardian blessing yield;
 The rising genius firm inspire
 With virtue true, and native fire; 57

As contrasted with:

Ladies, and fellow-citizens, attend to the praises of the
 University of King's College,
 The magnificent erection, which is near the beautiful
 avenue,
 That is to be the seat of the muses, and the fountain of
 Knowledge;
 And has cost the Province of Canada, a great revenue.

The foundation stone was laid by the most noble Sir
 Charles Bagot,
 On the twenty-third day of April, eighteen hundred and
 forty-two
 with a silver trowel: and the weather was quite pleasant,
 And the ladies did shine most beautiful to view.

There were erected magnificent stands for the audience;
 with a division to separate the ladies and gentry from
 the
 Shopkeeper's wives and the niggers; and there was no en-
 trance
 To the Compact space, without a pink ticket.

Doctor McCaul, to be clearly understood, pronounced
 A Latin oration, Sir Charles spoke Greek
 To the enlightened assembly, & the Lord Bishop announced
 Something in broad Scotch; and all went off quite
 sleek. 58

57. G.W. Gillespie, Miscellaneous Poems (Toronto, 1843), p. 48-9.
58. Sir John Smyth, "Elegiac Stanzas" in the Toronto Examiner, June 7, 1843.

The immigrant, Gillespie, is concerned with the future. Smyth, the native, has a sharp eye for present detail and consciously mocks the proceedings. Of the six poems which refer to the university, only the first, above, could be considered as politically neutral. In the remainder, the issue is not education, but Upper Canadian politics.

The Canadian Forget-me-Not for 1837, the first Canadian annual, consists almost entirely of poetry and fiction. It was dedicated to Bond Head. There is, however, one didactic article, entitled "The Youth of Canada", which is devoted to education. A depressing picture of Upper Canadian education is given and specific remedies proposed. In conclusion the author suggests:

...while nature and religion prompt and govern the parental instinct, the State may also, as a common parent, perform its part, and employ its wisdom and resources in providing education for the YOUTH OF CANADA, whose intelligence and worth will be the noblest monument of their lives.... 59

This seems to be the first literary use of the "state as parent" theme which became common in later years.

While schooling as a public activity is notable by its absence from literature of this period, we must remember that instruction itself was considered to be the primary purpose of literature. Many purely didactic publications were produced in the Canadas. The Snow Drop and the Youth's Monitor were devoted entirely to the instruction of children, as were "children's corners" in a number of denominational publications. The Canadian Gem and Family Visitor was intended for all age groups. The Snow Drop was much the least overtly didactic. It provided puzzles, scientific articles, and accounts of travels, as well as well-written instructive stories. The underlying attitude seems to be that children are instinctively good, and need only to be encouraged to continue that way.

The other publications tend to view children as an inherently sinful group which must be intensively conditioned to correct attitudes and actions before it can become useful to society.

Farmers, as well as children, were perceived to be in need of instruction if the colony was to prosper. Thus, the object of periodicals like the British American Cultivator and the Agriculturist was to improve agricultural practices in the Canadas. Their literary offerings were either moral in nature, or glorified the joys of farming life. Le Glaneur had a political as well as an agricultural objective.

The People's Magazine, the City Magazine, and the Saturday Evening Magazine were intended for the edification of the lower classes. L'Abeille⁶⁰ and L'Institut were intended for students. In all cases, their non-literary contents were dull and didactic, and their literature followed the same pattern. There is no fiction at all, and the poetry tends to be elevating. The People's Magazine published a number of extracts from Darwin's account of his voyage.

In this period, Canadians were starting to produce a few school texts of their own, particularly in history and in language instruction. These are outside the scope of this study, but two rather curious books in rhyme can be considered as literature, since they do not seem to have been used as texts. The first, Curiae Canadensis, describes the Canadian judicial system. The second is a rhyming geography. Curiae was written by "Plinius Secundus", with the avowed purpose of making it easier to remember details of the legal system by putting them into rhyming couplets. The work has long been attributed to John Rumsey, a lawyer.⁶¹ From the contents it is evident

60. The 1833 periodical, not the 1843 one.

61. The book was published in Toronto in 1843. The attribution to Rumsey appears to have been made initially by Henry Scadding in his 1877 pamphlet on Canadian noms-de-plume. Scadding gives no supporting evidence. Rumsey was a very shadowy legal figure. Research by a Queen's University graduate student in history, Mr. John Blackwell, has not, so far, produced either biographical or bibliographical light.

that the author had strong Tory sympathies and that he certainly preferred Toronto to Kingston as a government seat. It is difficult to determine for whose benefit the work was produced -- general readers, general students, or law students? The latter seems most likely, but surely law students did not need rhymes to help them remember the functions of various courts. The other work, W.A. Stephens' Poetical Geography and Rhyming Rules for Spelling⁶² was intended for schools. Several reviews recommended it for that purpose. In both cases the poetry tends to be doggerel and some of the rhymes are rather strained.

In general, as far as attitudes are concerned, the value of education tended to be taken for granted by Canadian writers. Where they showed concern, it was for the acquisition of facts in an appropriately moral context -- for "instruction", rather than for "education".

A belief in general human perfectability as the ultimate form of progress appears in the literature of this period only in the late works of Adam Hood Burwell, who spent his adult life in the ministry, first within the Church of England, and later as a convert to "Irvingite" doctrines. In his long poem "Summer Evening Contemplations" spiritual and material development, both personal and social, are linked to Divine Creation.

That man himself shall be a spreading tree,
And every faculty a fruitful bough,
Largely outbranching from the parent stem,
As branches grace the vine; and Man shall fill
The destiny pronounced at his creation,
And fill it to the glory of his god.⁶³

62. Toronto, 1848.

63. The poem appeared in the Literary Garland and as a separate pamphlet in 1849. The quotation is copied from C.F. Klink (ed.), The Poems of Adam Hood Burwell (London, Ontario), 1963, p. 85.

Burwell's poem brings together again the many strands we have tried to separate for examination.

When they wrote about human experience, Canadian authors of this period normally began with the specific event or emotion which inspired them, and then moved to a general statement which put their personal response in a wider context. Many things triggered their inspiration: the birth of a baby, a beautiful sunset, a new steamboat, conviction of the correctness of their personal view of religion or politics, and as many other subjects as there were individuals to write about them. Usually the context into which these things fitted had to do with some form of Divine intent, and usually it was blandly and conventionally interpreted and expressed. The connecting link between the two stages of thought was moral and/or national utility in both present and future time. Movement from the particular to the general via societal imperatives is typical of a habit of mind which many today would label "Victorian" or "middle class". It was one Canadian writers shared with most of those who wrote in the same languages at the same time. What is interesting to us is the interrelation between the platitudinous generalities and the particular inspiration, and especially the varieties and types of inspiration.

In the twenty years after 1830 there is no apparent change in literary attitudes to institutional religion, or in the social response to death. While attitudes to alcoholic beverages do not seem to have changed between 1830 and 1850, the campaign against them increased greatly in both quantity and fervour in the late 1840s, drawing support both from those who were opposed on theological grounds and from those who saw sobriety as a means to both moral and national improvement.

Where material progress is concerned, Canadian writers generally concentrated on its visible aspects. The amount of literature devoted to technological improvement increased noticeably in the 1840s when the steam engine and the telegraph began to affect daily life. In 1850 railroads had not yet had the same impact. Keefer's Philosophy of Railroads, published in 1849, marked the beginning of a literary interest in railroads which was to increase gradually as the miles of track were extended.

The purpose and financing of both railroads and education were controversial subjects in the political life of the Canadas in the 1840s. Perhaps it is for this reason that Canadian writers confined their approval to non-specific, nonpartisan generalities, and, where progress and improvement are concerned, focused instead on things like steamboats, the telegraph, and land clearance which were already a fait accompli.

In the political arena, and at the level of newspaper editorials, French Canadians appear to have been as interested in moral and material improvement as were their English-speaking compatriots. However, the subject is rarely mentioned in French Canadian imaginative literature. Even those who had just graduated from the new classical colleges do not write, in either prose or poetry, of the advantages of education. At least one author thought that institutional religion was a poor substitute for rational investigation, but the remainder appear to have been conventionally pious.

Literary critics had demanded correct moral attitudes and these the writers displayed, -- all residents of the Canadas evidently being in agreement on this subject. While they agreed also on the importance of Christian beliefs, the literature shows considerable evidence of the denominational factionalism so prevalent in the Canadas of this time. Their

attitudes to death are generally those of the later nineteenth century, but the realities of cholera and typhus epidemic forced them to retain some earlier, harsher, attitudes.

In general, Canadian literature of this period fulfilled the expectations of the time with regard to moral values. Socially accepted generalities as to what was useful and good were supported where applicable. Where reality interfered with this vision of life, reality tended to triumph -- even when facing reality meant that it was better to avoid some subjects.

CHAPTER VIIIA CONSCIOUSNESS OF NATIONALITY

This chapter will focus on the response of individual authors to the idea of Canada as a distinct country. The manner in which they describe its people, places and events will be considered in succeeding chapters. Here we are concerned, not with the description of particular aspects, but with the way our early writers seemed to feel about the whole entity. What did Canada mean to them, and how did they feel about those other countries, France, Britain and the United States, with which Canada was generally compared?

As we have seen in Chapter VI these questions were of contemporary concern. Canadian literary critics of this period were determined that, in a world of national literatures, the country in which they resided should be represented by a national literature. With regard to the content of that literature, immigrant English critics wanted Canada described in detail as a specific place with a happy future, native-born French critics wanted Canada described as the home of a collectively with a glorious past. Both groups wanted the description to be made in positive terms.

Some writers did, indeed, fulfill these expectations, but many, particularly among the native-born English did not. Public statements of literary objectives may have influenced the views of some writers but, in general, when our early authors located Canada in the world their perceptions seem to have been determined by two principal characteristics: country of birth and mother tongue.

Regardless of their background, no one wrote of Canada as a frontier. Just as arriving settlers called themselves emigrants, rather than immigrants, so they saw themselves as living "in the backwoods" as opposed to "on the frontier". The

immigrants were on the outer edge of their centre of reference, rather than on the leading edge of a new entity. Their response to this removal from the centre varied with the individual, and ran the whole spectrum from joy to deep sorrow, but the essence of it was a reference back to the point of departure.

By contrast, native-born Canadians, both French and English, wrote from an unstated assumption that Canada was the centre of the world. It was neither the frontier nor the backwoods; it was simply the place where they lived, and as such, taken for granted. They rarely compared it with European countries, probably because Garneau¹, Copway and Richardson were the only ones of the thirty-five natives who had been in Europe before they wrote their Canadian works, nor do they attempt to analyse Canada's relationship to Great Britain. The United States is mentioned more often than Europe, probably because more of them had travelled there, but it is referred to only as a place, not as a national entity which was superior or inferior to Canada.

What is Canada? The answer of the native-born to that question would probably have been a laconic, matter-of-fact -- "home". Only three² of them ever wrote poems addressed to their native land. For the rest, Canada is a locale for their fiction and poetry -- either vague or specific as the situation demands. While they describe its beauty, they do not praise that beauty as unique or extraordinary. Most of them have a strong sense of the warfare and aboriginal activities which were part of Canada's past, but they do not write of the future. Questions of loyalty very rarely arise, but when they do, the loyalty is directed specifically to Canada, and not to any "mother country". Sir John Smyth and John Breakenridge,

1. Garneau had published a number of poems before he visited France and England in 1831-3. He published more on his return, before starting work on his history in the early 1840's.
2. John Breakenridge, Charles Durand, and F.X. Garneau.

whose general attitude is one of dependence on Britain, are the exceptions. Those who wrote in French differ from their English compatriots only in showing a strong sense of collective identity which is lacking in the other group.

The general comments above apply only to native-born males. The three native-born females did not write about Canada at all. Rosanna Mullins' early works in the Literary Garland are set in Britain; Mary Graddon Gosselin contented herself with translating European French works and with didactic comments on the rôle of women in society; Odile Cherrier also produced translations from British and French sources, plus one story of her own set in a non-specific place which seems to be France. All three were products of the education given to well-bred, middle-class Catholic girls, an education which seems to have produced female imaginations focused on European society.

It is also interesting ~~to note~~ that the one Upper Canada College graduate among the native writers also transferred his imagination to other locales. Of all John Breckenridge's longer poems, only his college prize poem of 1837 is set in Canada. Although we do not know the nationality of the women's teachers, and the European focus of these three probably has more to do with the objectives of female education than with who did the actual teaching, we do know that all Breckenridge's masters at U.C.C. were British.

Breckenridge's poem "Canada" is an exception to many of the general rules suggested for native-born males. In it he does think of Canada in terms of the future, although the past and the present are also important, and he does see Canada as dependent on Britain. He is concerned that others may not be willing to "cling to Britain fondly still".³ The sentiments expressed by the seventeen year old Breckenridge may have been

3. The Crusades and other poems, (Kingston, 1846), p. 141.

his own, written in the midst of pre-rebellion agitation, or they may have been those which he knew would win him the poetry prize in a contest judged by his immigrant schoolmasters.

F.X. Garneau's poem "Au Canada" is also somewhat unusual for the time. Published in Le Canadien and La Minerve in February 1837⁴, it begins by praising the natural beauty of Canada before complaining that "le peuple...s'endormait". The poem is not, however, a call to arms. It is a complaint that genius goes unrecognized in Canada. Where are

Tous ces hommes enfin qu'illustrent les talens,
Qui font un peuple fier, grandissent, la patrie,
Font respecter au loin son nom, ses lois, ses arts
Et, pour sa liberté, lui servent de remparts?

France, Switzerland, Greece, Rome, and the United States all shine in the reflected glory of their famous citizens; but Canada --

Tu refusas le pain au talent malheureux;
Tu rejetas celui que Dieu dota lui même,
Car l'esprit est un don; don que l'être suprême
Lègue au peuple qu'il veut rendre grand et heureux.

The result is that there is no one to tell the world of Canada's "exploits, nom, histoire":

Tout est enseveli dans ces riches vallons....

The third poem addressed to Canada by one of her native sons was written by Charles Durand, Canadian-born son of a British emigrant of 1800. He was certainly staunchly Canadian, yet he signed his contributions to the Canadian Casket in 1831-2 as "Briton". In the Canadian Garland he occasionally

4. Le Canadien, February 10; and La Minerve, February 27, 1837.

used the same pseudonym, as well as his initials "C.H.D." Over the latter he published a poem, "My Native Land", in the Garland of October 13, 1832. A few of the eight stanzas will suffice:

O Canada! The fond land of my youth,
The scene of my earliest joy;
If absent from thee thy 'memb'rance would soothe
My soul in affliction's annoy.

The blue ether skies bring pleasure to me -
None other my soul could arrest;
Thy breezes are full of sweet harmony -
Thy forests in beauty are drest.

.....
Italian climes their genial skies may claim
And other lands may boast their worth;
But round my heart shall ever cling the name
Of Canada, that gave me birth.

.....
My native land! in which I love to dwell -
Its many faults, I alas must own,
But nought of ill; for her my bosom's swell
Can ever check or silent drown.

Durand is vague about any particular Canadian quality. He is loyal to Canada, whatever its faults,⁵ but he is really writing the same kind of "nostalgia for the places of childhood" poem which many immigrants produced as the poetry of exile. Durand published a number of works in the Casket and the Garland during the early 1830s, among them a short "Indian Legend",⁶ and "The Romantic Lovers",⁷ in which the War of 1812 temporarily separates his hero and heroine. Elements of Canada's past serve as background to a number of brief stories which are more notable for their moral vision than for their Canadianism.

5. Since the Durand family were very prominent reformers, it is likely that the faults flowed from the existence, in general, of Tories, and, in particular, of Allan McNab, their rival for power in the Hamilton/Wentworth area.
6. Canadian Casket, no. 11, 82-3.
7. Canadian Garland, October 13, 1832.

Other native-born authors wrote about Canada in the same undemonstrative fashion. Burwell's early poems of 1816-25, signed "Erieus" describe the Niagara area and the Talbot settlement. One recounts the triumph of Lundy's Lane. In his late poems, 1847-9, the scenery is non-specific and subordinated to his theological purpose. W.F. Hawley's poem "Quebec" in Quebec, The Harp, and other Poems (1829) finds the essence of the city more in its history than its picturesque quality, although like everyone else, he cannot resist a description of Cape Diamond. His short novel, The Unknown, (1831) is set in New France and is sympathetic to the settlers and to most of the Indians. One of his principal protagonists, M. de Lauzon, has come to Canada to repair his fortunes -- a theme we find frequently in the work of British immigrants. In Abraham Holmes' Belinda the focus is on human behaviour, not on locale. People "go to Chatham", or on a steamer on the Thames, but they could just as easily be going back and forth between Russian country houses, or voyaging on the English Thames.

J.H. Willis, in Scraps and Sketches (1831), uses Canada as a romantic decor for his short stories. However, most of them could be set anywhere in the world without changing the plots, which generally refer to ghosts, or to disappointed lovers who pine away. The haunted house may be on the shore of Lake Ontario and the disappointed lover may be interred in Quebec, but the physical setting is casual, rather than significant. A few, like "The Last of the Voyageurs"⁸ refer more specifically to a Canadian past. The lengthy description of the retired voyageur and of his past and present way of life is nonetheless only prelude to a tale of unrequited love and murder. Several short non-fiction items describe Canadian "moeurs" -- snow-shoeing, and the ceremony at which women enter a convent. The tone of these descriptions is as highly coloured as that of his romantic tales.

The Canadian Brothers is the only work of fiction which John Richardson published in Canada.⁹ The time span is the summer of 1812 to the autumn of 1813, and the personal drama of the Grantham brothers is entangled with events of the war then taking place on Canadian soil. Reviewers focused on the familiar aspects -- the careful description of the town of Amherstburg, the roles played by Brock and Tecumseh, and the dramatic necessity, or lack of it, in moving the date of the battle of Stoney Creek forward a year to provide a climax. Although there is evidence that the novel was written before Richardson's return to Canada, there is also evidence that he prepared it for publication while visiting the Amherstburg area in 1839.¹⁰ While all his descriptions are quite specific, those of the Detroit frontier are particular so. He may well have sharpened these sur scène. In The Canadian Brothers little is actually written about Canada. The country is almost defined by negatives. It is certainly not like the United States, principally because it is British. English army officers are portrayed as suspicious of all those born in North America -- not differentiating between Canadians and Americans -- and certainly condescending toward the former.¹¹ Henry Grantham, who is generally considered to be John Richardson's own persona in the novel, is never proudly Canadian just as a matter of course, he is always defending his Canadian identity against the slights of others. In this novel, Canada is a British battleground, not a country. Richardson, untypical of his native-born brethren in so many ways, is untypical in his defensiveness as well.

George Copway, untypical by virtue of race, and subsequently so by his "token Indian" life as a Methodist mission-

9. Montreal: January, 1840.

10. See W.F.E. Morley, A Bibliographical Study of Major John Richardson (Toronto, 1973), pp. 3-6, for a discussion of the data and place of writing. Richardson's stepmother and some of her children were resident in Amherstburg in 1839.

11. Pages 23-4.

ary and fund raiser, writes exclusively of Indians, for the edification of whites. In his biography, Indians are gentle children of nature; corrupted by whites. There is some question as to whether he actually wrote the long poem The Ojibway Conquest,¹² which is full of noble savages, Indians with white sensibility, and a pair of Indian star-crossed lovers. In both works, Canadian setting and identity are assumed, but not discussed.

The only one of the native-born English to write of Canada as a unique place and to appear to glory in things Canadian was W.B. Wells, the "Cinna" of Barker's Magazine and the British Whig. Five significant prose works and a number of poems all by "Cinna" appeared in Barker's. Three, "Tula, or, the Ojibwa's Leap", "Maroon Hensey", and "De Soulis, the Runner of the Woods", appeared under the heading "Legends of the Early Settlements". The other two, "A Bear Hunt" and "Deer Stalking on the South Branch" are lively, humorous, fictional or semi-fictional accounts of mid-nineteenth century hunting expeditions. Two of the "legends" deal, in a manner more realistic than romantic, with Frenchmen who finally marry beautiful Indian maidens, although not without first having to defeat Indian rivals. One of them, "Tula", along with "Maroon Hensey", takes place after the American Revolution. "De Soulis" is apparently set in the seventeenth century. In all of them authorial asides refer to nineteenth century places and practices. "Maroon Hensey" begins with a description of Johnstown, which "has gone into decay", then focuses on a "hostellerie" from which, at the time of the story "Governor Simcoe had but a short half hour previously taken his departure for Niagara."¹³

12. See the note on Copway in Appendix C.

13. Page 200.

- In it John Graves Simcoe, the first Governor of the United Empire Loyalists, himself a hearty, brave old Colonel, who fought in the cause of these men, held his levee, on his first arrival in Upper Canada. Time hallows all, Young Canada has her antiquities -- although she may be more prone to look to the future with hope, than back on the past with regret. Yet the house in which John Graves Simcoe reposed himself, and cast his martial eye over the gracefully curving Bay, the sparkling river, and the dilapidated fortifications of the old French ascendancy, on the point and islands below may still be an object of interest to more than those who reside in the vicinity, in a Province which owes so much of its present prosperity to the good commencement made by one possessed of historic heroism, humanity and noble self-denial in the cause of an exiled race.¹⁴

In Wells' writing Canada is a very specific place. Even the "legends" begin with descriptions of their specific sites in the Prescott-Brockville area of the St. Lawrence. In the hunting stories, there is a tolerant affection for local customs and pitying tone for ignorant British outsiders. Wells is straightforward, unapologetic, and completely at home in his world.

Native-born francophones show the same tendency to keep their imaginations close to home that we find in their English-speaking counterparts. Almost all their prose works are set in Canada, but only rarely does Canada appear to be a unique place. The notable exception, George de Boucherville's Une de perdue, deux de trouvées is not really an exception, since de Boucherville lived in Louisiana, where the first part of the novel is set, from 1838 to 1846. Generally, the territory which the francophones regard as their own, however, is

not "the Canadas", but Lower Canada.¹⁵ In French-Canadian writing, Canada is less a specific place than it is the home of a specific people. While the native-born English show little interest in a specific Canadian identity, the French seem to have a much stronger sense of who they are. Whatever the political and economic alliances developed before and after the rebellions, in literature a Canadien was someone who was not English. This is as true of 1850 as of 1830.

In French-Canadian literature only two books, several plays, a few short stories, and fugitive newspaper poetry, were published before 1842. "The English" are absent from all the prose works. Michel Bibaud's poems contain a number of anti-British remarks, from sneers at "fiers écossais" and comments on the errors of protestantism, to fiercely anti-union poems written in the early 1820s, which show a proud sense of history and of strong national identity. Single poems by other writers, scattered throughout the newspapers of the pre-rebellion period, are about equally divided between patriotism and politics on the one hand, and customary human concerns on the other.

There are a few French-Canadian villains in post-rebellion fiction: Louise's father in Les Fiancés de 1812, Voisin in Charles Guérin and the brigands in La Fille du Brigand, among others, but, in general, the villains in French-Canadian fiction are English. However, in Charles Guérin the total colonizing English world which limits young French Canadians in the fulfilment of their destiny is more of a villain than Wagner, the capitalist. Similarly, in Le Rebelle, the MacDaniel family is not nearly as bad as the soldiers who destroy the community, or the perpetrators of the executions of the patriotes. In Les Fiancés, Doutre's anti-British sentiments

15. The post-union term "Canada East" was never used in any literary context.

are shown by calling the British soldiers cowards, by putting ignorable sentiments in their mouths, and by praising, as much as possible, the American enemy. In La Terre Paternelle it is not the English who are bad, it is the French Canadians who try to ape them in becoming urban capitalists. In the play, Le Jeune Latour, the son is true to his French nationality, the father who has sold out to the English must be punished. In all these cases "the English" are a faceless, oppressive collectivity, they are not individuals.

Similarly in poetry, the dozens of poems which seek the repatriation of les exilés praise the correctness of their actions and their devotion to a national cause. After Barthe and Aubin were imprisoned for publishing Barthe's inflammatory poem pointing out in some detail why their actions were justified, and how nasty the British had been to suppress them, succeeding poets were less specific and claimed redress from a praiseworthy British justice.

Like the native-born English, French Canadians also seem to have found a sense of identity in Canada's past. Most of them chose the recent past, however, not the glories of New France, as a topic. Les Fiancés is set in 1812, the remaining novels and stories focus on events of the 1830s, and on contemporary moeurs Canadiennes. The New France exceptions are Le Jeune Latour of Gérin-Lajoie, C.V. Dupont's "Françoise Brunon", Amédée Papineau's "Caroline", and de Boucherville's "Louise Chawinikisique".¹⁶ There are a few shorter pieces in periodicals which attempt to focus on pré-conquest times, but in general the focus is on events which occurred within living memory.

As with their English-speaking compatriots, the imaginations of native-born French are centered on Canada. They do

16. Dupont in Le Castor, February 6-20, 1844. Papineau in Le Glaneur, July 1837. De Boucherville in L'Ami du Peuple, 23 and 26 September, 1835. Gérin-Lajoie's play, which was also published separately, appeared in Le Journal de Québec, September 10, 17, and 21, 1844.

not write of other countries. Although they are like the native English in both their temporal and spatial ideas of Canada, they differ noticeably in their consciousness of a singular Canadian identity. The French-Canadians know who they are, because they know who they are not.

Of the three French immigrant writers, Trobriand remained in the United States, and Leblanc de Marconnay returned to France. Only Napoléon Aubin became a part of the French-Canadian community. Even then, Aubin was baptized and died a Protestant,¹⁷ he lived in the United States for several long periods, and remained essentially a Swiss democrat throughout his life. His major periodical, Le Fantastique, is well known for its liberal comment on the Canadian political scene, but it is astonishing to notice how much of the content reveals his European cultural preoccupations.

Immigrants to North America from Britain had made a conscious decision to remain British by settling in Canada rather than in the United States. The "British-ness" of Canada therefore became very important to them. Most of what they wrote was set in Britain, but when they wrote of Canada it was of a place somewhat exotic, but essentially British, in government, customs, and scenery, where a family could repair their mysteriously diminished fortune. The present was uncomfortable, but there was hope for the future. They brought their old world intellectual and emotional baggage with them -- their national and religious antipathies, the class system, a devotion to constitutional monarchy as a form of government, and their sense of the superiority of British civilization. All these are revealed in the "Canadian" literature they have left us.

A number of stories, particularly in the Literary Garland, are based on the theme of a fortune to be repaired and

17. Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol XI, p. 36-7.

a lifestyle reinstated. Catherine Traill's story "Helen" and her sister, Susanna Moodie's, longer "Trifles from the Burthen of a Life" have as a basic premise the necessity of leaving England for Canada because remaining in England would mean accepting poverty and a lower station in life. In "The First Cow" a penniless North of Ireland family is forced to emigrate in search of prosperity; in "The Maiden of St. Margarets" and in "The Piano, An Emigrant Tale" the happy ending takes place in Canada. In "The Ruins" fortunes are repaired, but prosperity disappears again with the death of the breadwinner.¹⁸

Canada was by no means heaven to all the immigrant writers. Standish O'Grady complained bitterly about Lower Canada in The Emigrant. The author of Narrative of a Commuted Pensioner says that it is no country for someone who spent his life as a soldier. Joseph Abbott, a Church of England missionary, finds it an uncivilized place. Ward's preface to The Spring of Life calls the country backward and uncivilized. Susanna Moodie's first Canadian poem "The Sleigh Bells", published in the Cobourg Star and the Montreal Vindicator in March 1833 after her first winter in the country, says the sound of approaching sleigh bells makes her forget the howling wolf at the door. Alexander M'Lachlan, who found Canada a land of freedom, also called it a cold and lonely place. The first four were writing of their experience in Lower Canada, the latter two of clearing land in Upper Canada.

Travels which form a background to creative works gave the authors an opportunity to describe the exoticism of Canada to readers in the United Kingdom. Lane's The Fugitives takes time out to describe Canadian places; as well as activities such as making maple sugar. Lane is generally sympathetic to

18. "Helen", September 1842, "Trifles", March-July 1851; "The First Cow", August 1844; "Maiden!", June-September, 1839; "Piano", August 1843; "Ruins", October 1844.

French Canadians, while Mrs. Bayley, in Henry, or the Juvenile Traveller, see French-Canadian cultural differences as indicating inferiority. Adam Kidd views Canada as a locale for romantic lake scenery and fascinating Indians. Bishop Houn-
tain's Songs of the Wilderness emphasize the unusual "wilderness" environment. Samuel Thompson's "A First Day in the Bush" in the Maple Leaf for 1849 finds everything "delightfully new and interesting", but also wondrous strange. In Liston's Niagara Falls, Canada is nothing much but scenery; for many others it was just unfamiliar place names. Only the sisters Mrs. Cushing and Mrs. Cheney, in the Literary Garland and in the Snow Drop, make use of New France as an exotic decor. Since they were both American by birth, they were probably more familiar with the history of the continent than their British-born compatriots.

The patriotic poems of J.M. Hagarty and Susanna Hoodie were widely circulated at the time of the rebellions. Their loyalty, however, is to Britain, not to Canada. It is British freedom they are defending. The rebellion-inspired poems in Sawtell's Mourner's Tribute praise British, not Canadian, valour.

Most of the immigrant writers associated Canada with the future, as their immigrant-critic colleagues suggested they should, while the native-born tended to be content with the past and present. The immigrant author of "Rough Sketches by a Backwoodsman" in the Maple Leaf for 1848 depicts Canada as a land of opportunity for industrious gentlemen, but says the lazy will be even worse off than at home. Lydia Appleton's dedication of her volume of poetry "to the daughters of Canada" refers to the future which will be theirs. Robert Baldwin Sullivan's poem "The Emigrant Ship" shows dispirited but hopeful passengers on their way to a land of promise.¹⁹

19. Canadian Magazine, April 1833. This number has not survived. The poem is reproduced in D.B. Read, Lives of the Judges, p. 225.

Of all A.J. Williamson's poems there is only one in which he writes of Canada, but in it "Canadie" has a bright future.²⁰ A Christian Guardian poem by "G.H.", entitled "Canada" begins:

Proud of thy name I feel
Young empire colony! Land of my youth--
Thou who hast nurs'd me from my early infancy,
As an adopted child. With swelling soul
Oftimes, I muse upon thy growing strength:
And mark with strange delight the promise of
A brighter day--the forecast of a name
In the world's history.

The fourth stanza, with its far western vision, is the only example I have encountered of that theme in this period. Before 1850, literary references to the west generally meant Canada West.

As to the farthest
West, where tower up in lofty grandeur,
Amid the smooth Pacific's offspring clouds--
The rocky mountains--thou spreads't forth thy pow'r,
Filling thy nap with towns and cities of
Strange mushroom birth, changing thy living tens
To thousands; while, with open arms, thou calls't
The houseless wanderer to a woodland home.
Young mammoth cities, springing up--in age
Hardly a century--loudly proclaim
Thy rip'ning strength--thy noontide glory, near:
Brightly portray thy splendid destiny. ²¹

Every immigrant writer shows this preoccupation with the future.

As we have seen, the idea of Canada as a separate entity varied considerably according to the race and place of birth of the writer. The same two factors also influenced the views of France, the United States, and Great Britain which appeared in the literary works of the time.

20. "Song" in Original Poems, pp. 128-30.

21. April 21, 1847.

France was rarely mentioned by those who wrote in English. When it was, it was in the context of the Napoleonic era. A few, like Adam Kidd, praised the Emperor:

Thou maker of kings, and dethroner of tyrants--
Thou greatest of mortals this earth has yet known 22

More often, as in Breckenridge's "Napoleon and the French Revolution", Napoleon is himself a tyrant:

Long hath the impious tyrant stood
The scourge of Europe--aye, too long! 23

from whose depredations Europe is rescued by England and "Immortal WELLINGTON".

The immigrant French, at least in their literary productions, were similarly silent, although one can get some sense of Napoléon Aubin's idea of his namesake from the fact that Aubin was actually baptized Aimé-Nicholas and had merely adopted the name of his hero, by which he was known throughout his adult life.

It is surprising, considering the vast amount of literary borrowing, and the oft-expressed identification of French Canada with continental French culture, to discover how rarely France is mentioned in French-Canadian writing. The two fictional characters who go to France feel alienated from French society. Pierre Guérin, working his way through rural France with a slide show and lectures confounded his listeners with his accent. To put them at ease he told them, not that he was French Canadian, but that he was American.

22. "Napoleon in Exile", The Huron Chief, p. 162.

23. The Crusades, p. 121.

Je voulais dire que j'étais Canadien-Français.
 Autant aurait-il valu leur annoncer que j'é venais de
 la lune. Il est complètement sorti de l'esprit du
 peuple en France qu'il y ait un Canada.....C'était
 un rude désenchantement pour moi qui avais toujours
 rêvé à la France et qui n'avais pas même daigné
 regarder l'Angleterre en passant. 24

Gustave St. Pelmar, one of Joseph Doutre's heroes in Les
 Français de 1812 is sent to France at the age of eight to be
 educated. He feels abandoned by his family and is corrupted
 by his life there. He flees France after killing his opponent
 in a duel and embarks on a series of adventures which owe a
 lot to young Doutre's fantasy life. The author, in his pre-
 face, also excoriates those French Canadians who travel to
 France and return to Canada with an attitude of superiority to
 all things Canadian.

...qui, pour avoir vu Paris, ne regardent plus les
 efforts de leurs concitoyens qu'avec une grimace
 de dédain. 25

The song collection, La Lyre Canadienne, includes many
 songs from France because:

Nous, canadiens, descendants des preux colons de la
 Nouvelle France nous avons hérité du goût de nos
 pères pour ces compositions faciles et agréables où
 la mélodie de la voix vient ajouter tant de force,
 de tendresse, tant de charme ou d'énergie au senti-
 ment poétique. Les vieilles chansons de la France,
 oubliées et perdues dans le pays où elles prirent
 naissance, retentissent encore, dans leur naïveté
 spirituelle, au fond de nos campagnes,... 26

The volume includes a well know song by Ludger Duvernay,
 "Avant tout je suis Canadien", the last stanza of which sums
 up the whole:

24. P.-J.-O. Chauveau, Charles Guérin (M.A. Guérin edition,
 Montreal 1973), p. 321.

25. Page vi.

26. Page iii.

Originnaire de la France,
 Aujourd'hui sujet d'Albion,
 A qui donner la préférence,
 De l'une ou l'autre nation.
 Mais n'avons-nous pas, je vous prie,
 Encor [sic] de plus puissants liens:
 A tous préférons la patrie,
 Avant tout soyons canadiens. 27

A more subtle relationship with France emerges from the many stories, in both languages, of the young French soldier and the beautiful Indian maiden. In all of them the soldier is a younger son of French nobility -- a rather idealized view of the Canadian heritage. The Last of the Eries, which elaborates this romantic theme for 223 pages, is an interesting variant. The novel is set in New France, so the heroes, as well as the villains, are French. However, since the work is in English, a superior British civilization triumphs on the Plains of Abraham. Pierre and his bride Pale Lily stay to live under British rule. The author also links the French with the Scots, and blames French soldiers for the Scots' defeat at Culloden.

When it comes to writing about the United States and its citizens the native-born are ambivalent, the English immigrants are uniformly negative, and the French immigrant, Napoléon Aubin, is equally positive. Aubin's pro-American, pro-democratic, sentiments are revealed in many ways in his sometimes subtle, sometimes satiric, writing. On one occasion, in an article which favours joining the United States, he concludes:

Chacun son goût: pour moi, je ne serais jamais anglomane; car à l'épais John Bull à abdomen proéminent, à mine renfrognée et hargneuse, à l'air hautain et aristocratique, je préfère Brother Jonathan à l'oeil intelligent, à manières sans gêne et à principes d'égalité. 28

27. Page 91. It appeared in Le Canadien, March 14, 1832, over Duvernay's name.
 28. November 18, 1848..

His Canadian-born compatriots generally ignored the United States in much the same way they ignored the rest of the world. The part of de Boucherville's Une de perdue, deux de trouvées which appeared serially in this period is set in Louisiana, but none of the protagonists seem to be "American". The places are specific, but the people, other than a Spanish pirate and one noble British family, have no national characteristics. Doutre's Fiancées contains a number of admirable Americans, including one family which marries into the two principal French-Canadian families of the novel. However, in 1812, the United States;

...mue par l'ambition et l'arrogance nourries dans le souvenir de quelques succès passés, vint porter ses armées au sein de notre pays. 29

And further, widespread use of arms in the United States leads to civil disorders:

Tous les hommes sont soldats aux Etats-Unis, le négociant comme le mécanicien; et l'épée ne s'emploie pas mieux à l'un qu'à l'autre. Chacun y a ses armes et en sait faire usage. Pour cette raison les duels y sont très fréquents, et les guerres civiles désastreuses: Cinq minutes suffisent pour y former des camps redoutables. Philadelphie en a donné un funeste exemple, qui peut se renouveler chaque jour. 30

Richardson, writing in The Canadian Brothers of the same war, has somewhat the same ambivalence. Some Americans are "good guys" and some, like the villain Desborough, are not. The second paragraph of the novel sets a scene not unlike that of Doutre.

It was the summer of 1812. Intelligence had been some days received at that post, of the declaration of war by the United States, the great aim and object of which was the conquest, and incorporation, with her own extensive territories, of provinces on which she had long cast an eye of political jealousy, and now assailed at a moment when England, fighting the battles of the, even to this moment, recreant and unredeemed Peninsula, could ill spare a solitary regiment to the rescue of her threatened, and but indifferently defended transatlantic possessions.

Richardson writes in unflattering terms of the American settlers who, oaths of allegiance notwithstanding; had shown their true colours by returning to the United States as soon as war broke out. Canada should rejoice at the elimination from its soil of "a people diametrically opposed in their interests, their principles; their habits, and their attachments."³¹

In Holmes' Belinda a brother, feeling disgraced by the heroine's behaviour, moves to the states. In Charles Durand's short stories "the states" is a place people visit, move to, or flee to to hide their shame. Only in those stories which are set in the 1812-15 period does he show any overt anti-Americanism. Only our token member of the lower classes, "Sir John" Smyth, was thoroughly anti-American. Two poems, one "Upon the North-Eastern Boundary Question",³² and the other, combining that subject with McLeod's trial,³³ threaten the American with British retribution.

I would advise Brother Jonathan to be careful,
Not to awaken the strong lion of England;
For the lion will act and behave most fearful,
And the lion will always maintain his bold stand. ³⁴

The English immigrant writers, who had chosen to remain British, and not become American, reinforced their choice in

31. Page 83.

32. A Small Specimen, etc. pp. 25-6.

33. Ibid., 29-30.

34. Ibid., 26.

their writing. In Lane's Fugitives, the villains seek safety on the American side of the border; in Adam Kidd's Huron Chief, Americans persecute the Indians, who flee to the protection of Britain; in Philip Musgrave the villains are American Methodist preachers; in Liston's Niagara Falls there are oppressive "star-stripes" just across the river; in "The Rivals", a story by "Sophia", which appeared in the Canadian Casket,³⁵ the American villain and the Canadian hero fought each other in the War of 1812, as well as fighting for the hand of their beloved. Many of the newspaper poems oppose slavery and condemn Americans for allowing it to exist in "the land of liberty". In Cummin's Altham there are many "good" American individuals, but collective America is a villain in the War of 1812. The triumph of the Shannon over the Chesapeake is one of the most stirring chapters in the novel. Similarly, the Americans who attack Prescott in 1838 are painted in the blackest possible manner in Gavin Russell's long poem sequence Thoughts and sentiments connected with the Invasion of Upper Canada. Considering the number of pre-Confederation American invasions of the Canadas it is remarkable that there was so little anti-American literature and that the native-born were so ambivalent about the United States. It may be that many of them did know Americans as individuals, or that they had relatives across the border, which would allow them to exempt individuals from a generalized condemnation of the United States.

Perhaps it was because so much British literature was available in Canada, that the native-born males wrote so little about Britain. Perhaps it was because so few of them had any adult experience of the United Kingdom. Only one writer, "Sir John" Smyth, published works which consistently praise British institutions - in his case this meant the monarch and the army, although not the Church of England. The first two

35. February 25, 1832.

poems in Select Poems were written on the marriage of Queen Victoria, another on Victoria and Albert's escape from an assassination attempt, and a fourth on the birth of the Princess Royal. In his poems the British army are praised for putting the Chinese and Turks in their place, and Americans are warned that the same thing will happen to them if they get out of line. It is a remote, colonial, newspaper - reader's view of Britain in which neither the military nor the monarch can do ~~any wrong~~. The two are often joined in an expression of British superiority, as in this last stanza of "A Poem Entitled the British Soldier and Sailor"

Who would not love and extoll Queen Victoria,
And do all for the good cause of Britannia;
And may God bless our Queen and all of her subjects,
And be received above at last and shine like planets. 36

John Richardson, from his first-hand experience, was not as enthusiastic about the British military. For him the army is not an abstraction, it is a group of individuals, some of whom are better than others. Setting aside the public quarrels of his personal life, a reader finds both good and bad among the British officers and men of his novels. In The Canadian Brothers Brock is idealized, but Proctor repeatedly castigated. Brock is a hero in John Breckenridge's "Canada", as he is in "Sir John" Smyth's poems.

The British army represented one of the most visible relationships with England. Generally the immigrants took pride in Britain's military prowess and wrote poems in honour of England's success in India and China. There is also much praise of the military role in the War of 1812, and in the rebellions. General Brock was probably the greatest hero of the day to English-speaking Canadians. Some of Richardson's promotional material for The Canadian Brothers emphasized that Brock would appear in the book. The General is dragged in at the tail-end of Altham -- one suspects for the purpose of interesting the Canadian reading public, since his presence has

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no intrinsic function. When Brock's movement at Queenston was destroyed in 1840, Canadian poets rushed into print with poems in his praise.

Not everyone loved the military. There were nay-sayers, particularly among young writers like Adam Kidd and Aubert de Gaspé frs, who complained that young ladies found uniforms much too attractive. The hero of Matilda is a British officer, but so is the villain, one of

...those military men, who, when they have obtained His Majesty's Commission and mounted a sword and the other accompaniments of that profession, seem to think (for so they certainly act) that they are at once commissioned to outrage all the common decencies of life... 37

All the veterans, --Richardson, John Williamson, Walter Henry, and the anonymous author of Reminiscences of a Soldier, -- see the army as an entity made up of a mixed bag of individuals, rather than a distant, triumphant, arm of Britain's might. Cummins, who seems to have had some first-hand experience, takes the same attitude to the navy.

French-Canadian writers, as we have seen, almost defined themselves as not being British -- a point distinctly in their favour, as they saw it. Poems can be found praising British justice, or praising various governors, but these are all political works, presupposing a British injustice which has been, or should be, corrected. Barthe's poem to Governor Thomson, published in L'Aurore on May 26, 1840, begins:

Oui! j'ai repris ma lyre et ma voix d'Apollon,
Pour sauver ma patrie, et pour chanter ton nom:
Mon coeur a palpit d'espoir et d'allgresse
Et ma muse a jur d'honorer ta sagesse.
Un citoyen chri souffrait dans un donjon,
Languissante victime, il prissait, THOMSON,
Si ton vertueux coeur, ami de la justice
N'eut enfin confondu l'idole d'injustice.

Barthe, having said "thank you" for his release from prison, goes on to plead the cause of other innocent patriotes. Shortly thereafter he was opposing Thomson politically with all his energy. Only Une de perdue presents admirable English individuals, and they do not live in England.

While the British immigrants who wrote of Britain were almost unanimous in their praise of their mother country, there were, as always, exceptions. Alexander M'Lachlan wrote of class oppression in England and of freedom in the new world. "The Emigrant", probably editor William Sibbald himself, writing in the Canadian Magazine in 1832, says he left England because merit did not prevail over influence. In John S. Cummins' Altham, abuses of power in Ireland, and in the British navy, are portrayed and deprecated. The Irish Catholics, of course, had little good to say of England. Dr. Ryan's The Spirit's Lament is the most notable example of this genre, but it is present in the work of many other writers. Mary Anne Madden, at the conclusion of Tales of the Olden Time finds it necessary to deny that what she has written will keep old English-Irish feuds alive.

In taking leave, however, I must be allowed to add that in all the wide dominions of England, there is not one who is prouder of her well-earned glory, nor more desirous of its continuance, than is the writer of these Tales -- and yet does she love her own country, as the children of Ireland only can. 38

By far the most common response was one of nostalgia; Menzies, Gillespie, Macqueen and Williamson, all Scots; and Sweeny, Madden, and Haskins, among the Irish are the most notable. Susanna Moodie's regret at leaving her native land is familiar to most students. Dozens of anonymous immigrants contributed poems on the same theme to Canadian newspapers and periodicals. The image of the native land is always that of a place where a happy childhood was spent in harmony with beautiful natural surroundings, and where loved ones have lived and are buried. All this is gone forever -- neither the scenery

nor the people will ever be revisited. There does not seem to be any consciousness that childhood, also part of the image, can never be recaptured either. Today, nostalgia is generally temporal; for nineteenth century immigrants it was spatial.

Attitudes to Canada and to other countries do not seem to have changed in the two decades under study. There is little to choose between the matter-of-fact Canadianism of Charles Durand in 1832 and of Abraham Holmes in 1843; or between the defensively nationalistic anti-union sentiments of Michel Bibaud in 1830, and of Joseph Barthe in 1840. As more and more immigrants arrived, more and more tales reflecting the reality of their hardships appeared, so immigrant writers of the 40s are perhaps less hopeful about the Canadian future than those of the 30s. The rebellions of 1837-38 did have some effect on French-Canadian writing as Canadiens began taking up the pen to justify their national identity and to reify the recent past. However, there was so little published in the pre-1837 period that there is no base for comparison.

What is Canada? To the immigrant writers, it was a generally pleasant place with a future, though not a country they regarded as home; to the native-born, it was home and it had a past and present which concerned them.

As they saw themselves in relation to the country, French-Canadians, who had a large group to define themselves against, showed a strong sense of collective identity in their literary works. The English Canadians, while most of them did not identify with any other nation, did not go out of their way to identify themselves as Canadian either. When they wrote about the role of the French in Canada they did so by adopting the history of New France as their own, while ignoring their francophone contemporaries. French-Canadian writers made no distinction between native-born and immigrant English. All the English in Lower Canada were usurpers. With the exception of La Terre Paternelle, there was as yet no definition

in the literature of this period of the polarities of identity, --French, Catholic and agrarian, as opposed to English, Protestant and commercial -- which were soon to become accepted.

All groups wrote about the places they knew best. The native-born of both races tended to ignore European "motherlands", and to be ambivalent about the United States, while the immigrants wrote mostly of what they knew in their European youth and defined themselves according to the country in which they were born, seeing Canada as an extension of Britain, and therefore superior to the United States. If the immigrants praised their native lands in some of their creative works, they also praised Canada in others. Even the few who complained about life in Canada mentioned the country's good points at the same time. It is as if they had separated the past from the present and the future. Similarly, when the native-born wrote positively of another country, it was not in a manner which implied that Canada was inferior by comparison.

The idea of Canada as a separate entity was taken for granted by the native-born English. It offered more possibilities to the native-born French because it provided a locus for feelings of collective identity. In the spiritual geography of its sons Canada is at the centre of the world, while it is at the outer edge of the immigrant's globe.

CHAPTER IX

PRESENT POLITICS AND PAST HISTORY

One way in which the component elements of Canadian life were described for the benefit of readers both here and elsewhere, was in terms of its current political life and its historic past. The relation of the governed to the government -- the raw material of future history -- and the relation of contemporary residents to those who had preceded them -- the raw material of historical mythology -- are almost equally important to our understanding of the sense of Canadian identity which existed before 1850. Many literary works addressed themselves to immediate, day-to-day Canadian politics; some commented explicitly on the rebellions of 1837 and 1838; others were set in specific periods of the past. For these last, the War of 1812 and New France were the most common choices. The loyalist foundation of Upper Canada, remarkably, was almost ignored.

Although it is difficult to be certain, because so much politically-inspired literature was published anonymously, it appears that most of what was written in English about ongoing political activities came from the pen of immigrants. This is true even of the large body of contemporary writing about the rebellions. The War of 1812, however, as an event of the past, was of much greater interest to the native-born than the immigrants. Neither group showed any interest in loyalists. Although the only work in French which dealt overtly with the rebellions was not written by a native, French-Canadian authors of this period were, in general, more interested in contemporary partisan politics than in events of the past.

I

In Chapter IV it was noted that the political preference of seventy percent of the male writers could be determined

with reasonable accuracy, and in the case of about half the remainder one has a strong suspicion. However, particularly in the context of the shifting alliances of the 1840s, it is often hard to determine today whether some moderate individuals leaned towards the reform or the conservative side. Politics were of consuming interest to most of the population of the Canadas, if one is to judge by their electoral behaviour and by the highly partisan nature of Canadian newspapers. Canadian male writers were thus not different from their fellow voters when they reveal their political concerns.

Political events outside Canada inspired little Canadian literary activity. Where foreign politics were concerned, Canadian newspapers reprinted the appropriate partisan literary response taken from the newspapers of Britain, France, or the United States.

Canadian residents found a variety of ways in which to express their political sentiments in literary form. There were extended satires written about mythical countries,¹ and parodies of published manifestos.² One form, which appeared in the first January number of every French newspaper was the étrenne, in which the previous year's events were summarized and hope was expressed for the new year. The annual "news-boy's address" filled the same role in English-language newspapers. Political images appeared in non-political contexts as well. A sonnet "Day-Dawn" begins:

1. Alph. P., "Voyage Impromptu à la Planète Leverrier", La Revue Canadienne, December 24, 1847. Nichodemus quiz, "History of Barrara", Cobourg Star, five instalments March 5, 1845 to April 9, 1845.
2. "Address of the League for the Encouragement of Humbug, Native and Imported", Pilot, April 25, 1849. A parody on the British American League manifesto.

Who hath not seen, when some one, high in power,
 Is landing on a foreign coast, how long
 The people stand before the appointed hour,
 And wait his coming? Then, at last, the throng,
 Filling the streets, and strewn o'er house and tower,
 Is shaken with a murmur deep and strong
 Of "lo! he cometh," and the myriads shower
 One mighty welcome as he rides along. ³

The most basic level of indigenous political comment was the anonymous poem, published in newspapers at election time or during sessions of the Assemblies, in which readers who shared the politics of the newspaper's proprietor ridiculed the opposition. Most of the titles are simple ones like "Song" or "Elegy" which reveal nothing of the actual content, but a few of the most explicit will give an idea of the genre: "To the Upper Canadians, Lovers of the British Constitution, and Supporters of Sir Francis Head",⁴ or, "The Compact's Last Squeak".⁵ The following, the first two of seven verses, though not, in this case, anonymous, are fairly typical of the election genre:

With a warm heart and grateful tongue
 The SHARON MEETING will be sung,
 Our number's not a few!
 No TURNCOAT dared to show his face
 In such an independent place,
 Reformers are so TRUE!

We turned friend SCOBIE o'er and o'er
 And brought to light the coats he wore!
 But now they are refined;
 LEGION and him we put to flight,
 Brave BALDWIN blew them out of sight,
 And all that's of their kind. ⁶

3. E.T.F. [Edward Taylor Fletcher] in the Literary Garland, Vol. I, no 11 (October 1839), p. 528. Fletcher had been raised in Quebec City, where most visiting dignitaries came ashore. He only leaves himself six lines to describe the actual dawn.
4. Toronto Patriot, June 21, 1836.
5. Toronto Mirror, March 12, 1841.
6. David Willson, "The Sharon Meeting", Toronto Mirror, December 24, 1847. Willson contributed a great deal of reform-supporting poetry to both the Mirror and the Examiner.

The newspaper poetry was rarely subtle, and frequently focused on personalities. William Lyon Mackenzie seems to have inspired the most virulently personal attacks:

Wha do ye think has got breeks til his n'rse,
Baps in his pouch, where they used to be scarce;
Bawbees, an beuks that the R-n pens ye?
Wha put the renegade flunkie Mackenzie,
Cut lugget, glib lipped, rantin' Mackenzie;
Barfit an' bare-lippit cantin' Mackenzie;
Sermon or sang for a boddle he spins ye;
Poopit or midden's a' ane to Mackenzie..... 7

or:

...I have sworn by my wig to abolish the laws--
Those old fashioned customs that hinder the free
From hanging Sir Francis, and giving to me
The viceregal throne, and conferring on you
The freedom of lynching, and plundering too. 8

Louis-Joseph Papineau was also the butt of numerous poetical assaults, all written in English.⁹

A very thin wavering line separates political pamphlets like The Samiel,¹⁰ and Mackenzie's various "Almanacks",¹¹ from politically-inspired literature. A number of works appeared as "broadsides". Dr. B*L*W*N's Soliloquy, on the unexpected decision of the Commons House of Assembly declaring the election of his Son, ROB- B**D**N, for the Town of York, null and void, dated January 1830, is a clever parody which begins:

Och! my offence is rank - it smells of Treason,
And hath a dire and hellish curse upon't.
My son is mad!

7. Dundas Weekly Post, December 1, 1835.
8. Montreal Gazette, April 7, 1838.
9. See, for example, Missiskoui Standard, August 22, 1837 and April 3, 1838.
10. Published in two instalments at Port Sarnia in 1842 by George P. McKee. It accused Malcolm Cameron of having the London to Sarnia road pass through property he owned, although this was not the best route.
11. For example: A new almanack for the Canadian True Blues, Toronto, 1834; and The Caroline Almanack, Rochester, 1840.

In July 1836, the radical Stephen Randal sold for two shillings the words of an anti-Bond Head song called "I'll be a Tory". The lyrics are not particularly clever -- perhaps as a result of trying to make all eight lines of each stanza end with the same rhyme.

A much longer election commentary "The Carleton Election, or the Tale of a Bytown Ram", printed in 1832, takes 38 pages of poetry to describe the contest between Pinhey and Lyon. From this distance in time it would appear that the opposing sides are more or less equally satirized.

Without taking a strict count, one has the impression that the Tories had a slight quantitative edge in English-language poetical/political slanging matches, although reformers certainly gave as good as they got. There is no indication why this imbalance existed. Although majorities shifted from one area to another, committed Tories do not seem to have outnumbered committed reformers in Upper Canada, and the colony's newspapers were also more or less evenly divided. An examination of the statistics in Chapter IV indicates that writers of Tory sympathy were not noticeably better educated than those whose sympathies were toward reform. They do tend to sound considerably more outraged than their opponents, however. Perhaps this was a powerful impetus to writing and publishing.

Throughout the 1830s literary-political commentary tended to result from individual activity and to be published in newspapers, pamphlets, and broadsides. In the 1840s, although these types of endeavour continued, the principal source of literary-political writing is a number of satirical publications, the first of which, Le Fantasque, actually began in August 1837. Its tone is more anti-British than pro-patriote. Publication was suspended for four months in 1838 and five in 1839. Le Fantasque continued to be published sporadically throughout the early 1840s and was eventually put out of business by the two Quebec fires of 1845. Throughout the period Aubin supported Bagot, and had hopes for Durham.

Sydenham, Metcalfe and their governments were attacked. In June of 1848 Le Fantasque was revived in support of L.J. Papineau. The effort of dealing with a confusing decade of Canadian politics was finally too much for Aubin. In the last number, February 24, 1849, still taking on the Tories, -- in this case, over the Rebellion Losses Bill, -- he confesses that he can no longer decide about the rights and wrongs of politics:

Jadis il était facile [sic] se prononcer sur les affaires publiques car vous saviez alors clairement de quoi il s'agissait.... Les uns étaient blancs et les autres étaient noirs....

Three numbers of Le Diable Bleu of 1843 have survived, giving some indication that it, too, was anti-Tory and anti-Metcalfe. Its 1844 successor, Le Charivari Canadien, which took its name from the Parisian satirical review, appeared under different auspices and was devoted to satirizing D.B. Viger, his editor J.G. Barthe, Sir Charles Metcalfe, and their colleagues. It appears to have been terminated after the electoral defeat of Barthe and Viger that autumn.¹² Neither of these works achieved the level of wit to be found in the early years of Aubin's Fantasque. There were no further specifically satirical magazines published in French in the decade. L'Avenir occasionally filled the role, but its young editors essentially took their politics too seriously to bother with satire.

Le Charivari Canadien and Le Diable Bleu originated in Montreal, as did The Satirist (1847), The Magic Lantern (1848), and Punch in Canada (1849-50), although the latter moved to Toronto when the seat of government moved. The dates of the five coincide with the dates when government was located in Montreal.

12. No. 28, August 16, deals with the campaign; and no. 29, October-3, crows over their defeat.

The Satirist lasted four or five issues in June of 1847.¹³ Judging from the one surviving number, it seems to have been anti-government. D.B. Papineau, Etienne Parent, W.H. Draper, and Lord Cathcart all come in for criticism. Between March and September 1848, six issues of The Magic Lantern appeared. In addition to making fun of the government, it also held the Literary Garland, the Shakspeare Club, and the Montreal medical establishment up to ridicule. The first number of Punch in Canada announced its determination to eradicate humbug from the province -- but it was a particular kind of humbug:

The cuckoo cry of Responsible Government in a Colony is Humbug. Non-reciprocal Free Trade is Humbug. Nos Langues, Nos Institutions, et nos Lois, is Humbug. The political trading of all parties is Humbug...the present Administration is Humbug. ¹⁴

The magazine soon became involved in the Rebellion Losses Bill controversy -- very firmly opposed to the bill, the party which introduced it, and the Governor-General who accepted it. It also opposed the Annexation Movement, L'Avenir, Colonel Gagy's libel suits, and total abstinence. The style is very much in the manner of the London Punch of that period, which perhaps explains why it is far and away the most witty of the English-language satirical periodicals. Unfortunately, all the most amusing examples are too extended to quote here.

One political periodical was not satiric. It was the Monthly Review, published at Toronto for the first six months of 1841, in support of Sydenham's government. The first number contained some poetry, as well as "The Literature of a New Country", quoted extensively in Chapter VI. Subsequent issues were confined to articles on political topics. One poem in the first issue, "The United Provinces" is worthy of mention here. It is dated at "Toronto, December 1840" and principally described the scenic glories of Canada West. Several verses

13. I have found a record of four, but the dates, June 2, 9; 16, and 30, would indicate that there may have been a fifth.

14. January 1, 1849, p. 7.

describe the Conquest and link it to "Trafalgar's wave - old Runnimeade's fair sod". The final ringing call for loyalty is not, however, to the united provinces, but to "God and Fatherland".

One literary-political genre was particular to the 1840s -- poetic addresses to various governors.¹⁵ They began with Durham's arrival in 1838. In W.F. Hawley's poem welcoming Durham to Montreal, he implies that the British are Canada's worst enemies.¹⁶ Barthe published three poems addressed to Sydenham in L'Aurore;¹⁷ George Menzies and others lamented Sydenham's death.¹⁸ Bagot's illness and death were lamented in French,¹⁹ and Metcalfe's in English.²⁰ "A brief sketch" of Metcalfe's life was published in Kingston after his death,²¹ and Hadden's Tales of the Olden Time was dedicated to him. Lord Cathcart does not seem to have inspired anyone to poetry, either pro or con, but Elgin's arrival produced the usual hopeful works,²² and his wife's arrival some months later even moved Rosanna Mullins to verse.²³ The rebellion Losses Bill caused anti-Elgin works to be written,²⁴ which were followed by "loyal" ones praising him.²⁵

15. For works of this genre in French, see Jacques Monet, "The Personal and Living Bond 1839-1849" in W.L. Morton ed., The Shield of Achilles (Toronto 1968), pp. 62-93.
16. Quebec Literary Transcript, July 14, 1838.
17. May 19, 26, and 29, 1840.
18. Posthumous Works, pp. 50-51. It originally appeared in an unnamed newspaper.
19. "Sur la convalescence de Sir Charles Bagot, notre bien-aimé gouverneur", Le Minerve, February 6, 1843.
20. "To Sir Charles Metcalfe", Montreal Transcript, February 1, 1845.
21. Attributed to Walter Cavendish Crofton.
22. Harriet Annie ([Wilkins]), "A Welcome to Lord Elgin", British Whig, October 20, 1847.
23. Literary Garland, July 1847, p. 314.
24. A long poem praising Sir Benjamin D'Urban published in the Montreal Transcript, June 28, 1849, shortly after D'Urban's sudden death in Montreal in June 1849, is part of this genre. After the passage of the Rebellion Losses Bill and the subsequent riots, disaffected citizens pointedly transferred their loyal affections from Elgin to D'Urban, the resident military commander. Punch in Canada was full of anti-Elgin prose and poetry.
25. "The Bruce of Canada", Bytown Packet, July 14, 1849.

II

Almost all these examples of politically-inspired literature were direct responses to specific events. The literature attached to the rebellions of 1837 and 1838 is similarly direct and essentially one-sided. Not surprisingly, it is those who saw themselves as the winners who monopolize the writing on the subject in English. In French, there is the emigré Trobriand's Le Rebelle, and the many stories and poems devoted to the cause of les exilés.

Tory newspapers published many poems about the events, as well as the conflicting philosophies, of the rebellions. The most widely quoted poets at the time were Susanna Moodie and J.H. Hagarty²⁶ (using his initials or his pseudonym "Zadiq"). Hagarty's rebellion-inspired works were published first in either The Church or the Toronto Patriot, and subsequently turned up in the Cobourg Star, the Montreal Gazette, the Kingston Chronicle, and the Western Herald (Sandwich). "Suggested by the lamented death of the late Colonel Moodie", "Arise, arise", "Our Country", "The Battle Cry", and "Dirge on the Burial of the Soldiers Killed at Prescott"²⁷ all praise Britain, British freedom, and the imperial connection. They are thunderingly positive in tone and barely mention the "rebels", "traitors", and "treason" which caused them to be written. Although she devotes a few more lines to the "dastard foe" than Hagarty does, Moodie's tone and emphasis are essentially the same. There is no indication that Canadians were fighting Canadians.

26. Although Hagarty was both more prolific, and a better poet, Moodie has had the lion's share of the 20th century publicity. Four of her rebellion poems were published by J.S. Moir in Ontario History, Volume LVII (1965), no. 1, p. 47-52. Moir is wrong about the poem "The Convict's Wife" which was first published in the Canadian Literary Magazine in 1833.

27. Only one source will be given for each: "Col. Moody", Patriot, January 5, 1838; "Arise", Cobourg Star, December 20, 1837; "Our country", Montreal Gazette, October 13, 1838; "Battle Cry", Gazette, December 15, 1838; "Dirge", Church, December 15, 1838.

After Hagarty and Moodie's works, the next most widely reprinted was George Menzies' "Canadian Volunteer's Song" which made the rounds, starting from the Niagara Reporter²⁸ of which Menzies was then editor. Its theme and emphasis are similar to those of Moodie and Hagarty.

The death of Lieutenant Weir at the hands of his French-Canadian captors inspired two poems which appeared in a number of newspapers: "Tread lightly here! Lines written at the grave of Lieutenant Weir" which first appeared in the Literary Garland in March 1839, and "A Tribute to the memory of the late Lieutenant Weir", which was published in Sawtell's Mourner's Tribute of 1840, and which was often reprinted in reviews of the work.

In addition to the works mentioned above, almost every newspaper of Tory sympathies published its own local poets' contributions to the cause. The Missiskoui Standard does not exist in a complete set today, but surviving issues from the rebellion period indicate vehement support for the British cause. "Canadian Garland" by D.E.H., "Upper Canada" by "An Upper Canadian", "Triumphal Song" by W.F. Hawley, and "A Ditty on the Times" by "Amo"²⁹ praise the victors and, with the exception of Hawley and "An Upper Canadian" condemn the defeated as cowards. Hawley, a convinced Tory, born and raised on the south shore of the St. Lawrence, was the only one of the native-born English to write about the rebellions.

The rebellions played a passing role in a number of English-language books. In Walter Henry's military memoirs, Trifles from my Portfolio (Quebec 1839) they are one among many experiences in his long career as an army doctor. He shows little sympathy for either the French Canadians or suc-

28. The Reporter for this period has not survived. The poem may be found in the Toronto Patriot, February 20, 1838.

29. "Canadian Garland", January 23, 1838; "Upper Canada", February 6, 1838; "Triumphal Song", March 13, 1838; "A Ditty", April 3, 1838. "Upper Canada" also appeared in the Kingston Chronicle, February 14, 1838, and in the Transcript, February 10, 1838.

cessive British governments whose policies he felt encouraged rebellion. Several poems in G.W. Gillespie's Miscellaneous Poems (Toronto 1843), in a context of scenic description mention "hateful rebellion and dire civil war"³⁰ as blots on Canada's perfection. Gillespie, Scottish by birth, and a resident of Canada West, does not assign blame. He knows the present and future remedy, not the past cause.

It calls to quash wild discord's din,
To quell rebellion late begun,
To save from foreign power and yoke
The spoil our fathers' valor won,
Be ours the task thence to repel
The inroads of these sons of spoil,
Our mustering word - integrity, -
And plaudits of our Parent Isle. 31

Similar brief references can be found in the works of other Upper Canadian writers of the 1840s.

Irish-born Standish O'Grady, author of The Emigrant (Montreal 1841) disliked all the strange French-speaking inhabitants of Lower Canada. Writing of Papineau he says:

The guilty rebel plods in foul debate,
To raise a ruin on a well-formed state,
In fancied ills his vast orations flow,- 32

Reverend Joseph Abbott, British-born Church of England missionary, wrote in Philip Musgrave that the Canadian whigs "could scarcely count upon a man in their ranks who was not a traitor and a rebel."³³ The real cause of the rebellion though, was that funds for the Church Missionary Society had been reduced by the House of Commons:

30. "Lines on Canada", p. 10.

31. "Canadian Woodsman's Farewell to his Log House", p. 62.

32. Page 88.

33. Page 139.

yet, in the end, it was no saving after all, for had the Society continued to be supported, as formerly, by the Government, its number of missionaries would have been so much increased, as to have created and secured an influence over the great body of the people, sufficient to have prevented the rebellions of 1837 and 1838, and thereby saved the Government a million of money. I am borne out in this assertion by the fact, that not only were there no Church of England men among the rebels, but that they all rose, en masse, to put them down. 34.

Abbott gives considerably more space to the effect that fund cutting had on poor hardworking missionaries with large families, than he does to its larger social effect of rebellion.

The reason that the author of the Mourner's Tribute was destitute and soliciting aid was that her husband had died as the result of a chill he caught while fighting with the Sorel Volunteers in 1838.³⁵ While most of her poems are suitably melancholy, a number present an aggressive "loyal" view of the Lower Canadian rebellions. "The last request of Sir John Moore", which turns out to be praise for Sir John Colborne, has already been mentioned. "The Panic. A comedy. June 30, 1837" depicts a patriote assembly routed by a herd of cows, thought to have been soldiers arriving. "The Markham Broomstick. A Tale of St. Denis" describes a ruse by which the wounded Captain Markham was rescued. "The Midnight March", "The Church of St. Eustache", "To the Sorel Volunteers", "A Lay of Liberty", "Achievements of a Volunteer Corps", and the poem to Lieutenant Weir previously mentioned, all deal directly with the rebellions from a British point of view. There are passing references in other poems as well.

One poetic work of twenty-four pages is devoted entirely to Thoughts and sentiments connected with the invasion of Upper Canada by a band of lawless and unprincipled men, from the United States, in November, 1838. The author, Gavin Russell,

34. Page 124.

35. Obituary of Luther Sawtell in the Quebec Transcript, March 16, 1839.

was a Scottish-born twenty-one year old sergeant in the Grenville Militia at the time of the Windmill battle. One part of the work had been previously published in Ogle Gowan's Brockville Statesman before the invasion, along with other anti-rebellion poetry by Russell.³⁶ Loyalty to England is a passing theme, but the work is far more anti-American and pro-Canadian than other immigrant efforts. For example:

On, on they come--the traitor, pirate, foe--
 With every implement that death commands:
 On, on they come, to seize, divide, bestow,
 And distribute amongst their greedy bands
 Our hard-earned savings, and our cultur'd lands,
 For which we've toil'd 'neath many a summer's sun,
 And wint'ry tempest, with unflinching hands,
 And now we start where we at first began,
 Or fight (sweet thought), or basely (never) run. ³⁷

The heroism of individuals is praised -- Maitland, Fraser, McCarger, McQueen, Denaut, Clarke, and others. The battle section even gives footnotes for the mentioned names.

Canadian heroes, I your praise would sing,
 Who trembled not to join the dread affray,
 From distant isles let fame her laurels bring,
 And crown you victors of that glorious day,
 That fill'd the hearts of traitors with dismay. ³⁸

Although there is a conflict of principles described, the focus is on the events as they unfolded to and through individuals. Perhaps because the conflict was one between Canadians and Americans, and not between warring groups of Canadians, Russell deals straightforwardly with heroes and villains, with little recourse to ideological justification.

36. We do not know his political affiliation in 1839, when the work was published. He had also had poetry printed in the Brockville Recorder, as reform a paper as the Statesman was Tory. In the mid 1840s he was an officer of a number of reform associations in the Carleton Place and Perth area.

37. Page 9.

38. Page 18.

In the Literary Garland the focus is considerably softened. First literary mention of the rebellions was in the memorial poem to Lieutenant Weir, already mentioned; shortly thereafter, in the December 1839 number, E.H.M. appeared with a story "The Condemned" in which bad companions lead Eugene, a widow's son, into armed rebellion. He is taken prisoner, condemned, and reprieved at the last minute. His mother, however, dies of her sorrows and the young man is left to bear the guilt. The moral is religious, rather than political, and although the story is supposedly set at Beauharnois, there is nothing to indicate any specific geographic detail. It is a story about parent-child relations, not about any real event.

Similarly, "Narcisse. A Tale" by H.W.B.³⁹ tells the story of a retarded young man, disappointed in love, who, in the last two paragraphs, finds release from his sorrow in death at St. Eustache, where he had gone "to be a witness of the scene."⁴⁰

In "The Sisters; a Tale of Canada" by E.E. we are introduced to:

...daughters of a once wealthy merchant of the city of Montreal, named Stanley. He was an Englishman of proud family, yet, notwithstanding, had taken an active part against Her Majesty's government, in the troubles that a few years since agitated this Province, by which means he lost most of his property by confiscation and was obliged to flee for shelter to the neighbouring republic.⁴¹

His English-educated French wife takes her daughters to a "little romantic village"⁴² near Montreal where they live on her private income while the husband decides where he will establish the family. Unfortunately, he dies, and the way is now clear for a standard story about a wise widow with two daughters -- one nice and the other vain and thoughtless.

39. Vol. IV, no. 1 (December, 1841), pp. 27-35.

40. Page 35.

41. N.S. Vol. IV, no. 1 (January 1846), p. 35.

42. Page 34.

A few months before the Literary Garland ceased publication it presented the only one of its stories set so firmly in the rebellion period that it would be impossible to move its star-crossed lovers to another war-torn locale without a complete rewrite, since motivation as well as setting are involved. In the anonymous "The Affianced"⁴³ all the characters, -- father, daughter and young male ward are French, -- although Millicent, the daughter, is half Irish. The father is a proud seigneur, vain of his ancestry, but a good father and master. Leon, his ward "though he espoused the cause of the Canadians [is]no bigoted partisan".⁴⁴ A sense of honour involves both men with the patriote cause, despite Millicent's pleas for their withdrawal. The father is killed at St. Denis and Millicent dies in Leon's arms in the church of St. Lustache, just before the English break in and he too is killed. Although the story deplores bloodshed, and tries to be non-partisan; it is certainly more sympathetic to the French Canadians than to the English soldiers. The political/economic causes of the insurrection are subordinate to the account of how two individuals became involved in it.

L'Ami du Peuple was one of the few French-Canadian organs which came close to seeing things in English terms:

Malheureux Canadiens, le noir Démon du mal
A donc soufflé sur vous son esprit infernal?
Il a su vous tromper et ses ruses cruelles
Ont pu former chez vous des phalanges rebelles.

.....
Vous, qui fîtes trouver, par un barbare orgueil
A tant d'infortunés un précoce cercueil,
Puisse, durant la nuit, l'ombre de vos victimes,
En longs gémissemens, vous reprocher vos crimes,
Et de notre grand Dieu le tonnerre vengeur,
D'un effroi salutaire émouvoir votre coeur. 45

43. May 1850.

44. Page 194.

45. Le Solitaire, "La Rebellion - Second Acte", December 12, 1838.

For most French Canadian, regardless of their personal attitudes to the rebellions, life was not that simple. Among the writers, most were young men whose strongly nationalistic attitudes were inextricably mixed with patriote sympathies. A few of them had temporarily left the country in the wake of either 1837 or 1838. The battles had been lost but the war continued on other levels -- one of which was literary.

Those authors who had actually participated in the fighting did not write about it. Those who had cheered from the sidelines took up the cause in a literary context. Their works rarely probed the reasons for taking up arms, or the experience of using a gun against other human beings. Leaving the complex emotions aroused by the events of the immediate past unexplored, writers focused instead on the fate of those exiled for their part in the rebellions, on the feelings of their families, and on the undefined love of country which had been the cause of it all. This literary genre flourished from 1838 to 1846. A story, "La Folle de Mont Rouville", published just after the exiles' return,⁴⁶ tells of a woman who went mad when her lover was banished in 1838. Gérin Lajoie had welcomed his "braves concitoyens" home in the same publication three months earlier.⁴⁷ Barthe's 1840 poems in L'Aurore, addressed to Sydenham⁴⁸ and to Queen Victoria⁴⁹ all plead the cause of the innocent "exilés politiques". Some, like H.L.M. of Berthier wrote of Polish exiles -- who were obviously Canadian.⁵⁰ There were songs like "Le départ pour l'exil"⁵¹ which prayed God to look after those who suffered "de leurs efforts pour notre liberté". Chauveau's poem "L'Insurrection" depicts innocent French-Canadian farmers confronted with bloodthirsty British soldiers. Two of the former die wandering in the snow:

46. La Revue Canadienne, March 22, 1845.

47. Ibid., January 25, 1845.

48. May 19, 26, and 29, 1840.

49. July 31 and August 25, 1840.

50. L'Aurore, October 22, 1839.

51. La Lyre Canadienne, pp. 67-8.

A ses anges le ciel ajoutera deux anges
 Qui du Seigneur demain chanteront les louanges. 52

Chauveau's novel, Charles Guérin, does, indirectly, discuss some of the causes of the rebellions, especially l'encombrement des professions. In the final pages, which did not appear in print until 1853, one of the protagonists is described in a single paragraph as fighting at St. Eustache where "Il s'y battit comme un brave, ne manquant jamais un ennemi quand une fois il l'avait ajusté."⁵³ And "...quoiqu'il ait depuis reconnu la folie de cette expédition, il n'a pas étourdi l'univers du bruit de son repentir." The last part of Une de perdue, deux de trouvées, set in Lower Canada, and not published until 1864 and '65, is much more specific about the fighting but, plunging the hero in medias res, gives no indication as to why all his acquaintances are in arms. De Boucherville had not participated in the actual battles of 1837 because he was already in prison, as a result of his filis de la liberté activities. In 1838, he was in the United States. Winding up the novel over twenty years later he is at some pains to exonerate his youthful self. Guérin Lajoie, Barthe, and Chauveau had also not participated in the fighting, although Barthe had managed to get himself and Aubin jailed for publishing the poem "Aux exilés politiques canadiens" in Le Fantasque on December 26, 1838. It was perceived as an incitement to violence, and was probably intended to be such. His later poems imply, but are careful not to state overtly, the justice of the patriote cause.

Trobriand's Le Rebelle is the one novel of the period which deals with the rebellion. It was written by a young French author and editor, resident in the United States, who had only visited Canada briefly. The work was published in

52. Le Canadien, April 6, 1838.

53. Page 356 in the M.A. Guérin edition.

Canada in 1842 by Aubin, another European immigrant. All the stock figures are in place: the French Canadian people are good, united and brave; the English are intolerant outsiders and the English troops are barbarians. Only the priest and the notary break the French solidarity. The Romeo and Juliet lovers complete the plot.

III

Of all the English whose literary comments on the rebellions were recorded, only W.F. Hawley was a Canadian by birth. When we come to the War of 1812, however, the balance shifts and all writers except Cummins, Liston, and Gillespie are Canadian-born.

The War of 1812 seems to have provided little stimulus to the French-Canadian literary imagination. A few verses and prose pieces were published in French-Canadian newspapers and periodicals in the 1820s,⁵⁴ and it is rarely mentioned in French-Canadian literature in the next two decades. Several undated songs, in which Canadiens appear as heroic defenders of their country, were printed in La Lyre Canadienne in 1847, but they may well have been written much earlier.

Ne régneront sur nos foyers:
 Des nobles vertus de leurs pères
 Les canadiens sont héritiers;
 Dans notre province,
 Ils se montrent toujours vaillants,
 Et d'accourir pour leur pays, leur prince,
 Au champ d'honneur, toujours contents. ⁵⁵

54. Le Répertoire National contains no literary works on the War of 1812 written in the years 1815-30, and nothing on that subject appeared in the Montreal newspapers during the 1820s. There are a few items in La Bibliothèque Canadienne: a poem "La Victoire de Chateauguay" (Vol. I, no. 2, July 1825), and prose items "Portrait de L'Hon. Charles de Salaberry" (Vol. II, no. 6, May 1826), and "Técumseh" (Vol. VIII, no. 4, March 1829). Jacques Viger's "Ma Saberdache" also appeared in nine numbers between August 1826 and April 1827.
55. "La Guerre Américaine, 1813", pp. 165-6.

In the 1840s, one story by Charles Levesque, "Alfred"⁵⁶ had a hero who, inspired by a beggar's sad tale, swears to be a model husband. A year later, keeping his word, he dies at Chateauguay. J.G. Barthe, in an untitled poem addressed to Queen Victoria, pleading the cause of the condemned, calls on Salaberry to rise from his tomb to remind Canada's enemies of:

Le sang que tu versas aux champs de Chateauguay,
Le sang que tu mêlas à celui de MURRAY; ⁵⁷

In the 1820s, the word "Chateauguay" had become almost a slogan in itself, -- Canadiens had defended their country against great odds, had triumphed, and had remained loyal to Britain. In the one major work of the '30s and '40s set in the 1812 period, Doutre's Les Fiancés de 1812, Gonsalve, the hero, is the militia colonel responsible for the victory. All three of the young French-Canadian heroes represent some aspect of Doutre's fantasy life -- winning the battle of Chateauguay with 400 French Canadians against 8000 Americans is one of them.

...Il ne restait alors au camp que quatre cents miliciens. Mais c'était la fleur de la jeunesse Canadienne. Gonsalve était à la tête de cette poignée d'hommes; mais son courage et son activité les animèrent d'une telle ardeur, qu'ils soupiraient après le moment d'engager l'action. ⁵⁸

The 1812 war itself is not specifically important to the novel. It is merely a motor which facilitates some of the movement of the plot.

Among the British immigrants, both G.W. Gillespie, in his poem "Shannon and Chesapeake"⁵⁹ and John S. Cummins in Altham describe the famous British naval victory. In both cases, it

56. La Revue Canadienne, April 26, 1845.

57. L'Aurore, July 31, 1840.

58. Page 269.

59. Miscellaneous Poems, pp. 150-2.

is perceived as part of the Napoleonic conflict, and only incidentally as part of the North American hostilities. Gillespie only needed seven stanzas and a long footnote; Cummins devotes one of the best chapters of his novel to it. Born in Cork in 1811, Cummins certainly did not participate in any part of the Napoleonic Wars. However, Altham is set in that period and the North American chapters are all involved in various ways with the conflict. The naval aspects were obviously of greatest interest to him, since he describes privateering with as much vigour and immediacy as he does the battle of the two warships. By contrast, the Upper Canadian part of the war occurs when our hero is en route to join it, so we only have a paragraph summarizing events. General Brock is the father of the hero's beloved and, as such, he puts in several appearances. In terms of the novel's plot his death is significant because of his daughter, not because of the war. The war's action is the means by which the hero finds out who he is, proves himself to be brave and honourable, and acquires an independent fortune.

J.K. Liston's long poem Niagara Falls is essentially moral and religious in tone and intent. Integrated into the whole are two stories in verse and an account of the battle of Lundy's Lane. In the latter section the immigrant author, who resided on the Niagara Peninsula, first attacks France, then her American ally, as atheistic republics. The Americans are also opportunists who see a chance to take Canada while the British are busy elsewhere. The Canadians have loyally resisted American invitations to join them:

Though in the midst of harvest work, which calls
With urgency, and brooks of short delay,
The British ranks were daily reinforced
By willing numbers, glad to bear a part
In work more urgent and more honourable. 60

The sound of the falls rises above the din of war. The battle, and Canadian victory, are described in some detail, with much praise for "brave Drummond".⁶¹ Essentially, the battle, willing Canadian volunteers notwithstanding, is between the British and the "Star-stripes". Both sides fight bravely, but eventually the Americans retreat.

The native-born English, especially those based in Upper Canada, wrote more about the War of 1812 than did their French-speaking compatriots. Some works from the period following the war remain fairly well known today because they are accessible in modern editions.⁶² The early works include George Longmore's long poem "Tecumseh", published in a Montreal periodical in 1824, and reprinted in England in 1826, and John Richardson's Tecumseh, which appeared in London in 1828. Adam Hood Burwell wrote stirring of victory in "The Battle of Lundy's Lane",⁶³ although in "Journal of a Day's Journey in Upper Canada in October, 1816" it is "destruction, flames and death"⁶⁴ which obsess his imagination when he remember this event. Part of the long poem "Talbot Road" refers to the consternation of the defenseless settlers when Upper Canada was attacked, although finally "Our woodland heroes seiz'd defensive arms"⁶⁵ and repelled the invaders.

For the native-born English writers 1812-15 was not an ideological conflict between monarchy and republic. It consisted of specific battles, which were fought at specific sites within Upper Canada, by specific males who were their neighbours and relatives. Those who fought were obviously members of the militia; but there is no suggestion -- even by

61. Pages 24, 25, and 28.

62. John Richardson, Tecumseh; or, the Warrior of the West (Ottawa, 1978), and C.F. Klinck (ed.), The Poems of Adam Hood Burwell, Pioneer Poet of Upper Canada (London, Ontario, 1963).

63. Op.cit., 1-3.

64. Ibid., 42.

65. Ibid., 12.

the most remote implication -- that it was the militia, defending the homeland, which won the war. The perception is certainly that the war had been won, not lost, or tied. Invaders had been repulsed.

The four Toronto and Hamilton literary periodicals of 1832 and '33 all carried at least one item referring to the war. The two Toronto ones each carried one memoir: number 4 of the Canadian Magazine appeared in April 1833 with "Recollections of the Campaign, No. 1" by H.H., and number 1 of the Canadian Literary Magazine, in the same month, published "Reminiscences of the Late War -- No. 1 Lundy's Lane".⁶⁶ Since the publications were soon suspended, there was no second instalment to either memoir. In March 1834 the Montreal Museum published a similar work "Recollections in Upper Canada - The Capture of Fort George."

The Hamilton Canadian Casket published two stories set during the war. One, "The Rivals" by Sophia, begins:

The fortunes of war had made them competitors at the shrine of Mars, in times of national hostility; and returning peace revived the rivalry at the shrine of Cupid. ⁶⁷

In a flashback we discover that Arnold, who has settled in Canada after the war, had been an American marauder who stole an unusual piece of jewellery. When the American fled, Clare, a Canadian militiaman, picked it up. Later the two become rivals for the hand of Caroline, to whom the jewellery had originally belonged. Arnold, seeing his rival with the pin, claims it as a family heirloom and demands its return. Not receiving it, he challenges Clare to a duel. Fortunately, when Clare goes to bid Caroline goodbye, the story comes out. The duel is avoided, Arnold "now stood convicted of baseness that degraded him beneath the regard of a man of honor"⁶⁸ and the heroine marries the good Canadian man.

66. It was reprinted in the Canadian Garland, May 11, 1833.

67. Page 66.

In "Viola. A Tale of Patriotism" by C.S.⁶⁹ a family feud parts two lovers. He goes to the American army and she, in disguise, with the militia to Queenston, where she is responsible for his death. A soldier carries her, fainting, away, discovers her disguise, and later marries her.

The contributors to the Canadian Garland were not dissimilar in their work. "Lines written on Queenston Heights" appeared in number 25, and "The Romantic Lovers" and "Humanity Rewarded" in numbers 3 and 24.⁷⁰ The latter work, by "Crillon" in which a man saves his own son, could have taken place anywhere, anytime, but, in fact, it is set on the banks of the St. Lawrence during the War of 1812. Charles Durand's "The Romantic Lovers" could also be transferred to another time and place by changing only a few sentences of the story.⁷¹

If literature of this period gives any indication of the development of "myths" of the War of 1812, it is in the hero status accorded to Brock and Tecumseh. The latter is the only historical human being to be the subject of two separate volumes of poetry in the pre-1850 period,⁷¹ and he is also an important figure in The Huron Chief, as well as in fugitive newspaper poetry in the 1820s and '30s. The idea of Brock as the saviour of Canada was revived in literature in 1840 and for a few years thereafter. The destruction of the monument to him at Queenston by American invaders brought forth a spate of poems and articles in which his valour in 1812 became bound up with the defence of Canada against American incursions in 1838 and '39. The various committees which sprang up to gather funds for rebuilding the monument helped to nurture the dual significance of 1812 and 1840. One of "Sir John" Smyth's

69. Canadian Casket, June 16, 1832.

70. August 17, 1833; October 13, 1832; and August 3, 1833.

71. The works by Longmore (1824) and Richardson (1828) previously mentioned. The third epic poem about Tecumseh by Charles Hair, was published in 1886.

in terms of the joys of sleighriding, and "A" compares "Early Winter" to ladies' eyes. "Crossing the Portage"⁵¹ by W.R.B. describes the delights of winter travel from New Brunswick to Quebec.

Rhoda Ann Page, perhaps the most quoted "nature poet" of the late 1840s, also saw winter as more beautiful than harsh. Her "Rice Lake by Moonlight - A Winter Scene" begins:

Moonlight upon the frozen lake! how radiantly smiles
The queen of solemn midnight upon all its fairy isles,
And the starry sparkling frost-work, that like a chain of
gems
hangs upon each fair islet's brow in glittering
diadems. 52

Yet winter is "like the sweet smile that mocks us yet upon the face of death" and she calls on the lake to wake in "summer joyousness". Page ends her poem, as always, with a reference to the Creator. Her "Frost on the Window"⁵³ follows a similar pattern, moving from wintry natural beauty to praise for nature's creator. In both cases, winter is related to death, but it is also beautiful in itself because it is part of creation.

Some immigrant writers welcome spring:

The foals and lambs around their dams
Their graceful antic play:
Alive and brisk, with joy they frisk,
To meet the Queen of May. 54

50. Quebec Gazette, November 15, 1843.

51. Quebec Transcript, March 6, 1839. The author's initials were given as "W.R.B." at the time of publication. Correction was made in the next issue. There are vague hints that the writer might have been describing the journey of the troops from New Brunswick at the time of the rebellions, except that the poetic journey sounds much too pleasant.

52. Cobourg Star, January 17, 1849; and many other locations. This was the most widely republished Canadian poem of its day.

53. op. cit., October 25, 1848.

54. J.E., York Township, "Spring", Agriculturist, May 1, 1848.

1828.⁷⁵ Richardson also called the newspaper he began to edit and publish in Kingston in 1842 the Canadian Loyalist and Spirit of 1812.⁷⁶

The Canadian Brothers; or the Prophecy Fulfilled is Richardson's fictional account of the early years of the war. As a prisoner of war, held in Kentucky after the battle of Moraviantown (October 1813), he missed the later years of the war and so had no first-hand memories to rely on.⁷⁷ A number of themes relate to the human aspects of the plot -- Gerald's fatal love for Matilda, and the working out of the curse called down on the de Haldimar family in Wacousta, -- but an equal number relate to the war itself. First, there is the question of loyalty. Richardson questions the loyalty of Canada's American-born residents, while the British question the loyalty of all North-American born, Canadian as well as American. The villains are all American, but some American officers are fine, if rough, men. Some of the British are insufferable, others are kind and brave. The Indians are by no means perfect noble men of nature, but they are generally respected by Richardson, and Tecumseh is almost idolized. As a soldier himself, Richardson devotes much space to military tactics -- so much so, that more than one reviewer complained.⁷⁸ It would almost appear that he has done this so

75. He claimed that it had been written a number of years earlier, but it seems likely that this is an attempt on his part to predate Longmore's work on the same subject, which had been republished in England in 1826.

76. Those editors who opposed Richardson's uncompromising Tory views of this date were quick to comment on the paper's name. "While his corporeal system has been carried along by the current of time, to the present, his mind seems to have advanced no farther than the stormy period of 1812....A Canadian by birth, but a stranger and a foreigner in almost every other respect....For twenty years the people of this country struggled for constitutional liberty -- and where was our gallant Major, during this time? Not here!...." etc. St. Catharine's Journal, January 19, 1843.

77. One of his plot threads is that of a celebrated American murder of 1825. See A Casebook on the Beauchamp Tragedy, J. Zanger ed., (New York 1963).

78. Montreal Gazette, February 8, 1840.

that he can criticize General Proctor, the loser at Moravian-town, at every possible opportunity.

We will not stop to inquire why the British General, Proctor, lost an advantage which had made itself apparent to the meanest soldier of his army, by opening a desultory and aimless fire of his light guns upon an enemy to whom he thus afforded every possible opportunity for preparation and defence; when...he might have annihilated that enemy with the bayonet, and with little comparative loss to himself. We will merely observe that having failed to do so, nothing but the determination of his troops brought him through the difficulties he himself had created....⁷⁹

Brock, the military hero, dies on the shoulder of Henry Grantham, Richardson's persona in the novel. Since his Canadian hero is part of a regular army unit, Richardson does not really make any distinction between militia (Canadian) and regulars (British).

Native Canadians of both language groups, while opposing "the enemy", were much less inclined to name him as American than were the immigrants. Except for Richardson, they also made no mention of resident traitors. There are more militia than regular soldiers involved in the war, but in English-Canadian literature before 1850 we have not yet come to the point of claiming that they won the war. To the English-speaking, Brock is a hero; for the native-born English, Tecumseh is added to the list; for the French, the war was won by native-born militia at Chateauguay.

The Brock cult, and questions of individual loyalty were to persist in nineteenth century Canada. Details of military tactics faded with the memories of the combattants and there was less attempt to assign blame as time passed. As well, with time, the emphasis on Indian participation faded.

The sense of a Canadian past which we find in literature

79. Vol. 11, p. 64. See also pages 115, 124, 187, for attacks on Proctor.

written by the native-born English did not extend to the role played by the United Empire Loyalists in the development of Upper and Lower Canada. It is a fascinating omission for which no explanatory clue can be found in the literature. Of those writers whose ancestry can be established, only one, Adam Hood Burwell, came from a loyalist family. In his youth he wrote about the War of 1812, but, as far as we can tell today, he wrote not a word about the loyalist experience. Holmes and Richardson, through their mothers' families, and Copway, an Ojibway, were descended from pre-revolutionary war inhabitants. The Durand and Wells families,⁸⁰ as well as John Breckenridge's Baldwin ancestors, all arrived within a year or two of 1800. W.F. Hawley was born in Lower Canada some time between 1804 and 1806, so his family were obviously residents by that date, although we do not know when, or from whence, they emigrated. If J.H. Willis was born in Canada as he claimed, then his family too were here by 1803. Like Burwell, none of them wrote of the loyalist experience,⁸¹ although they would all surely have known some loyalists personally, and would have lived with the concept of loyalism in a political context.

The ideas of loyalism and loyalty were politically sensitive topics throughout this period. A recent PhD thesis⁸² argues that the concept of loyalty changed between 1815 and 1850 from that held by an exclusive group for whom the im-

80. Although the Macmillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography says the Wells family were loyalists, there is no record of William Wells being in Upper Canada before 1800. The family did come from the U.S. Durand wrote in his Reminiscences that his maternal grandfather fought in the revolutionary war, but significantly omits to mention which side he supported. He also neglects to mention the country from which his father emigrated, so it is possible that James Durand, who was of Huguenot descent, had lived in the United States.

81. Loyalism is mentioned in a sentence in a J.H. Willis story, "Lionel Hammond", Scraps and Sketches, p. 137.

82. D. Mills, "The Concept of Loyalty in Upper Canada 1815-1850", Carleton University, 1981.

perial connection was paramount, to that held by a broader and more inclusive group who, while they still saw the imperial connection as beneficial, felt it was possible to question the actions of the British government, and for whom loyalty to Canada itself also played a role.

Long outnumbered in the total English-speaking population of the Canadas, the loyalists and their descendants had never formed a single cohesive group. They came from varied backgrounds and, as families like the Buells of Brockville show, they were not even all Tories. They did, however, have certain privileges with regard to land acquisition, they retained in Upper Canada a disproportionate share of political patronage, and some of them attempted to claim special status in the political arena. Their privileges and their claim to special personal worth were looked on with some disfavour by other eighteenth century residents -- those who were in the Canadas before them, the military settlers, and the "late loyalists". Nineteenth century British settlers were careful to praise their loyalty, but resented their "American" ways and their reluctance to share power. Some of this ambivalence is shown in an "immigration novel" published⁸³ in England in 1849, in which the author writes mockingly of his hero's too familiar travelling companion in the backwoods, who turns out to be the son of a loyalist:

...a class who are...becoming, comparatively speaking, few and far between....The class of which they were representatives are strongly American in the enterprise and self-reliance of their character, as well as in their dialect and manners, while they are at the same time intensely British in their feelings of attachement to the throne. ⁸⁴

The loyalist's American "offensiveness" of manner is balanced by "an expression of extreme good-nature".⁸⁵

83. W.S. Darling, Sketches of Canadian Life, Lay and Ecclesiastical, (London, 1849).

84. Pages 31-32.

85. Page 30.

The ambivalence felt by their contemporaries towards the Loyalists and their descendents meant that at least some people questioned whether loyalty and loyalism were synonymous, and often resulted in political opponents challenging the loyalty -- and thus the claim to superiority -- of individuals. Some of these challenges were recorded in newspaper accounts of speeches delivered on the hustings⁸⁶ but they also caused publication of one forty-six page book, Story of a Refugee, printed at York in 1833, which was written by the retiring Chief Justice, William Dummer Powell in reply to a "libel" by two members of the Executive Council. Powell was accused of having recanted his loyalism by returning to the United States and taking the oath of allegiance. He claims that the accusation was based on a forged letter prepared by jealous enemies to discredit him, and he presents documents which prove his loyalty. That the book was published at all indicates the intensity of feeling which surrounded the idea of loyalism.

When the invasions of 1812-14 were repulsed the idea of loyalty was expanded. Because the loyalty of American immigrants had been questioned, - in some cases with good reason, - those who had served in the militia of the period were at great pains to let everyone know that they had fought for the cause of Great Britain. When they claimed special virtue because of that loyalty, their political opponents accused them of being absent because they had crossed the border, not because they were away with the militia, or accused them of running away from battle. John Richardson, the only one of the writers we know to have fought in the War of 1812, was the only author to suggest that not all residents of the Canadas had been loyal.

86... An example may be found in S.F. Wise, "Tory Factionalism: Kingston Elections and Upper Canadian Politics, 1820-1836" in D.W. Earl (ed.), The Family Compact (Toronto, 1967), 42.

The rebellions of 1837-8 added a new level of intensity to the sensitive subject of loyalty. Feelings ran so high that many prominent Upper Canadian reformers sought temporary refuge in the United States until tempers cooled. It was loyalty of the "if you aren't with us, you're against us" school, -- a weapon often used against political enemies. French Canadians, accused en masse of disloyalty at this period, pointed to their 1812 loyalty as a counter-argument.

The very few mentions of the loyalists in the literature studied here have nothing to do with the rhetoric of loyalty current in Canadian politics. W.B. Wells' story "Maroon Hensley" is set in the Prescott area in the period immediately following the revolutionary war, but the only mention of loyalists or loyalty is the allusion, in the paragraph cited in Chapter VIII, to Simcoe as the governor of the loyalists. In Matilda,⁸⁷ the Wilsons cross the border into Canada to protect their adopted daughter from her earlier Indian captors, not to preserve their monarchical principles. After the war they return on casual visits to members of the family who remained in New York State. J.H. Willis' one sentence⁸⁸ on the subject refers to the difficulties of resettling as interrupting the hero's education. The 1832 prospectus for the Canadian Literary Magazine, issued by a recently arrived settler,⁸⁹ solicited accounts of the "sufferings and adventures" of the loyalists, but none were forthcoming.

William Kirby's The U.E.: A Tale of Upper Canada of 1859 is really the first use in Canadian imaginative literature of

87. James Russell, Matilda (Three Rivers, 1833).

88. See footnote 81.

89. The prospectus was dated Dec. 8, 1832, and can be found in the Toronto Patriot of January 11, 1833. The editor was John Kent.

the loyalist experience. Subsequently, Egerton Ryerson's 1880 two-volume history of the loyalists⁹⁰ and the loyalist centennial celebrations of 1884 brought the subject more to the fore.

Although they skipped over the loyalist experience as a literary subject, the native-born English frequently returned in their imaginative works to the days of New France, which had ended little more than twenty years before the arrival of loyalist settlers. Between 1830 and 1850, seven of the fifteen authors in this group wrote prose works set in New France. Another, Rosanna Mullins, was to write of the pre-conquest period in the late 1850s. In addition, John Richardson's Wacousta takes place at the time of Pontiac's rebellion, post-dating New France, but pre-dating the loyalists. Some of the native English used New France as a romantic setting for stories of adventurous young Frenchmen engaged in the fur trade; some wrote of contact with aboriginal peoples; and one, the Indian, Copway, looked back to an idyllic past when his ancestors had not been corrupted by white civilization. The four French Canadians who wrote of New France in this period used it as decor for a tale of jealousy and revenge; as a time frame in which Indians were converted and "civilized"; and as a time when the greatest virtue was fidelity to French culture. Of the immigrant writers in both languages, only the Americans, Mrs. Cushing and Mrs. Cheney, wrote of New France. In their works, the introduction of European civilization into the new world is depicted as a great boon for the original inhabitants.

Of the four groups of writers, the attitudes of the native-born English to history-related literary subjects are the most difficult to explain. Their favourite temporal set-

90. E. Ryerson, The Loyalists of America and their Times (Toronto, 1880). Ryerson was a loyalist descendant, as was Kirby. Kirby claimed to have written The U.E. in 1846, but to have been unable to find a publisher for it.

ting is vague and unspecific, but New France and the War of 1812 are reasonably common topics, while the loyalist experience and contemporary politics were ignored. If they were interested in the realism of events which had occurred within living memory they would have concentrated on the last three subjects and ignored the first; if they were writing as romantics, it would have been the first and third. If they were being deliberately reticent about current political questions, they would only have written about the first. If they were primarily concerned with questions of land and identity, they would have written about the loyalists, as well as New France and 1812. No model seems to explain their thematic preferences.

In contrast to the apparent reluctance of the native-born English writers to use history as a means of explaining themselves and their country, the immigrant English and the French Canadians show a decidedly utilitarian sense of Canadian history. The immigrant English appear to have concentrated on those subjects of which they had direct experience, -- the rebellions and contemporary politics. It is evident from their political writing that they were by no means all Tories, but it was that group alone which wrote about the rebellions. For them the issue was one of loyalty to the mother country and the emphasis was on the volunteer defenders, rather than on the rebels and their grievances. All three groups regarded history as a series of events, not as an on-going process in which they, along with previous and future generations, were participating.

It has been suggested that French Canadians, defeated for a second time in 1837-8, took spiritual refuge in the "golden age" of New France.⁹¹ This theory may well be correct when applied to later decades, but in the 1840s, although a few

91. See for example, the historiographical survey by Alfred Dubuc, "L'influence de l'école des Annales au Québec", RHAF Vol 33, no 3 (December 1979), p. 372-3.

stories were set in New France, French-Canadian writers generally were still dealing with things which had occurred in their own lifetime. They wrote directly about the partisan politics of the day, and they wrote obliquely about the rebellions, -- although in the latter case there is no difficulty in determining where their sympathies lay, or in recognizing what they perceived as national activity.

French-Canadian writing does show some evidence of the development of historical myths. Although the quantity of literature based on the War of 1812 was slight, the word "Chateauguay" had nonetheless become a slogan which implied both loyalty to the British crown and the successful defence of their own country by French Canadian volunteers serving under their own leaders. In literature centered on the rebellions, the word "rebellion" is never used. Those who fought did so because they loved their country and because the barbarous British troops had attacked them first. "Les exilés politiques" were suffering for their political beliefs, not because they had taken up arms.

By contrast, literature written in English shows little evidence of the presence of historical myths. The heroism of Brock and Tecumseh in the War of 1812, and the efforts of the volunteers in 1837, are perhaps the only examples. "Loyalty" was certainly a political slogan of the pre-1850 period. Perhaps this inhibited its transformation into those myths which explained 1783, 1812, and 1837 to future generations.

Where the relationship of the governed to the government is concerned, we find fierce, partisan, interest. The native-born English, who ignored the question in their imaginative literature, did not all keep a similar distance in their actions and in their didactic prose, as we can see from W.B. Wells' Canadiana; and from Richardson's Light Years in Canada, and his editorial writing. Durand was banished for treason,

although there is some question as to the justice of the sentence. Both Lett and Friel were highly partisan newspaper editors. Most of the immigrant English and the French Canadians did not hesitate to make their views public in both poetry and prose. However ever-handed and neutral a politically-inspired work may seem to a modern reader, it was probably not so intended. Even the most innocuous-seeming poem of welcome to a new governor ~~shows~~ evidence of the writer's expectation of how that person will influence the Canadian political scene. It was noted in Chapter VI that politics influenced the context in which works were published and reviewed. It had a similar effect on the subject matter of literature in the Canadas.

Compared with European countries, Canada had a very brief past, and no definitive revolution had determined its political future. The focus on contemporary events and on debates about the political philosophy which would determine the future should not, therefore, be surprising. The native-born who spoke French could derive some sense of historical identity from their perceived status as a separate people, but for the native-born English there was no one moment in history by which they could define themselves and no common experience except their place of birth to tell them who they were.

CHAPTER X

LITERATURE AND LANDSCAPE

"Beauty is in the eye of the beholder." The same solid, tangible vista can be either radiant or repulsive to two individuals standing side by side. In this chapter we will consider the responses of writers, -- native and immigrant, French and English, -- to the landscape of the Canadas, to see whether there is any discernible pattern of response which would help us to understand how they felt about the colony.

That this is one aspect of our early culture on which many English Canadians have received ideas is due, not to historians, but to widely accepted theories about Canada and Canadian literature articulated by twentieth-century literary critics. These theories seem to flow principally from Northrop Frye's "Conclusion" to the Literary History of Canada, published in 1965. Two quotations indicate the tone:

Small and isolated communities surrounded with a physical or psychological "frontier", separated from one another and from their American and British cultural sources: communities that provide all that their members have in the way of distinctively human values, and that are compelled to feel a great respect for the law and order that holds them together, yet confronted with a huge, unthinking, menacing, and formidable physical setting--such communities are bound to develop what we may provisionally call a garrison mentality. ¹

We hardly expect the earlier narratives to be successful all through, but if we read them with sympathy and with historical imagination, we can see how the Canadian environment has exerted its influence on the poet. The environment, in nineteenth-century Canada, is terrifyingly cold, empty and vast, where the obvious and immediate sense of nature is the late Romantic one, increasingly affected by Darwinism, of nature red in tooth and claw.... Human suffering, in such an environment, is a by-product of a massive indifference which, whatever else it may be, is not morally explicable. ²

1. Page 830 in the 1965 edition.
2. Page 843.

Frye was articulating similar ideas in print as early as 1943. "Nature is consistently menacing in Canadian poetry" is his summing up in a review of A.J.M. Smith's first edition of The Book of Canadian Poetry.³

Frye was followed in the 1970s by a number of "thematic" critics who demonstrated that ideas of alienation, victimization, and isolation were continuing aspects of English-Canadian literature.⁴ One critical work, Beyond the Land Itself,⁵ compares nineteenth century American and Canadian literary responses to nature, attributing a Canadian aversion to wilderness to the fact that Canadians opted for order, stability and monarchy, while the Americans chose revolution, republicanism, and a joyful acceptance of nature.

Thus the Canadians, rejecting the New World environment, opted for an instrumentality that fostered their dependence on the parent civilization -- thereby opening the floodgates to terror when they did have to meet the wild and natural. But the Americans, cutting themselves loose from civilization so that they could be "born free", as de Tocqueville said it, went happily into their New World, defending themselves from the terror with the construct of Nature's Nation.

3. The review appeared in the Canadian Forum, December 1943. It is reproduced in Dudek and Gnarowski (eds.), The Making of Modern Poetry in Canada (Toronto, 1967), p. 86-97. The quotation is from page 96 of the latter source.
4. Margaret Atwood's Survival, and John Moss' Patterns of Isolation, published in 1972 and 1974 respectively, received the most attention. The authors of these works concentrate for the most part on literature produced in the twentieth century, but when they go further back to establish roots and continuity it is to Wacousta and Roughing it in the Bush, both published in this period, that they turn.
5. By Marcia Kline. Harvard University Press, 1970.
6. Page 59.

However valid these theories may be for literature written later in the nineteenth century, they do not apply to the corpus of Canadian literature for the 1830-50 period, even though the examples most often adduced are from works by two of the best known writers of the time, John Richardson and Susanna Moodie. Compelling as Wacousta and Roughing it in the Bush may be, they are also unique in their treatment of the natural world, and not at all typical of the generality of literature in the Canadas.

Wacousta is a gothic novel⁷ published in England in 1832 for an English audience by a man who, at that time, showed no inclination whatsoever to return to the native land he had not seen for over fifteen years. Richardson's novels were a means of supplementing his half-pay income, and they were designed for readers in search of thrills.⁸ The natural world Richardson describes is the world of the conventional gothic novel -- made more thrilling and exotic by a North American wilderness setting.

Although some episodes of Roughing it in the Bush appeared in the Literary Garland, the book itself was first published in 1852. The author's avowed intention was to debunk the myth that emigration was the solution to all the problems of "the well educated sons and daughters of old but improverished families."⁹ Her account of her tribulations in the uncivilized wilderness owes much to the fiction genres of the sketch and the romance.¹⁰ The events of her life are so vividly and dra

7. H. Northey, The Haunted Wilderness: The Gothic and Grotesque in Canadian Fiction (Toronto, 1976). Chapter 2 is entitled "Canadian Prototype: Wacousta".
8. The reviews of Ecarté and Frascati's in England were disapproving on this account.
9. "Introduction" to the first edition. Reprinted in New Canadian Library edition, p. xv.
10. See: C. Ballstadt, "Susanna Moodie and the English Sketch", Canadian Literature, No. 51 (Winter 1969), 32-38; M. Fowler, "Roughing it in the Bush: A Sentimental Novel", in John Moss (ed.), Beginnings (Toronto, 1980), pp. 80-96.

atically described that readers are convinced of their universality even though reference to archival sources and published diaries such as the journals of Mary O'Brien and Anne Langton¹¹ indicates that her experiences should be regarded as unique. Mrs. Moodie's attitudes to Canadian nature were also either contradictory or ambivalent, since the descriptions in many of her poems are as positive as the prose is negative.¹²

In fact, descriptive writing in this period was influenced more by the aesthetic ideas of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century which emphasized the concept of the sublime, than by "the late romantic one...of nature red in tooth and claw." There are almost as many definitions of the sublime as there are professors of aesthetics, but perhaps the Oxford English Dictionary has produced the best synthesis:

Of things in nature and arts: Affecting the mind with a sense of overwhelming grandeur or irresistible power; calculated to inspire awe, deep reverence, or lofty emotion, by means of its beauty, vastness, or grandeur.

Sublimity was inherent in the thing viewed, but it could also refer to the emotion evoked in the viewer. It was more than mere beauty. Religious awe at the wonders of creation was a part of it. So was a shiver of awed fear. Mountains, oceans, vast panoramas, wild and romantic scenery, were all considered to be sublime. To most of those who were consciously or unconsciously affected by these criteria, the Canadas had nothing to compare with the Alps, but the Great Lakes were an acceptable substitute for the Atlantic, there were some panor-

11. A.S. Miller (ed.), The Journals of Mary O'Brien 1828-1838 (Toronto, 1968); and H.H. Langton (ed.), A Gentlewoman in Upper Canada (Toronto, 1950).
12. See, for example: "The Maple Tree", Literary Garland, April 1849, p. 214; and "Canada", Victoria Magazine, September 1847, p. 3.

amic vantage points, and there was an abundance of wild and romantic scenery. This-romantic search for examples of the sublime was one pole of the descriptions of the Canadas, the other was a straightforward, unemotional realism in which "things as they were", whether beautiful or not, were depicted with careful precision. It was not uncommon for the two strains to appear in the same work. In general, the native-born and most of the immigrants described the Canadian landscape as pleasant and familiar, rather than menacing. French Canadians and immigrants leaned toward a romantic style, English Canadians toward the realistic.

Thus the native-born English tend to write about their forests as pleasant, familiar places where they liked to hunt and through which they enjoyed travelling. In three numbers of the Canadian Garland, in November and December 1832, the twenty-one year old Charles Durand described "An Adventure in the Woods of Canada". Durand was certainly not lacking in romantic imagination, as his Casket and Garland short stories indicate. However, being lost in the woods, while not a pleasure, was an experience more interesting than frightening:

As much of my road lay thro' uncultivated tracts of country and wild and dense forests, I anticipated a feast of scenery similar to the above described. I love to view nature in her native wildness; to gaze upon the silent workings of her mighty bosom; search into the sublime majesty of her actions, -- and listen to the chorus of her groves. 13

Caught in a storm and lost in the woods, he spends an anxious night. Though he mentions his "anxiety", "despair" and "melancholy gloom", what he actually writes about is a calm use of survival techniques, and he describes the look and sound of a forest at night more in terms of beauty than menace. With the return of daylight he feeds on cranberries in a swamp, and drinks water from a "limpid stream".

I was still capable of appreciating the beauty and fragrance of the morn: which in a manner revived my spirits, depressed with anxiety as to my destiny or escape from this pathless wilderness. ¹⁴

Climbing a hill, he can see nothing but "a waving ocean of foliage". Directing himself towards what he hoped was smoke, rising in the distance, he went forward all day, often leading his horse through thick undergrowth. Just at sunset he heard a woman singing, and followed the sound to a "cottage" where he spent the night, starting off in the morning on the right path to his destination. Durand's protagonist was well aware of the dangers of being lost in the woods, he kept his head, never lost his appreciation of the environment and is able to terminate his account with the flat statement:

Such are the scenes a person lost in the woods of Canada enjoys and suffers, an account of which may not be uninteresting. ¹⁵

H.B. Wells is another Canadian who regards the woods as a natural place to spend his time. It is evident from his Canadiana (London, 1837) that he took as much pleasure in hunting as he did in reform politics. In Barker's Magazine in 1846 and '47 he published, as "Cinna", two first-person narrated stories, "A Bear Hunt" and "Deer Stalking on the South Branch", ¹⁶ which show that he felt completely at home in the woods. There is an element of ironic humour in both stories. In the first, a court case is suddenly adjourned and the opposing lawyers go off together to hunt a bear sighted in the 9th Concession. He does not underestimate his quarry:

It is either kill, or make an end of, --or yield, and submit to be devoured up bodily, in your boots and hunting shirt, as you stand. ¹⁷

14. Page 62.

15. Page 63.

16. July 1846 and February and March 1847. The first wins my private award for best English prose of the period.

17. Page 150.

but calmly explains the technique which ensures man's victory. Waiting for the bear to appear, the hunters amuse themselves by scaring two men and a woman looking for cows. Finally the bear appears and, after much effort and excitement, it is killed. The author, ironic to the end, concludes:

This is a most blood-thirsty adventure for the readers of Miss Maggy, and it is doubtful if I do right in forcing it upon them: but they have been plomosed with such nice things all along, that it is well for them to know some of the realities of a life in the woods. Think of the many women (I beg pardon! --ladies!) and little children who may have been frightened by this monster, or by the very mention of his name. Perhaps he may have devoured some of them (in imagination) while they were out picking raspberries in the fallows. "Oh! dear! that horrid bear! I thought I saw him, or at least heard him! I am sure something stirred behind the gooseberry bush!" No doubt -- and therefore, did we not do right to make his tough, grisly hide into a sleigh-robe, and to dispose of his hams in a way so satisfactory to all parties concerned? 18

His opening page had nocked the accounts of Canadian hunting published by British officers and travellers in English periodicals:

"Deer Stalking on the South Branch" begins with an amiable, ironic, thrust at both British and American periodicals. Wells describes the attitudes of a Canadian backwoodsman:

Now the backwoodsman has his home feelings. Nurtured roughly and healthfully in the sublimity of the pathless and melancholy forest, he acquires from his infancy that strange, awe-struck, undefinable feeling which gradually grows to be the luxury of his existence, and which can never leave him, let him be transplanted to what other part of the world he may. He has imbibed the spirit of solitude, and

indulged in that placid, equable self-communion, which has been the charm of his existence while his character was being formed, and his spirit bears the impress unfaded and uppermost to the longest day he lives. This is universally true of the men of mind among the backwoodsmen. Many half-formed creatures are but too ready to desert their old forest homes, to gaze upon the splendor of our towns, made up principally of two saw-mills, a distillery, and forty-one taverns, the flashy sign-boards of which last have a mighty attraction on them, in some way. 19

Admitting that he, too, has "imbibed the spirit of solitude" the narrator goes on to describe his annual deer hunt. Positive views of natural hazards abound:

The sun came up gloriously through the sparkling vapor. Gorgeous and glittering and joyous shone out the morning. The air was balm and frankincense and myrrh, and the odor of many spices, commingled. The trees, with their drooping branches and feathery tufts, robed in vestments of silver and emeralds, and topaz, recalled to mind stories of eastern enchantment, and the land of the fairy. The arches of the forest resounded with voices of the genii, a thousand tones seemed to echo through the myriad aisles around us, to continue the illusion. We did not waken for a length of time from the reverie into which we were thrown by the exquisite charm of this winter landscape -- yes, this unapproachable scenic effect of our forests in winter, will amply repay the beholder for the absence of those mountain prospects regretted by many accustomed to countries more broken and wildly sublime than our river-countries can pretend to be. 20

Hunting, for "Cinna", is a companionable masculine occupation. "Then came laughing and storytelling until we lay down for the night." 21 Friendly rivalry exists in the hunt as each tries to bag more deer, with more accurate shots, than the other. Yet it is still, in part, a solitary activity:

- 19. Page 502.
- 20. Page 508.
- 21. Page 588.

To commence the fifth day, I started before the first streaks of morning to take a lonely hunt by myself, and enjoy the luxury of a sun-rise in winter from the tops of some distant hills. That was a place for a man to ponder in. The air was cold and crackling, yet intensely exhilarating. The fibres of the brain were strung up to their highest tension -- the muscles of the body were hard and wire-like, causing one to feel the tiger's strength and activity at every move. "Hi!" I shouted, as the sun came up -- "Hi--hurra! hurra!" in ten thousand voices.. "Glory!" I cried -- "glory!" responded the snowy savanagh.... 22

Having spent a glorious week in the woods, despite cold and discomfort, the hunters return home with their deer, convinced that the fresh air of the woods and the exercise of the hunt "are necessary to a man's health." 23

Wells's "Legends of the Early Settlements" are third-person narratives, and so lack the immediacy of the two hunting stories, but the protagonists in all three display the same command of their environment as the hunter.

Adam Hood Burwell is another of the Canadian-born who wrote of the forests as beautiful rather than terrifying. Of his early poems, "Talbot Road" dated 1818, is perhaps the best known. Praising the Talbot settlement, the poem celebrates nature for its potential use to man:

Productive nature smiles o'er all this land,
And strews her bounties with a lavish hand,
In wild profusion - soft meand'ring rills,
Deep woods, rich dales, smooth plains, and sunny hills,
Sylvan recesses, dark o'erhanging groves,
Where vocal songsters tune their throats to loves;
Where lurks the fox in crafty, sly career,
And in light gambols bounds the wary deer.
A land like this, created for delight,
Industry's hardy sons might well invite,
And quickly call the energetic worth,
The powers of enterprising freemen forth,
Whose hands would soon transform the rugged wilds
To fruitful fields, and bid tam'd nature smile, 24

22. Pages 590-91.

23. Page 598.

24. C.F. Klinck (ed.), The Poems of Adam Hood Burwell, p. 6.

"Journal of a Day's Journey in Upper Canada in October, 1816"²⁵ describes Niagara Falls at length and concludes with precisely recalled details from his childhood -- scaring birds with slingshots, being frightened by an owl when driving cows home after sunset and then becoming brave and nonchalant in sight of his home, being chased by a neighbour for treading down a field of grain. Nature is essentially controlled and pastoral. In later years, Burwell's love of nature became part of his religion. The long poem "Summer Evening Contemplations" (1849), builds on an early short one, "A Summer's Evening" (1821) using some of the same phrases, but now to describe the feelings raised by a natural setting which lead to a general contemplation of the divine, and to a specific resurrection and judgement day.²⁶

The more romantic view of landscape can be found in two others of the English-speaking native-born, Henry Friel and John Willis.

The view, as our little bark plunged along, its sharpened bow creating the only swells that floated around, was at once bold and romantic--wild and pleasing. On the right the terminating peak of the island caught the eye; on its summit might be seen perched, as if a dove of peace, a small but pretty chapel,...and in front of all the vast body of water....²⁷

Five of the six issues of the Montreal Gazette published between January 17 and 29 in 1833 contain both poetry and prose by Willis.²⁸ The prose items appear under the title "The Romance of Canadian History - Scenery - Manners". One of them ends with a poem:

25. Scribbler, July 18, 1822.

26. Poems, pp. 83-92, and 21-2.

27. H.J. Friel, "Lake des Allumettes", Literary Garland, N.S. Vol. IV, no. 5 (May 1846), p. 235.

28. It is in this sequence that Willis' name is connected specifically to the pseudonym "Long Tom Coffin" which had frequently been attached to literary works in the Gazette in the 1820s and early '30s. The editor also mentions several times that Canada is Willis' native land.

My country! thou art indeed to me
 _____ a land,
 Where Nature's fashionment betrays no lack
 Of bounteous design: displaying all
 We love to worship in her mighty skill--
 Of beauty's soften'd glow, and grandeur's pride,
 And wild sublimity of mien:--
 _____ a clime,
 Whose fervid summer sun and winter sky,
 In their own strange contrasting seasons; still
 Beam forth rich splendour over scenes which know
 Small parallel elsewhere: --Oh!, I am proud
 Of thy blue lakes, and deeping forests' gloom,
 And rushing cataracts, and blooming vales,
 And pine-clad mountains vast --All, all which makes
 The raptur'd spirit seem a part of thee,
 Mine own lov'd native land. 29

Eighteenth and early nineteenth century aesthetics regarded vastness and panoramic sweep as qualities necessary to visual beauty. These were qualities easily found in Canadian scenery -- most particularly, of course, at Niagara Falls, which will be discussed in this chapter in a section of its own. In Burwell's "Summer Evening Contemplations" each section begins with the sweep of sky or lake, narrowing down to detail and thence to contemplation of the Creator's role. Similarly, The Canadian Brothers begins with a panoramic description of the view from the fort at Amherstburg.³⁰ Although the author is at pains later in the novel to describe strategic positions for military operations, this is his only foray into the scenic.

Panoramas were popular with Canadian authors. Pierre Chauveau, having set the social/political/economic stage for Pierre and Charles Guérin, sits them down on a hill overlooking the St. Lawrence "panorama le plus varié qui soit au monde"³¹ and proceeds to describe the view:

29. January 19, 1833. The form and spelling are as printed.

30. Pages 2-5.

31. Album Littéraire, February 1846, p. 27.

Devant eux coulait le St. Laurent, large autant que la vue pouvait porter. Sur l'horison [sic] se dessinaient bien lointain les formes indécises des montagnes bleuâtres du nord; une petite île verdoyant reposait l'oeuil [sic] au tiers de la distance, et semblaient souvent, lorsque les vagues s'agitaient, osciller elle-même, et prête à disparaître dans le fleuve. La vaste nappe d'eau présentait trois ou quatre aspects différents. La marée montait dans la petit anse au fonds [sic] de laquelle étaient les deux maisons que nous venons de décrire, la brise s'élevait avec la marée, et l'eau plus épaisse prenait une teinte brun; à droite on découvrait une grande étendue d'un azur tranquille, à gauche, éclairée par un soleil d'automne, l'eau paraissait comme une large plaque d'argent incrustée d'or; une marque d'écume blanche séparait cette partie de l'autre, c'était l'endroit où [sic] une petite rivière traversant un lit de cailloux se jetait dans le fleuve. 32

There is not much description in Charles Guérin. The author makes his early obeisance to convention, and then concerns himself with action rather than contemplation.

Other novelists, notably Hubert de Gaspe fils and Patrice Lacombe, do not bother even with this perfunctory bow to convention. Critics have commented extensively on the absence of specific settings in L'influence d'un livre, which begins:

Sur la rive sud de fleuve Saint-Laurent, dans une plaine qui s'étend jusqu'à une chaîne de montagnes, dont nous ignorons le nom... 33

and continues in a manner equally vague for all scenery. Lacombe does devote two paragraphs in Chapter I to the beauties of "Gros Sault", but his intention is more to evoke the idyllic nature of rural life, which will be contrasted later with the misery of the city, than it is to describe a particular place.

32. Ibid. The panoramic description continues for another three paragraphs.

33. Page 3.

"X", author of "Points de vue de la descente de la montagne de Montréal" begins:

Qui n'a point contemplé, dans ses vastes regards,
Ce coup-d'oeil enchanteur qui vient de toutes parts,
S'offrir au voyageur dans la pente facile
Du Mont majestueux qui domine la ville?
....
Ce qui d'abord le fixe et l'attire toujours,
C'est le fier Saint-Laurent qui, dans son noble cours,
Entre de bords rians, pompeusement promène
Les flots toujours coulant de son urne lointaine. 34

The viewer sees the city itself and the new church, before his eye is caught by villages on the far shore and he begins to remember the idyllic adolescence he spent in one of them. Present scenery touches off memories of childhood, just as it did for Burwell.

French-Canadian authors of this period did not write much about the natural world. In their prose works they are precisely observant of human nature, but not of the physical world in which their protagonists move. In their poetry, nature is used to support human emotion.

Chante petit oiseau! Déjà sur la colline
Le printemps qui renaît reverdit l'aubépine,
Dans nos prés le muguet épanche sa saveur,
Le ruisseau qui murmure arrose chaque fleur
Qui parfume ses bords. 35

The nightingale is being called on to cheer the writer in his sadness. Similarly,

L'air parfumé des bois, le tapis de verdure,
Le ciel mélancolique et l'onde qui murmure,
L'écho compatissant qui gémit avec moi, 36

are all meant to sympathize with the poet whose beloved is absent.

34. L'Ami du Peuple, September 28, 1833.

35. Charles Levesque, "Le Rossignol", Album Littéraire, April 1850, p. 122.

36. J.G. Barthe, "Le Bois Solitaire", Le Populaire, July 30, 1838.

There are rare exceptions. "Les Sucreries Canadiennes"³⁷ of Gérin Lajoie is a fairly detailed account of a forest fête at the time of sugaring-off. Sufficiently detailed that Joseph Doutre complained in L'Avenir³⁸ that Lajoie's description was incorrect!

Among the French-Canadian writers there is a genre in which the city-dwelling author contemplates pastoral charm. One of L'Ami du Peuple's contributors, writing a "Description de la maison de campagne du Séminaire de Montréal, et de son point de vue" combines the panoramic view with the pastoral charm:

De ces lieux ravissans se découvre à la vue
Et de bois et de prés une vaste étendue. ³⁹

Most of the genre is touched more than somewhat by the romanticism of early Lamartine. "...mon âme suivit celle d'Alphonse de Lamartine dans la Solitude..." writes "Amela" in L'Aurore on November 12, 1839, in "Une promenade champêtre":

...c'était pour moi bien touchant, que de me voir ainsi isolée, comme dans un autre monde... Toute livrée à ma mélancolie, j'errais ça et là et j'écoutais avec délices [sic] les cris lointains du paisible laboureur. Les échos répétaient [sic] les coups redoublés que l'ardent bûcheron [sic] appliquait sur le tronc de l'érable ébranlé [sic].

In "La campagne", written by "Pietro" for La Revue Canadienne in 1845, a similar narcissistic melancholy prevails.

Quand je laisse la ville, j'aime à gagner ces vastes solitudes où l'homme est seul avec lui-même, où la pensée règne sans obstacle et dans toute sa sublimité. J'aime que les vents fassent craquer sourdement les forêts; que les flots en furie viennent se briser à mes pieds, que la tempête

37. Album Littéraire, February 1850.

38. April 13, 1850. An earlier writer, in La Minerve, December 1, 1836, describing "L'Erable" in all four seasons, concludes each verse:

Du Canada c'est l'érable chérie,
L'arbre sacré, l'arbre de la patrie.

39. Anonymous, April 18, 1838.

gronde sur ma tête; et puis après l'orage vient le
calme; j'aime alors le soleil qui perce les
brouillards; j'aime le zéphyr qui détache des
feuilles la rosée en milles petits globules
étincelants.... 40

And all that available just by taking a steamboat from Pointe
Lévy into the country!

The romanticism of the native-born English can sometimes
be melancholy, but in a more general and less personal
fashion. Mair's "The Two Roses"⁴¹ moves from contemplation of
a wild rose to thoughts of death, but returns to the rose, now
withered, which still retains its smell. His poem "Beauty"⁴²
begins with a traveller standing on a "mountain brow" gazing
on a panorama -- a classic eighteenth century situation.
"Night. Composed on the banks of the Madawaska"⁴³ is a fairly
conventional description of a scene which is not notably Cana-
dian. It begins:

How beautiful is night:
When the wild moon climbs through the cloudless sky,
And the bright stars--the eloquence of heaven,
Shed o'er the Earth the light of other worlds.
Still beautiful art thou oh night, when Earth
Ados to celestial beauty--when the scene
In the wild woods--the varied landscape, lies.
When the deep spell of forest solitude,
The distant rush of waters, and the stretch [sic] of
Of wood crown'd mountains, meadows green, and vale.
Invest the scene with us sublime a charm:

Most of the poem depicts a pair of Indian lovers on the banks
of the river, at a time long in the past.

Winter, the Canadian season which lends itself most read-
ily to being described in terms of gloom and menace, was
treated in a surprisingly positive manner by the native-born.
Few would have had the Canadian exile's experience of snow, as
Henry Scadding did while a student at Cambridge:

40. September 13, 1845.

41. Bathurst Courier, May 26, 1848.

42. op.cit., January 14, 1848.

43. op.cit., December 22, 1848.

When I drew down my blind this morning on getting up I laughed outright--at so unexpected a sight--the whole [place?] one sheet of snow! several inches in depth--the roofs around beautifully covered, & all the trees--Canada & home & friends & kindly yearnings filled my mind. The light of the snow reflected from the wall of my sitting room gives it a most cheerful appearance-- & the coal in the grate seems to burn more brightly and congenially. 44

On Christmas day of the same year more snow fell. Scadding enjoyed himself out walking in it and was amused that his English fellow students would not join him. Snow, to him, meant Canada and Christmas.

Holmes Hall is the least happy with winter:

winter has come! with all its sullen flow
Of struggling tempests and congealing snow 45

Nevertheless, there is lumbering, sleigh bells, healthy air and spring to come. J.H. Willis wrote in the Montreal Gazette:

Our winters--what if they are lengthy, and somewhat severe, to brunt and bear by the unseasoned stranger; --yet now bracing to the frame and spirit in the pure and frost laden breezes.... 46

Pierre Chauveau in "Joies naïves" give us a child's-eye view of winter:

Oh que j'aime la neige! Oh que j'aime à la voir
Descendre par flocons sur le sol écor [sic] noir!
Ou bien quand elle tombe en poussière si fine,
Que l'on croirait qu'un ange épand de la farine
Pour donner des gâteaux à nous, petites enfants.
Et puis, maman, j'en fais des bonhommes tout blancs,
Et j'élève des forts que mon grand frère assiège;
Oh que j'aime la neige. 47

44. Notebook. The date is 1829, but the month and year are not given. The ampersands are all [sic].
45. "Lines intended for the commencement of winter", Bathurst Courier, March 23, 1847.
46. January 19, 1833.
47. Le Coin du Feu (1840); and La Revue Canadienne, March 8, 1845.

A child's joy at sleighing, at pine trees covered with snow, and at Christmas, is described before the child-narrator remembers those who are poor and hungry. Even then, the ending is happy, since the mother provides charity for the poor next day.

French-speaking immigrant writers of this period did not write of the Canadian landscape, while the English-speaking immigrants, although there were a few exceptions, were generally as positive as the native-born when writing about nature in Canada. Winter was no more depressing for them than for those born here. J.H. Hagarty, writing as "Zadig" in The Church sounds in his "A Canadian Winter Sketch"⁴⁸ like a "booster" trying to attract tourists. He dwells at length on the bright sun, "more dazzlingly, wondrously brilliant" than July, in a cloudless sky. He walks out on the ice of Toronto Bay and is sure that he can see the spray of Niagara, forty miles away. The city itself presents a monotonous prospect. The forest is silent, lakes are frozen blue, and sleigh bells ring out. Tandem clubs, skating clubs, and curling clubs are all in operation. Cheerful fires burn indoors and the aurora appears "shifting and changing in the kindling ether". However, there is for Hagarty a flaw -- newly-arrived Governor Thomson and his Whig masters in England. But summer is coming, and with it, perhaps, new hands at the helm of the ship of state! A brilliant piece of writing which captures precisely the atmosphere of a clear, cold winter's day -- as well as the frustration of a convinced Tory.

Winter was part of the North American mystique. Another prose writer, "Atticus" describes "The First Fall of Snow"⁴⁹

48. May 30, 1840. The same piece appeared in the Montreal Gazette, June 16, 1840. The source given was the London (Eng.) Morning Herald.

49. - Cobourg Star, December 6, 1831.

in terms of the joys of sleighriding, and "A" compares "Early Winter" to ladies' eyes. "Crossing the Portage"⁵¹ by W.R.B. describes the delights of winter travel from New Brunswick to Quebec.

Rhoda Ann Page, perhaps the most quoted "nature poet" of the late 1840s, also saw winter as more beautiful than harsh. Her "Rice Lake by Moonlight - A Winter Scene" begins:

Moonlight upon the frozen lake! how radiantly smiles
The queen of solemn midnight upon all its fairy isles,
And the starry sparkling frost-work, that like a chain of
gems
hangs upon each fair islet's brow in glittering
diadems. 52

Yet winter is "like the sweet smile that mocks us yet upon the face of death" and she calls on the lake to wake in "summer joyousness". Page ends her poem, as always, with a reference to the Creator. Her "Frost on the Window"⁵³ follows a similar pattern, moving from wintry natural beauty to praise for nature's creator. In both cases, winter is related to death, but it is also beautiful in itself because it is part of creation.

Some immigrant writers welcome spring:

The foals and lambs around their dams
Their graceful antic play:
Alive and brisk, with joy they frisk,
To meet the Queen of May. 54

50. Quebec Gazette, November 15, 1843.

51. Quebec Transcript, March 6, 1839. The author's initials were given as "W.R.B." at the time of publication. Correction was made in the next issue. There are vague hints that the writer might have been describing the journey of the troops from New Brunswick at the time of the rebellions, except that the poetic journey sounds much too pleasant.

52. Cobourg Star, January 17, 1849; and many other locations. This was the most widely republished Canadian poem of its day.

53. op. cit., October 25, 1848.

54. J.E., York Township, "Spring", Agriculturist, May 1, 1848.

and others find a fertile summer land:

Niagara is a heartsome spot,
 Its teeming orchards fair, I wot
 Are pleasing to the view;
 The landscape yields baith hill and dale,
 And prospects too, the pick and wale,
 In mōny a charming hue;
 While daintily the peaches hang
 Frae many a bending bough,.....⁵⁵

Autumn is not much mentioned, except in a general way when writers are making a formal tour of all seasons, when they relate it to melancholy, or when they use it as part of the death and resurrection metaphor which relates human life to plant life. In a country whose economy was so bound up with agriculture the absence of poems celebrating autumnal harvests is most striking. The only poet who seems to have noticed autumnal detail was J.W.D. Moodie:

To the woods! to the woods! the sun shines bright;
 The smoke rises high in the clear frosty air;

 Hark! now the trees crack in the keen morning blast,
 And see how the rapids are covered with steam;⁵⁶

Canadian writers of all origins and languages were attracted to the lakes and rivers they saw around them. One particular genre traced the whole Great Lakes chain from Lake Superior to the Gulf of St. Lawrence.⁵⁷ The Huron Chief, Hamilton, Niagara Falls, and Breckenridge's "Canada" are all in

55. "Epistle", G.W. Gillespie, Miscellaneous Poems, p. 13.

56. "To the woods! To the woods", Victoria Magazine, January 1849, p. 117.

57. The earliest examples can be found in M. Gnarowski, (ed.) Three Early Poems from Lower Canada (Montreal, 1969). They are dated 1789, 1797, and 1806.

this vein. Others did not look beyond the nearest stream. Among the immigrant writers, even Susanna Moodie wrote a poem to the Otonabee River, and James Haskins one to the Trent. Some lesser poets produced doggerel:

Come, let us take a squint, eh!
At the far famed Bay of Quinte; 58

but others were obviously moved by the spectacle of rivers like the St. Lawrence:

Beautiful Stream! in all thy pride of strength
Thou art enrobed in loveliness, and thou
Both whiles lay down thy angry might and core
In calm serenity of majesty,
Heaving thy crystalline wave most gently,
As if within its undulations to
Embrace a wider scope of beauty. 59

Thomas Macqueen's praise of Lake Huron in "Our Own Broad Lake" appeared in many newspapers and periodicals,⁶⁰ and subsequently in Dewart's 1864 Selections from Canadian Poets.

The nature poems in The Mourner's Tribute are all dedicated to things like wood doves and roses which reveal the immigrant's untransplanted sensibility. "Sunset on the St. Lawrence"⁶¹ would be hard to distinguish from sunset on any other large river which inspires suitable religious thoughts, except that we are "in the loneliness of/The solemn wilderness" and that there is a "dark canoe" in the distance. A "tall and noble ship" is passing and the author hears "the welcome sound/of England's accents swell upon mine ear,/and wake a rapturous feeling..."

- 58. "Bay of Quinte Lyrics", Kingston Chronicle, September 12, 1835.
- 59. Rustic Bard, "To the St. Lawrence", Canadian Courant, October 20, 1833.
- 60. Canadian Gem and Family Visitor, no 7, (July 1849), 157, for example.
- 61. Pages 219-222.

"It's beautiful, but it isn't home" summarizes the sentiment of many an immigrant poet, regarding the Canadian landscape. Mary Ann Madden wrote in the Literary Garland of "Evening in the Woods":

For a scene of quiet loveliness
Spreads fair before mine eye;
A forest dark, and pleasant fields,
And a cloudless evening sky. ⁶²

But "How many things remind me/That 'tis a foreign land". The first six stanzas describe present beauty, the last four, her longing for the scenes of her childhood. Although the Canadian scene can not be loved in the way that the familiar sights of childhood are loved, it is certainly not described as hostile or repellent.

In the work of many immigrants even unique Canadian scenes are described in general, conventional, terms. There is, for example, nothing in W.A. Stephens' description of the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes system⁶³ to indicate their singularity. The vocabulary and sentiments are stereotyped -- which is not surprising in a deeply religious young man whose education was largely gained through independent reading. When he finally does describe Hamilton in a few lines,⁶⁴ it is dwarfed by the natural setting, just as the works of God dwarf those of man.

Songs of the Wilderness, Bishop G.B. Mountain's volume of poetry, published in England in 1846, with the proceeds going to Bishop's College, Lennoxville, contains poems which His Lordship wrote while on a canoe trip from Montreal to Hudson's Bay Company lands in the west. The Bishop's wilderness is a classical, Biblical, place:

62. December 1846, p. 550. For others of the genre in the Literary Garland see "The Exile Vine", July 1841, p. 354; "The Emigrant", August 1844, p. 348; and "Wild Flowers", February 1846, p. 58.

63. In Hamilton, pp. 29-35.

64. Ibid., p. 83. The inspiration for the entire poem was the panoramic view from the top of Hamilton mountain.

342.

In the plan of the poems, a perfect sameness will be found to prevail; it being no other, in every instance, than, having seized upon a poetical idea presented by some passing object, to follow it first in a merely poetical way, and follow it on to the religious application which must naturally suggest itself to every mind impressed with the supreme importance of revealed truth. 65.

Thus "The Rainbow at Kakabeka Falls" is described in terms of foam and spray. The rainbow provides the connection to God. References to Greek and Latin classics are almost as frequent as Biblical references. Nature is awful, in the old sense of inspiring awe in the beholder, but it holds no terrors for the Bishop.

The Canadian Forget-me-not for 1837, the first attempt to produce a Canadian annual, contains an anonymous, supposedly autobiographical, account of "A Canoe Voyage" from Quebec towards the mouth of the St. Lawrence in the 1820s.

...a real lover of nature can never have a more pleasant meeting with her in Canada, than paddle in hand in a birch bark Canoe.....How beautifully tranquil and calm, a mass of the richest foliage, cluster above cluster of every varying form and tinge, rests, as it in quiet sleep on the smooth bosom of the lake! 66

Camping overnight on deserted shores is a natural occupation. An encounter with a whirlpool is calmly described. The only threat comes from the inhabitants of a village on the lower St. Lawrence near their camp.

A poem by Edward Taylor Fletcher in the Literary Transcript, "Legend of the Isiamagoni" (a lake in the Saguenay area) begins by praising the wilderness for its restorative power:

He that is weary of the din and toil
Of towns and commerce, let him go abroad
And ramble through the wilderness awhile
And ease his spirits of their anxious load.

65. Pages xx and xxi.

66. Page 96.

Let his dulled eye behold the amber sod,
The leaf-strewn brook, the still, secluded lake,
Skirted with wild white roses, where hath trod
None save the forest-ranger; this will break
His stubborn apathy, his better nature wake. 67

The legend recounted is that of an unhappy hermit who lived in the area and who died following an earthquake. Seven stanzas show great delight in nature, before the hermit's story begins and nature takes on a cast of sympathy for his sorrow:

...the granite steep
Seems musing wistfully, and silence drear
Reigns through the hoary woods, his refuge and his bier.

The Maple Leaf annuals for 1848 and 1849 made some attempt to describe Canadian scenery for the benefit of those "at home". The intention is certainly not to frighten readers with the harshness of Canadian landscape.

Our forest-land borrows but slender charms from the treasury of the Past--she has but little food for the soft or stirring contemplations of Memory, but is rich in the ideal treasures of Hope--she lives in the rough strength of a fresh and lusty Present, and flushed with cheerful anticipations is the eager glance she bends on the Future. No retrospective repinings--no soft dallying with memorial glories--her step and voice are alike "Onward!" and the spirit of that watch-word pervades alike the physical and moral features of her broad land. 68

"Rough Sketches by a Backwoodsman" in the 1849 number begins its final paragraph:

We have said that the scenes of CANADA resemble those of HOME. So indeed they do, and in many instances excel them....

The "rough sketch" is of a backwoods settlement. The author makes no attempt to call it beautiful, --it is "no picturesque tour", --but he discounts the difficulties of forest life and points to the advantages of prosperity produced by hard work.

67. May 12, 1838.

68. "A Chapter on Canadian Scenery", 1848. There is no pagination.

"A Chapter on Chopping"⁶⁹ and "A First Day in the Bush"⁷⁰ describe things which are strange to a newcomer, but if the writers were frustrated or frightened by their experience, they do not say so.

"A Canadian Forest Tale", by Reuben Traveller⁷¹ is a poem which shows the same matter-of-fact attitude to a forest journey. The hunters do not get lost because they understand how to tell direction even when surrounded by trees, and they are successful at killing game.

Despite such occasional excursions into realism, most immigrants described the natural world of Canada in romantic terms. A number of examples can be found which verge on the romantically unreal. John S. Cummins, who was quite capable of describing forest reality with considerable immediacy in letters to his family,⁷² was nonetheless able to send his fictional hero to a remote island in the Saguenay to visit a hermit in a log dwelling.

It occupied a southern slope, the turf on which was short, and soft as velvet. Huge old trees spread their protecting limbs above and around, amidst which, the steep gable of the cottage appeared, embowered with the rich crimson of the Indian vine, and the vivid green of the wild cucumber, which together almost hid the rugged material of the walls. ⁷³

This unreal wilderness dwelling is the home of a Frenchman whose long, romantic, life story is about to be interpolated into Altham.

The most romantic of all the views of wilderness scenery published in Canada is in Adam Kidd's The Huron Chief of 1830. We have already discussed Kidd's attitude to Indian religion. It extended to their environment as well:

69. 1849.

70. 1848.

71. Ottawa Advocate, March 18, 1845.

72. John S. Cummins letters. Ontario Archives. Miscellaneous collection. They are dated in 1836 and 1837.

73. Altham, Vol. II, p. 185.

On Huron's banks, one summer-day,
 When all things bloomed with beauty gay,
 I wandered undisturbed and free, 74

....
 'Twas thus, in rapture, I was bound,
 Where every beauty smiled around
 That could delight the poet's heart 75

He is on a journey through the Great Lakes by canoe:

Now o'er a clear - a placid stream -
 Half burnished by the sun's last beam,
 Which through the lofty pines was thrown -
 Our little bark went proudly gliding,
 As mistress of the wave alone,
 Where we in safety now were riding,
 'Midst scenes majestic, and as grand
 As e'er were shaped by Nature's hand. 76

Although praise for Canadian scenery was by far the most common response, there are a few exceptions to be found in the works of those who, like Susanna Moodie, wished they had never left home. Joseph Abbott, arriving by boat near the village in which he was to live, set off, hot, tired, and hungry to walk five miles.

Everything, in short, even to the unceasing chirping of the cricket, told me I was in a strange land.... I knew not how far I had walked, when I came to an old pine-tree, beneath whose shade I laid me down, and wept and prayed as if my heart would break. 77

It would appear from the tone of Philip Musgrave that his first impressions never left him.

Standish O'Grady is another disappointed immigrant whose complaints have been given more circulation than they deserve. He sees no reason why immigrants should leave:

- 74. Page 13.
- 75. Ibid., 14.
- 76. Ibid., 68-9.
- 77. Page 9.

Your bubbling streams, your loved transparent rills,
Your fenny moors, your rocks, your mountain brows 78

for:

The frozen lakes, the snow cap mountains drear 79

.....
The pent up cottage, dreary dank and sad, 80

.....
Bleak, barren spot, ah! why should I forsake
A fertile land to thread thy worthless brake? 81

.....
Thou barren waste, unprofitable strand,
where hemlocks brood on unproductive land. 82

One month we hear birds, shrill and loud and harsh,
The plaintive bittern sounding from the marsh;
The next we see the fleet-winged swallow,
The duck, the woodcock, and the ice-birds follow;
Then comes, drear clime, the lakes all stagnant grow,
And the wild wilderness is rapt in snow. 83

O'Grady had tried, unsuccessfully, to farm in Lower Canada near Sorel. It he was indeed the person described as an old man⁸⁴ five years later, if he had been trying to farm alone, as it appears from his poem, and if he was more poet than labourer -- as it also appears from The Emigrant, it is easy to see why he was unsuccessful. His intense dislike of French Canadians⁸⁵ may have stemmed in part from his resentment of the fact that they farmed where he could not, and that they enjoyed the climate and scenery.

The fascination with lakes and rivers which we have remarked on the positive side of the ledger extended, in two instances, to the negative as well. In both cases it is a sluggish stream:

78. Page 73.

79. Ibid., 73.

80. Ibid., 74.

81. Ibid., 104.

82. Ibid., 104.

83. Ibid., 106.

84. See Chapter IV, p. 153.

85. This is just as noticeable as his hatred of the environment, but it is never mentioned by any of the critics who take his word as gospel on the hardships of settlement.

As the Chippawa Creek crept along by its banks,
 Or as poets would say was a flowing:
 Though a fish that had spent his whole life in its
 stream,
 Could scarce tell you which way it was going. 86

The author of the other poem, Daniel Haydn Mayne, was a Scottish immigrant. It would appear from several of his poems that emigration had brought him neither success nor happiness. His poem "To the River Don" certainly expresses disenchantment:

O Don, Great Don! thy river may seem fine
 To those who never saw a nobler stream;
 Thy swampy banks may look like beauty's line
 To those who never saw a livelier green,
 To those who still delight in lowly men:
 To me you bring the image of the snail
 That crawls in passive meekness o'er the scene;
 Thy face seems void of spirit, fierce and pale,
 And glorious when it dashes, as a queen
 Who pleases while she storms, like rain thro' sunny
 sheen.

The ghostly vapour rising from thy bed,
 Like evil spirit shunning blue eyed morn;
 Takes deep revenge before the sun hath led
 Her column thro' the air like fiend forsworn:
 And thou are left to draw thy serpent form,
 Around thy sluggish heart Celestial Don,
 Till ev'ning falls, and then the vapour lorn
 Embraceth thee again, and lies upon,
 Thy yellow looking breast, which aques many a one. 87

He goes on to write about swamps, snakes, carrion birds and malaria, before concluding, in Stanza VI that when the mud flats are eventually drained "thy flood/will sweeter grow..."

It should not come as a surprise that it was that bane of Canadian summers, the mosquito, which called forth the greatest number of disapproving literary comments, since mosquitoes were, and are, a natural menace, although not in the Frygian sense. Even Bishop Mountain devoted his fifteenth sonnet to

86. Anonymous, "The Chippawa Creek", St. Catharine's Journal,
 December 3, 1846.
 87. Poems and Fragments, p. 98.

them, comparing them, though "of lighter torment", to the plague visited on Egypt.⁸⁸ "To an Aged Moscheto"⁸⁹ and "Sonnet to the First Mosquito"⁹⁰ are less elegant conceits, written by ordinary citizens. Gavin Russell, in "The Moschetto's War Song", says that the mosquitoes are taking revenge on behalf of all nature against:

These haughty invaders come here in their pride -
Destruction they spread through the forests so wide:
'mongst our sweet native coverts, their axes resound,
Till our lofty green mansions are brought to the ground.

The mosquitoes charge, and are only defeated when the man retreats to a smoky fire, however:

...tonight we will come, while he sleeps in his den,
And his blood will then flow to our music again.⁹¹

These complaints about the natural world in the Canadas were rare and generally focus on things like swamps and mosquitoes which it would be difficult to praise. The difference is that those writers whose feelings about Canada were positive, ignored such irritations, while those whose feelings were negative highlighted them.

The major aesthetic experience of every North American resident and traveller was a visit to Niagara Falls.⁹² One suspects that visitors like Lord Morpeth and Lydia Sigourney, whose supposedly extempore poems were widely reprinted, may have crafted their responses well in advance. A small book, containing the most quotable items from the Album of the Table Rock was published under that title in 1846.

Travel writing is beyond the scope of this study, as is Anna Jameson's Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada, which was written for European readers, but it might be useful

88. Songs of the Wilderness, p. 991.

89. Theodore C. Wheeler, Cobourg Star, October 20, 1847.

90. Kingston Chronicle, June 6, 1840.

91. Bathurst Courier, June 29, 1847.

92. See C.M. Dow, Anthology and Bibliography of Niagara Falls, 2 vol. (Albany 1921) for a compilation of British and American writing about Niagara.

to begin our study of Niagara in early nineteenth century Canadian literary sensibilities with a quotation from Mrs.

Jameson:

There are, certainly two ways of contemplating the sublime and beautiful. I remember one day as I was standing on the Table Rock, feeling very poetical, an Irishman behind me suddenly exclaimed, in a most cordial brogue, and an accent of genuine admiration - "Faith, then, that's a pretty decent drop o' water that's coming over there!" 93

In this case, both sublime and realistic responses were recorded, but in almost all instances it was the sublime - or attempts to describe the sublime - which dominated. On August 25, 1836, the St. Catharines Journal reported that there had been over a thousand visitors at the Falls in the previous two weeks. Most of them were as inarticulate about the experience as Mrs. Jameson's Irishman, but a great number were moved to poetry, as a cursory glance at contemporary North American newspapers and periodicals would indicate. Many of these writers were unequal to the descriptive task:

Ah! who can give restriction
To your fierce billow's lave?
Ah! who can paint a fiction,
With the strong heaving wave?
The power must be far more than mine,
The hand, the pen, must be Divine! 94

"Sir John" Smyth produced "An Ode on the Falls of Niagara" which shows that articulate and opinionated native almost struck dumb:

How mighty and beautiful to behold,
The great and splendid Niagara Falls;
Thy magnificence cannot half be told,
Which is the great astonishment of all.

This wonder of the world is great and grand.
We're raised in thought from earth to heaven;
When we view the works of God's gracious hand,
And exclaim, thy works were to us given.

93. Vol II, p. 73 in the Coles Publishing Co. (Toronto, 1970), facsimile of the 1838 London edition.

94. Noyye Bard, "To the Niagara", Canadian Casket, March 24,

The longer we view, and do their [sic] remain,
 New beauties will continually arise;
 And beauties more difficult to explain,
 Which will greatly astonish and surprise.

How transcendently great the appearance
 Of the gigantic and majestic fine scene,
 Which warns us to give God due reverence;
 Of all wonders and Falls she's the Queen. 92

With one exception, Canadian writers, regardless of language or place of birth, were impressed. For them, there was no conflict between the aesthetic rules for beauty and what they saw when they visited Niagara. As with all other sections studied, there was an exception here as well. "...it is not fair to confess that I was disappointed at the sight of Niagara Falls..." wrote "Guy Pollock" in the Canadian Literary Magazine of April 1883.⁹⁵ He compares Niagara with the falls of the Clyde at Bonnington, to Niagara's detriment. Several things seem particularly to have caused Pollock's disappointment: that the falls had been overly praised, so that his expectation was too great; that it is "not surrounded by hills or precipices as other water falls usually are..."⁹⁷ But instead emerges from a flat plain; and that they are of a scale which the mind does not assimilate.

His aesthetic expectations are clearly stated:

The mind must be taken by a delightful surprise before it can be greatly excited by any object, however sublime or beautiful that object may be. 96

And later, comparing a series of things; the Fall of Niagara with the Falls of the Clyde, the Himalayas with Ben Lomond hill:

95. Select Poems, pp. 31-2.

96. Page 24. Pollock was the pen name of Dr. Robert Hamilton, of Scarboro. Mrs. Jameson was also disappointed in the falls.

97. Ibid., 25.

98. Ibid., 24.

The former of these objects are great and commanding; they inspire us with awe and respect. The latter are comparatively small and elegant, and inspire us with love and pleasure, which to minds cast in an ordinary mold, are probably the most delightful emotions. 99

Pollock suggests a terraced garden, walks and flowers, which would turn Niagara into "the Kensington or Vauxhall of Upper Canada"¹⁰⁰ -- obviously thus reducing its scale to one with which he felt comfortable.

Most visitors were, however, content with the feelings of "awe and respect" they experienced.

Spectacle admirable! sublime chef-d'oeuvre!
Combien la main qui t'a façonné est puissante! La
main de celui dont le sceau ineffaçable est imprimé
sur ton front et dont la voix se fait entendre de
milieu de tes cent mille tonnerres!

Tout ici, jeunes amis, indique que vous êtes dans
le voisinage de la destruction. Une secrète et
inoëfinissable crainte, mêlée de courage, une puis-
sance mêlée d'apprehension; une admiration mêlée de
terreur; tout cela fond à la fois sur l'âme,
l'accable, l'enchaîne. 101

Almost all of them, like the writer above, transferred the awe and respect to the Creator. It is interesting that Pollock, one of the two to give space to a scientific consideration of the phenomenon, is one of the few who does not mention God. The Smyth poem shows this movement, as do many others:

Great God! How wonderful thy works, when Thou,
Sports't with the elements, as Thou dost now. 102

Or:

Yes "Power Omnipotent" thou brightly shone,
While I "Niagara" viewed, for in its rising foam

99. Ibid., 28.

100. Ibid., 31.

101. C.A.N.L., "Description de la Chute de Niagara", La Revue Canadienne, January 9, 1846.

102. Anonymous, "Niagara, A Poem", Kingston Chronicle, April 4, 1832.

I could form a gentle spirit pointing up on high
And murmuring--"There is a land beyond the sky". 103

Gavin Russell, who saw himself as a rational scientist,
concludes his nine stanzas "On the Falls of Niagara"--

Niagara! Niagara! from out that misty cloud,
Like the thunders of Mount Sinai, thou dost call to man
aloud,
Proclaiming his dependence on the ONE Almighty CAUSE,
And the universal nature of God's everlasting LAWS. 104

Another aspect of divinity--eternity--impressed itself on
viewers: the falls had been there before man, and would flow
long after the viewer was dead:

Tears touch thee not, Niagara -
Thou art a changeless thing
And still the same deep roundelay
Thy solemn waters sing. 105

The noise, the spray, the rainbow, characteristics that
most who have seen the falls would mention if asked today,-
figured prominently in nineteenth century descriptions:

...thunder on my startled ear, thine everlasting roar
bath broken, and reverberates from shore to echoing
shore;
Continuous and fearful--giant power in its tone,
That shakes the earth's foundations, and rives the solid
stone! 106

and:

The boiling of its milky waters, sometimes hued
With all the rainbow's varying magnitude,
The drenching, misty vapours which arise
From out its boiling cavern, to the skies. 107

103. A Subscriber, "Niagara", Hamilton Gazette, November 9,
1840.

104. Brockville Recorder, June 5, 1845.

105. "Verses written in the album kept at the Table Rock
Niagara Falls, during a thunderstorm", Posthumous Works
of the Late George Menzies, p. 37.

106. John Breakenridge, "The Falls of Niagara", Crusades, n.p.

107. A Subscriber, op.cit. Footnote 101 above.

Another theme, often stemming from a comparison of the water's noise to cannon fire, was Niagara as a site for battles. Adam Hood Burwell, writing in the early 1820s, was reminded of war, not God, every time he looked at the falls. "E.L." of Smith's Falls had a similar response:

How many of our fathers found a grave
Lost to the world, beneath the mighty wave;
When din of battle, and the clash of arms,
The Indian's war whoop, and the drum's alarms,
Mixt with the warring of thy waters rose,
While Britain and Columbia as foes
Rais'd their proud banners on thy rocky shores,
And rolling cannon echoed back thy roars. 108

The author does, also, see the falls as a symbol of reconciliation between former combatants.

J.K. Liston's three canto, hundred page poem, Niagara Falls, was published in Toronto in 1843. It includes almost all the previously discussed themes, plus others that are unique in a Niagara context. Liston's relation of the falls to progress was quoted in Chapter VII. Canto III contains lengthy sections: "Hymn on Creation", "Hymn of Man's Fall", "Hymn of Man's Salvation". The first canto includes a lengthy description of the Niagara battles in the war of 1812 and is vociferously anti-republican and anti-American. In the first six lines of the poem he introduces descriptive themes which he elaborates further in the introductory pages:

NIAGARA FALLS! stupendous, beautiful,
Enduring monument of Power Divine!
Thy white-foam pillars ever moving stand,
And ever standing move harmoniously
To the rough music of the dashing spray,
And roaring tumult of thy boiling base.

It is rare to find an author unimpressed by Niagara Falls, just as it is rare to find one unimpressed by the Canadian landscape. Regardless of the writer's language or place

108. E.L. "Ode to Niagara", British Whig, September 30, 1836.

of birth, nature was not described as cold and indifferent or "red in tooth and claw" as Frye has theorized, nor was the North American wilderness rejected as Kline suggests. The immigrant English display the most complex response to their natural environment. On the one hand, since it would be difficult to justify emigration to a land which was ugly and frightening, they needed to find that Canada was beautiful according to the criteria, based on English and European landscape, which they had known throughout their lives. On the other hand, the emphasis on the sublime, the love of trees, and the almost religious view of the healing qualities of contemplating wild nature, which were part of those criteria, did not prepare them for a natural world quite so sublimely vast, which contained so many trees, --most of which had to be cut down if the writer was to survive, --and where wild nature required action rather than contemplation on their part. Ideas of the beauty of wild nature implied a contrast between it and civilization. The sublimity of the Alps thrilled the London-dweller, who looked, and then returned to London to write about it. In a small colonial town, or on a backwoods farm, you could not turn away from wild nature in quite the same way. It is no wonder that most of them were more comfortable with nostalgic memories of childhood places, and that they used conventional literary terminology to describe, and thus to control, the world around them. Nonetheless, a few writers changed their perspective, looked carefully, and described what they saw in precise detail. Those who rejected what they saw did so, not because it was "terrifyingly cold, empty and vast", but because they wished they had never left home. For them, Eden itself would have been flawed.

The native-born seem to have accepted the European aesthetic terminology. They also accepted the Canadian landscape--the only one they knew--as their standard of beauty,

applying the terminology of the first to the reality of the second. French-Canadian writers however, except for a brief bow to convention, seem mostly to have ignored the natural world. Many "esquisses de mœurs" were published in which humanity was depicted in sharp detail, but the world in which that humanity lived is usually relegated to a few sentences of conventional description. Nature, in the French-Canadian poetry of the time, is not a closely observed thing apart, but rather a conventionally romantic abstraction incorporated into the moods of the poet. The perception of Canada which we find in French-Canadian writing between 1830 and 1850 had little to do with the Canadian landscape.

A number of the native-born English, however, do exhibit what A.J.M. Smith called "the local realism of the pioneer".¹⁰⁹ For them, forests were not things to be contemplated in awed silence, but places in which they hunted, or through which they travelled, and they were capable of describing what they saw on the hunt or the journey in precise detail. Although they may not have regarded the contentious political issues of the day as suitable topics for literature, they had no such inhibitions when it came to recording their observations of the world around them. Even those who were inclined to the use of romantic descriptive terminology seem to have been looking directly and intently at the natural world, although the description is couched in conventional terms.

109. In the article referred to in Chapter I, "Colonialism and Nationalism in Canadian Poetry before Confederation", C.H.A. Report 1944, 75.

CHAPTER XI

SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

In addition to historical and aesthetic perspectives on life in the Canadas, the imaginative literature of the 1830-50 period also recorded a social perspective. The Canadas were the home of real people whose lives were described by contemporary writers who could not, however, create literary characters without embodying their own assumptions. On three questions those assumptions are abundantly revealed: social status, sex roles, and attitudes toward visible minorities.

I

From the world around them Canadian residents received conflicting theories of social rank. Britain and France were officially hierarchical societies, the United States was an officially egalitarian one. Historians of the three countries have been at pains to demonstrate that in reality they were more socially complex than the legal terminology would indicate, and their early nineteenth century literature, largely written by and for the middle classes, reflects this social complexity. Residents of the Canadas read and heard a great deal of rhetoric associated with these forms of government, particularly as it applied to the question of the source of power in a monarchy and in a republic. Most of them accepted the monarchical argument in a political context, but being individuals whose prosperity was due to their own efforts, they tended to reject or ignore the ideas of fixed hierarchical structure and hereditary worth which accompanied it in a social sphere.

There is no aristocracy in Canada; and nobody who is really a gentleman thinks of setting up his hereditary claim to gentility as his stock in trade in this country; for here everybody must 'trade' on

some, or on no capital. Gentlemen are gentlemen in every place, and under all circumstances; and those who are the most so, make the least fuss about the name. The people of this country, we believe, have a sufficient reverence for hereditary rank--the very soul and spirit of the British monarchy which we all revere--but it does not follow that they are to permit every popinjay who can drive tandem, or something equally elegant and expressive, to lord it over them.

The literature they produced reflects this ambivalence. Devoted to God and king as the sources of authority, Canadian writers of the time, all middle class, show us a social world in which personal merit, rather than birth and inherited wealth, determine the respect and honour due to an individual.

What constituted personal merit? Education? Occupation? Piety? Possession of land? Material prosperity? In general terms, native-born writers in English ignored these questions. Although they were not overtly egalitarian, they wrote about individuals who were distinguished by the worth of their character, and who lived in a world where there were no servants. The native-born French show a much greater awareness of the existence of rich and poor in their society, but it is the same deserving young professional hero, neither rich nor poor, who triumphs in French, as well as in English. The immigrant English wrote about a much more complex world, peopled with servants, deserving poor, an educated would-be meritocracy, and hard-working, upwardly mobile individuals.

A caveat about the nature of the witness given by Canadian writers. A reference to their profile as developed in Chapter IV will reveal that there is a strong correlation between who they were themselves, and the view of Canadian society

1. Bytown Gazette, February 23, 1843, quoting from the Woodstock Gazette, which has not survived. Both newspapers were thoroughly Tory in sympathy.

they presented in their work. They were almost all urban, so, except in the works of a few immigrants, there is little sense that extensive land holdings confer status. Those who were educated professionals probably overvalued the status-confering virtues of culture, gentility, and education as opposed to material and commercial success because they themselves fitted the former categories, but not the latter. Secondly, to repeat a previous warning, in their writing they were, neither philosophers nor politicians with a detailed social plan for the Canadas. The pictures they give us reflect their personal frame of reference rather than any systematic social comment.

The English-Canadian writers are quite remarkable in their attitudes. All other written evidence from the period indicates that there were gradations in Canadian society, and that the people who lived here were aware of them. Yet all we can produce from the literature published by this group is that Charles Durand wrote in one story of a young man disinherited for marrying into a less prosperous family; Sir John Smyth--(the mocking attitude of those who humoured him with the title shows what they thought of titles)--in the poem quoted in Chapter VII mentions the "compact" sitting apart from the common people at the King's College cornerstone-laying; W.B. Wells in "Maroon Hensey" gently mocks the militia officers who trot out their past glory once a year; and John Richardson shows his resentment of the class system in the British army on many occasions. What little we see in The Canadian Brothers of non military Canada appears to be middle-class, although the heroes do have an "old family retainer", --a devoted black servant; and some members of the middle class are described as more worthy than others. Wells, Smyth, and Durand, all reformers, are objecting to what they see as unmerited privilege. Richardson, the Tory, has a

similar objection to those who have rank and power without personal merit. In the remainder of native-born writing in English, the narrator's independent, virtuous, persona is sensitive and intelligent, but does not appear to have wealth, possessions, or power over others outside the family circle. In addition, with the exception of Bickerstaff, the dishonest merchant and seducer of Belinda, set apart from the land-owning world of Abraham Holmes' other male characters, villains in native-born English fiction appear to differ in character, but not in status, from the other protagonists.

The same persona is essentially at the core of native-born writing in French. However, some of the heroes are military officers as well as doctors or lawyers, servants are a part of the French-Canadian social environment, and society does include rich and poor,--the former to be mocked and the latter to be pitied. The archetypal rich man is the wicked father, uncle or guardian who controls the fate of a young person, not the oppressor of the poor. Lacombe's La Terre Paternelle shows the economic degeneration of the Chauvin family once they have given up their farm. As labourers the two men cannot make enough money to support the family and the final indignity which befalls the poor, the refusal of a funeral mass and winter burial, is accorded to one of them. The family are, however, much wiser when they are poor than when they were prosperous. Eugène L'Ecuyer's novelette "La Fille du Brigand" and various short stories give us the most complex view of society. Here are the rich who banquet while the poor starve, servants whose allegiance can be purchased, and foolish rich men who can be tricked by the young and intelligent. "La Fille de Brigand" is particularly rich in social structure. The hero, Stéphane, has fallen in love at first sight with Helmina, but cannot hope for marriage because his father would never allow him to marry a girl whose family was of

lower status than his own. They are united in the end when her real father, a social equal, reappears. Mme. la Troupe has been wealthy, but having been ruined by a brother who controlled her investments, now keeps a tavern. No longer able to stand dishonour, she takes poison in jail. All the characters, including the servants who speak dialect, have quite well defined social status.

Immigrant writers, especially those who had arrived here as adults brought their experience of England, Scotland and Ireland to bear on Canadian life. The Rev. Joseph Abbott, Tory SPCK missionary, shows us in Philip Musgrave how difficult the gap between the two could be for some immigrants with firmly held views of the relation between rank and status.

...my judge turned out to be a petty shopkeeper, a doler out of drans to the drunken raftsmen; the magistrate, an old rebel soldier of the United States, living upon a pension of 20 l. a year from that government as the reward of his treason, and at the same time, holding a commission of the peace under the one against which he had successfully fought. The colonel, the most respectable of my dignified companions, had been a serjeant in the _____ regiment, and was now living on his pension of a shilling a day. And to complete my catalogue, the major was the jolly landlord of a paltry village tavern.²

Most immigrants were seeking in Canada an environment which combined personal opportunity with familiar British institutions. Whether half-pay officers or self-educated stone masons, few were inclined to claim that an oppressive system had necessitated their emigration. They did not describe their new home negatively, and most avoided describing Britain negatively, although some could not help but mention her shortcomings. Alexander M'Lachlan, generally considered the

2. J. Abbott, Philip Musgrave, p. 8.

most class conscious of our early writers,³ displays in his first book The Spirit of Love, published in Toronto in 1846, a fierce individual love of liberty, but it is at the hypocrisy of society in general, as much as at economic oppression of the poor, that he rails in the title work. Only one of the "Miscellaneous Pieces" shows class militancy. "Lines Written at the Tomb of _____" refers to an "idiot hero" whom "the toiling millions cheer'd/ Tho' by their blood his fame was rear'd". Man does oppress man.

And yet we're gravely told by some:
 O may they be forgiven,
 When we're oppress'd we should sing dumb,
 And for't we'll get to heaven.

But the've made heaven o' this earth.
 And grudy'd the sma'est shar o't;
 And wi' the gun and bayonet,
 Fu' fiercely they've taen care o't. 4

The Irish and naval chapters of John S. Cummin's novel Altham contain numerous instances of the oppression of the powerless by the powerful. The hero's deadly enemy, who has usurped Jemmy's heritage, attempts to have him kidnapped and killed. There are "good guys" among the poor and the middle class, but none among the hereditary aristocracy, nor in the navy where "...the higher grades...cannot bear to see an inferior braving, even though in a righteous cause, his superior."⁵ One worthy man, promoted after a death in battle, has waited twenty years while others with money and influence were promoted over him. A long aside⁶ expresses opposition to impressment as illegal kidnapping, and points out that only the lower classes are impressed.

3. See the introduction by E.H. Fulton to the Toronto 1974 reprint edition of The Poetical Works of Alexander McLachlan, pp. vii-xxi.

4. Page 31.

5. Page 172, Vol. I.

Oppression of clerks by their merchant employers is a factor in a few of the Literary Garland stories set in England. These, however, display more of a prejudice against those "in trade" than a sympathy for their employees.⁷

Those who praise Canada often indicate by reversion what their life in Britain was like:

The LAWS are mild in Canada,
The DLER run wild in Canada,
The Peasant Boy
May range with joy,
The verdant woods of Canada. 8

or:

'Tis cheery to look at the fields waving yellow,
And think ther's nae rent day at hand--
The taxes at hame are the bane of a fellow
Wha has na a mine at command. 9

However, most immigrant writers, when they described their life "at home" wrote, not of the hardships which forced them to leave, but of the family, friends, and childhood scenes which they had left. The imaginative works they wrote about the land of their birth tended, like several of Susanna Moodie's novels, to be set in the drawing rooms of the upper middle class and the minor aristocracy.

For the adult emigrés Canada's merit, as their new home, was that it was a land of opportunity. It was, as we have seen in Chapter VIII, a place to repair one's fortunes. Whether the opportunity was for their personal worth to be recognized, or for their hard work to be rewarded, depended on their previous status in Britain. If they had been downwardly mobile and emigrated hoping to become more secure finan

7. See, for example, Anonymous, "Life behind the Counter", Literary Garland, N.S. Vol. VIII, nos. 1 and 2 (January and February 1850), pp. 39-43, 76-9.
8. Bloomfield, "Canada", Canadian Courant, March 26, 1831.
9. Anonymous, "My Home in the Bush", Dundas Warder, December 29, 1848.

cially, like the half-pay officers, they tended to put more emphasis on their obvious cultural superiority when they tried to locate themselves in the Canadian pecking order. If they had been labourers of one sort or another in Britain and had emigrated hoping to reap greater rewards for that labour in a new environment, they tended to think that material prosperity should earn them status in a new world. The most obvious example of the first attitude is Susanna Moodie, who felt that her husband, as an officer and a gentleman, should be provided with work suitable to his talents, and that manual labour on a farm should be left to those whose talents leaned in that direction. Although she wrote extensively of her own hardship in emigrating she had little sympathy for others. In "A Visit to Grosse Isle" she describes the Irish poor who had been landed there as "vicious, uneducated barbarians....perfectly destitute of shame, or a sense of common decency."¹⁰ "The Emigrant", a first-person account of the journey from Leith to Canada, undertaken, by the author's own account, because his merit was not recognized in England, shows a similar lack of sympathy for the emigrating lower classes.¹¹

The case for hard work, as opposed to gentlemanly breeding, is put in "Rough Sketches by a Backwoodsman".¹² The miller came to Canada with six dollars, all his "capital consisted of a stout frame, industrious habits and good principles". For contrast there is a gentleman, highly connected in England, whose "...house and barn are scarcely distinguishable one from the other."

10. Victoria Magazine, p. 16.

11. The account appeared in all four issues of the Canadian Magazine in 1833.

12. Maple Leaf for 1849, n.p.

...the neighbours, whose ability to labour has enabled them so far to outstrip the gentleman in point of wealth and comfort, have not the slightest idea of rendering him any respect on account of his noble blood or illustrious pedigree. None of them are his tenants, but I am sorry to say a few are his creditors....

None of the immigrant writers seem to have considered the ownership of land as conferring special distinction. Two well-established British ideas of status--high status derived from land ownership, and low status derived from manual labour--when applied to the Canadas where land was cheap and the owner also worked it himself, could produce nothing but confusion and disillusionment. Better to fall back on other criteria such as presumed cultural superiority or material prosperity.

In Hamilton; and other poems, the young farmer, W.A. Stephens, complains of a society more interested in external display than in genius.

They cannot think, whenever they look upon
his homely dress, that o'er his mind has shone
The star of genius...

...scorn he must endure,
While guilty of the crime of being poor. ¹³

Evidently he found that neither hard work on a new farm, nor genius, was enough to bring him recognition. In his perception, fine clothes and fine manners were regarded by society as conferring more status.

Education, as we have seen, was not often written about in imaginative literature. Susanna Moodie's article on it in the Victoria Magazine has often been mentioned as an indication that Canadians were turning from British ideas of rank to North American ones of meritocracy,¹⁴ but she was, of course, only placing social value on something she already had,

13. Hamilton, pp. 80-81.

14. C. Shields, Susanna Moodie, Voice and Vision (Ottawa, 1977).

and which others lacked. If status was dependent on land or wealth, she would have ranked below many others who she perceived as less worthy. There is no evidence in literature that anyone, other than Mrs. Moodie, thought education was an important factor in determining the social hierarchy.

When the immigrants wrote about status in society they tended, like Susanna, to ignore wealth and give the highest rank to those qualities which they knew they themselves possessed. However, there were other inhabitants of the Canadas who both lacked these attributes and had less money than our writers. What were their attitudes toward this group?

First of all, there were the deserving poor, --most of them widows and orphans, who, through no fault of their own, were in want. They appear in Literary Garland stories like "The First Cow"¹⁵ where the hardworking family are rewarded by eventual prosperity, and "The Little Sewing Girl" in the Snow Drop,¹⁶ where a prosperous family takes responsibility for the children of a dying, deserving, widow. In the latter case it must be admitted that the family acquire superior servants in the process. A similar story, possibly from the same hand, appeared in the Literary Garland of November 1850. Written for the Protestant Orphan Bazaar, "The Emigrant Ship" describes death and famine on shipboard, death and grinding poverty in Montreal. The dying mother goes happily to her reward knowing that her children will be looked after in the Protestant Orphan Asylum. In literature written in the Canadas at this time, the desperate, starving, poor do not appear unless they are also deserving and about to be rescued by some member of the middle class.

Writers also approved of those who "knew their place". The idea of knowing one's place and being content with one's lot was expressed in many of the "improving" periodicals produced for, but not by, those who worked with their hands. The People's Magazine (Montreal 1848) published articles devoted

15. New Series, Vol. II (August 1844), pp. 376-8.

16. Vol. II, no. 12 (March 1849), pp. 353-365.

to science, temperance and evangelical religion. Another periodical, the Farmer and Mechanic (Toronto, 1848-9) was strong on practical "how to" information for both sexes. An article in the December 1848 number "What Should Parents do with their Boys" acknowledges the superior status of the professions, but deplores the tendency of mechanics to educate their sons for professions rather than for useful work.

...we should repeat, give them a good education, and then bring them up as mechanics or farmers, if you wish to insure them a comfortable, honourable, and independent living and station in society. 17

The author goes on to urge better Common and Grammar School facilities, but he thinks that an agricultural college is unnecessary.

A number of other periodicals, two of them, L'Abeille and the Saturday Evening Magazine, dated 1833 and '34, were published for the same group of manual and agricultural workers. All of them are devoted to self improvement. An acceptance of, and pride in, one's lot are implied. One periodical, The City Magazine (Montreal, 1847) is considerably more aggressive than the others and does not counsel acceptance of one's lot. It was published in aid of the early closing movement and uses phrases like "the necessity of combination", and "union is strength". In the editor's view, obstacles to progress are "superstition" (religion) and individualism--an unwillingness to work together for the common good.

Servants, in particular, were supposed to know, and glory in, the place God had appointed for them. Most Canadians today have read Susanna Moodie's indignant objection to servants who want to eat at the same table with their masters. Several stories in The Snow Drop are designed to teach children to be kind to servants; several others teach them not to believe the superstitious stories they tell. A long poem in the Christian

Guardian of September 20, 1843, titled "The Good Servant Maid" makes one wonder whether the writer's tongue was in his/her cheek, but "A Lover of Order" seems to be serious. Mary, the good servant maid, is a paragon who prays four times a day, works from before her masters arise until after they retire, is neat, tidy, obedient, silent, truthful, and never presumes to get above herself.

The use of accents and dialects to denote social status was not uncommon in literary works. It is the quickest form of characterization available to a writer. Sambo, the black servant in Richardson's Canadian Brothers sounds like a caricature, as does the Scots officer, and the American villain, Desborough. J.W.D. Moodie, himself a Scot, published a comic poem in the supposed dialect of a black man,¹⁸ and his story of "The Ould Dhragoon"¹⁹ is patronizing to that poor-but-honest Irish individual. The comic possibilities of dialect were enhanced by the unspoken assumption that anyone who spoke either French or English in such an "incorrect" manner was socially inferior. French-Canadian writers depicted servants and farmers as speaking dialect. In the works of English immigrants, servants generally had an Irish accent, and inhabitants of the countryside spoke with both Scots and Irish accents. By the standards of language, middle class urban wri

18. Victoria Magazine, p. 261.

19. Literary Garland, N.S. Vol. II, no. 8 (August 1844), pp.

ters were superior to all these others.²⁰

It is obvious from the imaginative literature written by French Canadians and by the immigrant English that distinctions based on economic status existed at this time, although it is equally obvious that no articulate sense of class consciousness was present. Imported literary works describing life in Europe, which were published in Canadian newspapers and periodicals reflect a similar state of affairs.

Despite the class struggle just below the surface in France and England at this time there is little in the borrowed literature to indicate its existence. Most French stories published in Canada are set in upper class situations, some deal with peasants of noble character, but only two reflect the urban class struggle. One, "Claude Gueux" by Victor Hugo, appeared in instalments in La Minerve in March 1837. The lengthy moral is addressed to the legislators of France who are too busy with their political quarrels to concern themselves with the welfare of the people. The other, "Les Prolétaires" by Eugène Camus, in Le Journal de Québec, March 28, 1846, concludes by counselling patience on the part of the people and promises an eventual Christian reward here on earth. Even the French poetry indicated as being written by

20. Some of this class distinction according to language skills has become part of our attitude to early literary works. Critics call Alexander M'Lachlan "working class" because he was a farmer who wrote sometimes uneven poetry, although exactly the same could be said of other writers considered as "middle class". It is particularly unfair to writers of Scots and Irish origin whose accents, even among the well educated, produced rhythms and rhymes which we no longer hear when their works are read. A perusal of the hand-written manuscript of M'Lachlan's poems held in the Toronto Public Library shows the changes in spelling made by the editors, --so that "heid" changed to "head", no longer rhymes with "indeed". The fault is not M'Lachlan's. Similarly, we assume that "the widow Fleck" was lower class because of her shaky versification and grammar. Yet if we read letters and diaries written by Canadian residents in this period it is evident that even the "middle class" were not always well educated in a grammatical sense. Many unpolished newspaper poets of this era were probably of higher status than we think.

workers preach self-help, not class struggle. The working-man's poetry of H.F. Tupper, popular in English, is essentially similar. The poor in English fiction have become so through inadvertence or dissolute living, not through exploitation. The "poor-but-hones" are respected, the deserving are rewarded regardless of economic class or rank. The individual is responsible for his own destiny. Whether or not a story was set in Canada, the viewpoint is that of the middle class in both Europe and America.

It could be said that Canadian literature in the 1830s shows less sense of class than that of the 1840s, but again this seems more a question of volume than content. The native-born English-speaking show a quantitative change because they published so much more after 1840 than before. Similarly, the English-speaking immigrants are no more class conscious in the 1840s than in the 1830s -- there are just so many more of them appearing in print.

Looking at the literary evidence and comparing it with the Australian experience, two literary critics have suggested certain hypotheses based on assumptions about the immigrant writer's relation to a new "classless" society and thus about the most appropriate form in which to convey the writer's experience of this new environment. R.E. Watters, trying in "English Social Patterns in Early Australian and Canadian Fiction"²¹ to explain what he regarded as the failure of early Canadian literature, argues that the absence of an operative British social structure in Canada affected the quality of fiction published, because writers were trying to apply invalid social models. He says that they should have been writing travel fiction and historical novels, which would have allowed them to observe and comment on Canadian reality. Writing of the Canadian social structure as it influenced nineteenth century literature J.P. Matthews in Tradition in Exile says:

21. In K.L. Goodwin (ed.), National Identity (London 1970), pp. 66-75.

In Canada, Jack may be as good as his master, and have the power to show it without fear of reprisal. Because of this, the inferiority feeling which is the initial cause of any violent expression of equality has no continuing motive, and aggressiveness dies away. The result can be, as Canada has shown, a community with very little class consciousness or bitterness, for it is futile to keep on insisting on the obvious. 22

Matthews also suggests that Australian scenery, being different from that of England, was described in expository prose because that form "is confined by less rigid restrictions than is poetry, and prose of this type offers itself as medium especially suitable in the interpretation of a new environment."²³ Canadians, by contrast, wrote about their country in standard British poetic forms.

It is difficult to dispute Watters' theory, which is based on qualitative judgments, and on an "if-only" hypothesis. He points to the success of Haliburton's "Sam Slick" works and of Moodie's Roughing it in the Bush as evidence that fictionalized observation was successful when it was attempted. Similarly in the case of historical novels, he mentions Kirby's The Golden Dog and Mrs. Leprohon's Antoinette de Mirecourt. Probably the best works of this period fell into one or the other of his categories, but whether there is any correlation between this fact and the fact that social structure in the Canadas differed from that of Great Britain cannot be proved. Leprohon and Haliburton were native Canadians with no personal experience of life in England at the time when Antoinette and the first Sam Slick works were written. In order to judge the importance of social dislocation on a writer's work we would have to know how well they would have written, and the subjects and forms they would have chosen, had they remained at home.

22. Page 23.

23. Ibid., 35.

Matthews also writes of an observed phenomenon -- the lack of class consciousness in early Canadian literature -- but the cause that he ascribes to it -- that Jack is as good as his master and has the power to show it -- does not meet the test of historical investigation.²⁴ He is wrong, as we have seen in the previous chapter, in suggesting that Canadians described their country in poetry rather than prose. At least in the pre-1850 period, the contrary was more often the case.

It is not a particularly edifying view of our literary ancestors which emerges from an examination of their attitudes to social status. Although most of them show that they were aware of the fact that many people were in want, there is certainly no attempt to identify the cause. For those at the bottom of the totem pole, they saw charity as the remedy. When it came to their ideas as to who should be on top, it turns out to be someone very like themselves.

II

The native-born, and immigrants of both language groups, were in general agreement about the roles of the sexes in society throughout the period. In this they followed the mainstream of western civilization. Men were active and independent, women were passive and dependent. A few women in other countries had queried this order of existence in their writing and by their actions, but they had been ridiculed and ostracized. Their ideas, which seem today to have been prophetic, fell on the deaf ears of both sexes.

24. Matthews, writing more than twenty years ago, is reflecting the frontier theories of A.R.M. Lower and others. Almost any of Fernand Quellet's books and articles would indicate the existence of different social groups with different status in Lower Canadian society. The work of Michael Cross, Greg Kealey, Michael Katz, and others do the same for Upper Canada. Non-literary writers of early nineteenth century Canada confirm that modern historians are correct in their assessment.

The official ideology was enshrined in laws which gave power and rights to males. The only independent women were wealthy widows who could control their own property. In both Upper and Lower Canada female property owners had been able to vote until the 1830s, when solicitous Assemblies decided that they must be protected from the hurly-burly of the polls. Judge Charles Mondelet's Institut Canadien lecture "Sur la position de la femme en Canada"²⁵ starts from the assumption that adult females are either married or in convents. After duly praising the latter group, he proceeds to a consideration of the role of "...celles à qui il a été donné d'enchaîner si facilement le roi de la nature..." It is a national duty that women should be educated for their roles as mistress of the home and principal influence on the child. While science and languages are acceptable studies "l'essentiel est qu'elles reçoivent l'éducation du cœur..." and that each "...sache faire usage de deux instruments moins attrayants, moins résonnants, moins agréables que le piano, la harpe et le guitare, mais bien plus utiles, je veux dire, l'aiguille et les ciseaux." Music, drawing and horticulture are suitable leisure activities for those who have leisure. Mondelet deplores those mothers (not fathers) who are in haste to see their daughters married at an early age, although he never says what the proper age is.

A poem from about the same period, "Woman's Lot" answers the question "What is her lot?" in each stanza with:

25. Reprinted in L'Avenir, December 31, 1847.

...Unshrinkingly to stand
Beside the sufferer's weary couch of pain;
.....

...To tend the couch of death,
.....

* ...To smile in weary hours,
To brighten heart and home with guileless mirth;
.....

...To clasp with love untold,
A mother's treasure to a mother's breast; 26

Generally, that expresses the male writer's view of adult women. There is little of the seductress half of the usual male "virgin mother"/"carnal temptress" dichotomy. Young girls could be foolish and flirtatious, but there are only three "bad" women in Canadian writing of this period: Holmes' Belinda, Richardson's Matilda, and Gustave's Greek wife in Les Francés de 1812. All are punished. The foolish and flirtatious are more common. When so many writers were comparatively young, it is not surprising to find them complaining frequently of girls who lead the writer on, only to reject him. Charles Durand's Jane Somers rejects a young doctor in favour of a seducer, and winds up dishonoured, abandoned, and dying. In the work of almost every young poet there is at least one poem on the subject, --ranging from desolation at rejection to defiance of the once-beloved.

For every poem of that variety, however, there are a dozen addressed to an idealized female love-object. Willis, Burwell, Sweeny, Hawley, "Sir John" Smyth, and numerous others added to the genre. St. Ceran's beloved in L'influence d'un livre is so shadowy we never actually meet her. However present the young ladies in Altham, or in several of J.W.D. Moodie's stories, may be, they are, in fact, only cardboard

shapes stuck on the stage to be loved by the active heroes. Other than the ability to respond to the hero's love, they really have no character at all. J.H. Willis carries this cardboard love one step further, --a number of stories in Scraps and Sketches end with the heroine pining away for love. In Willis' case, it must be admitted that a few of his heroes do the same thing.

It was customary for male writers to assume that only females were silly enough to read "light literature". At the beginning of 1846 the fiction in La Revue Canadian began to appear under the heading "Journal des dames". A writer in the Kingston News²⁷ reviewed the May 1844 number of the Literary Garland unfavourably, concluding with the comment:

We have no time to speak of the other articles in the Garland. The Garland, as it now stands, is a ladies magazine; and we think quite as good, if not superior to a whole host of its American rivals: but then that is saying for it --nothing! ²⁸

The debut of the Montreal Museum in 1833 was the signal for dozens of gallantly patronizing reviews commending the female editors and their female readers. The advent of the Calliopean, however, called forth this comment from the editor of The Church.

The first number of this periodical has been sent to us, and we suppose that some opinion relative to it is expected from us. It is published at Hamilton and the management of it, we are told, rests with "the Young Ladies connected for the time being with the Burlington Ladies Academy". We believe that this Seminary contains now a large number of pupils; and although we are but very slightly acquainted with the manner in which it is conducted, and we are not personally interested in it still we

27. From internal evidence it seems likely that the writer was John Breakenridge, none of whose own works appeared in the Garland before January 1845.

28. May 16, 1844.

should regret anything which might injuriously affect the education of so many young persons. We hope that the addition of newspaper writing to the ordinary duties of the Female School, will not exert any prejudicial influence of the kind, yet we feel that it is an experiment which we should by no means recommend as being altogether safe, or worthy of imitation. Every one knows that some women have excelled in authorship; but they were remarkable women; and if their position in life was peculiar, we have reason to believe that God - who endowed them with their unusual talents - gave them also a counterbalancing strength and stability of mind. But whether, from their example, we are justified in concluding that our young women should be encouraged - as a general principle of education - to walk in the public and conspicuous paths of literature; this, we think, is a point which admits of reasonable doubt. 29

The God who gave them stability of mind probably made them Anglicans, like the editor of The Church, rather than Methodists, like the students at the Burlington Academy!

Women are generally seen as physically and intellectually weak, unable to cope alone at any level other than domestic routine without male assistance.

Le raisonnement d'une femme qui aime est toujours d'un egoïsme naïf. Elle ne comprend rien dans la vie qui soit absolument indépendant de son amour. Toutes ses facultés tendues vers ce seul objet, tous ses jours, toutes ses heures tournant éternellement dans ce tourbillon qui entraîne le reste, sa logique n'est plus que l'unicité simple d'une pensée sans rivale. "....Si vous m'aimez, vous resterez pour moi." 30

The Widows, Mme. Guérin in Charles Guérin and Mme. La Troupe in La Fille du Brigand are unwise enough to lose their fortunes -- principally because they trusted male relatives, in fact -- but their trusting nature and innocence of business are seen as defects.

29. - November 26, 1847.

30. Trobriand, Le Rebelle, p. 8.

The most admired females in works by male authors are those who are faithful to their beloved. Louise St. Felmar in Les Fiancés is the only one whose faithfulness has an active element to it, since Louise runs away from home disguised as a man and has a number of adventures happen to her before she is finally united to her true love. She does, however, have to faint several times to avoid being married to the wrong man. In the same work, the faithful Indian girl, Ithona, marries her rescuer Adolph, after having turned herself into a French woman for his sake. Good girls like Marguerite Chauvin, Louise Guérin, and de Boucherville's heroines are almost ap-
sentmindedly rewarded with husbands by authors anxious to tie up the loose ends of a novel. John Breakenridge's Zillah, in the three canto poem "Laiza, A Tale of Slavery" twice has to defend her honour, once by killing her oppressor, before she can become Laiza's queen. The heroines of the four long poems in Hawley's The Unknown show similar fidelity under pressure. Garneau's "Louise" is faithful even after death.³¹

In some works written by women, all these ~~same~~ characteristics appear but they are no longer abstractions, they are active virtues. Women are home-centered, motherly, pious, a good influence, hesitant, and sorrowful. Stories are told from a female point of view and men become shadowy characters seen only from outside.

Women writers do not necessarily find all women perfect. Those who deviate from the accepted norms are repudiated by their own sex as much as men. In Mary Ann Madden's story of "Grana Uille", the Irish chieftaness Grace O'Malley who eventually submits to Queen Elizabeth for the sake of her children; the heroine is initially described:

31. Album Littéraire, July 1846.

Grace O'Malley was about as unfeminine a sample of woman-kind (as Monkbarns would say) as one could imagine, or as her father's heart could wish. Her person was rather handsome than otherwise, being tall and well proportioned - having moreover a regular set of features; but it was impossible to feel while beholding her that indescribable sensation excited by beauty - there was a look of boldness about the face and person, which completely destroyed the effect that her beauty would otherwise have produced, though there was sufficient attraction in the singularly haughty air of the whole person. In truth, Grace O'Malley seemed born to command, moreover, a people whose wild and fierce natures required stern rulers. That feminine softness which we are accustomed to consider as one of the strongest characteristics of woman, was utterly unknown to Grace O'Malley.... 32

"A Tale of Western Canada in its Infant Days" by Miss W. of Picton, recounts the comeuppance of a snobbish, flirtatious young lady.³³ Several Literary Garland stories paint the same moral. In Rosanna Mullins' story "Florence"³⁴ the heroine loses a suitor, and almost all chance of a happy (married) life through her inability to restrain her tongue.

It is rare for a woman to write prose which does not have a domestic setting or an interpersonal context. Heroines who are married are always mothers, unless the infants have died. (The number of poems written about the death of children is enormous.) The children themselves rarely appear as characters in fiction intended for adults. They are as shadowy as their fathers. "E.M.M." in the Literary Garland is the most overtly pious of the Canadian prose writers; the "Widow Fleck" and Lydia Ann Appleton the most pious of the poets. Their religion does not appear, however, to be a form of consolation for a specifically ineffectual female life. Mrs. McLachlan's heroines, in fact, are often quite aggressive in their conversion of others.

32. Madden, Tales of the Olden Time, p. 109.

33. Kingston Herald, July 28, 1847.

34. Literary Garland, monthly instalments, February to December, 1849.

Some heroines, such as the one in "The Broken Hearted" by "L" of Upper Canada,³⁵ do pine away after the death of a loved one, but most of the women writers depict heroines who survive, however unhappily. Mesdames Fleck and Sawtell, publishing their poems to earn some income after the deaths of their husbands, show sorrow and resignation and emptiness, but not a desire to follow their spouses to the grave.

Women are not depicted as decision makers. We see little in the work of Canadian women writers of the sturdy farm wife, an equal partner with her husband. Farming wives seem to have accepted decisions made by their husbands without consultation. Even Susanna Moodie knew her place and in "Trifles from the Burthen of a Life" and "The Well in the Wilderness",³⁶ the heroine bows to her husband's decision to emigrate, although she herself does not wish to leave England. Moodie obviously identifies with the female protagonists, and in their heroic acceptance of suffering gets her revenge on the decision maker. Of all the women writers of the period, Moodie is the only one who seems to take pleasure in being long-suffering. Her sister Catharine Traill, in the story "Helen"³⁷ writes also of duty and emigration. She is more typical, however, in that her heroine's moral superiority is recognized, and she is united with her doubting lover without the reader getting the impression that the heroine enjoyed her own suffering.

Where men's roles are described, there is again very little difference between the productions of male and female authors. The difference is in the emphasis and in the interior/exterior view of the character. Dashing young males are the heroines of de Boucherville, Doutre, Guillaume Levesque, Gerin Lajoie, Richardson and Cummins. Slightly more contemplative, but almost equally active, are the heroes of Durand

35. Montreal Museum, April 1833.

36. "Trifles" appeared in seven instalments in the Victoria Magazine. Some changes were made, and it subsequently appeared in five instalments in the Literary Garland in 1851. "The Well in the Wilderness" appeared in the Victoria Magazine, pp. 54-58.

37. Literary Garland, Vol. IV, no. 10 (September 1842), pp. 476-9.

Wells, Chauveau, de Gaspé and L'Ecuyer. It is not that men are perfect: --in all these works of fiction there are other male characters who are as bad as the hero is good. Heroes as well as villains are people who make things happen. Except in Willis' stories we do not find any of the "negative heroes" which R.L. McDougall discusses in "The Dodo and the Cruising Auk"³⁸ with regard to later fiction. Occasionally, when the hero cannot control events, --for example, in Tessier's "Emma", in "The Cousins" by "A Peri-Pathetic Patlander" in the Montreal Museum, and in stories such as "Lionel Hammond" by Willis, the hero cannot survive the loss of his beloved. More often, he mopes, but lives.

Just as women are background figures in male fiction, so are men in much of what is written by women. The Snow Drop portrays boys as boisterous and tells girls to learn to be good listeners, but there are almost no fathers to be found in any of the stories. It is the mothers who supervise children's lives. There is no other periodical with which to compare it, but certainly the ideology of the time was that mothers, not fathers, supervised the development of their children. In the case of The Snow Drop it may be significant that both editors were widows with young children.

In the Literary Garland, where most of the fiction written by Canadian women appears, men are usually active decision makers, but they are also often morally weak, selfish, and lacking in understanding. Sometimes, as in "The Discovery, or the Marriage Prevented" by Mrs. Bayley,³⁹ they are revealed as fortune hunters.

In the case of sex roles, our literary ancestors, regardless of language or place of birth, followed the international mainstream. Dominant and passive roles were assigned and accepted, but the value given to those roles depended on whether the writer was male or female.

38. R.L. McDougall, "The Dodo and the Cruising Auk. Class in Canadian Literature", E. Mandel (ed.), Contexts of Canadian Criticism, (Toronto 1980), pp. 216-231.

39. Montreal Museum, August 1833.

5

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III

There is a curious carryover of sex roles into the literary depiction of North American Indians. Indian males vary from noble to vicious, but Indian females are all "good", and a number of them marry white men. There is a whole separate genre of Canadian literature in this period in which Indian maidens are principal or secondary heroines.⁴⁰ Although someone writing from an Indian point of view might disagree, all these works seem to say more about male attitudes toward the opposite sex than they do about questions of race, particularly when the Indian girls are generally depicted as beautiful and as having the same general passive, loving, faithful-through-thick-and-thin, characteristics as white women. Naturally, they adopt the culture of their husbands. It is, perhaps, early nineteenth century attitudes to sex, rather than sex roles, which determine that in Canadian literature of this time fictional white women, as the captives of Indian men, are always treated with respect and are rescued before any sexual contact has taken place.⁴¹

Europeans had over three centuries of contact with North American Indians before the period of this study. These contacts had been complex and had resulted in a considerable amount of literature, both scientific and theological, being published. In the imaginative literature of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries however, the subject lost its complexity: --there were "good Indians" who lived a life of harmony with nature, and there were "bad Indians" who lived a life of cruelty and violence. The former view

40. I know of at least twelve authors, Adam Kidd, W.B. Wells, John Richardson, the anonymous H.H.B. and H.K.F., Mrs. Cheney, Mrs. Cushing, and Mrs. McLachlan, Joseph Doutre, C.V. Dupont, Charles Levesque, and Georges de Boucherville. The three women concentrate on the Christian virtue of their heroines, who reject white suitors. In works by male authors the heroines are eager to marry their white lovers.

41. Wacousta, who "married" Ellen Holloway and who may have raped Clara de Haldimar before killing her, was, of course, white, not Indian.

dominated European literature,⁴² the latter was a major element in American literature.⁴³ European writers, who were a long way away from contact with any aboriginal peoples found it easy to use them as a symbol, contrasting what was perceived to be their simple way of life with European decadence. Americans had had much closer contact with Indians. As their settlements encroached on Indian territory the two races encountered each other both on a personal basis and as opponents in war. The portrayal of Indians in early American literature goes almost in cycles. The aborigine is a demonic and ferocious enemy when whites are conquering a new territory, and a noble and natural friend when there is no warfare. American writers reflected the nature of their own contacts and the circumstances of their day.⁴⁴

42. The idea of "le bon sauvage" had a long history in French literature, beginning with Montaigne's Essais. Voltaire, Diderot and Bernardin de Saint-Pierre were its principal exponents in the eighteenth century. Chateaubriand's Atala of 1801, whose Indian hero Chactas is the epitome of the type, influenced generations of French readers. The noble savage is most often found in British literature in the writings of humanitarian travellers in the Americas.

43. It is hard to come by examples of this genre today because it has not been considered suitable for modern reproduction. Some examples can be found in Upper Canadian newspapers of the period. See: "The Greased Belt. A Tale of the Florida War", Chatham Gleaner, November 16, 1847; "The First Settlers", Ibid., August 22, 1848; "The Midnight Ride", Kingston Argus, June 12, 1846; or "Old Cross-Fire", Upper Canada Herald, December 21, 1840. When the Canadian newspapers give a source for their borrowings in this genre it is a newspaper or periodical published in the Ohio/Illinois area. Even Cooper, whom we think of today in terms of Natty Bumppo's friendship with Chingachgook and Uncas, shows us Bumppo fighting for his life against the Hurons and the Sioux. In the "Leatherstocking Tales" most of Cooper's villains are Indian. The American poets of this period who sympathized most with the displaced Indians were Whittier and Lydia Sigourney.

44. A. Keiser, The Indian in American Literature, (New York 1933, reprinted New York 1970), p. 294.

Canadian writers line up somewhere in the middle. They are no more subtle in their portrayals than their counterparts in other countries, but, it is not uncommon to find both "good" and "bad" Indians in the same literary work. Major land cessions in Upper Canada in the two decades following the War of 1812⁴⁵ had the effect that fewer and fewer Canadians had any contact with the aborigines. What contact there was had changed as well. When they were encountered it was as individuals, or as a group, located on a reserve, who were in need of Christian charity. In Canadian writing of this period Indians always appear in the distant past when they are active and independent. When they are part of contemporary society they are passive and dependent. In addition, all but one of the works in which they are portrayed as vicious were published after 1840, and in the single early work it is a question of war between tribes, not between Indians and whites. As the concept of Indians as forming separate independent nations with their own territories almost completely outside white society receded further and further from the minds of Canadian residents, they seem to have found it easier and easier to portray them as a threat to civilization. It is also interesting that the native-born, less than forty percent of the writers in this study, account for almost sixty percent of the writing about Indians, and that they are more likely to describe them either positively, or in a mixed manner, than are the immigrant writers.

Although there were really only two ways of writing about aborigines,⁴⁶ there was more than one reason for labelling them "good" or "bad". As a good quality, harmony with nature has already been mentioned. There was also wisdom and nobility of character--which seems to have applied regardless of

45. R.J. Surtees, "Indian Land Cessions in Ontario, 1763-1862: The Evolution of a System", PhD thesis, Carleton University, 1982.

46. I am familiar with the categories described by Leslie Monkman in A Native Heritage, but find my own more useful for this period.

whether or not the subject was a Christian. Good Indians were sometime those who were sad because they had been dispossessed by whites. A further favourable quality was to be the ally of either French or English, as the case may be. The bad quality which was the opposite side of this view was that the Indian had been the enemy of either the French or the English. Other bad qualities were violence and cruelty. In the 1840s we begin to encounter the drunken Indian, who, while still bad, is to be pitied because he is the victim of whites who have given him the alcohol.

The first, and best known, of the "noble savage" interpretations in this period is Adam Kidd's Huron Chief of 1830. Skenadow, his hero, is a wise Huron chief, dispossessed of his lands by whites, and finally killed through white treachery. He is certainly a spiritual descendent of Chateaubriand's Chactas, and perhaps the spiritual ancestor of the modern guru. Tecumseh also appears in the poem as a persuasive speaker and a man of peace, respected by his peers. A lengthy footnote refers to his part in the War of 1812 and to the manner of his death. In all ways Kidd seems to prefer Indian customs and philosophy to those of white Christians. There is another minor theme which recurs throughout The Huron Chief - an overt anti-Americanism, in which Americans are seen as oppressors of the Indians, in contrast to the British who are their protectors. The same idea is present to a much lesser degree in The Canadian Brothers, in Wells "The Kankra", and in a number of "Indian-as-ally" works.

In 1831 a correspondent of Le Canadien, previously chastised by the editor for not writing about Canada, submitted some "poésie sauvage", supposedly a translation of an Iroquois war song. It is actually fairly bloodthirsty in content, but there is a noble and dignified tone to the poem which seems to justify the intent.⁴⁷ One of J.H. Willis' contributions to the Montreal Museum in 1833 was a short speech of farewell by

47. July 30, 1831.

a noble young Indian, addressed to the beloved Indian female prisoner he is releasing. In Georges de Boucherville's "Louise Chawinikisique"⁴⁸ the Indian heroine converts her beloved to Christianity before they both die.

David Chisholme, in the Literary Garland in November 1839, introduces another theme in "The Indian's Farewell to Sir Aléxander Mackenzie". It begins "Fare thee well, my friend and father!" and continues in the same paternalistic vein throughout. Another theme emerged in the late 1830s in John Breckenridge's prize poem "Canada". This is one of pity for a once-proud Indian race deprived of its heritage by the arrival of the whites.

These purely "good Indian" themes continued in literature throughout the 1840s. Perhaps the best known is Garneau's poem "Le dernier Huron" which takes up the theme of dispossession.

Libres comme l'oiseau qui planait sur leurs têtes,
Rien ne pouvait gêner leur [sic] pas.
Leurs jours, étaient remplis et de joie et de fêtes,
De chasse et de combats.

.....
Orgueilleux aujourd'hui qu'ils ont mon héritage,
Ces peuples font rouler leurs chars
Ou jadis s'assemblait, sous le sacré feuillage,
Le Conseil de nos vieillards.
Parmi le bruit leur somptueux cortège
Avec éclat va profaner ces lieux!
Chaque jour on entend le rire sacrilège
Y monter jusqu'au cieux..⁴⁹

Even Punch in Canada, in one of its rare non-satiric moments, joined in with "A voice from the far West", the tenor of which can be deduced from the last stanza.

48. L'Ami du Peuple, September 23 and 26, 1835.

49. Album Littéraire, June 1846.

Oh! Elgin, father! mourn for us, the remnant of a race;
 Permit them not to tear from us our last abiding place;
 Leave us one spot on which to rest, a home and then a
 grave
 'Tis all the Redman asks of you, he knows you cannot
 save! ⁵⁰

A variation on this theme is one which does not so much pity the dispossessed as regret the passing of the "grandeur of savage life."⁵¹ It is more a cultivated nostalgia for a supposedly simpler past in which the few human inhabitants did not attempt to control the natural world than it is a lament for a noble race.

The idea of the Indian as ally was introduced in Chapter IX in placing Tecumseh in the pantheon of 1812 heroes. The chief appears in the works of both Bibauds as an ally in a more general sense, less specifically attached to Upper Canadian battles and more the wise counsellor of British generals.⁵² Writers in French were also particularly inclined to praise theurons as long-time French allies.

Le Jeune Latour depicts the Indian allies of the hero as in agreement with his noble stand against his father, and as supporting him in battle. George Copway's "The Ojibway Conquest" has an Indian lover-hero who could almost be white, except that he is more noble than any white. Maximilien Bibaud's Biographie des Sagamos Illustres is perhaps the most thorough of the "noble" school of works. Every chief is a friend of the whites, who have repaid this friendship by becoming the instruments of Indian decimation.

50. February 3, 1849.

51. Miss H.B. MacDonald, "Bush Scenery", Literary Garland, N.S. Vol. VII, no. 4 (April 1849), p. 183. A similar theme, combined as well with the ideas of dispossession and of the Indian as tutor in the ways of nature, appears in the poem by G.J., "St. Lawrence", Literary Garland, Vol. II, no. 12 (November 1840), pp. 529-533.

52. Michel Bibaud, "Les Grands Chefs", Epitres, Satires, etc. (Montreal 1830). The section devoted to Tecumseh is on pages 120-121. Maximilien Bibaud devotes Chapter VI of the second part of Biographie des Sagamos Illustres (Montreal 1848) to recounting many anecdotes of Tecumseh's life.

The Christian theme is particularly popular with three women writers in the Literary Garland, Mrs. Cheney, Mrs. Cushing, and Mrs. McLachlan. The latter's story has already been discussed in Chapter VII. Mrs. Cheney's "Jacques Cartier and the little Indian girl" appeared in October 1848, and recounts the story of Payawana, the only survivor of the Indians Cartier took to France. Having repulsed the love of Roberval and having become a Christian, she returns to Canada as an Ursuline postulant. In Mrs. Cushing's "A Canadian Legend" of March 1839, the Indian heroine also ends up in a convent. For all three heroines white religion is a consolation for their noble rejection of white suitors. Although Christianity, and thus civilization, was to become an important literary indication of an Indian's worth in later years, in this period there was still too much emphasis on a pre-civilization harmony with nature for the Christian idea to dominate literary attitudes. It is found most often in the negative sense that Indian brutality is ascribed to pagan beliefs.

The one writer of the 1830s who described Indians as definitely not noble was Charles Durand. In "An Indian Legend" he describes a long-ago battle between Hurons and Chippawás. Not one adjective is positive. The Indians are all fierce, cruel and vengeful. Their war dance is "ridiculous" and the losing side is slaughtered without mercy.⁵³ Drunken Indians all exist in present time. In Stephen's Hamilton (1840) Indians are mentioned in passing as drunken "savage tribes" who "Send round from lip to lip the whiskey devil".⁵⁴ The Reverend Joseph Abbott complains of being ill-treated by his Indian guides because he refused to give them whiskey. Liston's Niagara Falls describes Indians as degraded by drink given them by whites;⁵⁵ and "Sir John" Smyth praises the Reverend William Case for converting the Indians who were "Sunk deep into depravity...Before he went to them to preach the gospel".⁵⁶

53. Canadian Casket, no. 11, p. 82-3.

54. Page 73.

55. Pages 15, 16.

56. Select Poems, p. 23.

Bad Indians are found further in the past in H.J. Friel's "The Calumette"⁵⁷ where have been involved by whites in the fur trading wars. Attacking a canoe, they leave four voyageurs "...victims to that insatiable thirst for human blood which always characterised the North American Indian." In Les Piancés de 1812, one of the heroes rescues the maiden Ithona from other Indians who have captured her and are about to kill her. Christianity is also a factor in "Françoise Brunon", where the heroine, a converted Indian girl, is burned to death by her own people when she will not renounce her new faith.⁵⁸

W.B. Wells' two Indian "legends", "Tula" and "De Soulis" come close to portraying all Indians in a bad light. They are essentially of the "white hero and Indian maiden" variety. The heroine is, of course, on the hero's side, and her father and one friend as well, but the young Indian males are jealous and vengeful. They "live happily ever after" only after great trials and treachery, in the course of which the girl remains faithful and our hero triumphs through superior strength, skill and intelligence.

In the long poem "The Kankra"⁵⁹ Wells' sympathies are all with the Indian, whose idyllic life, surrounded by natural beauty, ended when:

The pale-face came! and with him rude
Advanced the trampling multitude,⁶⁰

The Indians retire, gather their forces, and return to burn white settlements. Pursued by the army, they are eventually defeated:

Borne down by strong o'erwhelming force⁶¹

57. Literary Garland, November 1845, p. 520.

58. C.-W. Dupont, in Le Castor, February 6-20, 1844.

59. Canto I appeared in September, Canto II in November 1846, in Barker's Canadian Monthly Magazine.

60. Barker's, p. 377.

61. Ibid., 383.

and the surviving chief is left to wander alone. Dispossession and war had occurred on the Ohio, the chief in his exile lives:

Beside dark Huron's heaving main. 62

W.F. Hawley is another Canadian writer who presents the Indian as both good and bad. In The Unknown (1831) it is the Indian chief Piscaret who initiates H. de Lauzon and "The Unknown" into New World survival, and is instrumental in rescuing the heroine. Piscaret rejects white attempts to "civilize" his tribe with the comment "...the swan can never teach the eagle to forsake his path among the clouds for her own shadowy fountains!"⁶³ On the other hand, it was Indians who kidnapped the heroine in the first place, and much Indian warfare is necessary before she is restored to her family. During the ordeal she was protected by a chief's son, who, it would appear, loved her as a sister.

In the early work Matilda, or the Indians' Captive, (1833) the heroine is only four years old when kidnapped and she is rescued shortly afterward, so it is not really an "Indian captivity" novel. The Indians are not too dreadful. They found the child playing alone on the shore and treated her well. They try many years later to kidnap her deliberately, since they had always intended her as a wife for their son. When confronted by a British authority figure they immediately give information which helps to trace her family. Similar ambivalence appears in many other stories and poems.

John Richardson is another author who writes of good and bad Indians. Those on the British side, like Tecumseh, are good. Those opposing the British, as in the Pontiac's conspiracy setting of Wacousta, are bad. Richardson is the only writer to be that blatant. As it happens, in The Last of the

62. Ibid., 385.

63. Page 225.

Eries, the good Indians are on the French side, and the bad ones, the Iroquois, are on that of the English; however, the Seven Years War context is not really important to the novel. One tribe is in the process of exterminating another. The exterminators are the villains.

Indian warfare is also the setting for "The Chief's Last Prisoner".⁶⁴ The hero and heroine are of warring tribes, Huron and Iroquois, but true love triumphs over adversity. In Charles Levesque's "La fleur des bois",⁶⁵ it is the Hurons and the Iroquois who are at it again. The Huron chief's daughter rescues her father from the Iroquois. In the period there is no imaginative literature in which the Iroquois are portrayed in a positive manner. This would not be surprising in works written in French, but, despite the old alliance of the Iroquois with the English, it is equally true of those written in English. Indians are not always identified by tribe, but when the Iroquois do appear, it is always as a brutal and treacherous race.

Both Chipman Hall⁶⁶ and Leslie Monkman⁶⁷ suggest that most Indian characters in white fiction of this period die, or are dying, at the end of the story. This is certainly not true of the Indian maidens, almost all of whom live happily ever after. The lovers in "Louise Chawinikisique" die, but those in "The Chief's Last Prisoner" live on. Tecumseh, of course, dies. Piscaret lives on, as does Willis' nameless Indian hero. In Wells' stories the Indian villains die, but the good Indians are rewarded with an undescribed future. Those Indians who are seen as symbols of a dying race are described as dying themselves, but the drunken Indians are alive. In this matter there is too much variation to sustain a general statement.

64. H.F.K. in the Bathurst Courier. Seven instalments published between December 11, 1840 and March 19, 1841.

65. La Revue Canadienne, January 20, 1846.

66. "A Survey of the Indians' Role in English Canadian Literature to 1900". M.A. Thesis, Dalhousie University, 1969.

67. A Native Heritage (Toronto 1981), p. 65.

Canadians, writing about Canadian Indians, do not demonstrate any consistent attitude. As a point of comparison, what were their attitudes to the non-whites of other countries? "Out of sight, out of mind", was the general attitude of Canadian writers to blacks, orientals, and "East" Indians. Where the British army was engaged in fighting one of these groups, we find patriotic poetry of the sort that "Sir John" Smyth produced about the Chinese who dared to fight Britain. In April and May 1846, two separate poems, both titled "Mood-kee and Ferozeshah"⁶⁸ celebrated the British victory over the Sikhs in India. The rival poems may have touched off a literary feud,⁶⁹ but they are united in their anti-Sikh, pro-British sentiment. John Williamson's memoirs, Narrative of a Commuted Pensioner, published in Montreal in 1838, have a decided anti-Indian tone, although the memoirist does prefer Moslems to Hindus, as the better of the bad lot.

It is almost impossible to find a Canadian writer at any level who approved of slavery. Generally, anti-slavery and anti-American sentiments go together, as they did in Gavin Russell's poem "American Freedom".⁷⁰ There are some ambivalent works. John Breakenridge's "Laiza, A Tale of Slavery", in which a noble hero and heroine finally become free and rulers of a black society, is set in never-never land. The principal villain is Hoti, a black king and slave trader. Even in the American section of de Boucherville's Une de perdue, in which Réginald Hamel⁷¹ takes the author's anti-slavery sentiments as a veiled comment on French-English relations in Canada, the slave Trim is completely devoted to his master, the French-Canadian hero, and behaves as the very archetype of an "Uncle Tom". In The Canadian Brothers, the Granthams have

68. Literary Garland, N.S. Vol. IV, no. 5 (May 1846), p. 240; and Barker's Magazine, No. 1, p. 56.

69. The Literary Garland one, copied from the Kingston News, is by John Breakenridge. The Barker's poem is by "Fuz". The Haskins-Breakenridge-Barker feud, of which the rival poems may have been a cause, or a product, has been mentioned in Chapter IV.

70. Bathurst Courier, November 9, 1847.

71. In his introduction to the Hurtubise-HMH 1973 edition of the novel.

a devoted negro servant--not a slave-- who is another archetypal devoted old family retainer. There are some blacks in the Kentucky scenes, but they are shadowy figures. Matilda, the female protagonist, has, however, been dishonoured and her engagement broken when she was falsely accused of a liaison with a black. Odile Cherrier's story "Une scène à Saint-Domingue"⁷² depicts the death of a white planter and his family during a slave revolt; Mrs. Bayley's story "The Young Soldier" in the Montreal Museum,⁷³ shows a young man reassured about West Indian slavery by the discovery that slaves are well treated; and J.W.D. Moodie published a poem "My Dina she's a lubley gall",⁷⁴ which by modern standards, is both racist and sexist. Of black Canadians, whose existence is confirmed on the news pages, there is no hint. The Canada described by writers comprises French and English and Indians only.

What kind of place was Canada as it was described in the imaginative writing of its residents? What kind of people lived here? Painting with the broadest of brushes, they depict a middle class world in which there is no aristocracy, and where the lower orders function as servants or as objects of Christian charity. Status is conferred by personal, not material, worth. Some objected to unmerited privilege, but definitions of what constituted merit varied from person to person. The generally accepted role of the male to be active and decisive, and the female to be passive and dependent, was confirmed by all, although the value assigned to those roles varied according to whether the writer was male or female. Amerindians appear frequently in the works of native-born writers, but they rarely exist as contemporaries of those individuals, being relegated to the mythic past. When they do appear in present time, it is in a negative context. Except in the case of the Amerindians, who are described in increasingly negative terms after 1840, there is no significant change in attitudes to social status revealed in the literature published between 1830 and 1850.

72. Le Populaire, January 17, 1838.

73. March 1833.

74. Victoria Magazine, p. 261.

CHAPTER XII

CONCLUSION

The foregoing chapters have indicated a few of the ways in which literature and society were interrelated in the complex world of early nineteenth century Canada. This interrelation occurred at two levels. First, at the level of ideas, in the connection between social expectations of literature and the ideas and attitudes expressed in the literary works themselves; second, at the level of daily life, in the integration of the individual writer into that Canadian society in which he or she exercised the creative impulse.

The relative importance of the two levels, as well as the complexity and degree of their interaction, varied from one area of analysis to another. The literary wisdom of the day decreed that literature should have both social and national utility; thus social conventions both determined the content of the literature and the manner in which authors lived their daily lives. Economics had a considerable effect on the conditions of publishing, but was much less important where the actual writing was concerned. Political affiliations often determined content and were important factors in the non-literary personal lives of many writers. Regional variations had little effect on expressed ideas, but were important in determining the source from which outside influences were received. Both publishing and reviewing were essentially regional, decentralized, activities. Expressed attitudes toward Canada were strongly influenced by a writer's country of birth and mother tongue. Thus a Canadian sitting down to write, brought to bear on the blank page a compendium of all the qualities of birth, language, politics, religion, previous reading, and social conventions particular to his or her experience. The

choice of means of publishing for the resulting work would be decided according to political, economic and regional factors. Public reception of the work, at least in print, would be determined, again by regional factors, as well as by social perceptions of its national and social utility.

The ties between literature and society at both levels are strongest and most noticeable in the moral sphere. It was expected that literature would present in an attractive form those virtues which were prized by a strongly Christian hierarchical state, and this Canadian literature did. There is no evidence that any censorship, overt or covert, clerical or regular, was necessary in order to achieve such a goal. Regardless of their background, or the religious denomination to which they belonged, the writers of the time did not question the moral norm. Even the few who displayed some youthful impatience with the stuffiness and hypocrisy of their elders expressed their criticisms within the framework of generally accepted moral standards, seeing themselves as more virtuous than the preceding generation. In addition, the private lives of Canadian authors, a few eccentrics aside, would have been considered by their contemporaries to be as "respectable" as were their attitudes. Generally, they were sober, hard-working, family-oriented, church-going men and women who believed that the imagination must be kept under control, and who saw it as their duty to produce literature in which sound moral instruction, not light-hearted amusement, was the first priority.

Refinement of an intellectual as well as a moral nature was considered by residents of the Canadas to be of great social value, both to individuals and to nations. To appear to be less civilized and refined than other countries and their inhabitants would be to admit inferiority. Thus, des-

pite the difficulties presented by the scarcity of cash with which to purchase books, periodicals, and other trappings of refinement, and the difficulties of long distances and poor transportation, those who read strove to keep abreast of the latest European intellectual developments. Literary societies were formed in villages, as well as in the largest cities, and newspapers in all communities published extracts from the most prestigious European quarterlies. Canadian writers, conscious of this need for a refinement which would prove the Canadas to be the equal of other countries, followed European literary forms and attempted to show that good literature could be produced within these forms in the Canadas as well as in Europe.

Similarly, economic conditions in the colony also had considerable influence on the publishing industry, on the content of literature, and on the lives of those who wrote it. Cycles of prosperity and depression influenced the pace of publishing in English, with more publications appearing in prosperous times and fewer in periods of economic depression. In affluent years more literature written in Canada, rather than borrowed from sources outside the country, appeared in these publications. Economic cycles appear to have had less influence on writing and publishing in French. The first book of poetry by a French Canadian, Michel Bibaud's Epîtres, Satires, etc., was published in 1830 at a time of relative prosperity, but the first novel, L'influence d'un livre, appeared in 1837 in the depths of a depression, and periodicals in French began to reappear in 1840, well before the recession ended. In English, the long-running Literary Garland commenced publication during the depressed conditions of late 1838, but it was six years before another periodical in that language joined it.

The spirit of entrepreneurship which activated much of the economic life in this pre-industrial, pre-railroad, era, also extended to the publishing field. Proprietors launched periodicals in hope of a profit. When they lost money instead, the publication was quickly terminated, to the accompaniment of sorrowful comments about the uncultured and unappreciative Canadians who had not become subscribers. Writers, too, were entrepreneurs. The economic conditions of writing were in a developmental stage in the Canadas. There had never been any wealthy, eighteenth century European-style patrons, and the market was too small for American mass circulation techniques. Authors either paid for publication out of their own pockets, attempting to sell the book after it was actually in print, or sought subscribers from among those who knew them personally, who were familiar with previously published works, or who could be persuaded that it was a social or moral duty, to pay in advance for an unknown work. While the authors may have hoped to make a bit of extra money from publication of a book, or acceptance of a work by the Literary Garland, the only periodical of the time known to have paid any contributor, literature remained an avocation for its practitioners, all of whom made their living in some other manner.

The difficulties of literary publishing were more to economic reality than to lack of reader interest. Cash was scarce, so for readers the cost of publications was a major factor in determining what they purchased. The lower cost of books and periodicals imported from the United States meant that even standard British reference works were read in American editions. Despite the best efforts of Canadian agents, British periodicals reprinted in the U.S. continued to be cheaper in Canada than the imported English original. The

savings which could be realized by purchasing American, rather than British imports was so important to the colonists that the Legislative Assembly acted on several occasions to support what they perceived to be their constituents' interests in having literature available at the lowest possible price, although these interests were in conflict with those of the publishers of the mother country, as supported by Whitenall. In the period from 1830 to 1850 the cost to consumers of books, periodicals and newspapers published in Canada appears to have declined although it was still high by American standards.

In the realm of ideas, economic theory had little influence on literature. There were no utopian novels, or long poems describing an ideal economic Canada in which everyone lived on the fruits of their labours. The economic attitudes expressed in literature, while vague where theory was concerned, were nonetheless pervasive and specifically related to Canadian life. All Canadians shared an expectation of their own personal prosperity which would accompany the growth and development of the country in which they lived. These hopes for the future form the basis of a recurring theme in our early writing. This is particularly true of those works produced by immigrants, who wrote of Canada as a land of opportunity where the deserving could make, or repair, their fortunes.

Politics also played an important part in the literary world: on a day-to-day basis often determining the relations between author, publisher and reviewer; and, at the level of ideas, frequently providing a motivation for writing. There is no evidence, however, that any particular type of politics was associated with any particular nation. Although radicalism was perceived by some to be an American trait, in fact

the editors of radical newspapers were just as inclined to borrow their literature from British or French sources as were their high Tory counterparts. The rebellions of 1837 and 1838 illustrate some aspects of the interrelation of literature with the political world. Moved by the underlying ideas, and by the perception that the future direction of Canada was at stake, some French-Canadian and immigrant English authors wrote of the conflicting philosophies involved, and their works were published and praised by those who agreed with them. The shock which the actual rebellions produced in society was, however, considerably softened in its literary manifestation. After the event, French Canadians wrote vaguely of patriotism and more specifically of "les exilés politiques". In English, the losers were silent, as were the native-born, but the new settlers loudly proclaimed their loyalty to England.

In their non-literary daily lives some authors, none of whom alluded even indirectly to the rebellions in works they produced before 1850, were so involved in the events of the time that they found it prudent to spend a while in the United States. The two Levesques, Papineau, de Boucherville, and W.B. Wells all sought temporary refuge across the border. Charles Durand, who does not seem to have been a direct participant, but whose sympathies were certainly with MacKenzie, was found guilty of treason and exiled.

Except in the instance of Le Rebelle, there was no overt censorship of literature because of political ideas. Since authors paid for their own publications and could always find a sympathetic printer, it would have been difficult to prevent a work from being published. Generally, there was no need for censorship since writers were sufficiently well integrated in-

to society that self-censorship, conscious or unconscious, determined the content of creative works.

Another aspect of the social structure of the Canadas which, in a variety of ways, had a noticeable effect on literature was regionalism. Ideas about Canada do not seem to have had any particular regional basis, but analysis of the content of Canadian newspapers and the surviving reviews of Canadian books leads one to the conclusion that regional differences were important factors in determining the reading material of the ordinary literate Canadian, and thus in influencing the ideas about literature held by those Canadians whose avocation was creative writing, and also influencing the expectations their fellow citizens had of Canadian literature. Proximity to the American border, distance from the mouth of the St. Lawrence, intercity rivalries, urban/rural locations, all appear to have been influential, and confirm in a literary context the work of historians who have written about regional distinctions in the political and economic life of this period.

The literary content of Canadian newspapers and periodicals was overwhelmingly European, rather than North American, in its origins. The British influence was strongest in the three largest cities, Toronto, Montreal and Quebec; American influence was strongest in border areas where there was daily contact, such as the Eastern Townships, Brockville, Kingston, and Niagara, although this does not hold true for Western Ontario. Most of the literature in the French language newspapers and periodicals was borrowed from France, but the percentage of Canadian works does seem to have been higher in Montreal publications than in those based in Quebec City. With the exception of the Quebec Gazette, the sixteen English newspapers which published Canadian poetry as twenty-five percent

or more of their overall total were all located in Upper Canada. There is no evident pattern to their distribution other than population concentration, since four were located in Toronto, three in Kingston, two in Hamilton, one each in the established communities of Brockville, Cobourg and Sandwich, and the remaining three in the rapidly growing centres of Bytown, Perth and Guelph. The Canadian content published in these newspapers came almost entirely from works submitted by their own, frequently anonymous, regional subscribers, rather than from works borrowed from some central source.

Although Quebec, Montreal, and Toronto had the lion's share, publishing was not concentrated in the major cities to the extent that it is today. The Canadian books and periodicals, published in Canada, which appear in this bibliography were printed in sixteen different centres, stretching from New Carlisle N.C. to Port Jarnia N.C. They were usually submitted for review only to newspapers and periodicals in the same general area, which indicates that the author or publisher expected sales to be centered there, and that writers saw themselves as part of the region where they lived, with particular claims to the attention of their neighbours. As a result, Canadian literary reviews take on a regional cast.

The regional nature of publishing and distribution made it difficult to establish any sense of a literary tradition. This was particularly true in English, where each successive wave of newcomers, having no knowledge of what had gone before, were convinced that they were the first in the field. In addition because writers were amateurs whose principal income-earning activity lay elsewhere, they were less likely to be concerned about transmitting a literary tradition - even one which included their own works. In literary criticism there was no central, continuing voice to tell one generation

about the works of those who had preceded them. Regional isolation also made it difficult to develop any sense of a cohesive contemporary literary movement. Even among the native-born, it would have been unlikely, for example, for John Breakenridge, as a bright young man publishing poetry in Toronto newspapers, to have heard of the work of Abraham Holmes, another bright young man publishing poetry in Chatham newspapers, two hundred miles away.

The French-Canadian community was more closely knit, and despite the inter-city Montreal/Quebec rivalry, writers in this period were at least partially aware of who had published what in previous years. James Huston did not include everything previously printed in newspapers and periodicals in Le Répertoire National, but his complaints were about the difficulty of finding space for important works, not about the difficulty of finding them.

For both French and English, the major literary community came from outside the colony. Although they kept their imaginations at home, producing a content which was often distinctly Canadian, writers nonetheless accepted European models of form and tone, and followed European literary fashions. In the 1830-50 period many Canadian authors and editorialists wrote of the necessity of producing an indigenous literature, the existence of which would establish a literary tradition for the edification of generations to come and would prove to outsiders that the Canadas were the equal of other nations. To them, a native literature was simply one which did as well, or better, the things which were being done elsewhere, not one which established its own rules and standards, independent of outside judgements. Intense debate in the United States on what constituted a native literature, and the publication in the late 1840s of what is now considered to be the first

"American" literature, had little effect on either the French, who generally admired Americans, or the English, who were more ambivalent.

Social profiles of the writers who were expected by their peers to produce this national literature show that, with a few exceptions, they came from that portion of the Canadian population which was educated, urban and middle class.

French-Canadian authors are the least diverse group, -tending to be young male Roman Catholics with at least some secondary education, who studied law and supported reform politics.

With three exceptions, they were born between 1813 and 1825, and although they were not all exactly in the first generation to graduate from the new classical colleges, they certainly had all benefitted from the increase in opportunities for higher education. Some critics have suggested that little literature was produced in French Canada in the 1830s because potential writers in that decade were devoting all their energies to politics, and it was only after the revolution had failed that the group turned to literature. However, only the Levesque brothers, out of twenty-one male authors, fit the pattern of participation in the rebellions, followed by writing in the 1840s. Most had been too young or too prudent for active involvement but their literary imaginations had certainly been fired by the ideas and ideals of the time.

The three immigrant French writers were all older, and all worked as newspaper editors. One of them was Protestant. In politics, two were devoted to reform causes in the European liberal tradition, the other was a moderate conservative.

On the average the native-born English are not quite as young, although two-thirds were born after 1809, and they are considerably more diverse according to religion, occupation, and political affiliation than their French-speaking compa-

triotists. Three-fifths were adherents of mainstream religious denominations - the Churches of England, Scotland and Rome. The religion of half the remainder is unknown. Newspaper editing and the law were their principal occupations, with the clergy and the civil service coming next. In politics they are almost exactly divided between Tory, reform and unknown. Both the females were convent-educated daughters of prosperous Roman Catholic merchants. In contrast to the French-Canadians, only three of the thirteen native-born English males appear to have had any formal secondary education. The remainder were either privately tutored or self-taught.

The immigrant English are the most diverse group of all. If, among the native Canadians, writing was a leisure occupation principally for young gentlemen just establishing themselves in the world, the immigrant English, like the immigrant French, differ in being older when they began to publish their literary productions. The forty-one males are scattered among a dozen occupations including farmer, land agent, and theater manager, with only about a third being professionals, and an additional fifth in the necessarily literate, but unskilled, occupations of editor and teacher. The political affiliation of many is unknown, the largest single group of those known being Tory. In religion, the Church of England is their known denominational preference over all other religions in a ratio of about eight to five.

Women are underrepresented among the writers, particularly among the native-born, and more especially among those who wrote in French. According to population statistics and literacy estimates one would predict at least an equal number of women and men, rather than the actual seventeen percent overall, and eight percent among the native-born. This perhaps reflects both the different type of education given to women,

and the different expectations of their achievement.

The content of works produced by these writers, particularly as it relates to concepts of Canada and of Canadians, reflects the urban, middle-class world in which they lived. All Canadian authors wrote first and foremost about the elementary concerns of birth and death, and love and loss, which unite all humanity, regardless of nationality. With a few exceptions, their attitudes to these age-old experiences were those of a stable, conservative society. They did not dispute God's will; and they did not suggest that a redistribution of wealth or changes in working conditions would make them happier or healthier. Similarly, they accepted without question the existing international stereotypes of sex roles: depicting males as active and independent, and females as limited and dependent. Women writers found virtue in these "womanly" qualities, men gave highest value to the masculine ones.

They also all agreed that the Canadian landscape was beautiful to look upon. The theory that early nineteenth-century Canadians were in some way frightened by their natural surroundings, whether because they were backward-looking monarchists, or because their surroundings were overpowering, does not stand up under examination in the light of the literature of the time. All agreed on the necessity of describing the Canadian environment. A few, for varying reasons, occasionally portrayed nature as hostile to human civilization, but most responded with pleasure to the natural world. This is particularly true of the native-born. Eighteenth century ideas of beauty in which feelings of awe, an interest in vast panoramas, notions of the sublime, and romantic solitude were present, all played a part in descriptions of Canadian nature. Like their American neighbours they found pleasure in lakes, rivers, and streams, and delight in winter. The latter day

romanticism which transformed awe at sublime beauty into awe at a cold, uncaring natural world had not taken hold in Canada before 1850.

When we go beyond these points of agreement and move to those aspects of Canadian life towards which literary attitudes diverge, we find that differences develop along the lines of language and nationality. In most cases, as one would expect, the attitudes of the immigrant English and of the French Canadians are at opposite ends of the spectrum. The native-born English, linked to one group by a common language and to the other by a common country of birth sometimes resembled the one, sometimes the other, and sometimes showed attitudes unique to themselves. Whether the native English were born in Upper or Lower Canada does not seem to have been a significant factor in determining which of the other two their attitudes paralleled. Most of them were children of pre-1812 immigrants. It may be that they reflect the attitudes of a different immigrant group, rather than a distinct native-born group, but whatever the reason, their attitudes to Canada differed in most respects from those of later English immigrants and more closely resembled those of the group with whom they shared a common native land, if not a language.

In their attitudes to the country of their birth, both English and French Canadians displayed little colonial defensiveness, in part, perhaps, because they do not seem to have regarded colonial status as implying inferiority, in part because Canada was the only country of which they had first-hand experience. It was the centre of their world, and they showed no inclination to apologize to outsiders for the fact. With the exception of the three native-born women writers, their literary imaginations, like their loyalties, were focused on the Canadas, not on any linguistic mother country.

For French-Canadian writers Canada was more a nation of the spirit than a specific place to be described in careful detail. They were aware of nature, and took pleasure in what they saw, but their nature poetry was conventional and romantic, full of classical allusions. Their descriptions of Canada's people and of contemporary Canadian politics were, by contrast, shrewdly observant. The past they wrote of was the past of living memory, not the remote past of New France. For them, history was not an abstract concept, but a utilitarian tradition in which "Chateauguay" and "les exilés politiques" were slogans with implications understood by all. As part of a spiritual nation they showed a strong sense of collective identity, defining themselves as Canadiens in opposition to their English conquerors.

The native-born English saw themselves only as Canadians, but they were not always sure what that meant. Their use of history seems almost random. They searched in their past and found heroes and triumphant slogans in the war of 1812, although not among the loyalists, and they borrowed the romantic antiquity of New France from their compatriots. Contentious contemporary issues were avoided. They were not aggressively British, and they were not aggressively North American. Neither were they anti-British, nor anti-American. Having developed no self-defining myths, and having little in the way of shared national experiences, it is not surprising that others ultimately began to tell them who they were. Although they had difficulty in defining themselves as a people, they had no such problems in defining their native land. It is a specific place with definite borders, a united Canada spread along the St. Lawrence and Great Lakes system. Their deep love of country is evident in the many sensitive, specific, descriptions of their surroundings they have left for us.

Although not all immigrants felt positively about the world they had left behind, for most of them their normal human nostalgia was spatial rather than temporal in content. They retained their original cultural ties and their feelings of patriotism toward their mother countries, not the one in which they lived. They defined themselves as English, Irish, or Scots, not as Canadians. Canada was not the frontier or something new, it was the backwoods fringe of the European world in which their imaginations were centered. Nonetheless, only a few looked negatively on Canada and their life here. Their literary response to their new homeland generally took the form of either a detailed description of certain places or activities, or of stories in which the happy ending was projected into time to come. They show little interest in a Canadian past in which they had not participated, but they wrote with intensity of current politics and of philosophical options for the future, and they were loud in their literary expression of loyalty to Britain in the rebellion period, a time when at least some of the native-born were perceived to be disloyal.

When they wrote about social relationships in the Canadas, immigrant English authors show us a complex but essentially hierarchical world not unlike the one which they had left. The aristocracy did not, however, reside in Canada. Hereditary wealth and status are found only in imaginative literature set in the United Kingdom. Personal merit, defined according to the personal strengths of the writer, was what conferred status in the literature they set in Canada. The honest, hard-working, upwardly-mobile individual who worked with his hands was praised, but was not as highly regarded as the refined, educated, urban hero, whose actual occupation was rarely mentioned.

The native-born English deal with the subject of status by ignoring it. The Canadian society they depict is one in which questions of wealth and status are absent from human relationships. French-Canadian writers are more conscious of economic disparity than their English-Canadian compatriots, but they too look at Canadian society principally through the eyes of model young male professionals. Where unmerited privilege is seen it is in the status claimed by English usurpers, or in the tyrannical authority of parents and guardians.

The original inhabitants of the Canadas, the aborigines, appear frequently in Canadian literature of this time, particularly in works by the native-born. Generally they are placed by these authors in the context of times past and are portrayed as real people who were allies and enemies, teachers and murderers, Christians and pagans, romantic heroines, heroes and villains. When they appear in the context of present time it is as shadowy symbolic figures lamenting a lost homeland. In the 1840s, as contacts between whites and Indians decreased and the Indians became a client people, they are used less often as literary subjects and are portrayed somewhat more negatively than in the previous decade. The immigrant English did not write as much about the aborigines as did the native-born, and, not having much interest in Canada's past, what they wrote was more often in a context of present time. Here the Indians are seen as drunken savages who must be civilized by Christian charity, or as a sad and homeless people. They are rarely portrayed as individuals.

As it is revealed in its literature, the 1830-1850 period is intellectually very much of a piece. The events of these two decades produced only subtle shifts in attitudes and, as the population increased, quantitative changes in emphasis. The following decades were to produce much greater changes in

Canadian society, which, in turn, were to affect the literature produced by its inhabitants. Economic changes, --the development of railroads and mining, and increasing local manufacturing, which were coupled with a diminished dependence on Britain, --changed Canadians' views of their place in the world. The gradual development of "pan-Canadian" ideas in the years leading up to Confederation was to alter the way in which writers regarded the country itself. The effects of changes in the primary education system, of the opening of English-language universities, and of the arrival of a number of teaching orders from France, meant a more literate population was emerging, but also one whose imaginations had been trained in standard European literary attitudes. The eclectic imagery of the self-taught, which had considerable prominence in this early period gave way to the smoother, more cohesive, but also duller and less original, imagistic systems which dominated the next several decades. Tennyson's phrase "nature red in tooth and claw", first published in 1850, was also to have its effect on the way writers looked at the Canadian landscape.

Literary specialists have looked more often at the literature of this later period than they have at works written in the first half of the nineteenth century. On the occasions when they have investigated the products of the 1830-50 period they have tended to focus on the transplanted European influences, rather than on the Canadian relevance of the literature. Ignoring the historical context, they have compared Canadian writers to Dickens, Balzac, Tennyson and Lamartine and judged early nineteenth century Canadian literature to be a failure. The theories they have developed to explain this perceived failure tell us more about twentieth century percep-

tions of Canadian nationality than they do about an earlier time.

Historians, in their few cautious forays into the field, have generally been more accurate than literary critics, since literature was indeed part of the social and economic development of the time. However, the chronology of political and economic change to which they have given most of their attention is by no means closely reflected in the literature of this period and does little to explain it. The outcome of the rebellions, and the events which led to them, had some influence on the subject matter of contemporary Canadian literature, and seems to have unleashed a flood of writing in French, but it does not appear to have been the central literary experience of the day. Between 1830 and 1850, despite concomitant political and economic change, there is no qualitative change in what was written and no essential change in the ideas expressed. Demographic changes over the twenty year period did affect the quantity of literature published in English. The English-speaking population of the Canadas doubled in this period. Literary production in English also doubled. The same phenomenon did not, however, occur in French-Canadian literature. The French-Canadian population, lacking the stimulus of immigration, grew much more slowly, but its literary production in the 1840s was triple that of the 1830s.

The ideas and attitudes which we find in creative literature diverge in certain ways from those manifested in a political context in the 1830-50 period. The political preoccupation with education--what should be taught, by whom, and at whose cost--is translated in literature into a vague approval of knowledge as having a high social value. "Progress" becomes a general good, which has no relation to a specific eco-

economic strategy, although technological developments, once in place, are applauded. Writers tended to be urban, thus little is said in their works about the concerns of their fellow voters who lived on farms, or about the economic role of agriculture in Canadian society. Questions of political philosophy and of loyalty, which played such an important role in the political world, were almost entirely avoided by native-born writers in English, although some, separating their personal lives from their literary lives, produced eloquent prose on the subject, and engaged in direct political action. The war of 1812 was referred to much more often in political rhetoric than in literature.

These exceptions aside, the imaginative literature of the time generally confirms the accepted historical interpretations of this period. The pervasiveness of political and economic determinants in the Canadas is borne out even in the literary world. Regionalism and linguistic cultural influences are powerful factors, yet the literature of Upper and Lower Canada can reasonably be examined as a single entity, in the same way that region and race can be integrated into other historical patterns which look at the Canadas in this era as a unitary whole. It has long been known that "Victorian" moral attitudes were dominant in society well before Victoria ascended the throne. The effects of these attitudes are noticeable in Canadian literature from the beginning of the 1830s, and, indeed, throughout the previous decade. Differences between French and English ideas about the Canadas as they appear in creative works--the one group seeing itself as a spiritual nation and a cohesive collectivity, the other seeing itself as a collection of individuals inhabiting a specific geographical entity--have been remarked in other areas of historical research. The sincere concern for the Canadas and their future,

above and beyond the individual desire for personal prosperity, which has been demonstrated in the analysis of other printed sources ranging from travel literature to legislative debates, is evident in the imaginative writing of the time. The difference in attitudes displayed by immigrants and native-born English, and the similarities in attitudes of the Canadian-born of both language groups, suggest a possibly fruitful basis for the historical examination of other phenomena of the period.

While certainly not forming any sort of representative cross-section of Canadian society, writers were not outsiders to it. They did not typically criticize its values or relationships, and very few of them pictured it as hostile or foreign to themselves. The accepted literary modes and the sense of a literary tradition were imported, but this importation was not viewed as inimical to the development of a native Canadian literature which, over a broad range of social and aesthetic values, was in harmony with its Canadian environment.

Although they may have disagreed about the nature of the nation, all groups agreed, however, about the necessity of developing a national Canadian literature. Writers, integrated into their society, both at the level of ideas and at the level of daily life, did their best to produce a literature which reflected the world in which they lived. I have argued throughout this thesis that their efforts were successful; that they met the standards and objectives of their society, and that they left for posterity a literature which presents a valid picture of the world in which it was written.

APPENDIX ABOOKS AND PERIODICALS PUBLISHED IN UPPER AND LOWER CANADA
1830-1850 WHICH HAVE NOT BEEN LOCATEDBooks

The Aspect of the Times, "John Oliver". Mentioned in Colonial Advocate, August 25, 1831. Volume of poems. Author a Canadian.

Canadian Temperance Rhymes. Mentioned Christian Guardian, January 5, 1842. 27 pages.

Consummation. A Poem, "S.O.H.", Montreal. Mentioned Montreal Transcript, August 2, 1842; The Church, August 5, 1842.

Cubbeer Burr, or, a tree of many trunks. Mentioned Montreal Transcript, December 2, 1841. Pamphlet form, probably poetry.

La cuisinière canadienne. Mentioned Journal de Québec, March 11, 1843.

The Desert Lady, Robert Pitt Brown. Mentioned Western Mercury (Hamilton), May 15, 1834, Poetry. Supposedly, previously published in Scotland, but not in BM, or LC, and not in Scottish National Library.

The Evils of Ireland, J.B. Alton. Mentioned Ottawa Advocate, January 21, 1845. Description does not actually say it was published here, although the author was evidently a resident of Ottawa.

Intemperance and other Trifles, A.J. Williamson. Seen and reviewed, Cobourg Reformer, September 29, 1835.

The Miser Outwitted, John Richardson. Mentioned Chatham Journal, October 23, 1841; Bathurst Courier (Perth), November 2, 1841. The latter source describes the work as a one-act farce.

Scraps from my Journal, or, Scenes in a Soldier's Life, J. Henry Wilton. Montreal. Mentioned in British Whig (Kingston), March 29, 1848; Montreal Gazette, February 14, 1848. Military memoirs, 390 pages.

Trifling Effusions of a British Tar, "Sam Spritsail". Kingston. Mentioned Upper Canada Herald, January 15, 1839. Poetry about the Prescott invasion of 1838.

Wild Notes from the Backwoods, R.A. Page. Reconstructed by E. Guillet. Typescript in Ontario Archives.

Periodicals

Album Lyrique, N. Aubin, ed. Mentioned Aurore des Canadas, February 4, 1840; Le Canadien, February 25, 1840. Also mentioned as Album Artistique et Lyrique in Le Canadien, March 18, 1840.

The Alembic of Truth, Robert Jeffers. Kingston. Mentioned Brockville Gazette, July 19, 1832; Canadian Watchman, July 12, 1832. Published on an imperial-size sheet, so may have the appearance of a newspaper, although the prospectus is obviously for a religious/literary work.

The Amaranth, Charles J. Gorbell, ed. Mentioned Quebec Gazette, June 7, 1843; Christian Mirror, April 20, 1843; Morning Courier, April 19 and May 23, 1843. Published at Montreal. Four numbers appeared.

The Delta Club. Published at Montreal. Mentioned Quebec Gazette, March 18, 1842.

The Gazeteer. Published at Montreal in English. According to La Minerve, May 9, 1844, it was "dédiée aux beaux arts, à littérature et à la médecine."

The Guardian, W. Jenkins, ed. Mentioned Le Canadien, October 8, 1845. A weekly devoted to the instruction of youth.

The Literary Visitor, A.N. Murch, ed. Mentioned Calliopean, February 9, 1848; Bathurst Courier, December 3, 1847. Published at Cornwall. 16 pages. Monthly.

The Little Post, J. Laurin ed. and prop. Published at Montreal. Mentioned L'Abeille Canadienne, August 8, 1843; Le Canadien, August 7, 1843.

People's Magazine and Workingman's Guardian, R.M. Moore, ed. Published at Quebec. Mentioned Le Canadien, March 18, 1842; Le Fantásque, April 7, 1842. This is obviously not the same as the publication of the same title which appeared in Montreal in 1846-47.

Punchinello. Mentioned L'Aurore, April 10, 1845; Le Fantásque, April 18, 1845; British Whig, May 27, and June 13, 1845. The latter mentions a "Punch in Montreal" and "Punch in Toronto". This cannot be the same publication as the Punch in Canada of 1849-50.

Sinclair's Journal of British North America. Published at Quebec. Mentioned Montreal Gazette, March 9, 1849. "A literary paper."

The Voice of Elijah. Mentioned Morning Courier (Montreal),
June 12, 1843. Published at Montreal in support of the
"Millerites".

Wilson's Canada Casket, Jos. Wilson, prop. Mentioned
Provincialist, August 15, 1848. Cheap publication
issued at Belleville.

Wilson's Experiment, Jos. Wilson, prop. Published at
Belleville. Mentioned Kingston Herald, September 22,
1847. This does not seem to have been the same
periodical as the Victoria Magazine, which Wilson also
owned and which was published from September 1847 to
August 1848.

APPENDIX BChronological list of books, pamphlets and broadsides mentioned in the text.1830

Dr. B*L*W*N's Soliloquy
 Epitres, Satires, etc. - Bibaud
 Frascati's - Richardson
 The Fugitives - Lane
 The Huron Chief - Kidd
 Kensington Gardens - Richardson

1831

The Unknown, or Lays of the Forest - Hawley
 Scraps and Sketches - Willis

1832

The Carleton Election
 Wacousta - Richardson

1833

Matilda - Russell
 Story of a Refugee - Powell

1834

A new almanack for the Canadian True Blues - Mackenzie
 The spring of life - Ward

1835

The New Road to Ruin
 Poems on Various Subjects - Fleck
 Remnants - Sweeny

1836

Henry, or the Juvenile Traveller - Bayly
 I'll be a Tory - Randal
 Odds and Ends - Sweeny
 Original Poems on Various Subjects - Williamson
 Valentine - Leblanc de Marconnay

1837

The Canadian Forget-me-not for 1837
 Grifphon, ou la vengeance d'un valet - Petitclair
 L'influence d'un livre - de Gaspé

1838

Narrative of a ~~Commuted~~ Pensioner - Williamson
 Poems and ~~Fragments~~ - Mayne

1839

The Caroline Almanack - Mackenzie
 Thoughts and sentiments on the invasion etc. - Russell
 Trifles from my Portfolio - Henry

1840

The Canadian Brothers - Richardson
 Devotional Poems - Williamson
 Hamilton and Other Poems - Stephens
 The Mourner's Tribute - Sawtell

1841

The Emigrant - O'Grady
 Old Ambrose - (Canadian edition) Gresley
 Proceedings of the Toronto Tandem Club
 Select Poems - Smyth

1842

Le Rebelle - Trobriand
 The Samiel - McKee

1843

Belinda - Holmes
 Curiae Canadensis - Rumsey
 Miscellaneous Poems - Gillespie
 Niagara Falls - Liston
 Reminiscences of a Soldier

1844

Les fiancés de 1812 - Doutre
 La fille du brigand - L'Ecuyer (serial publication)
 The Garland (songbook)
 Le jeune Latour - Gérin-Lajoie

1845

The awful conflagration of St. Roch's - Mountain
 The Coiners of Pompeii - Ryland
 A small specimen of the genius of Canada West - Smyth
 Tales of the Olden Time - Madden

1846

Album of the Table Rock
 A brief sketch of the life of Charles, Baron Metcalfe - Crofton
 Charles Guérin - Chauveau (beginning of serial publication)
 The Crusades - Breakenridge
 The Emigrant - Newton
 The Maple Leaf for 1847
 The Mysteries of Montreal
 Philip Musgrave - Abbott
 The Plain Speaker
 Songs of the Wilderness - Mountain
 The Spirit of Love - M'Lachlan
 La Terre Paternelle - Lacombe (serial publication)
 Altham-Cummins (beginning of serial publication)

1847

Eight Years in Canada - Richardson
 La Lyre Canadienne
 Maple Leaf for 1848
 Recollections of a Convict - Wylie
 The Spirit's Lament - Ryan

1848

Biographie des Sagamos Illustres - Bibaud
 The Guards in Canada - Richardson
 The Maple Leaf for 1849
 Minor Miseries of Human Life - Gaisford
 Ode on the Press - Wylie
 Poetical Geography - Stephens
 The Poetical Works of James Haskins
 Le Répertoire National (published in sections 1848-50)
 Theatrical Thoughts - Gaisford

1849

The Last of the Eries - H.H.B.
 Une de perdue, deux de trouvées - Boucherville (begins serial publication)
 On the philosophy of human perfection - Burwell
 Songs from the heart - Wylie
 Summer Evening Contemplations - Burwell

1850

Alazon - Smith
 Miscellaneous Poems - Appleton
 The Ojibway Conquest - Copway
 The Posthumous Works of George Menzies
 Recollections of a Forest Life - Copway
 Wild Notes from the Backwoods - Page

Chronological list of periodicals mentioned in the text

Listed by date of first publication, or by dates surviving for reading

1830

L'Observateur - 1830-1

1831

Canadian Casket - 1831-2
 Le Moniteur

1833

L'Abeille canadienne - 1833-4
 Canadian Literary Magazine
 Canadian Magazine
 Saturday Evening Magazine - 1833-4

1835

Mirror of Literature

1836

Le Glaneur - 1836-7
 Youth's Monitor

1837

Le Fantastique 1837-49 (Irregular)

1838

Cabinet of Literature

Literary Garland - 1838-51

Literary Transcript - 1838-9

1839

Canadian, British American and West Indian Magazine

1840

Le Coin du Feu - 1840-41

Journal des Etudiants - 1840-41

1841

L'Institut

Monthly Review

1842

L'artisan - 1842-4

L'encyclopédie canadienne - 1842-3

1843

L'abeille canadienne

British American Cultivator - 1843-5

Le castor - 1843-4

Le diable bleu

1844

Le charivari canadien

Le Ménestrel - 1844-5

1845

La revue canadienne - 1845-8

1846

Album Littéraire et Musical de la Revue Canadienne - 1846-50
(became "de la Minerve" in 1849)

Barker's Canadian Monthly Magazine - 1846-7

The Peoples Magazine

1847

Calliopean - 1847-8

The City Magazine

The Satirist

The Snow Drop - 1847-52

Victoria Magazine - 1847-8

1848

Agriculturist

The Farmer and Mechanic - 1848-9

Magic Lantern

1849

Canadian Gem and Family Visitor

Gaspé Magazine - 1849-50

Punch in Canada - 1849-50

APPENDIX C

Biographical and Bibliographical information on authors referred to in Chapter IV

Note: There is considerable variation in the amount of information available on each of these authors. In some cases we know nothing but the book's title and the name, possibly pseudonymous, or initials, or the author. For most writers I have been able to produce at least a skeletal biographical and bibliographical outline, particularly as it relates to the period studied. References are given to information already in print.

Although the emphasis is on the 1830-50 period dates have been extended forward or backward in some cases, particularly where the individual is virtually unknown today. Date and place of birth and death, when known, are given for all, and date of emigration is given for those for whom it is relevant and available. Works published in this period are listed.

Reference works mentioned by short title or symbol are:
Boivin. Aurélien Boivin, Le conte québécois au XIX^e siècle, Montreal, 1975.

DAB. Dictionary of American Biography.

DCB. Dictionary of Canadian Biography.

DNB. Dictionary of National Biography. (Great Britain)

RPAQ. Hamel, Hare, Wyczynski, Dictionnaire pratique des auteurs québécois, Montreal, 1976.

Macmillan. W.S. Wallace, ed., MacMillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Toronto, 1978: 4th ed.
revised by W.A. MacKay.

Morgan. Henry J. Morgan, Bibliotheca Canadensis, Ottawa, 1867.

Oxford. Norah Storey, ed., Oxford Companion to Canadian Literature and History, Toronto, 1967.

Dates are given day/month/year in the nineteenth century.

ABBOTT, Joseph 1789-1862

b. Cumberland, Eng., d. Montreal

Emigrate 1818 as SPG missionary

Note: Morgan gives 1789 as birthdate, DCB gives June 10, 1790 as baptismal date. Macmillan gives 1863 as death date, DCB gives 1862.

Publications: Memorandum of a settler in Lower Canada.
Montreal, 1842.

Philip Musgrave. London, 1846.

Literary Garland, stories under the pseudonym
"A monk of G — Abbey".

Reference: DCB IX, 3-4.

APPLETON, Lydia Ann

The preface to her book places her in Whitchurch, C.W. in 1850. The census returns for that township in 1851 have not survived, and no one of that name is listed in 1861.

Publication: Miscellaneous Poems, Moral and Religious.
Toronto, 1850.

AUBERT de GASPE, Philippe-Ignace-François 1814-1841

b. Quebec, d. Halifax

Publication: L'influence d'un livre. Quebec, 1837.

Reference: DPAQ 12-13.

Luc Lacourcière, "Aubert de Gaspé, fils", Cahiers des Dix, 1975, 275-302.

AUBIN, Napoléon 1812-1890

b. near Geneva, Switzerland, d. Montreal

Publications: Poetry in La Minerve and Le Fantastique
Editor of Le Fantastique and various newspapers.

Reference: DCB XI 34-37

DPAQ 16-17

J.P. Tremblay, Aimé-Nicolas dit Napoléon Aubin, sa vie et son oeuvre, PhD thesis, Laval University, 1965.

BARTHE, Joseph-Guillaume 1816-1893

b. Carleton, Gaspé, d. Montreal

DCB and Boivin give 1818 as birth date. Boivin says he was born at sea.

Publications: Poetry and prose in Le Populaire, Le Fantastique and L'Aurore.

Pseud. in Le Populaire "Marie-Louise".

Reference: DPAQ 30-31

Boivin 51-2.

BAYLEY, Mrs. Henry Addington

Her husband was a Deputy Assistant Commissary General, stationed at Isle aux Noix in the early 1830s, in Montreal in 1837 and 1838, and in Kingston in 1841. (He appears in the Commissary General's records in those places at those dates.) In the Montreal Museum she used the initials "D.B." The Montreal Gazette on 30/7/36 refers to her as the mother of the British poet F.W.N. Bayley. The Henry Lambert Bayley of the Commissariat staff who married Mary Margaret Rogers in Toronto 9/8/41 (Colonist 18/8/41) may also have been a son. The family name sometimes appeared without the "e" in newspapers, but it is always spelled with an "e" in the Commissariat records.

Publications: Montreal Museum, Literary Garland, Montreal Gazette.

Henry, or the Juvenile Traveller, London, 1836.

BIBAUD, Maximilien 1824-1887

b. Montreal, d. Montreal

DCB says he was born in 1823

Publication: Biographie des sagamos illustres de l'Amérique septentrionale. Montreal, 1849.

Reference: DCB XI 70-71

DPAQ 64-5.

BIBAUD, Michel 1782-1857

b. Montreal, d. Montreal

Publications: Epîtres, satires, chansons, épigrammes et autre pièces de vers. Montreal, 1830.

Histoire du Canada et des Canadiens sous la domination française. Montreal, 1837.

Histoire du Canada et des Canadiens sous la domination anglaise. Montreal, 1844.

Poems and articles in L'Observateur.

L'Encyclopédie canadienne, Le Magasin du Bas-Canada, and La Minerve.

Reference: DPAQ 65-6.

BOUCHER DE BOUCHERVILLE, Georges 1814-1894

b. Quebec, d. Saint-Laurent, Ile d'Orléans

Publications: Two stories in L'Ami du Peuple in 1835.

Beginning of Une de perdue, deux de trouvées in Album Littéraire between January 1849 and June 1851.

Reference: DPAQ 75-6

Boivin 70-72

BREAKENRIDGE, John 1820-1854

Son of John Breakenridge and Mary Warren Baldwin, youngest sister of W.W. Baldwin. Following his father's death in 1828 he became a ward of W.W. Baldwin. Attended Upper Canada College, where his poem "Canada" won the poetry prize for 1837. He was a lawyer, practising in Kingston, when his book was published in 1846. In the introduction he identifies himself as the pseudonymous "Claud Halcro".

Publications: The Crusades and other poems. Kingston, 1846.
Poetry and prose in the Kingston Chronicle,
Kingston News, Kingston Argus, Toronto
Patriot, The Church, and the Literary Garland.

Reference: On DCB preliminary list.

BURWELL, Adam Hood 1790-1849

b. near Fort Erie, d. Kingston, C.W.
 Son of loyalist family. Younger brother of Mahlon Burwell. Married Sarah Bernard at Troy, N.Y. 22/2/29. Church of England clergyman initially, but removed from clergy sometime between 1833-35 because of Irvingite views. In the 1831 census he is listed as proprietor of his residence on Notre Dame Street, Three Rivers. It appears that the household consisted at that time of husband, wife, infant daughter and one servant.

Publications: On the philosophy of human perfection and happiness, and
Summer Evening Contemplations, both, Montreal, 1849.

Various Irvingite tracts
Poems in Literary Garland

Reference: C.F. Klinck, ed., The Poems of Adam Hood Burwell, Pioneer Poet of Upper Canada. London, (Ontario) 1963.

CAWDELL, James Martin d. 1842

b. Sunderland, Eng., d. Toronto

He was not initially identified as the author of this work, but subsequently Rev. Henry Scadding made the identification. W.S. Wallace appears to have given the publication a date 12 years earlier than that of the one copy which exists in the Baldwin Room. The error is continued in the 1978 edition. Cawdell's obituary in the Montreal Gazette 19/7/42 says that he was formerly an ensign in the 100th Foot, and that he was an officer in the War of 1812. At the time of his death he was Secretary of the Law Society of Upper Canada. Wallace says he had also been a school teacher and librarian.

Publication: The Roseharp: for Beauty, Loyalty and Song.
Toronto, 1835.

Reference: Macmillan
Adam Shortt, "The memorial of J.M. Cawdell. 1818"
Canadian Historical Review, Vol. I (1920),
289-301.

CHAUVEAU, Pierre-Joseph-Olivier 1820-1890

b. Charlesbourg, d. Quebec

Publications: Poems in Album Littéraire, Le Canadien and
Le Castor.

Beginning of Charles Guérin in Album
Littéraire between February 1846 and March
1847.

Reference: DCB XI 177-186
DPAQ 134-6
Boivin 91-4.

CHENEY, Harriet Vaughan 1796-1889

b. Brighton, Mass.

Daughter of John Foster, D.D. and Hannah Webster Foster,
author of one of the first American novels, The Coquette.
Married Edward Cheney, merchant, in Montreal on November 29,
1830, and had at least four children. Edward Cheney died in
1845. Sister of Elizabeth Lanesford Cushing, with whom she
edited and wrote much of The Snow Drop, the first Canadian
children's periodical. She was an active Unitarian
throughout her lifetime.

Publications: Prose and poetry in the Literary Garland, The
Snow Drop, and The Bible Christian.
A peep at the Pilgrims in sixteen hundred
thirty six. Boston, 1824
The rivals of Acadia. Boston, 1827.
Sketches from the life of Christ. Boston,
1844.
Confessions of an early martyr. Boston, 1846.

CHERRIER, Odile

b. Montreal 1818. Sister of Romuald.

Publications: Stories and poems in Le Populaire (pseud.
Anais)

Reference: Boivin 95-6.

CHERRIER, Romuald 1820-1863

b. Montreal, d. Beauport. DPAQ gives birthdate as 1821.

Publications: Stories and poems in Le Populaire (pseud. Pierre-André)

Critique of L'influence d'un livre in Le Populaire

Reference: DPAQ 137-8

Boivin 94-5.

COPWAY, George 1818-1869

b. near mouth of Trent River, d. Oka.

Indian name: Kahgegagahbowh. The authorship of The Ojibway Conquest was claimed about 1898 by Julius T. Clarke (1814-1908) in Topeka, Kansas. He stated that he had given the manuscript to Copway in 1850 with permission to publish it over his own name. Clarke's claim was made 30 years after Copway's death when he himself was an old man. There are no works listed for Clarke in L.C., and the D.A.B. (1930) lists Copway as author. Copway had received a good secondary education and would have been capable of writing the work himself.

Publications: Recollections of a Forest Life. London, 1850

The Ojibway Conquest. New York, 1850

Poem in Christian Guardian, Dec. 18, 1844.

Reference: DCB IX 419-21

DAB IV 433.

COXON, Emily

According to her various advertisements in the Canadian Courant in 1833 and '34, she was a teacher of French, educated on the continent. One of her poems is listed as a translation from the French.

Publications: Twenty six poems in the Courant between February 1833 and March 1834, when the Courant ceased publication. Also, one poem in the Montreal Gazette during the same period.

CUMMINS, John Swete

b. Cork, Ireland, 1811.

Emigrate 1836 as Land Agent for Lord Mountcashel who owned property near Delaware, U.C., and on Amherst Island. In the 1837 rebellion he served as a Captain in the militia Rifle Corps in the attack on Montgomery's Tavern, and at Fort Niagara. In 1848 he was a militia Lieutenant-Colonel. By the end of 1838 he was resident on Amherst Island. In 1844-5 he was Chairman of the Midland District Council. In 1848-9

he lived at Ernestown, C.W. From 1855 to at least 1860 he resided in the Eastern Townships as an agent for the British American Land Company. No record has been found of him after that date but it seems unlikely that he died. The Cummins Family records list all his children, but give no death date for him. He was visiting in Cork in 1860 for the Land Company, so contact had been maintained until that date. It seems likely that contact was lost much later.

Publications: Altham. London, 1848. The first two-thirds of this two-volume novel were published in Barker's Canadian Monthly Magazine in Kingston in 1846-7, leaving the reader hanging when the magazine ceased publication.

Reference: Ontario Archives MU2107 Misc. Coll. John S. Cummins letters.

H.M. Cummins, The History of the Cummins Family in Cork, 1952. Typescript in the Cork City Library.

Cyrus Thomas, History of Shefford, 1866.

PAC MG24I54 Vol 2 and 3, British American Land Company Papers.

CUSHING, Elizabeth Lanesford 1794-1886

b. Brighton, Mass., d. Montreal

The DCB article ignores her active participation in Unitarian affairs in Montréal, the almost unique situation of Cushing and her sister, Harriet Cheney, as female periodical editors in Canada at the time, and the very real difference in tone between the contents of The Snow Drop and other literature of the time produced for Canadian children. Her only daughter, Harriet, was born 19/1/36 and died 15/8/46. Her husband, Dr. Frederick Cushing, died in August 1847 of typhus caught while attending the emigrant sheds during the epidemic of that year, not in 1846 as the DCB article indicates.

Publications: Saratoga, a tale of the revolution. Boston, 1824

Yorktown, an historical romance. Boston, 1826

Esther, a sacred drama; with Judith, a poem. Boston, 1840

Saratoga, a story of 1787. Boston, 1856

Poetry and prose in the Literary Garland, The Snow Drop, and the Bible Christian.

Reference: Note above on Cheney.

DCB XI 321-2.

Archives of the Unitarian Church of Montreal.

•DOUTRE, Joseph 1825-1886

b. Beauharnois, d. Montreal

Publications: Les fiancés de 1812. Montreal, 1844

Stories in Le Ménestrel and Album Littéraire

Reference: DCB XI 272-78

DPAQ 210-11

Boivin 124-5.

DUPONT, Charles-Wenceslas 1821-1846

b. Saint-Roch-des-Aulnaies, d. Quebec

Publications: Stories in L'Artisan and Le Castor

Reference: Boivin 139-40.

DURAND, Charles 1811-1905

b. near Hamilton, d. Toronto

Son of Capt. James Durand who emigrated from U.K. about 1800, and his second wife, the daughter of an American Revolution soldier named Hugh Morrison. The father fought with the militia at Queenston, was a member of the U.C. legislature from 1814-22, and registrar of the counties of Halton and Wentworth for 20 years before his death in 1833. A brother, James, was also a reform member of the U.C. Legislative Assembly. Charles was admitted to the bar as an attorney in 1835 and as a barrister in 1836. He practised in Hamilton. He married Sarah Bostwick in 1837, and after her death in 1855, married Mary Ann Bradshaw in 1858. He was convicted of treason in 1838, condemned to death, and exiled. He practised law in Chicago until 1844, then recommenced his Canadian practice at Toronto on 5/8/44. He was militant in his support of temperance causes and from 1851-4 owned and edited Canadian Son of Temperance. In later years he became a supporter of Sir John A. Macdonald and an opponent of George Brown.

Publications: Poetry and prose in the Canadian Casket and Canadian Garland in the early 1830s, using his initials and the pseudonym "Briton", also in the Canadian Gem and Family Visitor, and in the Canadian Son of Temperance.

Reference: Charles Durand, Reminiscences of Charles Durand of Toronto, Barrister. Toronto, 1897.

C.B. Robinson, History of Toronto and the County of York, Vol. II. Toronto, 1885.

E. Guillet, Lives and Times of the Patriots.

Guillet's information is taken from Durand's reminiscences.

Obituary. York Pioneer and Historical Society, Annual Report, 1906.

Annotated periodicals donated by Durand to the Toronto Public Library.

FLECK (Widow)

Publication: Poems on Various Subjects. Montreal, 1835. One copy of the second edition, dated 1835, has survived. The preface is dated New Glasgow, July 1833, so the first edition may have appeared in that year. This New Glasgow was located in Lower Canada, near what is now Lachute. The following obituary notice is the only information I have been able to discover relating to either the book or its author. Montreal Courant 5/9/32: "At New Glasgow, L.C. on the 27th ultimo of cholera, Mr. John Fleck. Should his sons, Peter and William, see this, they are requested to return to their widowed mother and family, as soon as possible. (Printers in Upper Canada and the State of New York are requested to notice this death.)"

FLETCHER, Edward Taylor 1816-1897

b. Canterbury, Eng., d. New Westminster, B.C.

He arrived in Quebec in 1827 with his parents and attended Dr. Wilkie's school, then began higher education at the Seminary in 1832. His memoirs were written in 1896 at New Westminster, where he had gone to live with a daughter after his retirement as a government surveyor.

Publications: Poetry in the Quebec Mercury, the Literary Transcript and the Literary Garland between 1834 and 1845.

Reference: Morgan

Macmillan

Memoirs are part of the Peter Langlois Papers, PAC MG24I21.

FRIEL, Henry John 1823-1869

b. Montreal, d. Ottawa

He was the son of Charles Friel, one of the first residents of Bytown who resided there from 1828. He was Mayor of Bytown several times in the 1850s. Politically, he was active in reform causes. He was proprietor of the Bytown Packet from 1849-55 and of The Union, 1856-66. In the 1851 census his occupation is given as Clerk of the County Court.

Publications: Short stories in the Literary Garland, and probably some of the anonymous works written "for the Packet".

Reference: Morgan

Michael Newton, Lower Town Ottawa, Vol. I.

GAISFORD, John

Prompter and assistant stage manager of the Theatre Royal, Montreal, in 1848. In the text of one publication there is a reference to his having resided in New York and Charleston. Both publications appear to be intended as a means of raising money for the author. The first is dedicated to the officers of the garrison, the second to the Shakspeare club.
Publications: Theatrical Thoughts. Montreal, 1848.
Minor Miseries of Human Life. Montreal, 1848.

GARNEAU, François-Xavier 1809-1866

b. Quebec, d. Quebec

Publications: Poems in Le Canadien, Le Magasin du Bas-Canada, La Minerve, and L'Institut.
Editor of L'Abeille Canadienne (1833),
L'Institut and Le Journal des Etudiants.
Histoire de Canada. Vol. 1, 1845; Vol. 2,
1846; Vol. 3, 1849.

Reference: DCB IX 297-306

DPAQ 273-7.

GERIN-LAJOIE, Antoine 1824-1882

b. Yamachiche, d. Ottawa

Publications: "Un canadien errant" in Le charivari canadien, 1844.
Le jeune Latour. Montreal, 1844.

Reference: DCB XI 340-44.

DPAQ 291-4.

GILLESPIE, George William

d. Toronto, March 16, 1847

Emigrated from Edinburgh

Publications: Poems and Songs. Edinburgh, 1827. (In National Library of Scotland)
Miscellaneous Poems. Toronto, 1843.
Poetry in the Morning Star and Toronto Transcript and in the Toronto Patriot in
1841.

GOSSELIN, Mary Graddon

The Quebec Gazette 7/5/34 refers to her as a native of that city. There were Graddons resident there early in the nineteenth century. Her marriage bond with Leon Gosselin was dated 21/8/30. Leon Gosselin was admitted to the bar in Montreal in 1828. He was editor of La Minerve in 1833 and

proprietor of Le Populaire, 1837-8, then deputy registrar for the county of Montreal. He died 4/6/42, aged 41. Mary was editor of the Montreal Museum and author of some of its contents. Co-editor for the first two numbers was Miss Elizabeth Tracey, sister of Daniel. An advertisement in the Montreal Transcript 13/6/50 is for Mme. L. Gosselin's Boarding House.

Publications: In the Montreal Museum.

Reference: Morgan.

GRANT, Mrs. John P. (Emma Donoghue) b. about 1822.

Daughter of an English clergyman, Rev. J. Donoghue, of London, England, she may have been a sister of the Donoghue who was a joint proprietor of the Montreal Pilot. She was married to J.P. Grant on 20/10/47 by Rev. John Cordner (Unitarian) in Montreal. They resided in Perth, C.W. where he was a merchant and postmaster. In the 1851 census she is listed as age 29, born in England, and he is aged 34 and born in Scotland. They are both listed as Unitarians. There are two children, Emma and Manson. In the 1861 census their religion is given as Church of England, and their two children are Emma and Catherine. He is listed as having \$6000 capital.

Publications: Literary Garland 1843-4, using the initials E.J.D. She may also be the E.J.D. who published a poem in the Morning Courier 6/4/40. A poem in the Pilot 21/10/47 is addressed "To Mrs. J.P.G. on her marriage." Poems in the Bathurst Courier, 1847-50. On 25/8/48 the editor identified her as the E.J.D. of the Garland. Stray Leaves. A Collection of Poems. Montreal, 1865.

GROULX, Louis T. 1819-1865

b. St. Laurent, d. Joliette

Publication: Mes Loisirs. Montreal, 1848.

Reference: RHAF, Vol 10, June 1956, p. 120.

HAGARTY, John Hawkins 1816-1900

b. Dublin, Ire., d. Toronto

Emigrated 1835.

Attended Trinity College Dublin, but is not on the list of graduates. Admitted to the Upper Canada bar in 1840. At retirement in 1897 he was Chief Justice of Ontario. He was knighted the same year. He was said, by rival newspapers,

to be editor of the Toronto Patriot 1842-4, but there is no internal evidence to support this. He was secretary of the Constitutional Society of Toronto in 1842, president of the St. Patrick's Society in 1846, and an alderman for the St. Lawrence Ward of Toronto in 1847.

Publications: Poetry and prose under his initials or under the pseudonym "Zadig" in The Church, the Patriot, and the Literary Garland. He is probably the person listed as "H" in the annotated list of contents of the Maple Leaf for 1849 in the University of British Columbia Library.

Reference: Macmillan
Morgan.

HASKINS, James 1805-1845

b. Dublin, d. Frankford, C.W.

Emigrated 1834.

He practised medicine in Belleville, Kingston and Frankford. The earliest item I have found in the dispute with John Breakenridge is a critique by Breakenridge in the Kingston News 16/5/44 of poetry by Haskins which had appeared in the Literary Garland. The slanging match, in both prose and poetry, continued in the News and the British Whig until a few weeks before Haskins' death. There are many missing issues of the two newspapers in the 1844-6 period, so it is possible that important elements in the affair have been missed.

Publications: Poetry in The Church, the Literary Garland, and the British Whig.

The Poetical Works of James Haskins (Henry Baldwin, ed.) Hartford, 1848.

Reference: Biographical memoir by Henry Baldwin appears in the introduction to the posthumous volume of poetry.

HAWLEY, William F. 1804? - 1855

b. Lacolle, d. Laprairie

Morgan gives his middle name as Fitz, but I have not found it mentioned during his lifetime. He always signed himself "W.F." or "William F." Morgan also gives his birthdate as 1804, but the 1851 census gives his "age next birthday" as 45, so he could have been born in 1806 or 7. At the time of the 1851 census he was married to his second wife and had five living children by his first wife and two by his second. At his death he was Registrar of No. 1 Division of the County of Huntingdon. He had moved from Lacolle to Laprairie about 1840-41, presumably when appointed to that post.

Publications: Published poetry in the Montreal Gazette and the Courant during the 1820s and early 1830s.

He published principally in the Montreal Herald, which has not survived. A dozen poems appeared in the Montreal Transcript 1842-7, and one in the Toronto Star in 1844. During the 1830s there are scattered poems in the Cobourg Star, Upper Canada Herald, Kingston Chronicle, Bytown Gazette, Canadian Emigrant, Brockville Gazette.

Quebec, The Harp, and other Poems. Montreal, 1829.

The Unknown, or Lays of the Forest. Montreal, 1831.

He also sought subscriptions in 1830 for "The Legend of Niagara" and in 1837 for a "History of Canada", neither of which was ever published.

Reference: Morgan.

HENRY, Walter 1791-1860

b. Donegal, Ireland, d. Belleville, C.W.

Dr. Henry was internationally known before his arrival in Canada in 1827 as the only doctor, other than Dr. Andromachi, present at the autopsy performed on Napoleon. He published his own account of the event. Between 1827 and 1841, when he was posted to Halifax, he served with the 66th Regiment in Kingston, Quebec, Sorel and Montreal. In 1845 he became Deputy Inspector General of military hospitals, and in 1852, Inspector General, resident in Montreal. He retired to Belleville in 1856 on half pay. He married Charlotte Todd in Montreal in 1831. She died in childbirth in Kingston in 1833. He married Leah Geddes in 1834. He was an officer of the Quebec Literary and Historical Society when he was resident in that city, and a corresponding member when he was posted elsewhere. His Peninsula Medal had six bars: Vittoria, Pyrenees, Nivelle, Nive, Orthes, and Toulouse.

Publications: Trifles from my Portfolio, or Recollections of Scenes and Small Adventures during 29 years' military service in the Peninsular War and Invasion of France, the East Indies, Campaign in Nepaul, St. Helena during the detention and until the death of Napoleon, and Upper and Lower Canada, by a Staff Surgeon. Quebec, 1839. A revised version appeared in London in 1843 under his own name as Events of a Military Life. Both works 2 vols.

He also contributed articles to the New York Albion using the pseudonyms "Miles", "Piscator", and "Scrutator".

Reference: Morgan.

HILL, George Arundel 1796-1861

b. Ireland, d. Dummer Twp. C.W.

Emigrate 1831

Waterloo veteran, officer, first Warden of the District of Colborne, Chairman of the Constitutional Meeting in Dummer Twp in 1836.

Publications: Poetry in the British Colonist and the Cobourg Star

Reference: E. Guillet, The Valley of the Trent, 361-5.

HOLMES, Abraham S. 1821?-1908

b. Raleigh Twp. U.C., d. Chatham, Ontario

Son of Rev. Ninian Holmes, Methodist, and Elizabeth Newkirk, daughter of a Loyalist family. In the 1851 census he is resident in Chatham, a lawyer, and a Congregationalist. In 1861 and 1871 his occupation is given as "Esquire" and he is a member of the Church of England. He does not appear to have married.

Publications: Belinda, or The Rivals. Detroit, 1843.

Poetry and prose in the Chatham Gleaner and the Western Herald.

Reference: F.C. Hamill, "A Pioneer Novelist of Kent County", Ontario History, Vol. XXXIX (1947), 101-113.
Obituary. Chatham Daily Planet, March 5, 1908.

KIDD, Adam 1802?-1831

b. County Derry, Ireland, d. Quebec

Detailed information on Kidd is lacking. From his own writing we have a general idea of the date and place of his birth and of his falling out with Bishop Mountain, but nothing is specific. The western journey which provided inspiration for The Huron Chief is also undocumented. He published poetry in the Canadian Spectator, then edited by a radical Irishman, Jocelyn Waller, in 1825, and subsequently in the Vindicator, under the editorship of Daniel Tracey. His book was published in February 1830. Shortly thereafter he seems to have left Montreal on a trip to Upper Canada, selling The Huron Chief, and gathering information and subscriptions for his projected prose work on the western Indians. In March 1831 he passed through Kingston on his way back to Quebec. In a farewell poem published in the Kingston Chronicle 12/3/31 he appears to be conscious of his impending death. Contemporary newspapers gave his death date as July 5, but the parish records of Holy Trinity Church, quoted by Klinck, give the date as July 6.

Publications: Poems in the Canadian Spectator, the Vindicator and the Philadelphia Irish Shield from 1825.

The Huron Chief. Montreal, 1830.

Extracts from a proposed new prose work
appeared in Canadian newspapers in 1830 and
31.

Reference: C.F. Klinck, "Adam Kidd", Queen's Quarterly LXV
No. 3, (Autumn 1958), 495-506.
On DCB list.

LACOMBE, Patrice 1807-1863

b. Oka, d. Montreal

Publication: La terre paternelle, in Album Littéraire.

Reference: DCB IX 439-440.

DPAQ 381-2.

LEBLANC DE MARCONNAY, Hyacinthe-Poirier 1794-1868

b. Paris, d. Paris

Publications: Valentine, ou la nina canadienne. Montreal,
1836.

Edited various Canadian newspapers 1834-40.

Reference: DCB IX 458-9.

L'ECUYER, Eugène 1822-1898

b. Levis, d. Bellechasse

Publications: Pseudonym "Pietro". Stories in Le Ménestrel,
Le revue canadienne; Journal de Québec, Le
Canadien, Le Fantastique. "La Fille du Brigand"
in Le Ménestrel, 1844.

Reference: DPAQ 426-7

Boivin 228-235.

LENOIR, Joseph 1822-1861

b. Montreal, d. Montreal

Publications: Poetry in L'Avenir, Le Pays, Album Littéraire
and La Minerve.

Reference: DCB IX 464-5

DPAQ 448.

LETT, William Pittman 1819-1892

b. Wexford, Ireland, d. Ottawa

Emigrate 1820.

Resident in Ottawa from 1827. Became editor of Ottawa
Advocate sometime between August 1845 and February 1846.

Editor of the Orange Lily and Protestant Vindicator in 1849.
Was City Clerk from 1855 to 1892.

Publications: Poetry in Bytown Gazette, Montreal Transcript
and Ottawa Advocate.

Reference: Macmillan

M. Newton, Lower Town Ottawa, Vol. I.

LEVESQUE, Charles 1817-1859

b. Montreal, d. Sainte Mélanie d'Ailleboust

Publications: Stories and poems in La Revue Canadienne and L'echo des campagnes.

Reference: Fauteux, Lives of the Patriots.

Boivin 259-60.

LEVESQUE, Guillaume 1819-1856

b. Montreal, d. Quebec

Publications: Stories in L'echo des campagnes.

Reference: Fauteux, Lives of the Patriots

Boivin 261.

LISTON, James Knox

In Provincial Secretary's correspondence, PAC, File no. 2077, vol 41, p. 17267 is a petition from Liston, dated 18/9/40 for his allowance as a common school teacher due him for 1838 and 39. He states that he did not receive the notice because he had moved from the Twp. of Stamford to the Twp. of Clinton, and that he had been a common school teacher for "a considerable length of time" A warrant was issued for payment.

Publications: Niagara Falls. A Poem in 3 Cantos. Toronto, 1843.

Another book was published in 1868.

MADDEN, Mary Ann (Mrs. James Sadleir) 1820-1903

b. Ireland, d. Montreal?

She married James Sadleir, of the American publishing and bookselling family, in Montreal in 1847. They moved to New York in 1866. The DAB says that she spent the last years of her life in Montreal. She published many works in New York, Dublin and London. A few are translations from the French, but most are Catholic children's stories and plays.

Publications: Tales of the Olden Time. Montreal, 1845.

Poetry and prose in the Literary Garland (1845-7), and the Montreal Pilot.

Tales of the Olden Time appears to have been republished in a series of pamphlets in Montreal in 1847. British Whig 26/2/47.

Reference: Morgan

DAB XVI.284.

MAIR, Holmes

b. in Scotland about 1829. There is no death date given for him in a family genealogy compiled in 1906, so he may still have been alive then.

He was brought to Canada as an infant. At the time of the 1851 census he was a general merchant in Lanark, C.W., and an 1871 business directory gives him the same occupation in the same community at that date. He was the fourth of six children, of whom the well-known poet Charles Mair was the youngest.

Publications: Poetry and letters to the editor in the Bathurst Courier, starting in January 1847.

M'CARROLL, James 1815-1896

b. County Longford, Ireland, d. Buffalo, N.Y.

Emigrate 1831.

Birth and death dates above are taken from Macmillan. DAB gives them as 1814-92 and implies that he died in New York City. He was editor and proprietor of the Peterborough Chronicle and of the Newcastle Courier.

Publications: Poems in the Literary Garland, Victoria Magazine, Canadian Gem, Cobourg Star and Christian Guardian.

Reference: Morgan
Macmillan
Oxford
DAB XI, 569.

McGEORGE, Robert Jackson 1811-1884

b. near Glasgow, Scotland, d. Rothesay, Scotland

Emigrated 1841. Returned to Scotland 1859.

An ordained priest of the Scottish Episcopal Church, he emigrated as a missionary. He edited the Anglo American Magazine in Toronto in the mid 1850s and published a volume of poetry in 1858.

Publications: Poems in The Church, the Streetsville Weekly Review, and the Canadian Christian Offering.
He edited the latter two.

Reference: Morgan
J.J. Talman, "Three Scottish-Canadian Editor Poets", CHR 1947, 166-177.

M'LACHLAN, Alexander 1818-1896

b. Renfrewshire, Scotland, d. Orangeville, Ontario

Emigrated 1840.

There is room for a new edition of M'Lachlan's poems. The manuscripts held in the Baldwin Room are those from which the 1900 edition was prepared. Many poems, especially those in Scots dialect, were dropped, and in others the dialect spellings have been modernized so that the rhyme has been destroyed. None of the poems in The Spirit of Love are included in the Poetical Works. A well-meaning late

Victorian desire to produce a body of Canadian literature resulted in an edition, perpetuated today, which does a disservice to M'Lachlan.

Publications: The Spirit of Love. Toronto, 1846.

Reference: Introduction of E.M. Fulton to a reprint (Toronto, 1974) of the 1900 edition of The Poetical Works of Alexander M'Lachlan.

MACLACHLAN, Elizabeth Mary

d. October 5, 1945, at Long Lodge, Merton, England.

She was the wife of Col. Maclachlan of the Royal Engineers and sister of Sir William Colebrooke, Lt. Gov. of New Brunswick. Her husband embarked for Canada in the spring of 1838. He was commandant in Kingston from 1840 to 1845, when he asked to be relieved so that he could return to England. She had returned to England the previous year.

Publications: Stories in the Literary Garland under the initials "E.M.M."

MACQUEEN, Thomas 1803-1866

b. Ayrshire, Scotland, d. Goderich, C.W.

Emigrate 1842.

Publications: Three volumes of poetry published in Scotland between 1831 and 1840.

Poetry published in the Bathurst Courier, Goderich Signal, Bytown Gazette, Guelph Advertiser, Toronto Globe, Canadian Gem, and Victoria Magazine.

Reference: Andrew Haydon, Pioneer Sketches in the District of Bathurst, 237-258.

Letters to Andrew Dickson. OA Inderwick Coll. MS 98.

Letters to Peter Robertson. PAC MG24K19.

MAYNE, Daniel Haydn

From the text of his book it would appear that he was a native of Scotland, probably from the Glasgow area, and that he emigrated to Canada about 1831. In the Toronto directory for 1837 his address is given as the East York District School. There is correspondence in PAC RG5B11 Vol 5, No. 694, (Education Papers), dated 17/7/39, re: his allowance as a School Master. In the 1843-4 Toronto directory he is listed as a clerk. He is not listed in the 1846-7 directory.

Publication: Poems and Fragments. Toronto, 1838.

MENZIES, George 1797?-1847

b. Kincardine, Scotland, d. Woodstock C.W.

Emigrate 1833.

He was a self educated man who had been trained as a gardener in Scotland. He had published a volume of poetry in Forfar in 1822 and his collected poems were published in Montrose in 1854. In Canada, he edited the Niagara Reporter, Chippewa Standard, Niagara Chronicle, St. Catharines Journal, and Woodstock Herald. He was proprietor of the latter from 1840 until his death. He married on 15/2/41 Harriet Burton of Beechville, U.C., formerly of London, England.

Publications: Poems in the British Colonial Argus, British American Journal, Niagara Argus, St. Catharines Journal, Woodstock Herald and the Christian Guardian.
Album of the Table Rock (ed.) Niagara, 1846.
Posthumous Works of the late George Menzies.
Woodstock, 1850.

Reference: Contemporary obituaries
 National Library of Scotland
 J.J. Talman, "Three Scottish-Canadian Editor Poets", CHR 1947, 166-177.

MOODIE, John Wedderburn Dunbar 1797-1869

b. Orkney Is., d. Belleville, Ontario,
 Emigrate 1832.

Publications: Ten Years in South Africa. London, 1835.
Poems, stories, and music in the Literary Garland and the Victoria Magazine.

Reference: DCB IX 566-7
 DNB XIII 777
 A.Y. Morris, Gentle Pioneers, Toronto, 1968.

MOODIE, Susanna 1803-1885

b. Suffolk, England, d. Toronto, Ontario
 Emigrate 1832.

Despite the reference made in DCB to her Congregationalist conversion, she is listed in the 1851 census as a member of the Church of England.

Publications: Enthusiasm; and other poems. London, 1831.
Poems and stories in the Canadian Literary Magazine, the Literary Garland, Victoria Magazine, New York Albion, Toronto Palladium, and the Maple Leaf.

Reference: DCB XI 857-861
 DNB XIII 777.

MOUNTAIN, George J. 1789-1863

b. Norwich, Eng., d. Quebec

Emigrate age 4, return to England for education. Return to Canada 1811.

Publications: Songs of the Wilderness. London, 1846.
Lines commemorative of the awful conflagration
of St. Roch's (attrib.) Quebec, 1845.
 Various published sermons.

Reference: DCB IX 578-581
 DNB XIII 1104-5
 W.R. Riddell, "A Forgotten Canadian Poet", OHS
Papers and Records, Vol. 21 (1924), 245-258.

MULLINS, Rosanna Eleanor (Mrs. Leprohon) 1829-1879.

b. Montreal, d. Montreal

Publications: Stories in the Literary Garland from 1846.

Reference: DCB X 536-8

C.F. Klinck, Introduction to the New Canadian
 Library edition of Antoinette de Mirecourt.

Klinck's biographical information is taken from
 an M.A. thesis by Brother Adrian (Université de
 Montréal, 1948) Life and Works of Mrs. Leprohon.

NEWTON, John

Publication: The Emigrant and Other Pieces. Hamilton, 1846.

O'GRADY, Standish

b. Ireland.

Emigrate 1836.

A review in the Literary Garland (August, 1841, p. 432)
 refers to the "long life" he has spent in "literary pursuits"
 and says that he has "been for some time resident in Sorel."
 The Montreal Transcript 11/3/43 refers to him as one of a
 group who restored peace and truce after the Lachine canal
 riots. Whether or not he is "poor old O'Grady the poet" for
 whom charity was sought in Toronto in 1845 (Examiner 19/11/45
 and Montreal Gazette 19/11/45) we do not know.

Publication: The Emigrant. Montreal, 1841.

Reference: Macmillan
 Oxford.

PAGE, Rhoda Ann (Mrs. William Faulkner) 1826-1863

b. Hackney, Eng., d. near Rice Lake, C.W.

Emigrate 1832.

She was the daughter of Thomas Page, who edited the Newcastle
Farmer in the late 1840s and was a friend of the Toronto
 publisher and bookseller, Henry Rowsell. Poems of hers
 appeared in E.H. Dewart (ed.) Selections from Canadian Poets

in 1864. The editor mentions her death the previous year. She married in 1856 and had eight children before her death in 1863.

Publications: Wild Notes from the Backwoods. Cobourg, 1850. Beginning in 1846, poems in the Cobourg Star, British Colonist, The Church, Victoria Magazine, and the Maple Leaf, all under the initials "R.A.P."

Reference: E. Guillet ms. in Ontario Archives reconstructing the contents of "Wild Notes" and containing an introduction. Also a ms. copy of an unpublished book, "Canadian Literary Pioneers" by Guillet in the Baldwin Room.

PAPINEAU, Louis-Joseph Amédée 1819-1903

b. Montreal, d. Montreal

Publication: "Caroline: Légende canadienne" in Le Glaneur, 1837.

Reference: Boivin 296.

PETITCLAIR, Pierre 1813-1860

b. St. Augustin, d. Labrador

Publications: Poems, stories and plays in Le Fantastique, Le Canadien, L'Artisan, and Le Télégraphe. Griphon, ou la vengeance d'un valet. Quebec, 1837.

Reference: DPAQ 557-9

Boivin 298-9

J.C. Noël, "Pierre Petitclair, sa vie, son oeuvre, et le théâtre de son époque", PhD thesis, University of Ottawa, 1975.

PICKEN, Andrew 1788-1849

b. Scotland, d. Montreal

Published ten books in London between 1830 and 1841.

Publications: Poems and stories in the Montreal Museum, Montreal Transcript and the Literary Garland. The Canadas, London, 1832, appears to have been written under the auspices of the Canada Company.

RANDAL, Stephen, 1804-1841

b. Vermont, d. Shefford, L.C.

He was teaching school in the Hamilton area in 1828 and advertised his own school in the Western Mercury 17/11/31. Between 1832 and 1837 he edited and owned at least four

newspapers in the Hamilton area. At his death he was Preceptor of Shefford Academy. He was a radical in politics. There are various references to him as a drunk and a debtor. Since both John Strachan and Col. Talbot recommended him for posts as schoolmaster, and the trustees refused to accept him, there may have been some truth to the allegation.

Publications: Poem in Hamilton Gazette. None of his own papers have survived.

"I'll be a Tory". Broadside, Toronto, 1837.

Reference: Macmillan.

RICHARDSON, John 1796-1852

b. at Fort George or Queenston, U.C., d. New York City.

Publications: In England 1828-1836: Tecumseh, Ecarté, Frascati's, Wacousta, Kensington Gardens in 1830, Journal of the Movements of the British Legion. (First Can. ed. of Wacousta was 1868). Personal Memoirs of Major Richardson.

Montreal, 1838.

The Canadian Brothers; or, The Prophecy Fulfilled. Montreal, 1840.

The Miser Outwitted. Brockville, 1841.

According to the Bathurst Courier 2/11/41 this was a one-act farce. Now lost.

Operations of the Right Division of the Army of Upper Canada, during the War of 1812.

Brockville, 1842.

Eight Years in Canada. Montreal, 1847.

The Guards in Canada. Montreal, 1848.

In the United States 1850-52: various novels and stories.

Reference: Riddell, W.R., John Richardson, Toronto, 1923.

W.F.E. Morley, A bibliographical study of Major John Richardson, Toronto, 1973.

D. Beasley, The Canadian Don Quixote, Erin, Ontario, 1977.

RUBIDGE, Frederick Preston 1806-1898

b. London, Eng.

Emigrate 1831

Married Jane Boswell at Cobourg 13/2/36. Became a Surveyor for the Public Works Department. In the Montreal directory for 1849 he is listed as a draughtsman, Board of Works.

Publications: Cobourg Star

Reference: E. Guillet, ms. "Canadian Literary Pioneers".

RUMSEY, John

This work seems always to have been attributed to Rumsey, but no one has yet discovered the basis of the attribution, or any biographical details about the presumed author. He is referred to in several sources as having lived for a short time in Canada. It is evident from the text that he was a lawyer by training, and it seems possible, from his particular familiarity with the Court of Chancery that he either practised before it, or was associated with it in some way.

Publication: Curiae Canadensis. by Plinius Secundus.
Toronto, 1843.

RUSSELL, Gavin

b. in Scotland about 1817.

Emigrate 1832.

He passed his medical licensing examination on July 7, 1846, although because of the loss of his license in the mail, he was not actually licensed until 1847. He practised medicine in Carleton Place from July 1846 to July 1848, when he moved to Montreal. Letters to the Bathurst Courier show that he was actively interested in phrenology and lectured on the subject. Letters also show that he was involved in reform causes. He was an agent for the Bible Christian (Unitarian) in Carleton Place, and a number of letters in the Bathurst Courier accuse him of Unitarianism. In the Montreal Directory for 1849-50 he is listed as Dr. under "Phrenological Cabinet and surgery" at 6 Hospital Street. He is not in the 1850-51 directory.

Publications: Poetry in Brockville Statesman, Bathurst Courier, Montreal Pilot.

Letters in the Bible Christian.

Thoughts and sentiments connected with the invasion of Upper Canada by a band of lawless and unprincipled men, from the United States, in November, 1838. Montreal, 1839.

RUSSELL, James

Publication: Matilda, or the Indians' Captive Three Rivers, 1833.

RYAN, F.B.

According to the Pilot he was a doctor in Montreal 22/5/47. Obviously Irish.

Publication: The Spirit's Lament, or the Wrongs of Ireland.
Montreal, 1847.

RYAN, Michael

According to Guillet in The Valley of the Trent Ryan published poetry in both the Literary Garland and Barker's Magazine. It is easy to find the former, but it was not until the similarity of some of the Garland poems to works in a handwritten ms. by "Charlie Corncob, Tyendenaga" among the Baldwin papers was discovered that the Barker's poems signed "C.C." could be identified as his. One of them is also in the handwritten ms. Susanna Moodie refers to Ryan in her preface to the London edition of Mark Hurdlestone in 1853, describing him as a poor Irishman who inhabited a miserable log shanty in the township of Tyendenaga, and who appeared on the Moodie's doorstep to seek Sheriff Moodie's help. The small volume of 33 poems is dedicated to Robert Baldwin. It indicates the author's familiarity with classical literature and the law, and his sympathy for reform causes and Irish independence.

Publications: Poems in the Literary Garland and Barker's Magazine.

SAWTELL, M. Ethelind

Presumably the widow of Luther Sawtell, a Lieutenant in the Sorel Rifle Corps who died 5/3/39. (Quebec Transcript 16/3/39). There are poems in the Montreal Transcript beginning 15/4/48 signed M. Ethelind Kittson, Sorel, which suggests that she may have remained in Canada and married again. There is a poem signed M. Ethelind K. in the Literary Garland, August 1851.

Publications: The Mourner's Tribute. Montreal, 1840.

SMITH, William Wye 1827-1917

b. Jedburgh, Scotland, d. Burford, Ontario

Emigrate to Canada about 1837. Family had been several years in the U.S. He became a very well known Canadian poet in later years.

Publications: Alazon, and other Poems. Toronto, 1850.

Reference: Morgan

"Canadian Reminiscences" by W.W. Smith. A typed ms. in the Ontario Archives is dated 1900. MU 2124 Misc. Coll. 1900 #6.

SMYTH, John

d. at Toronto 1/9/52.

In the introductions to his two books of poetry we learn that he was raised on a farm and farmed until the age of 23. He was a land agent until 1837. From 1844 he got around Toronto

in a sort of wheelchair. He was a resident of the House of Industry and died there. Reviewers referred to him as "old", but that could mean anything. He may have been born about 1794.

Publications: Poems in the Toronto Examiner, Montreal Gazette and Bytown Gazette.
Select Poems. Toronto, 1841.
A small specimen of the genius of Canada West. Toronto, 1845.

SOULARD, Auguste 1819-1852

b. Saint-Roch des Aulnaies, d. Saint-Roch des Aulnaies

Publication: Le chien d'or in Le Canadien, 1839.

Reference: Boivin 335-6.

STEPHENS, William A. 1809-1891

b. Belfast, Ire., d. Owen Sound, Ont.

Emigrate 1830.

There are conflicting birth and death dates given. 1891 should be the correct death date, since a newspaper clipping pasted in the front of one of his books in the Baldwin Room refers to his death the previous Saturday. The clipping is wrong about other information though, so the birth date of 1806 which it mentions may also be wrong. Klinck, Morgan and Macmillan give 1809 as the year of birth. He was the son of Thomas and Ellen Stephens. He worked on the family farm at Norval, near Hamilton. His name appears as president of a Canadian Alliance meeting in Equesing (Correspondent and Advocate 12/3/35) which subscribed to the 23 articles set out by the Toronto Alliance. Both his parents were dead by 1844. On 13/11/45 he married Mary Ann Crispin at Cooksville, C.W. (Examiner 15/10/45). His address is given as Norval. In 1850 he was appointed Collector of Customs at Owen Sound and moved to that city.

Publications: Poems in Niagara Gleaner, Canadian Casket, Canadian Garland, (pseud. Newburn), Advocate, Palladium, Examiner, Hamilton Gazette, Cabinet of Literature.
Hamilton and other poems. Toronto, 1840.
Poetical Geography and Rhyming Rules for Spelling. Toronto, 1848.

Reference: W.A. Stephens. Diary 1855. OA MU844. Misc. Diaries.

Letter to A.T. Galt. Galt Papers. PAC MG27ID8 vol 4, 1841-6.

C.F. Klinck, "William A. Stephens, Poet of Canada West", Western Ontario History Notes, Vol. XII, Nos. 1 and 2 (1854), 33-40.

SULLIVAN, Robert Baldwin 1802-1853

b. Bandon, Ire., d. Toronto

Emigrate 1819.

Both D.B. Read and Henry Scadding refer to Sullivan as having written the "Cinna" poems. His authorship of the "Legion" letters was acknowledged at the time of publication.

Publications: Poems and stories, under the pseudonym Cinna, in Canadian Magazine, 1833.

Letters on Responsible Government. Toronto, 1844.

Reference: D.B. Read, Lives of the Judges, Toronto, 1888.

SWEENEY, Robert 1798?-1840

b. probably in Ireland, d. Montreal

Son of Campbell Sweeney, inspector of pot and pearl ashes at Montreal. At the time of his death he was Asst. Insp.

Married Charlotte Temple of Rutland, Vermont, 11/9/33. Son born Oct. 1839. His widow married (later Sir) John Rose at Bethel, Vermont 3/7/43. Sweeney is best known historically for the duel in which he killed Major H.J. Warde of the 1st Royals, one of the British military heroes of 1837. The duel took place 22/5/38 and Sweeney, who fled the country for a time, was never prosecuted. According to Aegidius Fauteux, The Duel in Canada, the whole thing was a mistake. Warde had mistaken Mrs. Sweeney as a lady who had shown interest in him and had sent her flowers. Sweeney challenged him in defense of his wife's honour. Warde, whose father was a General, was buried with full military honours. When Sweeney died of a heart condition two years later it was said that he had never recovered from the tragic event. Somehow, in error, it became accepted that Sweeney, not Warde, was killed in the duel, and this has been repeated in the Literary History of Canada and in Macmillan.

Publications: Poems in Montreal newspapers in 1820s and early 30s.

Odds and Ends. New York, 1826. Reprinted in Montreal, 1836.

Remnants. Montreal, 1835.

Reference: Macmillan.

TESSIER, Ulric-Joseph 1817-1892

b. Quebec, d. Quebec

Publication: "Emma, ou l'amour malheureux" in Le Télégraphe, 1837.

Reference: Boivin 368-9.

TRAILL, Catherine Parr 1802-1899

b. London, Eng., d. Lakefield, Ont.

Emigrate 1832.

Publications: The Backwoods of Canada. London, 1835
Stories and poems in Literary Garland and
Victoria Magazine.

Reference: Introduction to New Canadian Library edition of
Backwoods by Clara Thomas.
 Morgan.

TRAVELLER, Reuben

The poet could be either father or son of the same name. There is a letter to Philemon Wright, dated Bytown, 26 Nov. 1831 (PAC MG24D8 vol. 20, 7792-5) in which Reuben Traveller reminds Wright that they had first met seven years earlier when his wife died and left him with children to raise. He had to leave the seclusion of the woods for a job in the lumber trade. He is afraid that he may lose his job in the next season because timber will be counted and not measured. He wants grants of land for his sons, now grown, who will look after him. He came to Canada from the middle states and is an emigrant of 12 years standing. "...when a Boy [I] helped to fight the Battles of my Country at sea against the french. I also accompanied the late much lamented Mongo Park to Africa on his last attempt to discover the source of the River Niger." According to the Bytown Gazette 16/4/40 he was an official Timber Measurer. 4/1/44 he is referred to as Twp. Clerk of Nepean. The family seem to have resided in Nepean in the late 1840s.

Publications: Poetry and prose in the Bytown Gazette and the
Ottawa Advocate during the 1840s.

TROBRIAND, Régis 1817-

b. Britany

Publication: Le Rebelle. Quebec 1842. Previously appeared
 in Le Courrier des Etats-Unis, which he edited
 and in which he wrote extensively.

Reference: Introduction to Ré-édition - Québec 1968 reprint
 of Le Rebelle.

WARD, J.G.

Ward appears to have been a printer by trade. In February 1834 he is referred to as Adam Thom's "right hand man" at the Montreal Settler. By December 1834, he was editor of the Cobourg Reformer and remained in that post until the last issue in December 1835. His politics were definitely reform, despite his earlier connection with Adam Thom. He married

Margaret Glassford of Montreal 31/10/33. She died, age 20, 11/8/34 of an "apoplectic fit". He appears, from his many references to the English education system, to have been born in that country.

Publication: The Spring of Life. Montreal, 1834.

WELLS, William Benjamin 1809-1881

b. Augusta Twp. U.C., d. Toronto

The connection of Wells with "Cinna" of Barker's Magazine and the British Whig was made by Rev. Henry Scadding in 1877 - within Wells' lifetime and not denied. Family papers refer to him as writing from his youth. He did publish one book on politics. The census returns for 1851 and 61 list his wife as a Roman Catholic, born in Newfoundland. He was a member of the Church of England. She was thirteen years his junior.

Publications: Prose and poetry in Barker's Magazine and in the British Whig.

Canadians, containing sketches of Upper Canada, and the crisis in its political affairs. London, 1837.

Reference: Wells Family papers. Queen's University Archives.

DCB XI 913-4.

WILLIAMSON, Alexander Johnson 1796?-1870

b. Scotland, d. Toronto

Emigrate before 1824.

Married Augusta Ann McNabb at Belleville 28/6/24. She died at Belleville 17/2/40. His youngest son, James, drowned at Belleville 23/8/33. Williamson practised medicine on his arrival in Canada and was always referred to as "Dr.". In 1830-31 he edited the Anglo-Canadian at Belleville. A

Cobourg Star article 3/7/33 refers to him as a resident of Peterborough, and the ad advising that Intemperance is ready for subscribers is dated at Cobourg in August 1835. Original Poems is dated at Toronto in 1836. He is not listed in the Toronto directory until 1850, and is still there in 1856, although not in 1859. The preface to Devotional Poems refers to the charity he has received in the "utter want" of the previous "five terrible years." Macmillan says he was a clerk in the Education Office in Toronto.

Publications: Poems in the Cobourg Star, Christian Guardian, Kingston Chronicle, The Church, Upper Canada Herald and Cobourg Reformer.

Intemperance and Other Trifles. Cobourg, 1835.

Original Poems on Various Subjects. Toronto, 1836. [This is probably the same work as above. The title had been publicly criticized on the grounds that intemperance was not a trifle. No copy of the Cobourg work has survived for comparison.]

Devotional Poems. Toronto, 1840.

Faith in God. Toronto, 1840. A sermon.

The Doctrines of Modern Geology Refuted. Toronto, 1841.

Reference: Macmillan.

WILLIAMSON, John d. 1840

b. N. of Scotland, d. Edinburgh while on a visit.

Emigrate 1832 as Chelsea pensioner.

From internal evidence he would appear to have been born about 1780. Reviews of his work and his obituary refer to him as an old man. Other biographical data can be found in the memoir itself.

Publication: Narrative of a Commuted Pensioner. Montreal, 1838.

WILLIS, John Howard 1803?-1847

d. Quebec

His place of birth is not known. In the Montreal Gazette 19/1/33 he refers to Canada as his native land. The earliest mention of his father in military records for Canada is as Asst. Barrack-Master at Montreal in 1810. When he died in 1826 he was Barrack-Master at Lachine. Willis was a Clerk in the Commissariat Department. He was listed as a "conductor" in 1833-4, the only year for which detailed accounts survive. In the 1820s and early 1830s his poetry and prose appeared in the Montreal Gazette under the pseudonym "Long Tom Coffin". The Gazette 9/1/34 commented that "Long Tom" had not had the advantages of a collegiate education, but that he nonetheless had a strong place in Canadian literature. He also published under his own name in the Gazette between 1830-34. Many of his poems seem to have appeared first in the Quebec Mercury, which has not survived. He was married to Julia Hannah, who died at St. Antoine de Tilly, age 37, on 4/8/45. A book, "The Woman Hater" was proposed in 1828 but did not appear.

Publications: Poems and prose in Montreal Gazette and Quebec Mercury. Apparently also published in the New York Mirror.

Scraps and Sketches of a Literary Lounger. Montreal, 1831.

WILLSON, David 1778-1866

b. Dutchess, County, N.Y., d. Sharon, C.W.
Emigrate 1801.

Publications: Poems in the Toronto Examiner and Toronto
Mirror.

Reference: DCB IX 341-3.

WILTON, Henry

Wilton was an officer in the 23rd Fusiliers. Some parts of his memoir had appeared serially in the Montreal Morning Courier. A review in the British Whig 29/3/48 says that Wilton had published three other works. He lectured to the Mercantile Library Association in Montreal (Gazette 20/3/48) on "A Visit to the Holy Land in 1846".

Publications: Scraps from my Journal, or Scenes from a Soldier's Life. Montreal, 1848.
The Deserters. Montreal, 1847. [pamphlet]

WYLIE, David 1811-1891

b. Renfrewshire, Scotland, d. Brockville, Ont.
Emigrate 1845.

A printer by trade, he worked for John Becket on his arrival in Montreal. In 1849 he became parliamentary reporter for the Montreal Herald. After the removal of parliament he became editor of the Brockville Recorder 1850-83. According to his obituary, he became a pillar of the community and by the time of his retirement was known as the "father of the Canadian press." The same obituary says that Recollections of a Convict had been published in Cupar before he emigrated, but no copy exists in either the British Museum or the National Library of Scotland.

Publications: Poems in the Oddfellows Record, Montreal Transcript, Literary Garland and Chatham Gleaner. Usually signed "Y-LE".

Two broadsides: "Ode on the Press" Montreal, 1848 and "Songs from the Heart" n.d.

Recollections of a Convict. Montreal, 1847.

Reference: Rose, Cyclopedia of Canadian Biography, 542-4.

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