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CANADIAN NATIONALITY IN SARA JEANNETTE DUNCAN'S
INTERNATIONAL NOVELS:
GROWING GOLDENROD IN SIMLA

by

© Misao A. Dean, B.A.

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of
Graduate Studies in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

Department of English

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

September 28, 1982

We, the undersigned recommend to the Faculty
of Graduate Studies acceptance of the thesis

"Canadian Nationality in Sara Jeannette Duncan's
International Novels;
Growing Goldenrod in Simla."

submitted by Misao A. Dean, B.A.
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
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ABSTRACT

Sara Jeannette Duncan's international novels display her consistent concern with the task of defining a unique Canadian nationality. For Duncan, that nationality is founded upon the reconciliation of the British concern with tradition and the American concern with freedom. By reconciling the fundamental principles of its two most significant influences, Britain and the United States, Duncan feels that Canada approaches a spiritual ideal.

Chapter One deals with Duncan's first four international novels, An American Girl in London, A Voyage of Consolation, A Daughter of Today and Those Delightful Americans, which show Duncan creating a context for Canada by defining and criticizing Britain and the United States. Chapters Two, Three and Four show Duncan defining Canadian society, identity and international mission in The Imperialist, Cousin Cinderella and His Royal Happiness. Chapter Five explicates the changes in attitude exhibited in Duncan's post World War One novels, Title Clear and The Gold Cure.

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Introduction,

The influence of national culture on personality is a major theme in Sara Jeannette Duncan's work, and the concept of national culture is a significant element of her artistic vision. Duncan's characters embody the political philosophies she presents as typical of their homelands. Through carefully drawn character she explores and defines the nature of the United States, Britain and Canada. The last, her homeland, has particular importance in her moral and artistic vision. Throughout her journalism and her international novels Duncan exhibits a consistent concern for the definition of Canada; a profile of Canadian society, identity and international mission emerges from her critique of the United States and Britain. Canadians are at the centre of her world view; they provide a positive standard of personal morality, social flexibility and political insight against which other cultures are exposed as self-absorbed and commercially motivated. She judges the United States and Britain from an identifiably Canadian point of view, and her work illustrates the developing tradition which links the Yankees of Haliburton and MacLennan, and the Englishmen of Richardson and Leacock.

Duncan was born in Canada, and began her career as a journalist for the Toronto Globe, the Washington Post, the Montreal Star and The Week. But when she turned to fiction, she did not immediately write about Canada. Her first book, A Social Departure, is a semi-fictional account of her trip around the world with fellow-journalist Lily Lewis. Duncan allows Canada to fade into the background of the book as she and her companion discover Japan, South-east Asia and India. Of the nineteen books which followed A Social Departure, sixteen make only token references to Canada; they concentrate instead on life in London, New York and Calcutta. Duncan's early years in Canada seem, at first glance, to have had little impact on her work.

The general critical response to Duncan's work is governed by the fact of her international career. Claude Bissell states that her work "might be said to belong either to Anglo-Indian or to English writing."¹ Lionel Stevenson remarks in Appraisals of Canadian Literature that Duncan "does not set out to interpret Canada either to her own inhabitants or to outsiders."²

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¹Claude Bissell, "Introduction", The Imperialist (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1971), p. v.

²Lionel Stevenson, Appraisals of Canadian Literature (Toronto: MacMillan, 1926), p. 126.

For both Bissell and Stevenson, Duncan's novels are not Canadian literature.

The exclusion of most of Duncan's work from the canon of Canadian literature is based in part on a narrow definition of the term Canadian. Bissell and Stevenson define a work as Canadian if it is set in Canada. Thomas Tausky follows that definition when he states that "students of Canadian literature have little cause to love"³ Everard Cotes, the Anglo-Indian civil servant who married Duncan and introduced her to India and England; according to Tausky, if Duncan had stayed in Canada her work might have been Canadian.

But Canadian literature should perhaps not be defined by the setting of the works alone -- works may also be claimed as Canadian by virtue of what might be called their author's national viewpoint, their attitude to Canada, their sense of the rightness of Canadian habit and custom, their willingness to see Canadian personality as the norm or even the ideal. By those criteria, Sara Jeannette Duncan is a Canadian writer, and her works may form part of the Canadian literary tradition.

Duncan's technique of employing a detached, ironic

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³Thomas Tausky, Sara Jeannette Duncan, Novelist of Empire (Port Credit: P.D. Meany, 1980), p. 1.

narrator contributes to the impression that her work is not Canadian. The narrator of The Imperialist, the only novel set in Canada, speaks in a superior and almost scientifically detached voice which prompts Northrop Frye to quote a passage from the novel as a classic example of the author who refuses to advocate any position or to ally herself with any tradition: "Here is a voice of genuine detachment, sympathetic but not defensive either of the group or of herself, concerned primarily to understand and to make the reader see."⁴ While for Frye ironic detachment from nationality is the mark of a mature writer who finds a place in a literary universe by transcending national bias, for more traditional critics Duncan's irony is merely a source of confusion. Michael Peterman remarks that Duncan's seeming lack of a national orientation has in effect excluded her from a place in British, Indian or Canadian literature. Consequently, her reputation is unstable:

Much of the instability of her reputation today grows out of the fact that, because of her flexibility and cosmopolitan ease, she seemed in her time a homeless writer, one who could write **trenchantly** of India's political difficulties, of life in Parisian garrets, of social comedy in London and New York, but one who never clearly identified herself with a national literary tradition . . . . the "delightful" manner in which she made use of the international theme,

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⁴Northrop Frye, The Bush Garden (Toronto: Anansi, 1971), p. 237.

had the effect of denationalising her.⁵

All of Duncan's international novels seem to conform to Frye's definition of the ironic: the reader is not sure what the author's point of view is, or what his own is supposed to be.⁶ However, the ironic narrator is only one device which she uses to make her points clear. Characters in fiction are often intended to be attractive or unattractive morally; in Duncan's work, Canadians are generally heroic, self-knowing, imaginative and insightful, while representatives of other cultures are self-absorbed and inflexible. The resolution of conflict in novels often reveals an author's viewpoint. The comedic "happy endings" of most of Duncan's international novels are guided by her judgement that Canada must be recognized as a political and moral force. The factors of plot, characterization and the resolution of conflict show that Duncan was not denationalised, and her journalism and novels, read as an entire, coherent body of work, reflect her commitment to Canada.

Thomas Tausky, in the only study of all of Duncan's work, Sara Jeanette Duncan, Novelist of Empire, interprets Duncan's life as the struggle of an unconventional,

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⁵Michael Peterman, "Humour and Balance in The Imperialist", Journal of Canadian Studies (II:2, 56-64, May '76), pp. 57-8.

⁶Northrop Frye, Anatomy of Criticism (Princeton University Press, 1971).

freedom loving woman against the conventions which restrict her. Because freedom is often expressed in Duncan's novels through characters from the United States, Tausky judges that "Sara Jeanette Duncan is considerably less sympathetic to English manners than she is to North American culture."⁷ Tausky fails to acknowledge the important distinction between Canadians and citizens of the United States in Duncan's novels; Canadians are sometimes idealised, while Americans are often subtly ridiculed. In his analysis of the international novels he does not acknowledge Duncan's focus on the definition of a Canadian nationality, an issue which he regards as peripheral to her description of international manners. Although he acknowledges the essential "conservatism" of Duncan's personal search for freedom, he blurs her distinction between legitimate reverence for tradition and the destructive excess of tradition, "snobbery" and conformism.

Duncan wrote twenty-one books, as well as innumerable articles for several North American publications and the India Daily News. Her work includes a collection of essays, a juvenile novel and a group of four novellas; the remainder of the books are full length novels. The nine novels which deal with the international theme

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⁷ Novelist of Empire, p. 92. Tausky's analysis of Duncan's personality may be found on pages 77-79.

of the New world encountering the Old are of particular interest in an examination of Duncan's continuing concern with Canada and in Canadians as models of behaviour. They are An American Girl in London, A Daughter of Today, A Voyage of Consolation, Those Delightful Americans, The Imperialist, Cousin Cinderella, His Royal Happiness, Title Clear, and The Gold Cure. The novels which deal with England alone, or with India and her relations with England show Duncan's understanding of the importance of the colonial contribution to the Empire, and they champion the actions of colonial-born administrators against the interference of uninformed British politicians. While they help to establish the consistency of Duncan's view overall, the Anglo-Indian and British novels will not be discussed in this study which is confined to the specifically Canadian dimension of her work.

Nations form their actions according to their national characters, for Duncan, and her central concern in the international novels is to reconcile the divergent national characters of Britain and the United States. The task is a logical one for a Canadian, who recognizes that Canada's significant involvement with both nations reveal sharp irritations between the two countries and a tendency of each to misunderstand the other. Duncan's novels depict Canada as capable of bringing Britain and the United States into harmony, and in the

process creating an ideal society.

For Duncan, as for other Canadians of her time, the social forces of freedom and tradition balance in an ideal society. The balance was disturbed in the English-speaking community by the American Revolution. Britain was cut off from her educated, democratic citizens and from a source of wealth and economic energy, and so became stagnant and conventional. The United States, cut off from the stabilising effect of British tradition, deteriorated into an individualistic society obsessed with money-making, with no regard for the poor and no conception of social justice. Canada received the influence of British tradition and American freedom, and discovered that freedom and tradition are not essentially in opposition; rather they are complementary principles which make up an ideal society. In Duncan's novels, Canada is the ideal society which reconciles freedom and tradition.

A close reading of Duncan's international novels shows her analysis of the principles of American freedom and British tradition and the ways they are manifested in politics, personal behaviour and commercial endeavour. In the political sphere, freedom is manifested in republican democracy; tradition is manifested in constitutional monarchy. In the behaviour of individuals, freedom is marked by direct and unself-conscious conversation; tradition is marked by circumspect

statement closely censored by established norms. In commerce, freedom invigorates speculative capitalism, and tradition constrains it. Both forces may act constructively or destructively, depending upon the extent to which each is influenced by the other.¹ Unrestrained freedom produces oppression of the poor, corruption of the political system and the tyranny of commercial monopolies; complacent tradition results in resistance to change and reliance on conventional moral rules at the expense of active moral judgement.

Duncan's assessment of British, American and Canadian nationalities surfaces first in her journalism. In her columns for The Week, she interprets Canadian literary culture as a complex synthesis of elements from both British and American sources. She is wary of American cultural influence, which came across the border in a deluge of books, newspapers and magazines. She wrote that American influence would stifle original method and content in Canadian writing:

It is not the taste of the literary culture implied in the fact, but the fact itself which is pertinent to our argument. Once Canadian minds are thoroughly impregnated with American matter, American methods in⁸ their own work, will not be hard to trace.

Duncan does not argue that American taste is defective. Most critics acknowledge her admiration for the work

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⁸Duncan, Selected Journalism, ed. T. Tausky (Ottawa: Tecumseh, 1978), pp. 112-5 (The Week, July 2, 1887).

of Henry James and W.D. Howells. But she does argue strongly that the Canadian way is not the American way. She is equally hostile to the British presence in Canadian literary endeavour, and draws a sharp line between the previous generation of colonial writers and the current generation of Canadian born authors. Of the previous generation, she writes:

Their ideals were British, their methods were British, their markets were chiefly British, and they are mostly gathered to their British fathers, leaving the work to descendants, whose present, and not whose past, country is the actual, potential fact in their national life. There is a wide difference, though comparatively few years span it, between colonial and a Canadian. . . .⁹

Duncan rejects the United States and Britain as determining forces in Canadian culture, but sees both as formative influences. "There is no use endeavouring to disguise our complexity," she writes, for Canadians are not "a simple unit with a single purpose." She remarks that "candour compels us to admit the ramifications that history and geography have conspired to bring about in us," and goes on to explain, for the benefit of our southern neighbours, that we are not ashamed of our British heritage. Canadians choose to maintain the British connection while rejoicing in their freedom, with the confidence that English ways "can never become indigenous."¹⁰

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⁹Selected Journalism, p. 57 (The Week, May 26, 1887).

¹⁰Selected Journalism, p. 57 (The Week, May 26, 1887).

In Duncan's novels, United States freedom and British tradition are united in Canadian society and Canadian individuals. For Duncan, Canadian society satisfies the two important needs in political man: the need for self-government, and the need to look up to an ideal example. With these two important principles firmly in view, the nation can move to material prosperity without giving up the humanistic goals of charity, political stability, and universal education.

G.M. Grant and George Parkin, two of Canada's most important imperialist thinkers and Duncan's contemporaries, agree that the distinguishing element of Canada is reconciliation and harmonising of the republican and monarchical tendencies. "In many ways Canada holds a curious middle position in political thought between Great Britain and the United States,"¹¹ Parkin writes in The Great Dominion. "In framing her system Canada took many hints from the United States." However, "in the practical work of government the United States might well take lessons from Canada," he goes on, citing political corruption, partisan organization of the Civil Service and regional marriage laws as instances of the failure of United States republican

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¹¹ George Parkin, The Great Dominion (London: MacMillan & Co., 1895), p. 232.

government. He praises Canada's adoption of the American federal system, "in harmony with British institutions"¹² and hopes federalism will become a model for the Empire.

Grant believes that good government "consists in the union of two truths that are contrary but not contradictory."¹³ He criticises the United States because it is based only on his first truth, "That the people are the ultimate foundations of all power. . . ."

In consequence, all appeals are made to that which is lowest in our nature, for such appeals are made to the greatest number and are most likely to be immediately successful. The character of public men and the national character deteriorate. Neither elevation of sentiment, nor refinement of manners, is cultivated. Still more fatal consequences, the very ark of the nation is carried periodically into heady fights; for the time being, the citizen has no country; he has only his party, and the unity of the country is constantly imperilled.¹⁴

The will of the people must be balanced by a second truth, "That Government is of God, and should be strong, stable and above the people . . . .",¹⁵ according to Grant. These two truths are perfectly balanced in the British Constitution, he states, and for that reason

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¹²The Great Dominion, pp. 234-35.

¹³G.M. Grant, Ocean to Ocean, revised edition (Toronto: Radisson Society, 1925), p. 410.

¹⁴Ocean to Ocean, p. 411.

¹⁵Ocean to Ocean, p. 410.

to form is socially stifling, and morally damning.

In An American Girl in London Duncan judges that the excessive freedom and equality which characterize the United States are not natural to mankind, and encourage egoism. In opposition to freedom Duncan places the excessive tradition of Britain, which results in the domination of society by meaningless rules and the defeat of social progress by poverty.

II

Duncan continues to explore American and British personality in A Voyage of Consolation, the sequel to An American Girl in London. A Voyage of Consolation takes Mamie Wick from the dissolution of her engagement to Arthur Page, an ardent American patriot who objects to her newly acquired British accent, through a European tour with her family to soothe her expectations, to a reunion with Page at the Dover registry office. While in Europe the Wick family meet Charles Mafferton, who is travelling in company with another character from An American Girl, Mrs. Portheris, and her daughter Isabel. The various romantic intentions of Mafferton, Isabel, Mamie and her American friend Dicky Dod provide interest as Mamie describes European tourist attractions in the style of a popular guidebook.

The focus of the irony shifts from Mamie to her father, Senator Joshua P. Wick, who **tends** to judge

to spiritual self-improvement by reconciling the forces of freedom and tradition.

The idea of reconciliation is represented in many Canadian novels in the form of a single character, often an emerging protagonist. R.D. Mathews recognizes a "community builder" in Canadian novels, who is usually "a reconciler of opposites."¹⁹ According to Mathews, in Canadian novels opposition is presented in two kinds of individualists, one of whom represents anarchic freedom and is often identified with the United States, and the other who represents order in the society and is identified with Britain. Both kinds of individualists are rejected or destroyed in major Canadian fiction, Mathews contends, while the reconciler is recognized as hero. Mathews argues that the figure of the reconciler has become important in Canadian fiction because of Canada's colonial position: "In English Canada the reconciliation of forces has been a colonial people's way of attempting to transform potentially destructive forces which they cannot-- in the real world-- control outright."¹⁹ In Duncan's fiction, representatives of the United States and Britain are not as threatening as Mathews makes out. But they are incomplete people--egotistical, uninformed, or temporarily blinded. Duncan

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¹⁹Robin Mathews, Canadian Literature, Surrender or Revolution (Toronto: Steel Rail, 1978), pp. 2-3.

depicts the education or transformation of these characters very often in the shadow of a Canadian, and she shows, too, the triumph of Canadians who can take advantage of Canada's inheritance of both **freedom** and tradition.

Individual Canadians in Duncan's novels are **usually** in the process of self-discovery in relation to the Canadian cultural heritage. They bring their own actions into harmony with that heritage as part of the action of the novel. Duncan's Canadians move toward personal revelation and liberation by discovering their membership in a community which imposes obligations and liberates desires. The individual Canadian reconciles personal freedom and social obligation, for the acceptance of the community and its hold on the individual is part of the journey toward personal autonomy and maturity.

Duncan's depiction of Canada grows from her criticisms of Britain and the United States. Like her Canadian contemporaries, she thought that the American Constitution was an unnatural and artificial construction which contributed to the chaotic social organization evident in late nineteenth century America. Her views emerge clearly in the first four international novels, An American Girl in London, A Daughter of Today, A Voyage of Consolation and Those Delightful Americans, all of which depict Americans in contact with Europeans. The same novels portray a stagnant

Europe which is overly concerned with convention and authority and which is floundering economically. Both cultures are rejected as models for ideal social organization.

Duncan's Canadian novels, The Imperialist, Cousin Cinderella and His Royal Happiness are concerned with defining Canadian society, identity and mission. In The Imperialist, an imaginative character must learn that the structure and judgement of Canadian society is superior to that of foreign powers. Cousin Cinderella depicts two Canadians coming to an understanding of their own culture and the extent of its demands on them as individuals. In His Royal Happiness Canada's role as a conciliator and as an example of ideal co-operation is depicted. All three books are chronologically and imaginatively at the centre of Duncan's international novels.

The last two international novels, Title Clear and The Gold Cure reflect the changes in world politics brought about by the First World War. In the former people from the United States are still individualists but are now ready to acknowledge the values they hold in common with Britain. The final novel cements that alliance with a sentimental romance.

Duncan formed her ideas about nationality and national mission while in Canada. Like the Canadian narrator in On the Other Side of the Latch, Duncan's

book of essays, she did not forget her homeland while she lived in India. Instead, she grew "the King's goldenrod"²⁰ in her mountain garden in Simla, and from the metaphoric significance of that transplanted Canadian wildflower drew metaphors of Canada's place in the world.

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²⁰Duncan, On the Other Side of the Latch (London: Methuen, 1901), p. 153.

Chapter One

The Process of Definition

Since Confederation, Canadians have often attempted to define what Canada is by first discussing what it is not. A process of negative definition has been forced upon Canada by history and geography; the ever-present threat of assimilation into the British or American Empires has prompted defensive attacks on both Britain and the United States with the aim of preserving Canadian independence. Canadian imperialists such as George Parkin, G.M. Grant and George Taylor Denison engaged in a critique of Britain and the United States as a first step toward defining a unique Canadian nationality. Sara Jeannette Duncan's first four international novels, An American Girl in London (1891), A Voyage of Consolation (1898), A Daughter of Today (1894), and Those Delightful Americans (1902) provide a similar critique for, it would seem, a similar purpose.

The major points of Duncan's critique are clear in the novels. In Duncan's view, American society is based on the false assumption that total personal freedom and equality are a natural basis for stable society. Duncan shows that the assumption is false

because unrestrained freedom leads away from social stability to social atomization, egoism, selfishness and amorality. In contrast, she sees British society as based upon the force of tradition. Britain's citizens are dominated by the forms and conventions of a highly structured, class conscious society which no longer understands the ideal principles behind the forms. Britain, therefore, is afraid of change, is enervated and morally bankrupt.

Duncan develops her critique of Britain and the United States by means of subtle fictional techniques which do not seem to have been analysed fully by critics. As a result there does not yet seem to be a general recognition either of Duncan's skill or the purpose to which she uses it in the first four international novels. An American Girl in London, Those Delightful Americans and A Voyage of Consolation employ first person narration by a young British or American woman; in them, Duncan uses irony to undercut the moral position from which the narrator judges the nation she visits. The ironic narrator satirizes the people she meets, but she is in turn satirized to an equal extent. Duncan's criticisms of the narrator who originates in the United States, however, have not been clearly seen: Thomas Tausky states that "Sara Jeannette Duncan is considerably less sympathetic to English manners than she is to North American

culture."¹ Duncan does indeed admire the energy of her American characters, but she does so much as Thomas Chandler Haliburton admires his Sam Slick; in both cases admiration is balanced by a demonstration of the destructive elements of a personality shaped by the United States.

The fourth of the first four international novels, A Daughter of Today, is similarly a source of confusion concerning Duncan's technique. The novel is a complex portrait of a talented young woman, told from the detached viewpoint of a third person narrator who remains unidentified. Many themes aside from the central problem of nationality are touched upon: sex and its influence upon art, the distinctions between popular and serious art, the morality of sexual behaviour and the possibility of friendship between women. But when critical attention is focused upon the problem of nationality in the novel, the point of view, far from seeming "merely confused,"² becomes clear: as in the other early international novels, Duncan judges from the viewpoint of a Canadian and finds the two other cultures wanting.

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¹Thomas Tausky, Sara Jeannette Duncan, Novelist of Empire (Port Credit: P.D. Meany, 1980), p. 92.

²Novelist of Empire, p. 111.

Confirmation of the assertion that Duncan judges from a Canadian viewpoint comes from a comparison of her attitudes with those of her contemporaries. Canadian imperialists were centrally concerned, Carl Berger says, with criticism of the political thought and reality of Britain and the United States, and such criticism was not "primarily a fretful, sterile and rootless phenomenon." Duncan's imperialist contemporaries attempted to define Canada as "stable, ordered and destined to become a great imperial power"³ by examining and criticizing the negative examples of Britain and the United States.

Canadian criticism of the United States centred on its Constitution. Many Canadians felt that equality, unrestrained freedom and individualism were not legitimately ruling forces in human nature, and so were not a stable base for a community. Those Canadians held that political corruption in the United States government during the 1870's and 80's, the accompanying violent labour/management confrontations, and the social evils resulting from industrialization and rapid urbanization were a direct result of the inferior United States Constitution. Berger sums up the Canadian attitude:

Americans could not have social organization

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³Carl Berger, The Sense of Power (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), p. 176.

because they espoused an unworkable theory of society. Rejecting the binding force of convention and the legacies of the past, possessing no secure anchor in human nature, lacking a sense of social obligation and bereft of all principle except money-making, American society stood as living proof . . . that men cannot adopt a constitution any more than they can adopt a father.⁴

Canadian imperialists considered the British Constitution superior to all others. The British mix of representative democracy and aristocracy and of written and unwritten laws seemed to combine the best elements of government in a flexible way. In the Canadian view, however, British practice was not consistent with that fundamental flexibility. Canadians criticized the "rigid class structure of England" and avowed, in contrast, that "Canadians did not need any antique code or musty rules from a Herald's office to tell them what to respect."⁵ They objected to the free trade policy of the British government which emphasized industrialization and resulted in "the gross slums and wretched poverty of industrial England which brutalised the poor and destroyed for them all the higher spiritual elements of life."⁶ Canadians saw the refusal of the British government to take Canadian advice on colonial trade.

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⁴The Sense of Power, p. 162.

⁵The Sense of Power, p. 63.

⁶Terry Cook, "G.M. Grant and Britannic Idealism," Journal of Canadian Studies, X No. 3, pp. 15-31, p. 23.

policy and the Canadian fisheries and Alaska boundary disputes as further evidence of British short-sightedness and obtuseness.⁷

Duncan's first four international novels reflect the Canadian judgement of the United States and Britain. Duncan shows the ease with which Americans give up their supposed democratic views, and adopt what she believes is the more natural system of entrenched privilege when it flatters their own egos. Americans are lacking, moreover, in any sense of social obligation in Duncan's novels, and promote individualism in its place. In A Daughter of Today the two poles of freedom and tradition are represented as United States' egoism faces strict and artificial standards in British society. Britain is dominated by contrived formulas which stifle intuition and make communication difficult. The author invites the reader, by her exposure of the characteristics of the two nations, to reject both. She does not yet offer the Canadian alternative, but she does not opt for United States culture, as Tausky suggests she does.⁸

I

An American Girl in London is the story of Mamie

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⁷These generalizations are based on J.B. Brebner, North Atlantic Triangle (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945) Chapters XI and XVI.

⁸See above, p. 20.

Wick, an American heiress who goes to London hoping to gain an understanding of British culture. She is recognized as a typical American girl by Lady Torquillin and her nephew Charles Mafferton who is seeking an American heiress to marry. Mafferton arranges for Mamie to visit most of the tourist attractions of London, and escorts her through London society. After her presentation at court, Mamie is forced to leave Britain because of the scandal created when she refuses Mafferton's offer of marriage.

Misreading of Mamie's character has caused misinterpretation of Duncan's purpose in writing the novel. Thomas Tausky, for instance, interprets Mamie as a literary derivative of W.D. Howell's Kitty Ellison who is an idealization of American womanhood. Tausky, concentrating on the similarities between the two heroines rather than the differences, sums up the correspondences he finds:

Both are innocent, in the sense of having limited experience of life, yet shrewd and observant. Both seek out an older civilization (in Kitty's case Quebec, in Mamie's case London) and they react in similar ways, rejecting what they take to be snobbishness and arrogance but feeling attracted to the romance inherent in charming traditions. Both record their impressions in an engaging, flippant style.⁹

There is no doubt Mamie resembles Kitty, and that the

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⁹Novelist of Empire, p. 94.

novel is influenced by Howells. But Kitty is an ideal American. The snoboishness she reacts against is the snobbishness of a Bostonian man who woos her; and her rejection of his life is an affirmation of the American self-image. Mamie on the other hand, reacts against British snobbishness in a stereotyped, anglophobic way which in no way idealizes her. She voices Duncan's own criticism of British society, but her egoism, cultural blindness and acceptance of the rigid British class system are self-condemning and permit Duncan to make a strong criticism of the roots of action in United States society.

Mamie arrives in London with the conviction that the British mix of political equality and elitism is inferior to American equality, but leaves with that conviction shaken. While riding on the top of a double decker bus, she begins to "enjoy looking down on others, and "to understand the agreeableness of class distinctions."⁶ She admits that Americans find the elitism of British society very attractive:

I don't know why it is that the exclusiveness of the English fascinates Americans so. We are opposed to it constitutionally, and every Fourth of July we restate our opposition to it with great dramatic fervor wherever a picnic is gathered together from California to Maine. Individually, too, we are firmly of the opinion that nothing is more narrow

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⁶Sara Jeannette Duncan, An American Girl in London, (New York: D. Appleton, 1891), p. 29. Further references will be by page number unless otherwise specified.

minded than social distinctions of class
 . . . I go on liking the way you shut
 people out and let other people in, without
 inquiring further as to why I do.⁷

Mamie discovers that American ideals of equality are not universally applicable, as she thought they were, but seem confined only to her little bit of the United States: "Americans coming over here with all their social theories in their trunks, so to speak . . . very seldom seem to find a use for them in England." (161) She discovers that her own standards, which she feels are based on freedom, the most true and important fact of human existence, are not natural to mankind. Instead, she begins to see that the pageantry of the monarchy and the elevation of the aristocracy in England "encourages sentiment, and is valuable on that account." (198)

Mamie's acceptance of British elitism is based not only on her observation of the workings of society,

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⁷Duncan, An American Girl in London (New York: Rand McNally, n.d.), p. 149. Duncan's novels went through several editions with various publishers in London, New York and in some cases Toronto. The various editions do not seem to differ substantially. However, in this case, the Rand McNally edition shows the theme of fascination with elitism much more clearly than the previously cited Appleton edition. In most cases the changes seem to account for facts which the audience might find unfamiliar, such as Mary's comment in the English version of Cousin Cinderella (omitted in the New York edition), that only four commissions in the English army are available to Canadians. (London: Methuen, 1908), p. 3. In general, this study cites the editions of the novels which are most easily available in Ottawa.

but on a trait which Duncan implies is culturally acquired: egoism. Mamie was raised in a nation founded on the "good-as-you feeling carried into politics"⁸ and in England Mamie finds that she can be set on a level with people who seem much higher than her friends in the United States. She appreciates the class structure because it places her on its highest pinnacle. Mamie's presentation at court is the most striking example of the way her egoism affects her principles. The elaborate and strictly regulated preparation of a gown and hairstyle suitable for the occasion give her an exalted sense of self-importance. She describes her appearance as she steps into the carriage that will take her to the palace:

I was wearing, as well as a beautiful sweeping gown, a lofty and complete set of monarchical prejudices . . . . I was too much fascinated by my outward self. (293)

Mamie is enchanted by the effect which monarchical pageantry has on her own person; she is made to feel important and elegant. When she finally is called forward to curtsy to the Queen, she believes in queens: "Didn't you believe in queens, Miss Mamie Wick, at that moment? I'm very much afraid you did." (306).

Duncan does not criticize Mamie for giving up her democratic principles. She implies Mamie's conversion

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⁸The Sense of Power, p. 156.

to monarchy is a natural occurrence, one which is overwhelmingly appropriate given the experience of a presentation at court. Mamie is quite rightly overwhelmed by the ideal represented by the monarch. In comparison, American presidents "didn't look like anything." (115) She succumbs to the ideal of monarchy because she feels association with monarchy gives her increased importance.

Mamie's sense of self-importance is depicted in other ways as well. Despite numerous hints in the text which communicate to the reader that Charlie Mafferton considers he is almost engaged to Mamie, she seems to consider his special attentions simply hospitality. Mafferton takes pains to explain his family situation to Mamie, and his aunt, Lady Torquillin, arranges for Mamie to live with her. Mafferton escorts Mamie to various tourist attractions and engages in the sort of bantering conversation which would seem to be reserved for acknowledged lovers. Mafferton's family expresses great interest in meeting her and in fact Mamie realizes Mafferton's intention only when she is introduced to his father. Until then she believes her position as an American entitles her to such treatment.

Mamie's misinterpretation of Mafferton is based on the fact that in the United States his attentions would not seem remarkable. Duncan includes the character of Mr. Winterhazel in the novel, a young American man

who corresponds with Mamie and escorts her in the evenings without benefit of a chaperone. Mamie simply assumes that Mafferton, like Winterhazel, has no intentions of proposing marriage and simply enjoys her company. Mamie's misinterpretation of Mafferton is based on her assumption that American standards of social conduct are universal.

Duncan's criticism of Mamie is transferable to the United States as a whole because Mamie is intended to represent the United States. She is the only American who appears in the novel, so any criticism of the United States must be founded in her. Duncan shows in various ways that Mamie does represent the United States. Her family rose from obscurity by fulfilling the American dream of earning a business fortune. Her father, who manufactures baking powder, remarks that "it is to baking powder that we owe everything," (3) pointing out that honest, Christian charity and hard work are not necessary in the United States -- the rising effect of baking powder alone is responsible for his success. Mamie presents herself as a typical American girl attempting to set right a few popular misconceptions:

It has occurred to me that, since so much is to be said about the American Girl, it might be permissible for her to say some of it herself. (3)

Lady Torquillin confirms that Mamie is everything that the British expect of an American girl:

This is an independent American young lady--
the very person I went especially to the
United States to see. . . . (14)

Other aspects of Mamie's background which would seem to make her a typical American girl are her father's intention to run for the American Senate, and Mamie's instinctive, practical business sense.

Duncan denies that Mamie is a typical American girl in the Preface to the American edition; the Preface, which is supposed to be written by Mamie, states that "while it is unreasonable to apologize for being one kind of American girl, I do not pretend to represent the ideas of any more." (v) However, the Preface was included in the **New York** edition only, and does not appear in the British edition. Perhaps Duncan was attempting to forestall critical condemnation in the United States with a clear and strategic statement. However, the rest of the novel gives sufficient evidence to warrant presentation of Mamie as representative of the United States and to transfer Duncan's criticisms of Mamie to the country as a whole.

Mamie's judgements of British society closely resemble those of Duncan's Canadian contemporaries. She finds a great deal of poverty in London, and is repelled by the tired conventions which seem to govern individual lives. She is introduced to London by a newspaper column of want-ads which discloses its large number of financially embarrassed or poverty stricken citizens:

'A young subaltern, of excellent family, in unfortunate circumstances, implores the loan of a hundred pounds to save him from ruin. Address, care of his solicitors.'

We have nothing like this in America. It was a revelation to me-- a most private and intimate revelation of a social body that I had always been told no outsider could look into without the very best introductions. Of course, there was the veil of . . . the solicitors address, but that was as thin and easily torn as the "Morning Post", and much more transparent, showing all the struggling mass, with its hands outstretched, on the other side. (50)

The creeping poverty of the British upper classes is brought home more forcibly to Mamie when she encounters Lady Bandobust, an impoverished aristocrat who is in the business of arranging marriages between commercial money and old families. She tells Mamie that entry into almost any level of British society can be had for money.

The inflexibility of British society is represented in Charles Mafferton. His stodgy manner constantly frustrates Mamie's desire for new experiences: "It took very little acquaintance with Mr. Mafferton to know that, if he had never seen it done, he would never do it." (179) Mafferton clings to his preconceptions concerning Americans (mostly gained from reading American novels) and refuses to modify those ideas even when faced with an actual American. Mamie is dismayed by his British inability to recognize a joke which focusses on his own shortcomings: "You are never in the least amused at yourselves." (190)

The Bangley Coffin family illustrates the British tendency to live according to social convention. Mr., Mrs., and the two Misses Bangley Coffin invite Mamie to accompany them to Ascot, where they are unable to secure lunch in socially acceptable surroundings and reluctantly allow themselves to be taken to a restaurant. Mamie is frustrated by the fact that they would beg for an invitation to an Ascot box **rather than simply** buy their own lunch, even though the cost is unimportant. Mamie finds the Misses Bangley Coffin completely dominated by their mother, and she feels that their individual personalities are lost behind their fantastic "Ascot frocks". She remarks that their entire lives are governed by unwritten rules of good and bad "form":

The Bangley Coffins were all form. Form, for them, regulated existence. It was the all-compelling law of the spheres, the test of all human action and desire. 'Good form' was the ultimate expression of their respect, 'bad form' their final declaration of contempt. Perhaps I should misjudge the Bangley Coffins if I said that form was their conscience, and I don't want to misjudge them-- they were very pleasant to me. But I don't think they would have cared to risk their eternal salvation upon any religious tenets that were not entirely comme il faut . . . .(226-7)

The Bangley Coffins are not only stifled by rules; they are immoral, in the sense that they allow fashion to dictate such important matters as their religious principles. Duncan shows her judgement of such persons by giving them a name which suggests physical death, the lid banging on a coffin. The Bangley Coffin adherence

to form is socially stifling, and morally damning.

In An American Girl in London Duncan judges that the excessive freedom and equality which characterize the United States are not natural to mankind, and encourage egoism. In opposition to freedom Duncan places the excessive tradition of Britain, which results in the domination of society by meaningless rules and the defeat of social progress by poverty.

II

Duncan continues to explore American and British personality in A Voyage of Consolation, the sequel to An American Girl in London. A Voyage of Consolation takes Mamie Wick from the dissolution of her engagement to Arthur Page, an ardent American patriot who objects to her newly acquired British accent, through a European tour with her family to soothe her expectations, to a reunion with Page at the Dover registry office. While in Europe the Wick family meet Charles Mafferton, who is travelling in company with another character from An American Girl, Mrs. Portheris, and her daughter Isabel. The various romantic intentions of Mafferton, Isabel, Mamie and her American friend Dicky Dod provide interest as Mamie describes European tourist attractions in the style of a popular guidebook.

The focus of the irony shifts from Mamie to her father, Senator Joshua P. Wick, who tends to judge

everything by standards formed by "the perfection of enlightenment found in Chicago."⁹ Wick is a self-made millionaire who believes that the United States is the apex of the civilized world. He clings to his notions of democracy and equality even though his general practice is in opposition to those principles. He buys a set of tickets which entitle him to reduced rates during the trip; he expects that use of the tickets will guarantee that the family will be treated as ordinary tourists. However, he objects strenuously when they receive ordinary service, and decides to pay extra for luxury service and accommodation.

Senator Wick believes that all men are equal, but his manner and his social position contradict that belief. Accustomed to servants who resent their position and who make him feel less like the privileged wealthy man he is, he is surprised and offended by the servility of the lower classes in England. A servant who acts like one makes him feel guilty.

He said he was glad to leave England, it was demoralising to live there; you lost your sense of the dignity of labour, and in the course of time were bound to degenerate into a swell. He expressed a good deal of sympathy for the aristocracy on this account, concentrating his indignation upon those who, as it were, made aristocrats out of innocent human beings against their will.¹⁰

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⁹Tausky, Novelist of Empire, p. 92.

¹⁰Sara Jeannette Duncan, A Voyage of Consolation (New York: D. Appleton, 1898), p. 41. Further reference will be indicated in the text.

Wick and his friend Mr. Malt exhibit an egoistical self-interest which belies their belief in equality. Mr. Malt complains that he has not received an invitation to an Embassy Ball in Italy, and that such conduct is not consistent with American democratic principles. In reality, he wishes to go to the ball because he feels he has been personally slighted and he egoistically ignores the political and social consequences of his request. Malt and Wick are both outraged to learn that every hotel by the Rhine River falls adds a surcharge to pay for the illumination of the falls by night. Wick declares that he will not look at the falls by night and so he won't pay, ignoring the fact that if every guest did likewise, the hotels he enjoys would go out of business. In both examples the Americans use their exaggerated sense of democratic equality to justify selfishness.

Mrs. Portheris, her daughter Isabel and Mr. Mafferton exhibit the same stuffy conventionality which is the dominant British trait in An American Girl. Mrs. Portheris is engaged in preventing her daughter from falling in love, while Mafferton expresses his love for Isabel by attending to her mother. Europeans who appear in the novel are slickly polite and well-versed in all the arts necessary for removing money from American pockets. Neither the British nor the Europeans are as well-drawn as the Americans, but neither

are very sympathetically portrayed.

In A Voyage of Consolation Duncan continues to characterize Americans as egoistical and naturally inclined toward rigid class distinctions, the British as ruled by convention and artificial standards of morality. The novel adds little in the way of development of Duncan's theory about the nationalities, but it underlines her consistency and her agreement with contemporary Canadian opinions.

III

A Laughter of Today explores the serious moral consequences that result from the focus on individual freedom in the United States. Elfrida Bell, the heroine, is an undisciplined, self-confessed egoist who recognizes none of the conventions of society. Encouraged as a child to think of herself as an artist, and to think of art as the expression of individual personality, her self-image has grown to dwarf her legitimate artistic talent. The egalitarianism of the United States is expressed in Elfrida by her feeling that she is equal to the best artists of her day, and so superior to her contemporaries.

Elfrida goes to France to study painting, and when she meets with obstacles in Paris she gives up visual art for a career in journalism in London. While in London she socializes with her artist friend

John Kendall, and accepts as literary mentor the cold and distant Janet Cardiff. Kendall and Cardiff are alternatively attracted and repelled by their unconventional friend, but tend to excuse her on the grounds of her national background rather than confront her with their criticisms. Elfrida is personally destroyed when she encounters a reflection of her amorality and egoism in a portrait of herself by John Kendall, and she reacts by committing suicide.

Elfrida's egoism begins with childish vanity, but grows into a conception of artistic personality. While in Paris she takes to wearing a remarkable cloak which is very becoming: it "suited her so well that artistic considerations compelled her to wear it occasionally, I fear, when other people would have found it uncomfortably warm."¹¹ Elfrida's extravagance in dress is, for her, an artistic tenet. In the United States, her artistic impulses had the function of "tacit exhibition of her superiority to Sparta" (26) rather than achievement of any serious work. She tells John Kendall "my egoism is like a little flame within me. All the best things feed it, and it is so clear that I can see everything in its light." (126) All of Elfrida's ideas and judgements are formed in relation to the enhancement

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¹¹ Sara Jeanette Duncan, A Daughter for Today (London: Chatto, 1894), p. 26-7. Further reference will be indicated in the text.

of her own ego.

Elfrida's subordination of moral principle to the satisfaction of her 'ego results in ~~false~~ judgements about sexual morality. She can accept her friend Nadie's liaison with a fellow art student because she feels that an artist should have liaisons. Elfrida judges her friend Golightly Ticke to be "of the elect" (57) (despite his dependence on the favours of a popular actress) simply because he maintains the same facade of artistic suffering which she exalts. Elfrida's own relationship with Lawrence Cardiff in which she calculatigly tantalizes him with favours but refuses to make a commitment sexually or in a conventional marriage is immoral because insensitive and violently painful to Cardiff. In each of these cases, Elfrida's assessment of herself as free from convention and uniquely superior to others is her governing principle.

Elfrida's art suffers ~~from~~ her egoism. In Paris, her teacher Lucien remarks that her work is inferior to Nadie's because she cannot subordinate her femininity and her ideas to the demands of the subject material. Her rejected journalism consists of personal impressions and idiosyncratic theories which suffer from her lack of moral judgement. Her editor explains that "their public wouldn't stand union libres when not served up with moral purpose-- that no artistic apology for them would do." (100) Her work is not "designed to

please the public of the magazines -- in England" (175) Lawrence Cardiff remarks, for England is afraid and ashamed of the American freedom which characterizes Elfrida's journalistic style.

Elfrida offers her work to the British public but does not realize that Britain is a closed, conventional society. Ashamed of her American background, she believes success in England is superior to success at home. Lawrence Cardiff's remark implies that while Elfrida will never "please the public" in England, her methods and attitudes might be perfectly acceptable to an American audience. Her great mistake is her assumption that Britain is somehow superior to the United States; Duncan shows through the characters of Kendall and Janet Cardiff that it is not.

John Kendall and Janet Cardiff are destroyed by their Britishness just as Elfrida is destroyed by her Americanness. Like Elfrida, Janet and Kendall have real artistic talent, but neither of them can create art without the inspiration that Elfrida's freedom provides. Their art is formed upon a structure of control which is arid and lacks intuition and emotional force. Janet is almost ashamed of the impropriety, as she sees it, of her creativity:

As for /her/ own artistic susceptibility . . . . She breathed it, one might say, only occasionally, and with a kind of delicious shame. She was incapable of sharing her caught up felicity there with anyone, but

it was indispensable that she should see it sometimes in the eyes of others less contained, less conscious . . . . Her own nature was practical and managing in its ordinary aspect, and she had a degree of tact that was always interfering with her love of honesty. (130)

Janet is too dominated by the forms of social intercourse to be a complete artist in herself; she needs the refreshing influence of Elfrida, who reflects Janet's artistic sensibility without threatening her essential "managing" nature. For John Kendall, art is the imposition of controls on the uncontrolled freedom of the American, and Kendal feels as he paints, "a silent, brooding triumph in his manipulation, in his control." (247) Neither Janet nor Kendall recognizes that they need Elfrida and the freedom she represents in order to become whole. When she is destroyed, their own artistic talent is also destroyed, and they settle in to a mediocre middle age.

The only true art in the novel-- Kendall's portrait and Janet Cardiff's novel-- is created through a conjunction of freedom and convention. The tragedy of the novel is that no character recognizes the essential connectedness between the two seemingly exclusive tendencies. Cardiff and Kendall impose their moral judgement on Elfrida without realizing how they need her; Elfrida rejects their conventionalism and follows her own path without realizing how much she needs a measure of their tact and control. Ironically, after

her death, Elfrida's sensationalist novel is published successfully by the same firm which handled Janet Cardiff's novel. The moral seems to be that British conventionality is suitable for a British audience, and American freedom for an American one, but that to create great art, a mix of the two is necessary.

Duncan repeats her serious criticism of British and American personality through her characterization of Kendall, Janet Cardiff and Elfrida Bell. Moreover, she adds a dimension by employing the language of aesthetics. She shows that the wholeness required to produce art of merit requires that the fragmentary personalities interact and influence one another. Kendall reveals Elfrida Bell to herself in his best painting. But she destroys it instead of facing the revelation; and she destroys herself rather than face the disciplines she would have to learn in order to be whole. On their parts, Kendall and Janet Cardiff are moved by the liberating influence Elfrida has upon them. When she is withdrawn, they shrivel as artists and as people. The condition of the three characters is held and examined by the third person narrator who reveals all that the reader must see to know life and to judge the actions of the characters. The narrator is, of course, Sara Jeannette Duncan and she provides the normative point of view, the argument for a reconciliation of qualities that makes wholeness--

and indeed greatness-- possible.

IV

Those Delightful Americans reverses the formula of Duncan's international novels by employing an ironic narrator **from** Britain who observes and judges the United States. Carrie Kemball is a young British woman who travels to New York with her husband, and is hosted by his business acquaintances in New York and at a summer home outside the city. Carrie is dismayed to discover a new aristocracy in the United States which lacks a sense of social obligation to the poor and politically disenfranchised majority. But Carrie undercuts the strength of her observations by revealing herself to be narrow and governed by social convention.

The Ham family, the Kemball's hosts in the United States, show the deterioration of American egalitarianism and its replacement with an amoral aristocracy. The elder Hams grew up in stable New England, surrounded by neighbours they had known from childhood, on an economic level with their friends. The new emphasis on social freedom and the corresponding focus on money-making elevated the Hams above their friends. Carrie discusses the changed life of the Hams:

" . . . I expect she talked Emerson and Thoreau to Mr. Ham when he was paying her attention-- very likely they used to repeat the Psalm of Life together. And now--"

"And now?"

"Now he listens to her worries with the

servants and she looks at his beans."¹²

The glorious future of the United States, symbolized by the names of Emerson and Thoreau, has been defeated by the principle of money-making. The Hams' peace of mind is destroyed, and all that remains of Thoreau's dream of peaceful co-existence with nature is Mr. Hams' lonely patch of beans. The second generation of Americans, represented by Violet Ham and her friends Verona and Val, accept their ~~privileged~~ status, and make no attempt to bring their own lives in line with egalitarian principles. They have no sense of social obligation, do not consider offering help to those below them. Carrie feels guilty when she dines with Val and Verona at an elegant hotel, "enjoying grapes in June and fresh asparagus in December," (117) and is shocked by the fact that her hosts do not:

there we were, every mouthful exposed in the highest light, and there were that shifting staring multitude, outside in the dark, and not one of the 500 ~~diners~~ apparently wished to have it different. (117)

Val Ingham confirms that the idea of democratic equality is dead in the United States, referring repeatedly to the difference between "the masses" and "the better class of Americans."

Carrie discovers that a kind of egoistical complacency has taken the place of social obligation in the United

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¹²Sara Jeannette Duncan, Those Delightful Americans (New York: D. Appleton, 1902), p. 199. Further reference will be indicated in the text.

States. Americans consider themselves so superior to other nations that they interpret every example of difference as evidence of that superiority, no matter how immoral. Carrie remarks:

I am convinced that if only a fact or a condition is remarkable enough and unique enough, no matter what its other characteristics may be, the American temperament will not only suffer it but exult in it. This is one of the things that renders life over there so cheerful. Where we would make ourselves miserable and take up subscriptions and call public attention in the newspapers, they accept with satisfaction any affliction that has no parallel elsewhere. I have seen this done with blizzards and monopolies, and even Tammany. (30-31)

While these remarks are promoted by the uncomfortable New York weather, Carrie extends her analysis to include two of the most notorious problems in American society, voracious monopolies and political corruption. The fact that Americans can be proud of such destructive influences indicates the moral deterioration of their nation.

Carrie shows her own moral stance when she seems relieved and almost fascinated by American amorality. Dominated for so long by dusty conventions which have little relation to reality, Carrie sees the United States as an escape:

I hope it does not reflect on one's loyalty, but I had a tremendous feeling of escape for the time being from what one was expected to do into a wide and wonderful region where one could do exactly as one pleased. (41)

Carrie's long devotion to tradition has destroyed her independent sense of right and wrong; instead, she only

sees the opposition between doing "what one pleases" and doing "what one is expected to do." There is no possibility in her mind that the two could be synonymous, or that morally right action could be separate from both.

Carrie is convinced that she has an open mind, and that the United States deserves a fair consideration from the British. However, she proves herself narrow minded and arrogant when she meets Mrs. Adams, the wife of her husband's business associate in the United States. Mrs. Adams, Carrie states incredulously, "seemed to think that, because people of the States thought a thing right and proper, it was right and proper-- I mean, just as right and proper as any opposite habit that might prevail in England." (76) Carrie has difficulty grasping that her own standards are not universal, and that any habit which differs from British convention could possibly be "right and proper."

In Those Delightful Americans, Duncan continues to criticize the United States and Britain from a detached viewpoint in harmony with the ideas of her Canadian contemporaries. The United States is almost proud of the excess of its moral deterioration, and its new ruling class is indifferent to the social obligations imposed by wealth. The British characters, Carrie and Kaye Kemball, return home with their British conventionality intact, and with little understanding

of the driving forces which separate their nation from the United States. Both countries seem determined to continue their blunder downwards from the ideal.

V

Those Delightful Americans, like An American Girl in London, A Voyage of Consolation, and A Daughter of Today, criticizes Britain and the United States. Using an ironic narrator, Duncan's early international novels depict the egoism and amorality which arises from freedom in the United States, and the blind adherence to social convention which arises from devotion to tradition in Britain. The comparison of Duncan's assessment with that of her Canadian contemporaries confirms that she judges from a Canadian viewpoint.

Carl Berger sums up the intention behind Duncan's criticism of the United States and Britain when he states that Canadian imperialists "were at one in their search for values, both personal and political, which would check the spirit of commercialism and the social atomisation of their time."¹² Those values are indirectly stated in the first four international novels, but they become the controlling ideas of the Canadian nation as Duncan sees it in her Canadian novels: The Imperialist, Cousin Cinderella and His Royal Happiness.

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¹²Berger, The Sense of Power, p. 17.

Chapter Two

The Idea of Canadian Society in The Imperialist:

The Possibility of The Ideal

Canada occupies a significant place between Britain and the United States in Sara Jeannette Duncan's novels because it balances the values of the two more powerful nations, integrating ideas of tradition and freedom into a synthesis which, for Duncan, results in an organic, gradually changing society. Nowhere is her view of Canada's place in the Atlantic triangle more clearly set forth than in The Imperialist, in which Duncan explores the nature of Canadian society through the town of Elgin, a symbol of the new nation. Elgin, like Sara Jeannette Duncan, knows that British tradition, held in balance with United States freedom, creates a unified stable society. If British tradition is not balanced by freedom, it creates materialism, fear of political change and unrelieved poverty. Freedom as advocated by the United States also has its good and bad aspects: if balanced by tradition, freedom becomes a force for material prosperity, but if unchecked, it causes social chaos. In The Imperialist, the town of Elgin weighs its options for a long-term political and economic

alliance, and determines that its own independent balancing of tradition and freedom is superior to any other available social organization.

Elgin is forced to consider its position by Lorne Murchison, a young lawyer who takes up the banner of imperial federation and runs in a by-election on the platform of closer ties within the Empire. His scheme of imperial federation involves, initially, the modification of British and Canadian trade policy to allow Canadian agricultural products to enter England under advantageous tariff laws, and to permit British manufactured goods to bypass the Canadian protective tariff. Lorne supports the eventual creation of an imperial parliament which would govern foreign policy and administer a joint army and navy.

The presence of the United States, so close at hand and so threatening, is a factor in Elgin's decision. The United States already dominates trade in Elgin, and is making inroads in cultural affairs and transportation. Elgin believes it has only two options: "if you would not serve with Wallingham you were held to favour going over to the United States; there was no middle course..."¹ The proposition seems to have been a very clear one--and a very difficult one--to Sara Jeannette Duncan herself.

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¹Sara Jeannette Duncan, The Imperialist (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1961), p. 149. All further references will be indicated in the text.

Her presentation of the conflict, arising from the seemingly naked set of alternatives, is still full of life and ambiguity; and her triumph is to have found a way to a middle course that brings the influence of both Britain and the United States into an artistically credible balance.

While an alliance with the United States would leave Canada in a subservient position, the consequences of an alliance with Britain are unclear. The phrase "serve with" quoted above indicates some sort of a formal, dutiful relationship, but whether of equals or of master and servant is not specified, although the scene Duncan presents in which the Englishman, Alfred Hesketh, speaks to the farmers of Ontario suggests that the British, at least, might expect a master-servant relation. Lorne, on the other hand, believes that Canada must lead the Empire in order to preserve British values and to increase British and Canadian prosperity:

when he espouses the cause of imperialism, it is not to diminish the stature of his own country by having it play a subservient role to England, but to enhance its importance by having it seize an opportunity for greatness. In his view Canada can either drift or it can steer. If it drifts, it will become more and more like the United States every day. But if it chooses to steer, it has the chance to fulfill a moral and political role of the utmost consequence for the future of the human race.²

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²D.J. Dooley, "Political Morality at The Grass Roots," Moral Vision in The Canadian Novel (Toronto: Clarke Irwin, 1979), pp. 27-28.

What Lorne does not realize is that Britain will not be steered, while Canadian leadership could save the Empire. Britain will not consent to it. Elgin seems to sense that Britain would attempt to dominate in an alliance and would not trouble itself at the loss of Canadian independence.

The romantic sub-plot which involves Lorne's sister Advena and the Scots minister Hugh Finlay parallels the political theme. Advena loves Finlay, who is already engaged in a loveless match arranged by his old world relations. Finlay refuses to break his engagement, thinking that to do so would be dishonourable, and so he dooms Advena and himself to lives of unhappiness. Finlay, like England, is unwilling to adapt to new circumstances, and he can see only two options: honourable and unhappy marriage, or dishonourable and happy marriage. Canada offers him a third option: Dr. Drummond marries the Scots bride and leaves Finlay to marry according to his heart. Like Britain, Finlay must learn to adapt, to loosen binding tradition, and to accept the challenges which his new circumstances offer. But while Finlay eventually accepts the judgement of Elgin, Britain does not.

Critics have noted the curious dual perspective from which Duncan describes the town of Elgin. Her positive picture of the stability and unity of the community seems to work in concert with an ironic awareness

of its negative aspects, its stagnation and narrowness. J.M. Zezulka notes that the small town presents Canadian writers like Duncan with "both their point of view and the target of their wit."³ But Duncan's ironic description of Elgin, which so amusingly points out the town's short-sightedness and complacency, balances with a sentimental and idealised view of the town to give life and realism: "The two views together do not subtract from the quality of the picture. They add detail, depth, movement, and the possibility of laughter to it."⁴

The portrait abounds in historical and social detail - so much detail, in fact, that the reader is tempted to believe that it represents an indiscriminate picture of reality. But although Duncan used the model of her home town of Brantford, Ontario⁵, she intends her fictional Elgin to work out the possibility of the ideal in human life, rather than merely **presenting**, as Duncan claimed, a "picture of life."⁶ Elgin is a complex reconciliation of the forces of British tradition and United States

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³J.M. Zezulka, "Passionate Provincials: Imperialism, Regionalism and Point of View" Journal of Can. Fiction (22:80-92 '78), pp. 81.

⁴Clara Thomas, "Canadian Social Mythologies in Sara Jeanette Duncan's The Imperialist" JCS 12:38-49, p. 39.

⁵A.G. Bailey, "The Historical Setting of Sara Jeannette Duncan's The Imperialist," Twentieth Century Essays in Confederation Literature, ed. L. McMullen (Ottawa: Tecumseh 1976), pp. 60-76.

⁶Quoted from Duncan's letter to Lord Lansdowne held in the Toronto Public Library, 8 January, 1904.

freedom in an organic, unified society which includes the possibility of the ideal spiritual unity of mankind which popular idealism held to be the highest state of existence. Even though the town is "Indifferent, apathetic, self-centered" it still responds to the call of "kinship"(59) when Britain is threatened by war, and its readiness to defend the ideal represented by the British Empire elevates it, in Duncan's eyes, far above the comparable communities in the United States and England which she described in her earlier novels.

Respect and love for Britain is a significant aspect of the town of Elgin. The narrator describes the nature of Elgin's love for England, contrasting it with an intellectual awareness of the outside world:

A sentiment of affection for the reigning house certainly prevailed. It was arbitrary, rococo, unrelated to current conditions as a tradition sung down in a ballad, an anachronism of the heart, cherished through long rude lifetimes for the beauty and poetry of it--when you consider beauty and poetry can be thought of in this. . . .the common love of the throne amounted to a half-ashamed enthusiasm that burned with something like a sacred flame, and was among the things not ordinarily alluded to, because of the shyness that attaches to all things that cannot be justified in plain terms.(58)

In describing Elgin's attachment to Britain, Duncan mingles several elements: the assumption of a common cultural community which encompasses all English-speaking peoples, respect for the principles, and especially the political principles, that great Britain seemed to represent, and the affection of recent immigrants and their families for their lost homeland.

Elgin partakes of a kind of racial memory which links the common cultural community of the English-speaking peoples. Centuries of shared culture and almost familial connection has created a "blood" memory which links Elgin to England. Hugh Finlay's desire to honour his engagement to his Scots bride is "somehow in the past and in the blood." (162) Lorne Murchison's explanation to the townspeople of Elgin of the claustrophobia he felt in busy London is unnecessary because they have "in the blood the memory of what Lorne had seen." (128) A common memory which extends through the generations of "the blood" makes Elgin a coherent body, and links it to other English-speaking peoples.

Respect for the values which Britain seems to represent is an important part of imperial sentiment. Christianity, brotherhood, equality, peace and justice all seem to emanate from the British system of government. Britain is the source of the "large ideas" (29) upon which the Murchison house was built, and John Murchison's calm, wise manner is linked to his library of English classics. Lorne Murchison insists that the British connection is important to Canada for "the moral advantage" and goes on to say that Britain has "developed the finest human product there is, the cleanest, the most disinterested, and we want to keep up the relationship--it's important." (98)

Duncan's use of the term "heart" indicates the irony of Elgin's filial attachment to Britain. The heart binds

recent immigrants and their families to Britain: the immigrant businessman John Murchison and his friend Dr. Drummond "are altogether occupied with Elgin's affairs, yet obscure in the heart of each of them ran the current of the old allegiance." (21-2) Lorne Murchison feels the influence of the heart when he allies himself to the British imperialists: "only Lorne Murchison among them looked higher and further; only he was alive to the inrush of the essential; only he lifted up his heart." (117) But Lorne's heart misleads him into a love affair with the anglicised Dora Milburn. The enthusiasm of the heart carries away his final speech of the election campaign, and almost causes Lorne's defeat at the polls. The heart is the force for affection between Britain and Canada, but its dictates are difficult to interpret.

The reader sees, through Lorne's eyes, how Lorne's heart has misled him into an idealisation of Britain. The British nation has a heritage of ideal values, but has forsaken those values in rapid industrialization. Lorne is somewhat disillusioned by his trip to London.

Bus drivers who talk with thick London accents and invariably ask him if he isn't an American; the concentration on new ways of making rich people more comfortable and ensuring that they are better amused; the crowds of poverty stricken people, and the seeming indifference to their existence--to the young Canadian such experiences are shocking and disillusioning.⁷

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⁷D.J. Dooley, "Political Morality at the Grass Roots," p. 29.

The opportunism present in the political realm is present in the personal, too. Alfred Hesketh and his uncle Mr. Chafe, two representatives Britons that Lorne meets on his trip, are motivated by a self-seeking and short-sighted desire for gain. Hesketh has education and material advantages, but no goal beyond finding a comfortable secure business position. He presents an unfavorable contrast to the altruistic Lorne. Mr. Chafe is a British glass manufacturer whose sole thought is for his own short-term business welfare.

He did not say so, but to him the prosperity of the British manufacturer was bound up with the indigence of the operative. Thriving workmen, doing well and looking to do better, rose before him in terms of menace, even though their prosperity might be rooted in his own. "Give them cheap food and keep them poor," was the sum of his advice. (120)

Mr. Chafe and Hesketh no longer understand the reason why Lorne insists on the "moral advantage" of a link with Britain. The energy and determination for justice which built the Empire, Duncan suggests, are no longer evident in Britain.

Elgin is both attracted and repelled by Britain. British tradition has given Elgin a spiritual and sentimental unity and the concept of an organic, gradually changing society. But the Britain that Lorne visits--crippled by fear of change, poverty and convention--is no longer a positive influence.

Elgin's attitude toward the United States is equally ambiguous. Canada and the United States share the flexible

social heirarchy dictated by the vast wealth of North America, which creates educated, wealthy men from the sons of immigrant labourers. Social freedom and individual independence seem to rise "like a sap"(148) from the soil of North America, and create a bond between the two countries. But in Elgin, Duncan suggests, social change is gradual and peaceful, taking in the entire community, while in the United States social change is violent and chaotic, effected by a few individuals who remain outside the rules of the community. Duncan presents Elgin's gradual superseding of British rule as a contrast to the American Revolution.

The little knot of gentry folk soon found the limitations of their new conditions; years went by in decades, aggrandizing none of them . . . . The original dignified group broke, dissolved, scattered. Prosperous traders foreclosed them, the spirit of the times defeated them, young Liberals succeeded them in office. Their grandsons married the daughters of well-to-do persons from the north of Ireland, the east of Scotland, and the Lord knows where.(47)

Social evolution is accompanied by a little "unavoidable confusion," in Elgin, but produces nothing like the extreme of destructive chaos which becomes concrete when Dr. Drummond prays for the President of the neighbouring republic "on the occurrence of assassinations."(22). Having pursued its own freedom with patience, Elgin is wary of the extreme of personal freedom in the United States which seems to demand bloodshed.

Excess freedom in commercial relations between the two countries will tend to create social upheaval, the

narrator suggests. Trade in publications is dangerous because American freedom of the press tends to popularize biased versions of world events(59). The importation of American publications into Elgin will undermine attachment to Britain, and the narrator ironically notes that Elgin's love of Britain "would not yield to the temporary distortion of facts in the newspapers -- at least, it would not yield with a rush"(59). Trade in manufactured goods reinforces the influence of the United States. The narrator takes John Murchison's family as an object lesson indicating Elgin's dependence on manufactured goods from the United States.

It is a fact, or perhaps a parable, that should be interesting to political economists, the adaptability of Canadian feet to American shoes; but fortunately that is not our present concern. Though I must add that the "rocker" was also American; and the hammock in which Stella reposed came from New York; and upon John Murchison's knee, along with the local journal lay a pink evening paper from Buffalo.(128)

Ironically, the narrator chooses the family of a model Canadian manufacturer to show the extent to which Canadians themselves unconsciously undermine the economic basis of their own nation by patronising their American competitors. The passage is quoted from the chapter in which the Murchison family welcomes Lorne home from England, and it places the influence of the United States in direct opposition to that of Britain. The family discusses England's poverty and industrial stagnation in the context of the thriving and commercially stable United States, kept prosperous by its Canadian market.

Freedom of the individual to effect social change results, Duncan suggests, in the social chaos and violence of the United States. Freedom of the press and the free entry of publications and manufactured goods into Canada are undermining Elgin's attachment to Britain and, ultimately, Elgin's own independence. Although Canada and the United States share social customs and some trade practices, the bond between them is characterized, on the Canadian side at least, by a strong suspicion.

Elgin is wary of the influence of both Britain and the United States, but political necessity, historical accident and economic habit dictate that the town must deal with both nations. Elgin manages to effect a balance between the influence of British tradition and the influence of American freedom in its social customs and economic organization. A "certain bright freedom"(48) reigns in Elgin's business life, but the traders on Main Street "had always found the days long enough" to pursue their livelihood with dignity and principle. The conventions of "the Filkin tradition" which govern Elgin's social life exalt Dora Milburn in Elgin's eyes: "the centre of the little conventions that at once protected and revealed her, . . . she had . . . all the attraction of that which is not easily come by."(57) But the best of Elgin's townspeople see through the conventions, and Lorne Murchison is capable of successfully disregarding them. When he

arrives early at a Milburn party, he "was potentially capable of not minding, by next morning he didn't mind," (53) and his reputation in Elgin is not damaged.

Elgin recognizes and respects the spiritual ideal of British tradition, as it is manifested in the social conventions of the Milburn family, the celebration of Victoria Day, and the dry wisdom of Dr. Drummond. Elgin recognizes and respects the ideal, but only to a point. The ideal is balanced, in Elgin, by the principle of independent self-government which yields to the practical pressures of everyday reality. Elgin will not accept an ideal which requires servitude along with reverence, and actively opposes any tradition appealing to the ideal which would endanger its own freedom to rule itself.

Dr. Drummond's career in the pulpit at Knox Church illustrates the balancing of tradition and freedom in Elgin. The Doctor represents tradition: his faith "moved with precision along formal and implicit lines; his orbit was established, and his operation within it as unquestionable as the simplest exhibit in nature." (67) The Doctor is venerated in Elgin, transformed by the regard of his congregation into a "beneficent despot" (62) by virtue of the fact that "he was a person whose life answered different springs, and was sustained on quite another principle than supply and demand." (61) He represents, for the townspeople of Elgin, the ideal of the spiritual life.

The power of the governed to overrule a too-confident monarch, however, is also present in the administration of Knox Church. Dr. Drummond opposes the diversion of congregational funds to the salary of a new minister for Knox Mission Church in East Elgin, but he is overruled.

Dr. Drummond, for the first time in his life, was defeated by his people. It was less a defeat than a defence, an unexpected rally around the corporate right to direct corporate activities. . . .(64)

The community of Knox Church quietly and humbly outvotes its revered leader, asserting that while it elevates the ideal over its own practical, daily life, it reserves the right to govern itself.

The incident is important because it represents, in little, the political motif of The Imperialist. The ideal must be limited by the real, and in Elgin, which is caught between the pressures of two empires, the real demands the reconciliation of the guiding principles of both Britain and the United States, and the maintenance of a strong, unified, independent community to resist those pressures. Lorne Murchison and his scheme of imperial federation exemplify the process. Lorne represents an ideal to the people of Elgin: like the country itself, Lorne seems to represent youth and energy, the "splendid conviction of resource." (74) Lorne shows Elgin an ideal future which the townspeople, descendants of English parents, must naturally venerate. But his scheme would necessitate the loss of Elgin's precious

independence, a disturbance of the carefully maintained balance which gives Elgin that independence. Duncan shows that Lorne's scheme, although born of pure intentions, must be defeated.

Like Dr. Drummond, Lorne Murchison seems to represent an ideal to the people of Elgin; he stands for "the youth and energy of the old blood." (228) His manner and appearance, his performance at law school, and especially his triumphantly successful defence of young Ormiston against the combined forces of the Bank and its Toronto lawyer, excite the entire town with speculation on Lorne's bright future. But, as the narrator reminds us, Lorne is not yet ready for the accomplishments that will certainly highlight his maturity: "Ambition, definitely shining goals, adorn the perspectives of young men in new countries less often than is commonly supposed." (34) Lorne falls victim to the fact that youth "stands not only for what it is. The trick of augury invests it, at a glance, with the sum of its possibilities." (80) Elgin's attitude toward Lorne is like the attitude of a proud father; "Elgin congratulates . . . herself upon having produced Mr. L. Murchison." (27) Lorne has a great future, but as the political theme unfolds the reader understands that he also has much to learn.

Lorne also shows Elgin the ideal of the Canadian nation, and its own possibilities for the future. He feels a special

communion between himself and the nation as a whole the day he is given the chance to exercise his abilities by representing the defence in the Ormiston case. As Lorne sees his chance to make his mark, he feels himself identified with the potential of his young homeland: "at that moment his country came subjectively into his inheritance, as it comes into the inheritance of every man who can take it, by deed of imagination and energy and love." (74) His special relationship with Canada comes from his youth, his new opportunity, and the chance to influence future events. In his final speech of the election campaign, in which his enthusiasm for the imperial idea alienates the practical voters of Elgin, he articulates the vision of Canada's great opportunity to take its place among nations as the centre of a revitalised Empire. (229)

Lorne's candidacy and the scheme of imperial federation are doomed to failure in Elgin. Although the townspeople are capable of being stirred to the defence of the British ideal, in general "There was nothing, indeed, to interfere with Elgin's attention to the immediate, the vital, the municipal." (60) John Murchison, with the "gentleness and patience . . . the justice and repose and quiet strength of his character" is sympathetic to Lorne's ideas, but he is consistently against an alliance with Britain which would involve, he feels, Canada's absorption into a British political system.

Elgin's attitude toward his favorite son's imperial dream seems very like the attitude John Murchison takes toward Lorne.

While the practical half of John Murchison was characteristically alive to the difficulties involved, the sentimental half of him was ready at any time to give out cautious sparks of sympathy with the splendour of Wallingham's scheme; and he liked the feeling that a son of his should hark back in his allegiance to the old land. There was a kind of chivalry in the placing of certain kinds of beauty--political honour and public devotion, which blossomed best, it seemed over there--above the material ease and margin of the new country, and even above the grand chance it offered for a man to make his mark.(260)

John Murchison strikes the keynote of the novel. Elgin's townspeople like "being made to feel like that,"(229) honourable and beautiful and chivalrous. They are in sympathy with the "splendor" of the idea. Lorne appeals to the best in them, and proves that the best does exist in Elgin. But they finally assert "the corporate right to direct corporate activities," just as Dr. Drummond's parishoners do; they retain their independence.

Lorne wins the election by a bare seventy votes. When the results are challenged and a new election announced, he is denied the opportunity to represent his party. Even though he is disillusioned and suffers a physical breakdown, Lorne is not defeated:

already he was adapting his heart, his nerves, and his future . . . . Another time he would find more strength and show more cunning; he would not disdain the tools of diplomacy and desirability, he would dream no more of short cuts in great political departures.(263)

Lorne recognizes that he has been dreaming of a "short cut" on the road to imperial federation. He now readies himself for the longer route. He still believes in the ideal of the Empire: "He was up against it, but he would get round it, and there on the other side lay the same wide prospect, with the Idea shining high." (263) Lorne takes up "his share in the task," when he joins Cruikshank's law firm, and he mingles with those "by whose hand and direction" (268) the pattern of Canada's destiny will be made.

Lorne's political misfortunes signal the collapse of his romance with the attractive but superficial Dora Milburn. Drawn to Dora by "the attraction of that which is not easily come by," (57) Lorne is blinded by his affection for her to the calculating way Dora manipulates her suitors until she comes up with one she likes -- the equally superficial Alfred Hesketh. Hesketh is a member of the purposeless and arrogant upper classes of England, whose principles seem able to accommodate any situation which turns to their own advantage. Lorne is brought to a new level of maturity when he learns of their engagement, a level which allows him to see that Dora's affection for him has been suspect from the beginning of their relationship.

Critics have suggested that Lorne's love for Dora in some measure parallels the political motif of the novel. Claude Bissell writes that Lorne's affection

for Dora is "of a piece" with his idealisation of "the Old Country."⁸ Leon Slonim suggests that the parallel is direct and unqualified between Lorne's idealisation of Dora and his admiration for England by depicting both in the parallel lines of a diagrammatic representation of the novel.⁹ Lorne's love for Dora does comment on his fascination with Britain, for both relationships show how Lorne's youthful enthusiasms are abandoned after mature consideration.

The relationship between Hugh Finlay and Advena Murchison offers another perspective on the political issues of The Imperialist. Hugh Finlay, the Scots clergyman who loves Lorne's sister Advena, stubbornly adheres to his British sense of honour when he refuses to break his engagement to Christie Cameron, a Scotswoman selected for him by his aunt. Advena balances his "shy formality"(70) with a manner that "liberates"(71) Hugh. Advena and Hugh seem preoccupied with the ideal in their literary discussions, and attempt to sacrifice their own physical passion to the ideal of Hugh's honourable promise to Christie Cameron. But the reality of their physical attraction and proximity makes them both realize that the ideal is unattainable by human beings.

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⁸Claude Bissell, "Introduction." The Imperialist, p. viii.

⁹Leon Slonim, "Character, Action and Theme in The Imperialist." Essays on Canadian Writing 3 (Fall 1975), pp. 15-20.

Like Britain, Hugh cannot find a solution to his dilemma which will bring both honour and happiness. Even when Dr. Drummond relieves him of his obligation to Christie Cameron by offering to marry her himself, Hugh is "occupied with his great debt; it was like him that **that, and** not his liberty, should be first in his mind." (255) Elgin's reconciliation of the ideal and the pragmatic, the formal and the casual is effected when Finlay joins with his natural complement, Advena.

While not ideal in itself, Canadian society in The Imperialist is capable of recognizing and responding to the ideal. Canada achieves a balance reconciling freedom and tradition in a unified community which holds the ideal in a balance with reality. The tenor of the town is determined by "the cautious blood and foresight of the early settlers." (34) The importance of preserving Canada's independent status is the lesson taught to Lorne Murchison. Elgin's attitude toward imperialism and Duncan's own, is summed up by A.G. Bailey:

while her reason and experience led her to believe that it was the embodiment of an impossible ideal, it was one to which her heart was not altogether a stranger.¹⁰

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¹⁰Bailey, "The Historical Setting of The Imperialist" p. 74.

Chapter Three
Canadian Identity in Cousin Cinderella:
A Natural Product

Cousin Cinderella portrays the hesitant steps of a Canadian toward an understanding of her own nationality and its demands upon her as an individual. Duncan's theme appears to be that Canadian identity is very real, and the Canadians in the novel come to understand that identity in relation to Americans and Britons. Canadian identity is depicted as a balance of the forces represented by Britain and the United States: tradition and freedom. The Canadian comes to recognize both forces as potentially destructive, but as essentially connected and necessary elements of an ideal society. When held in balance, freedom and tradition produce, for Duncan, the ideal reconciliation of individual action and community will which is essentially Canadian.

Ironically, the heroine Mary Trent discovers her own country while on a visit to London, England in company with her brother Graham. Up until that time, Mary has experienced life as a child, daughter and sister; in England she takes upon herself the role of observer while Graham becomes involved in social and political issues. Like Canada, Duncan seems to suggest, Mary has

ordinarily felt herself to have little identity beyond that given her by parental association and material wealth, and so she has been content to be directed by others. But in London, Mary's view of herself and her country changes. She is invited to become a naturalized Briton by allowing herself to be moulded by British social standards. She watches her brother change under the influence of London, and discovers that he loses more than he gains when he forsakes his Canadian nationality. Mary discovers her Canadian identity together with her personal role in life; she fulfills both when she marries Lord Peter Doleford, the Prince Charming of the novel.

Mary uses the language of her father's manufacturing business when she describes the reason that she and Graham visit London. They are "samples" of Canada's finished product. Mary particularly notes that she was "finished" in Canada:

There was a time when I wanted enormously to be finished at New York, but father said no, I wasn't an American--and now I am just as glad. It is simpler to be a natural product and to finish where you begin, I think.¹

In a sense Mary is not "finished" until she comes to London--but she is not "finished" by London. She cannot understand her own nationality until she is exposed to others--but exposure to others confirms her in her own

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¹Sara Jeanette Duncan, Cousin Cinderella (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1908), pp. 2-3. All further references will be indicated in the text.

identity. Mary remains "a natural product;" with natural good sense and good manners, she weaves her independent route through the snares of British society quietly affirming her own, Canadian identity.

The story is told in first person narration by Mary Trent, and her judgements form the normative point of view. She is one of the few first person narrators in Duncan's work who sees her situation accurately, without the author undermining her judgements with contradictory facts. Mary is not, as Clara Thomas suggests, "unconsciously as egocentric and even arrogant"² as the Britons she meets; her concern is to understand herself and Canada, and to apply her knowledge to the task of joining the empire together in bonds of familial love. Duncan idealises Canada through Mary, whose sensitivity, friendliness and honesty encourage the reader to identify with her.

Mary's movement toward understanding her national identity is hesitant because she labours under two intellectual burdens: her colonial status, and her sex. For a colonial, London is not a foreign city; it is half familiar, a reality built from childhood story, national loyalty and parental reminiscence. Mary does not expect to find a difference in kind between Britain and Canada, only a difference of degree, and must learn,

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²Clara Thomas, "Cousin Cinderella and The Empire Game" Studies in Canadian Literature (Summer, 1976) 183-193, p. 186.

by careful and critical observation, the elements which differentiate Britain and Canada. Mary's meetings with her friend Evelyn Dicey make her particularly willing to draw connections between Britain and Canada, if only to assert her Canadian difference from the self-assured, dramatic American. For a woman, the task of self-definition is made difficult by physical and material dependence, and by social taboos against action and intellectual speculation.

Although Mary moves slowly toward her realisation of identity, she moves surely. Her status as observer of the action allows her to judge with more reflection and more accuracy than any other character in the novel, with the exception, perhaps, of Peter Doleford. Her limited intellectual understanding of the world is finally an advantage, for she begins to understand her Canadianness through her love for her brother, as if Duncan is saying that the bond is at least as much emotional as it is intellectual or logical. The family is the appropriate metaphor, therefore, for the Empire and for colonial relations, and Mary's understanding of the family allows her to understand the Empire more thoroughly than Graham does. As Peter Doleford remarks at the end of the novel, "in our dealings with the colonies the heart is supposed to have more of a chance," (362) and Mary proves, with her marriage, the truth of his statement.

While Mary comes to understand her nationality through inaction, Graham Trent is crippled by his ability to act. His actions almost bring about the loss of his identity, and stimulate Mary to a recognition of her own. Graham feels a "mission to bring the morality of the 'true north strong and free' . . . and its practical benefits, in terms of natural and financial resources, to the preservation of Britain."³ He feels himself to be the bearer of something infinitely precious and important to the history of the world, and becomes bitter and sarcastic when rebuffed. He attempts to find the appropriate method of bringing his wealth to the aid of Britain, and explores the alternatives of collecting antiques, salvaging manuscripts, and contributing to research. He eventually determines to save the ancestral home of the Pavisay family from the auction block by marrying the daughter, Lady Barbara. In doing so, Graham discovers that he must give up his distinctive Canadian identity, and become an English Country Gentleman. Graham attempts to be absorbed by Britain, but he finds the task difficult. His decision to bury himself in British identity is not in keeping with his Canadian sense of independence, and makes him unhappy. His ability to take the lead, to act, prevents

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³Clara Thomas, "Cousin Cinderella and The Empire Game," p. 185.

him from seeing that he is not taking the appropriate path, and Mary remarks that "it is not wonderful that he has trouble with his heart." (178)

From Graham's experience Mary learns that Canada partakes of freedom and independence as well as British tradition. Graham cannot be happy in a union which subjugates his birthright of Canadian freedom to the authority of convention. Mary discovers, moreover, that her Canadian nationality gives her a distinctive understanding of the balance between tradition and freedom, as well as a responsibility to help other nations of the Empire. Her union with Peter Doleford based upon love and equality represents the fulfillment of both her personal and national identity.

I

For the Trents, Britain is an ideal which has somehow gotten lost in the transition to the modern world. Originally the seat of learning and of moral goodness, Britain has succumbed to the pressures of the industrial age; financial crisis and social chaos have distorted the genuine British heritage. The values Mary and Graham face are often rigidly conventionalized or vulgarly commercialized. Although the Colonies have the wealth and the energy to save Britain, Graham and Mary find that the British are indifferent to the Colonial contribution to the Empire, and are generally too short-sighted to understand the great future of a united Empire.

The ideal of British history, freedom, and justice still exists, however. Lord Doleford is Mary's example of the British ideal, and she equates him with the type of an Arthurian Knight:

Lord Doleford's features at once suggested a race and then a type and then an order, and a kind of direct correspondence of character--he was written beautifully plain. I don't know why he made me think of a Crusader--it was certainly nothing he said--unless it was that sign of purpose and intention, which would be, one felt, as simple and as high as modern circumstances permitted. (108)

Doleford is not a Crusader, but a descendant of Crusaders. Although he is limited by "modern circumstances" his aims are simple and high, and his nature corresponds directly to his aristocratic appearance. Although Doleford has no dragons to fight in London, Mary knows that he only needs to find the correct circumstances to demonstrate his solid British courage and moral judgement.

Towse, the Trent's maid, represents the ideal of the British working class. She is responsible, faithful, makes no fuss about terms or hours, and sets her own high standards for the work she performs. Modest and conservative, but not inflexible, Towse is the last example of a type which used to be common in England, but has disappeared in the industrial age. Mary's description of Towse makes her seem to represent the protective, motherly influence of Britain toward Canada.

Above all things you had that feeling with Towse, that when she was in the kitchen you were perfectly safe. I would defy any undesirable person to get past her if she answered

the door. She was a solid wall of defence, impregnable, immovable; the only chance would have been to blow her up . . . . The conviction that sparkled in each of her faithful eyes . . . made a moral force of her . (41-42)

Pavis Court, the ancestral home of Doleford and his sister Barbara Pavisay, is another example of the ideal Britain. Pavis Court represents beauty and history for the Trents, two ideas which seem worthy of Graham's sacrificial marriage to Barbara.

What lives and fortunes had it not already devoured, that old exquisite stone house! And all with what an air of detachment, almost of irony, before such sacrifices to its uplifted ideal, an air that said "What are your foolish human complications to me? I have to do with beauty, not at all with you." (241-2)

Pavis Court and its "uplifted ideal" are the reason that Canadians continue to admire Britain. But Graham and Mary Trent soon learn that Britain herself has forgotten what Pavis Court stands for, and its towers, "so long shorn of circumstance," retreat "before one's eyes into the past." (240)

The ideal of Britain is also illustrated in the actions of Barbara Pavisay and her brother Peter Doleford. Barbara becomes engaged to Graham; on her part the affair is merely a business arrangement to save her family seat, Pavis Court. But Graham seems unhappy and Barbara, who admits that she is "not clever." (327) spends her nights puzzling over the reason for his dissatisfaction. When she realizes that "for Graham, it isn't altogether a business matter," (328) she dissolves the engagement,

leaving Graham's honour intact. Although she needs his money, and could easily force Graham to honour his proposal, she realizes that the engagement is immoral and so withdraws. Peter Doleford similarly shows his ideal sense of morality when he refuses to marry Evelyn for her money. He is the only character besides Mary to understand Graham's unhappiness and the only other character to condemn, immediately, the idea of the marriage. Barbara only needs a few hints to discover the "sincerity" which is so important to Graham (196) but she and Peter eventually learn its importance from the Canadian example.

These few examples of the ideal do little to mitigate Graham and Mary's general disillusionment with the present reality of Britain. Britons are generally governed by convention, and oblivious to any standards but their own. Blind adherence to social rules makes Britons akin to "a depository of views and archives" (229) rather than living beings, and life in Britain is a kind of incarceration. Graham is insulted by gentlemen who recommend their tailors to him in private, stopping short of saying directly that his newly purchased British wardrobe is in poor taste (334). Both Graham and Mary encounter pretentious "swagger" in their search for suitable lodgings in London.

The Canadians experience arrogance among the British aristocracy in all their social contacts. Lady Lippington, who is campaigning to "get Canada" for her husband, the former Governor General of Australia, snubs Graham until she realizes he has political influence; her subsequent eagerness to convince him of her love for the Colonies is almost embarrassing. But the impression she leaves, despite her enthusiasm, is an impression of arrogance and ignorance; when she is introduced to Graham and Mary for the first time, she gushes over them, and is unable to detect the sarcasm in Graham's reply.

"Canada," she said, "has the greatest fascination for me. Its history thrills me; its loyalty touches me to the heart."

"That would greatly gratify Canada," he replied "if she knew."

It sounded polite, though it was really temper, and I was thankful to see that Lady Lippington perceived only the sound. (91-2)

Many of the Britons that Graham and Mary meet "perceive only the sound" and not the substance of their remarks, especially if they contain implied criticisms of Britain. Mary's comments are completely misinterpreted by Miss Pedlington, a horsey looking spinster who has accompanied her to the train station to see Lady Lippington off to Canada. Although Lady Lippington has gained her goal of the Canadian Governor-Generalship for her husband, she is miserable at having to leave England. Mary discovers a parallel between Lady Lippington's

Mary begins to wonder if Canadian nationality is simply a few mannerisms, and she concludes that it is more. She discovers that Graham would give up more than he would gain by adopting the manners and the standards of judgement which characterize his British counterparts. She experiences her second moment of clear understanding when she watches Graham walking along the railway platform at Lady Lippington's departure for Canada.

He, Graham, was more free than they, more free of a thousand things--traditions and conventions and responsibilities, privileges and commandments, interests and bores, advantages and disadvantages and fearful indispensable sign manuals. That was the great thing that was published in him as he went swinging up and down the platform with the other man; and surely it was something as precious in its way, I reasoned, as any opportunity or any possession, something which gave even Pavis Court one aspect of a mess of pottage. (310)

Graham's birthright of freedom is just as important as his birthright of tradition, and Mary realises that she, too, has not only the power to act autonomously, but that she has a heritage of values to guide her actions. Her nationality is built on the balance between freedom and tradition, on a revitalised British ideal, the median point between the present excesses of American immoral adaptability and British insensitivity and commercialism.

Mary's discovery of her own identity does not shut her off from her community, but rather underlines her responsibility to it, and in this Mary demonstrates Duncan's idealisation of Canadian identity. Mary discovers herself in the context of the ties of family, of

Evelyn displays the attributes of what Duncan sees as a typical American in Cousin Cinderella. She seems to abhor materialism, and pronounces the final condemnation of the British: "It's simply disgusting, the importance of money over here." (182) But she shows she is perfectly willing to adopt money as her own standard of judgement when she introduces Graham and Mary to the British. The quotation below illustrates Mary's revulsion from Evelyn's methods, even though they are copied from the aristocrats whom Mary admires.

What grounds remained, then, upon which we could possibly be recommended to Lady Doleford except those that Evelyn had so clearly in her eye when she suggested, if I may put it so horribly, that we weren't quite getting our money's worth in London? Perhaps she felt them solidly under her own feet; which may have made it easier. (83)

While the Canadians are hampered by their principles from being absorbed totally into the London scene, Evelyn easily adopts the deteriorated standards she perceives in her new London friends. The difference is made clear when the Trents and Evelyn gather for Christmas dinner:

The occasion proved us aliens; we didn't melt into it. In Rome, especially at times of festival, you can do everything but be a Roman. Evelyn, perhaps, was going to be a Roman. (219)

The shifting, "dicey" quality of Evelyn's principles is an inherent trait of Americans, Duncan suggests, and one which is not morally neutral. Evelyn gambles her wealth, her reputation, and most importantly, her principles, on

the possibility of marrying Peter Doleford. She accepts the British practice of marriage for money, and gets hold of "the right ideas about religious teaching in the schools," (131) in order to impress Lady Pavisay. Evelyn is eminently acceptable to the British because she is willing to be moulded to their own standards in order to get what she wants. Mrs. Jarvis notes that "Americans are so assimilating. . . . It's part of their success." (131) Evelyn proves Mrs. Jarvis is right when she loses her gamble and cannot marry Doleford, for she manages to accommodate herself to the attentions of the ancient and repulsive Christopher Scansby in order to save face.

Graham and Mary clearly perceive the danger in allowing Evelyn Dicey and her type free reign in Britain. She confirms the British in their immorality by adopting, rather than challenging, their standards, and by frankly and enthusiastically trying to become one of them. Evelyn is an egoist and wants to embellish her self image and her social status by becoming an "American duchess." Like Mamie Wick in Duncan's An American Girl in London, Evelyn idealizes the aristocracy so that she will in turn, be idealized in her own eyes when she joins them. She is not merely amusing herself with the Pavisay family, as Graham realises: "They are her Chief Good. You're not amused with your chief good." (206) The British are so flattered by Evelyn's devotion that they forget their historical burden of social responsibility and can no

longer practice self-criticism. Graham calls the British Evelyn's "prey," and remarks on the corrupting effect of her praise:

they only know how fine they want to be.
It's what we love them for. And the more you see how fine you want to be the less you can possibly see how fine you are, and the more likely you are to be the quarry of those who -- well, who appreciate you. (207)

Evelyn confirms the British in complacency; she does not encourage them to root out their own shortcomings. Naturally she is more popular than the Canadians, but she is finally a negative influence.

While Mary feels kinship with both Britain and the United States she is increasingly aware of the differences between herself and her British and American counterparts. Evelyn irritates her with her proprietary attitude towards England and her stubborn inability to understand why Canadians feel that their relation with Britain is special. Barbara Pavisay seems willing to sacrifice Graham to her family history and is not very intelligent. While Mary eventually becomes friends with Mrs. Jerome Jarvis and other British women, she knows their friendship is suspect because it is based on their expectation of gain. Mary's observation of Britain and the United States leads her to the realization that Canada is neither of those; but what is it?

II

Mary Trent discovers her own autonomy and her Canadian identity in two moments of extraordinary clarity. The first takes place when she is riding in Mrs. Jarvis' electric car, and realises that she is being offered an active role in the trans-Atlantic drama. Mrs. Jarvis has a son, Billy Milliken, whom she would like to settle in life; Mary and her money seem to be the ideal anchor for the empty-headed Billy. Mary realises that she has something London wants, or perhaps needs; she loses her awe of London, and gains a sense of independence.

It is the kind of thing one is ashamed to write, but I must confess that I drew from Mrs. Jarvis at this moment the definite thrill of a new perception, something captivating and delicious. Suddenly, without Graham, without anybody, moving through the lovely, thronged, wet, lamplit London streets in Mrs. Jarvis' electric brougham. I felt myself realised--realised in London, not only by the person who happened to be near me, but, in a vague, delightful, potential sense, by London. Realised, not a bit for what I was--that wouldn't, I am afraid, have taken me very far--nor exactly for what I represented, but for something else, for what I might, under favourable conditions, be made to represent. (126)

Mary's moment of self-discovery is not egoistical--she does not feel that her essential essence has been recognised and rewarded--but that her independence has been given to her. Her dowry allows her to dictate the terms of a marriage, and the "solicitation" of London makes her realize that she, like Canada, can use her wealth to a purpose. Her mere existence, as a woman with a dowry, gives her the power to act, as it gives Canada the basis for power in international affairs.

Mary also realises that she can have London, if she wants it. As a colonial, she has no history, as a girl from Yorkshire or the manufacturing North would have a history; she can be part of the aristocracy if she chooses. Mary states that she is accepted for "what she might, under favourable circumstances, be made to represent": "I was only a possibility, a raw product, to be melted or hammered or woven into London, by my leave." (126) Mary understands that she needs only give leave in order to be accepted as part of the new aristocracy, one of the "geographical anomalies" who become Canadian Lords and MP's. From her new perspective, Mary feels it is possible to know a "divine disdain of London" (127) and the sense that she has the power to make a choice, once and for all, whether or not she wants to become more than just a colonial, whether she wants to become a Briton.

When Billy Milliken finally proposes, Mary refuses to marry him. By then she has discovered both that she does not want to be a Briton and she makes her own nationality unique.

Mary begins to understand what Canada is when she contemplates her brother's decision to marry Barbara Pavisay. Mrs. Jarvis introduces the key idea when she dismisses Canada as an element of Graham's character which is a minimal influence and easily erased.

"Colonial he certainly is, but only to the extent of a few mannerisms, which he would soon lose. Try to think of him as a country gentleman in England, and he's quite a picture, isn't he?" (128)

Mary begins to wonder if Canadian nationality is simply a few mannerisms, and she concludes that it is more. She discovers that Graham would give up more than he would gain by adopting the manners and the standards of judgement which characterize his British counterparts. She experiences her second moment of clear understanding when she watches Graham walking along the railway platform at Lady Lippington's departure for Canada.

He, Graham, was more free than they, more free of a thousand things--traditions and conventions and responsibilities, privileges and commandments, interests and bores, advantages and disadvantages and fearful indispensable sign manuals. That was the great thing that was published in him as he went swinging up and down the platform with the other man; and surely it was something as precious in its way, I reasoned, as any opportunity or any possession, something which gave even Pavis Court one aspect of a mess of pottage. (310)

Graham's birthright of freedom is just as important as his birthright of tradition, and Mary realises that she, too, has not only the power to act autonomously, but that she has a heritage of values to guide her actions. Her nationality is built on the balance between freedom and tradition, on a revitalised British ideal, the median point between the present excesses of American immoral adaptability and British insensitivity and commercialism.

Mary's discovery of her own identity does not shut her off from her community, but rather underlines her responsibility to it, and in this Mary demonstrates Duncan's idealisation of Canadian identity. Mary discovers herself in the context of the ties of family, of

society, and of nation; she has no desire, indeed no need, to free herself from the rules and responsibilities imposed by those ties. Duncan shows that the essential difference between Canadians and their British and American counterparts is the ability of Canadians to express themselves as individuals within the structure of society. Evelyn Dickey, the American, is indifferent to that structure; Barbara Pavisay, her opposite, will never know herself as an individual. But Mary can reconcile her personal goal of marriage to the man she loves with the community will to save Pavis Court and to strengthen the bond of filial love between Canada and Britain.

Cousin Cinderella not only shows Mary's discovery of her own true character through an understanding of the Canadian identity⁴ but identifies the positive attributes of the Canadian identity and the role that Canada must take in the world. Mary represents Canada as it comes to understand its autonomy and nationhood. The Imperialist, Duncan's first Canadian novel, shows Canadian society considering its independence unselfconsciously; Cousin Cinderella shows individual Canadians reaching to understand themselves in a reflective and introspective way, and then turning their conclusions into morally responsible action.

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⁴Thomas Tausky, Novelist of Empire, p. 132.

Chapter Four

Canadian Mission in His Royal Happiness:

Mending the Broken Teacup

Post-Confederation Canadian imperialists felt that Canada had a mission to form a permanent bond of union between Britain and the United States. They also believed, however, in the existence of Canada as an independent nation making its own unique and necessary contribution to the Empire. As a colony, Canada had no great power of her own but could conceivably gain power through influencing her more important allies. The idea of a Canadian international mission appealed to both imperialism and nationalism by emphasizing the importance of Canada without minimizing the imperial tie.

In His Royal Happiness, published in 1914, Sara Jeannette Duncan dramatizes the idea of Canada's mission as a mediator between Britain and the United States. In her earlier novels Duncan had rejected the idea of the United States forming part of a revitalized Empire, giving examples of political corruption, violence and unprincipled commercialism to demonstrate the republic's incompatibility with the ideal aims of the Empire. But rumours of war with Germany based on clashes between

European trade empires made the achievement of a functional alliance between Britain and the United States an urgent issue for imperialists. Duncan's His Royal Happiness offers a strategy for an alliance which uses the unique elements of the Canadian identity as a basis for reconciliation of the Anglo-Saxon race.

His Royal Happiness presents Britain and the United States as natural allies who have separated as a result of stubbornness and misunderstanding. The two countries diverged politically and socially during the American Revolution, which disturbed the balance of freedom and tradition in each country. The United States rejected tradition as a British importation, and embraced freedom. As a result, the United States suffers from social and economic freedoms which know no moral bounds and are often socially destructive forces. Britain, on the other hand, reacted against freedom and embraced tradition, which resulted in a society dominated by empty conventions with no anchor in moral truth. Both nations are unbalanced, and their societies, in a sense, unhealthy; Duncan implies that an ideal society must balance the two elements of freedom and tradition.

Duncan creates her ideal society in Canada. Canada's evolutionary growth has allowed it to retain British history, religion and social responsibility, and balance them with the energy of personal freedom. In His Royal Happiness the Canadian, Arthur Youghall, offers a model

of personal integration for the unbalanced and unhealthy representatives of Britain and the United States, and Canada offers a model of social unity upon which the new Empire could be based.

The protagonist in His Royal Happiness is the British Prince Alfred, the youngest son of the Royal Family. Alfred's health is delicate and is aggravated by the frustration he feels at constantly following rules of protocol. He falls in love with the American heiress Hilary Lanchester, and marries her in the final few hours before Youghall brings news of his brothers' deaths. Alfred leaves Hilary to take up his responsibilities as King; diplomatic complications prevent him from acknowledging his wife for five years.

While Alfred is the protagonist of the novel, Youghall might more properly be called the hero. Youghall realises that Alfred is both monarch and man, and that a solution must be found that permits him both as monarch and man to acknowledge Hilary as his wife. Youghall acts as 'go-between' for the couple, and works through the Foreign Office to negotiate a treaty which would cement Alfred and Hilary's marriage with a political alliance between Britain and the United States. The Canadian manipulates Alfred for his own good, and masterminds a scheme which satisfies Alfred's personal goals and his responsibility to his people.

Belief in the unity of the anglo-saxon race as a spiritual objective is an underlying assumption of His Royal Happiness. Duncan portrays the English-speaking peoples as a unity which must acknowledge its shared heritage of values in order to become spiritually whole. Spiritual wholeness and unity are the fundamental points; though she writes of an anglo-saxon race, she nowhere implies racial superiority as now might be implicit in such a term. Indeed, she is at one with many other Canadians of her time. For many of them, the idea of anglo-saxonism did not consciously include the concept of racial superiority, or the racial darwinist forecast of race wars which would lead to the survival of the fittest; for George Parkin, the idea of anglo-saxonism

defined the white people of the United Kingdom and the Dominions (and in some contexts the United States as well) who had acquired over the generations certain common racial instincts based on shared history, commercial energy, climate, parliamentary traditions, religion and culture, a group which for all important purposes were one in emotions, traditions and ideals.¹

A unified anglo-saxon race could become a force for good in the world which would "make people see the need to abandon 'mere materialism' and accept their social and moral responsibilities to the total organic community."²

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¹Terry Cook, "George Parkin and The Concept of Britannic Idealism" (JCS X:3 15-31), p. 19.

²Cook, p. 26.

Duncan portrays the unification of the anglo-saxon race as an ideal goal which would not only strengthen trade and military alliances but become the first step toward the reformation of the world along the lines of popular idealist philosophy.

She introduces the mediating role of Canada metaphorically with an incident between Alfred and his Oxford friends, Youghall, Longworth (from the United States) and Manners (from Yorkshire). Alfred is hosting tea for the group.

He himself was pouring the tea, stretching his hand from where he sat to give the last drop of it to Longworth, from Massachusetts, who held his cup over the back of the chair he bestrode; and Prince Alfred tipped the pot at such a determined angle, that the lid dropped into the cup and knocked a three-cornered bit out.

"Now you've done it, Cakes," remarked Longworth, considering the damage.

"It'll mend all right," said Youghall, a Rhodes man, from St. John, New Brunswick, ducking for the piece.

"Permit me," said Manners, politely substituting a tobacco jar upon the saucer.

"Improve the flavour."

Longworth, whose casual manner and characteristic pose were nurtured in the home state of the Boston Tea Party, represents the American side of the Revolutionary War. Prince Alfred, zealously pursuing his own aims, awkwardly breaks the teacup of union between them. Manners, who

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³Duncan, His Royal Happiness (Toronto: Hodder & Stoughton, Ltd. 1914), p. 8-9. All further references will be indicated in the text.

represents the British manufacturing classes, proposes a laughable and ill-bred substitution. But the Canadian offers a solution. "It will mend," he repeats on the next page, "if you will take care of the pieces." (10) The Canadian undertakes to mend the broken teacup.

Duncan relies on conventional ideas of the monarchy in her characterization of Prince Alfred. As monarch, Alfred embodies the culture and peoples of the Empire, and contains in himself the sum of all the monarchs before him. He is an idealisation of the people; the "royal we" has meaning.

He was tall, and his carriage was haughty, sensitive, and his manner was shy; his features were patrician to the point of austerity. But there were appearances not readily accounted for in his character. Under them his nature was direct and humble. It would have been difficult for him to assume anything, most of all a democratic ideal, since these in a very abstract way, were already a part of him. The Royal generations since Queen Victoria had given more and more dutiful attention to the popular aspect, as well perhaps, had more and truly loved the people; and this passion in the purple of his forbears had endowed the third son of the house with an inclination in such matters that compared with the metal of the demagogue as silver might with pewter. (4)

The Prince has the manner and the appearance of a hereditary aristocrat, with the ideal virtues which that implies, but his nature is democratic. Duncan underscores the duality of his character by giving him a uniquely significant history at Oxford: rather than taking a

"Gentleman's third," the Prince democratically insists on sitting exams in his specialty American history, and proves his superiority by taking a First. Like British culture as a whole, Alfred contains both the democratic and aristocratic ideals. The novel turns on the essential point that democracy and aristocracy arose from the same source.

Alfred's nature directly reflects the state of his nation and his people, and the unnatural split between the United States and Britain, between the democratic and the aristocratic ideals, between freedom and tradition, causes his poor health. His democratic nature is ignored or suppressed while he is in Britain, and so he becomes ill. When he arrives in the United States for a visit, his democratic nature takes over and he ignores his aristocratic obligation; he becomes ill again. Alfred only becomes well when he is allowed to balance the "human equation" (96), and so integrate his personal initiative with his aristocratic duty.

Alfred's health is dependent upon the recognition of both elements of his character, and the maintenance of a balance between the two. His Royal Happiness is not a story of Alfred's personal liberation from stifling tradition, and the point of the novel is not, as Thomas Tausky would have it, that "the weight of English tradition cripples the soul and American freedom liber-

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ates it."⁴ The "weight of English tradition" lives with legitimacy in Alfred, as Duncan demonstrates in Alfred's reaction to the American congress. His sense of duty awakens when he is welcomed as a representative of Britain: "He felt himself for the first time in his life vividly standing for his country, and found it a great emotion in that place." (47) Duncan indicates that freedom is a necessary addition to Alfred's regimented life, but the social responsibility which is the real basis of Alfred's royalty is an equally necessary element in his life.

Reaction to Prince Alfred's poor health illustrates metaphorically the divergence between Britain and the United States. The British treat the Prince as an element of governmental policy, an attitude which Princess Georgina makes specific when she tells Alfred that he is now "part of a very important policy between ourselves and Wilhelmstrasse." (193) Alfred's illness in North American is aggravated by "perfunctory and unfeeling" (107) attitudes of the British aides and doctors who surround him. His death bed choice of an American doctor is simply a heavy diplomatic responsibility: "They . . . talked it over heavily from the point of view of an outraged court and a staff that might be held responsible." (121-2) Alfred's personal wishes are ignored by his British

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⁴Thomas Tausky, Novelist of Empire, p. 146.

friends and servants in favour of diplomatic rules and the wishes of various superiors.

In contrast, the Americans treat Alfred solely as an individual, and ignore the half of his nature which is the embodiment of the British ideal. Alfred immediately feels the influence of American freedom when he visits Washington:

he had a feeling . . . of wanting quickly to contradict somebody's words or grasp somebody's hand... . It was the subtle beginning, no doubt, of the work of the American germ; he had not felt these movements in his legs on the voyage, or ever before. (51)

Alfred admits that the British lack the "personal stimulus" (128) which the United States seems to have in abundance. His American doctor, Atkinson, treats the Prince as an individual, rather than a monarch: "From the beginning he saw so much more the serious case than the illustrious Prince, the case to which he showed himself, quite simply a doctor and a friend." (98) But while American freedom and individualism are good for the Prince, Duncan shows that they have negative effects as well in her depiction of the destructive power of a free Press and the chaotic organization of the American electoral system.

Alfred's illness also allows Duncan to show the power of Canadians to see both the freedom of America and the tradition of Britain. When Youghall is summoned to Alfred's bedside in Ottawa, he is at first overwhelmed by the spectacle of Alfred's dying, which is, to him,

the death of an ideal. But he soon recovers to sense the familiar figure of his friend.

But all he truly saw was the white face on the pillow with the blackness round the eyes and that curious straight look about the lips, like a beautiful, blurred medieval mask. It was the beauty of it and the blurring that cried out first and so caught Youghall about the heart that he stood silent beside the bed, grasping the hand that came out to him, and fighting to keep his mouth from the betrayal of tears.

The face on the pillow smiled and spoke; something familiar came back. . . . He leaned forward and knotted his hands around his knee. (107-8)

Sir Hector Cameron, the Canadian Prime Minister, solves the problem of Alfred's treatment. Cameron takes upon himself and the Canadian cabinet responsibility for the Prince's doctor, thus ensuring the Prince's recovery while removing the obstacles created by his staff.

Alfred's health is restored by Dr. Morrow's treatment in the Adirondack mountains, but the Prince is cautioned that he will always be delicate. Alfred's life belies Morrow's diagnosis, for when he is fully able to exercise his initiative in the performance of his duties as King his health is excellent. However, the dichotomy between his public and his private life persists. He marries Hilary Lanchester during his last hours in the Adirondacks. When Youghall brings the news of the King's death and Alfred's succession to the throne, the new monarch realizes that he cannot immediately acknowledge his Queen. Alfred's public life, as

a monarch, continues to conflict with his personal affection for Hilary.

II

In an article in The Week twenty-eight years before the publication of His Royal Happiness, Duncan had ridiculed the idea of an American Queen.

And now, to literally crown the vaulting ambition of our Republican cousins, Prince Albert Victor, it is gravely said, will marry an American; and if hereditary monarchy in Britain lasts until the contingency arrives, "an American girl will be queen of England" . . . . To give the matter serious thought is to be scandalised and repelled by the idea to a very unpleasant degree. Commercial ties, a common faith, and the community of sentiment existing between peoples of similar institutions, are all that is necessary to bind the United States to the Mother Country.⁵

By the time Duncan wrote His Royal Happiness the world situation had changed, along with her opinion. The United States seemed to need a reminder of its community of sentiment with other English-speaking countries, especially as the expanding European commercial Empires threatened traditional British markets. The recent Venezuelan border dispute, moreover, had almost flared into war, and made imperialists conscious of the lack of an Anglo-American arbitration treaty. The number of prominent British-American marriages and their appeal to

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⁵Duncan, An Annotated Edition of Sara Jeannette Duncan's Contributions to the Week ed. Catherine Adams M.A. Carleton 1980 (unpublished), pp. 60-61. 23 Sept. 1886.

public sentiment through the popular press also probably had an influence on Duncan's choice of topic for her patriotic novel. The British government was attempting to secure American support in trade and military matters, and His Royal Happiness was Duncan's contribution to the cause.

But to rationalize her apparent willingness to lower the standards of selection in marriage, Duncan makes Hilary Lanchester's ancestors British aristocrats. and her family, natural rulers. Hilary is descended from a dispossessed nobleman, and is a god-daughter of Alfred's aunt, Princess Georgina. Her father is a natural aristocrat, the President of the United States, and he is destined to re-institute the monarchy in that country: "'Lanchester's character so touches everything he does,' said his more friendly enemies, 'That he's a positive danger in a democratic country.'" (158) In addition, Hilary has been educated at the same institutions as her aristocratic rival, Princess Sophy of Germany.

Duncan presents Lanchester's aristocratic designs as a sign of hope in the United States. Lanchester is an idealist and a man of vision (277) who alone recognizes the historical and spiritual significance of the anglo-American treaty. His initiatives are opposed by the popular press, which is a negative and destructive outgrowth of anarchic social freedom in the United States. The chaotic electoral system of the United States, which creates administrative inconsistency and

recognizes no authority during elections, also militates against Lanchester's progressive ideas.

Hilary Lanchester comes from a kind of American aristocratic family, and her marriage with Alfred seems destined to reintroduce the aristocratic ideal to the American popular mind. The marriage helps reintegrate Alfred's two natures as well as reintegrate the balancing element of aristocracy in the United States.

III

Alfred's name and his nickname are significant indicators of Duncan's intention in His Royal Happiness. The legendary King Alfred united his countrymen to drive out European invaders, and Duncan's King Alfred is also destined to unite his people. Alfred's nickname, "Cakes" reinforces the parallel; the name signifies, in Victorian slang, "a foolish fellow,"⁶ but also refers to a story about the historical King Alfred hiding from his enemies in a country kitchen. Duncan intends Alfred to unite his people against the new threat of European invasion, but her King Alfred cannot accomplish his task alone. He does not have an objective sense of the necessary action, nor does his position as King allow him to make overtures to an anglo-phobic United States. Alfred needs the help of his Canadian friend, Arthur Youghall.

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⁶J. Redding Ware, Passing English of the Victorian Era (London: George Routledge & Sons n.d.), p.60.

Youghall is dedicated to the ideal of the reconciliation of the anglo-saxon race. For him, an alliance between Britain and the United States is a natural solution to an unnatural state of division. The alliance should be built upon the necessity to defend a common inheritance of British values, both spiritual and moral. Youghall states his belief in a monolithic anglo-saxon alliance:

the world is too small for new races, old man. You can't make one out of two hundred years and a few flavourings from Europe. We're one lot and, Please God! nothing of so little consequence as a form of government shall permanently divide us, or our inheritance. (325)

Youghall's assessment of the necessary nature of the alliance and the reason for the division is significant. The system of government which divides Britain and the United States is of no consequence; what links the two is stronger than political reality. The anglo-saxon race, for Duncan, is joined by moral and spiritual values which transcend everyday reality.

Youghall never forsakes his ideal. Faced with increasing pressure from Alfred, who remains separated from his wife for five years, Youghall still pursues the treaty which will unite Britain and the United States. Alfred complains, "There are those who say both countries would be better off without the treaty." (261) Youghall simply answers, "Yes, there are; but I do not believe them." (261) He persuades Alfred to delay his marriage announcement until after Lanchester completes his work on the

treaty in the United States. Throughout, Youghall proves himself a friend as well as a diplomat by continuing to function as the link between Hilary and Alfred, and he becomes a discreet and long-suffering sounding board for Alfred's frustrations.

When the announcement is finally made, Youghall is the instrumental force in assuring Alfred's "Royal Happiness." Alfred's advisors, legislators and family are completely opposed to acknowledgement of Alfred's pledge to Hilary, and in support of their position they dredge up a law passed by that nemesis of anglo-American friendship, George III. Princess Georgina's remark sparks the old opposition Alfred feels between his personal inclinations and his obligations to society:

"oh my dearest Alfred," ventured the Princess, "You must do what becomes a King."

He turned upon her a curiously bitter face. "And is that less," he said, "than becomes any decent chap? If it is -" He straightened his shoulders. An excited relative might easily have thought a burden about to fall. (314)

Alfred is brought to the brink of abdication, for he cannot reconcile his duty with his personal sense of honour. Arthur Youghall provides the solution. He reveals a previously unnoticed detail of Alfred's marriage which allows the King to circumvent legal objections to his marriage, and acknowledge Hilary. Youghall had kept his information concealed in order to complete his dream of anglo-American union. Alfred complains:

"You unspeakable brute! You had it up your sleeve all these years! Why, in the name of my married majesty, didn't you point it out before?"

"There would have been no holding you," said Youghall without excitement, "and, in advance, it would have shattered the treaty. Maybe more. You see that, don't you sir? And I knew you wanted the treaty." (317-318)

Youghall uses his knowledge to serve his King both as a friend and as the embodiment of the Empire. He presents the Canadian balance of individual freedom and historical tradition as the mediating force between the two great anglo-saxon powers, and thus takes one step toward realisation of the mission of Canada, the reconciliation of the anglo-saxon peoples in a solid alliance that will assure world peace and harmony.

IV

From a twentieth century perspective, the basic premise of His Royal Happiness may be sentimental and unrealistic. The reader is tempted to dismiss the novel, as Thomas Tausky does, with these words:

Anglo-American reconciliation through marriage is not, perhaps, as enthralling an idea as it once was, and it cannot sustain 378 pages in the absence of convincing characterization, dialogue or setting.⁷

But the novel is important in the context of Duncan's work for the light it throws on her portrayal of Canada and Canadian consciousness. The Canadian is

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⁷Tausky, Novelist of Empire, p. 146. Actually, the novel is 328 pages long.

the necessary link between Alfred and Hilary, and between their respective nations: without his unique understanding of the interdependent needs of Alfred as king and as man, neither the marriage nor the alliance would take place. His Royal Happiness presents Canadian consciousness as a balance of individual freedoms and obligations to society; as a melding of the dominant traits in American and British society, respectively, Canadian consciousness offers a solution to the ills of mankind, and a mechanism for creating Duncan's ultimate good, the preservation of British values.

Duncan's depiction of the reunification of the anglo-saxon race in His Royal Happiness introduces a topic not often associated with her novels: nationalism. In His Royal Happiness Duncan performs a task not unfamiliar to those of her contemporaries interested in defining and preserving a Canadian nation: she idealizes Canada as a philosophical middle path which classically balances freedom and tradition in socially responsible action. She takes the idea one step further by giving Canada a mission, making Canadians her chosen people destined to lead the world from a wilderness of materialism and social atomisation into a kingdom of ideal values. Historian Joseph Levitt writes that the idealisation of Canada as a mediating force between the two great arms of the anglo-saxon race is often a nationalist strategy:

Glorifying the Anglo-Saxon race made good nationalist sense because it increased **pride** in the British heritage and made it possible to envisage a greater Canadian role in world politics as a "linchpin" connecting the British and the Americans.⁸

Duncan's support of Canada is not narrow or declarative; she does not preach isolationism and she acknowledges Canada's debt to other nations. But she depicts that debt as one of Canada's strengths, for the gift of the less politically powerful nation is to waltz gracefully with the superpowers without being stepped on. Duncan acts as an advocate for Canada by describing the character of the Canadian nation and asserting its superiority, for some tasks, over the characters of the other nations of the world.

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⁸ Joseph Levitt, "Race and Nation in Canadian Anglophone Historiography" Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism, VIII:1 (Spring 1981) 1-16, p. 4.

Chapter Five

The Post War Novels

Sara Jeannette Duncan spent the years during the First World War and immediately following writing plays; she wrote thirteen between 1914 and 1922. The influence of her dramatic writing on her novels is observable in the only two novels she wrote during that time: Title Clear (1922) and The Gold Cure (1924). The novels reflect the preoccupation of her dramatic writing, which was often propaganda for the war effort. The artistic aim seems considerably lower than in the previous international novels. While the necessity of an alliance between Britain and the United States remains the lesson of the novels, the position of Canada as mediator between the two disappears.

Duncan probably began writing plays after receiving a letter from Henry James in which he implied that her talent for dialogue would be suitable for writing plays. Commenting on His Honor, and a Lady, he writes

It . . . is too much conceived (I think) in dialogue - I mean considering that it isn't conceived like a play.

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¹James, Letters ed. Percy Lubbock. New York: Scribners, 1920.

Like James, Duncan had no great success in her attempts to get her plays produced, although she seems to have focussed on topical and patriotic subjects. Thomas Tausky mentions two examples, Mrs. Bobby Bigamist and Teaching English, which depict the unmasking of sinister German spies and the triumph of English heroines. Dramatizations of The Story of a Sonny Sahib, Duncan's popular juvenile novel, and of His Royal Happiness were also among her projects. Title Clear and The Gold Cure were conceived as plays, and made into novels.

Writing for the stage necessitated, presumably, an awareness of the tastes of London theatre managers, a sense of the popular audience, and a willingness to reflect the current of events. All of these elements are present in the novel versions of Title Clear and The Gold Cure, and may help to explain their departure from the earlier novels.

The most striking difference between the last two international novels and their antecedents is Duncan's depiction of people from the United States. In An American Girl in London, (1891) A Daughter of Today (1894) and even as late as Cousin Cinderella (1908) Duncan creates Americans that are lively and friendly, but single-minded, socially irresponsible and finally destructive. Even in His Royal Happiness (1914), United States society in general is chaotic and destructive; only the ideal American, Henry Lanchester, who is

descended, from British aristocrats, leavens the lump of American society.

But in Title Clear and The Gold Cure American protagonists are able to understand their debt to Britain without the agency of an ideal mediator; the comic denouement of both novels depends upon the inherent moral goodness of both Americans and Britons. In Title Clear, the American protagonist Campbell Fraser and his son learn the importance of their shared heritage with Britain and their obligation to defend it against Germany. In The Gold Cure the American heroine tests the love of her British aristocratic fiancé by concealing her inherited wealth. In both novels American society is barely present, and its materialism has not fundamentally affected the two protagonists.

The reason for Duncan's change in attitude toward her American characters may lie in the fact that the novels seem to have evolved from the plays, rather than the other way around. The purpose of their story line was, therefore, to woo the British public with favourable depictions of itself and its new allies, the Americans. The novels may have been intended to aid in the war effort by encouraging Americans and Britons, formerly enemies, to join in a common cause. Duncan downplayed her criticisms of the United State in order to focus on its common heritage with Britain.

Canada's disappearance from the novels might be explained by the fact that a description of Canada's place in the North Atlantic triangle was less important during the war years than the maintenance of the functional alliance between Britain and the United States. The unfavourable critical and popular reception of The Imperialist and Cousin Cinderella may also have prompted Duncan to exclude Canada from her last two novels. She seems to have derived a good deal of income from her novels, and her income, presumably, was circumscribed by the popularity of her subjects.

Title Clear is the story of Campbell Fraser, a young man forced to leave his native Scotland and emigrate to the United States. Fraser returns incognito twenty-three years later, a self-made millionaire, to discover that the town of Kirkiebrig remains the same, and that his sweetheart, Christina Tod, has remained faithful to his memory. Fraser finds he still loves Kirkiebrig and Christina, but before he can possess them with a clear conscience he must **acknowledge** his desertion from the Boer War, many years before, and his parallel desertion of Christina. Both he and his American-born son eventually die in France, their deaths symbolizing the sacrifice that brings the two cultures together in defence of the values they hold in common.

Scotland is a natural setting for the homecoming of a North American businessman. Duncan saw Scots as

the founding people of North America, blessed with hard-headed practicality and an ability to adapt.³

Like England, Scotland holds the seeds of individualism and conventionality, America providing a new home for the individualist who is driven away.

Fraser left Kirkiebrig on the wings of a scandal. Found in Mrs. Tod's summer-house with his arms around her daughter, he flees the shame of the mother's accusations. Noted for his impulsive and prideful behaviour, Fraser is like his Wee Free church, "with nothing at all to distinguish it but the ornament of an uncompromising spirit."⁴ Fraser's pride is injured by the suggestion that something inappropriate has taken place between himself and Christina, and his pride decrees the flight from his future in Kirkiebrig.

Although Fraser is extreme in his reaction, his motivation is equally extreme. Mrs. Tod represents the strict conventionality of the Old Country, inflexible and intolerant. Duncan describes her on the way to visit a sick-bed:

Mrs. Tod opened the door, looking out shrewd and cautious under her shawl. Anyone could see, as she stood there in the lamplight, that she was one whose mind was made up on every subject that had ever come into it. (8)

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³Clara Thomas, "Canadian Social Mythologies in Duncan's The Imperialist" (JCS 12:38-49).

⁴Duncan, Title Clear (London: Hutchinson and Co. 1922) p. 7. All further reference will be indicated in the text.

Her inflexibility alienates the young people whose energy and self-respect should invigorate the small community. Instead, the independent generation leaves home, and when Fraser returns Christina notes that there are no young men left in Kirkiebrig.

Christina Tod, Fraser tells us, has the "ornament of a meek and quiet spirit." (19) She also has a strong sense of identification with her community, and her actions are instrumental in bringing Fraser to a realisation of his own obligations to Kirkiebrig. Christina puts up a cross in the centre of the town, dedicated to Fraser, whom she thinks has died in the Boer War. Christie explains her motivation:

"You know as well as I do that Kirkiebrig to this hour hasna sent a sojer to fight in France . . . and the countryside fair bristlin' wi' war shrines. I tell ye I was asham't to go to Drumsheigh for ma kakkie wool. . . . (50)

When Fraser returns incognito and discovers the cross, his sense of pride, both for himself and his community, is reawakened.

Fraser and his son, representing the American people, are only removed by a few years from their homeland. That separation is not important in Kirkiebrig, where "folk constantly remind themselves that a thousand ages in His sight is but an evening gone." (30) Fraser finds that one night in his native village is enough to fill him with a sense of belonging there again: "Twenty-odd years of America rolled up and away and left him sitting in the

Cantock Arms, just an original bit of Kirkiebrig." (97) Like Fraser, the American people deserted the Empire in the Boer War, and so lost title to their heritage. The United States must realize its loving connection with the past, and reclaim both the privileges and the obligations of citizenship by joining the war against Germany.

Fraser's son Campbell, in love with Christina's niece, Maggie, discovers his father's past and enlists to satisfy his new-found sense of honour: "Dad had got off at the wrong place somewhere but he, Campbell, was on the job -- things would even up somehow." (258) Both Frasers marry their chosen Scotswomen and then die in France.

Kirkiebrig means "church - bridge" in Scottish, and the name has some significance in the novel. Fraser had been a theological student in the Free Church, and Christina's mother had been a member of the rival Established Church. Christina's and Fraser's marriage symbolically bridges the bitter differences between the rival churches, underscoring the theme of the new bridge between Britain and the United States.

The tie between Britain and the United States is cemented by the birth of Maggie's child -- Kirkiebrig has taken back its own and filled its empty conventional life with love. The description of the Common in the centre of the town describes the emptiness of Mrs. Tod's society, based on strict social conventions:

Conclusion

Sara Jeannette Duncan did not lose or abandon her initial commitment to the building of the Canadian nation during her long years abroad. She continued to explore, in her nine international novels, the nature and possibilities of the Canadian identity which she had tentatively sketched in her journalism. She brought "the King's goldenrod" with her to her mountain garden in Simla, just as she brought her belief in Canada to the far-flung outpost of Empire; and both blossomed under her constant care.

For Duncan, Canada is a nation which reconciles British tradition with American freedom. Canada is the vehicle for her popular idealism; preserved from the catastrophe of revolution, Canada has managed to retain its devotion to ideals by integrating industrialization with social responsibility in the creation of material wealth. For Duncan, Canada still strives toward the utopian ideal of a stable, organic society with social and political freedom for all its citizens.

Duncan recognizes that Canada's discovery of its own strengths is characterized by a struggle against the domination of Britain and the United States.

perhaps, as an equipment against Lansing Carter, who was thought to have caught her on the rebound from her military activity.⁵

Carter is a businessman with bright prospects and impeccable manners, but Betty feels unsure about the marriage. She dreads the absorption of her own personality as she muses on the wedding, "watching, with the first anxiety she had ever known, the approaching disappearance of Betty Van Allen." (17) She finds her anxiety is well founded as Carter tries to enlist her help in a stock fraud on the eve of the wedding. Betty's assumption of the identity of Norah Flanagan and her trip to England becomes a rite of passage, in which she learns to acknowledge her own strengths, to understand the value of her social position, and to assert herself on the grounds of her own merits.

In Britain she finds she cannot disguise her American personality. Norah Flanagan's Irish friends remark "regular little Yank, you are," (106) and a chance remark on the regimentation of British life alienates her benefactors:

"Come to think of it. If I had to be a policeman the whole enduring time I'd spend Sundays tearing down fresh posters and riding a bicycle on the sidewalks and. . . . Don't you ever feel like that?" she faltered, at the look Albert Edward gave to his mother.

"Can't say as I do." (104)

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⁵Duncan, The Gold Cure (London: Hutchison and Co. 1924) p. 13. Further reference will be indicated in the text.

Like Duncan's other Americans, Betty likes her freedom, and she learns to like the independence of her job as a typist in her father's favourite London hotel.

Betty meets Roddy Trenchard when he employs her as a secretary. A rather pedestrian English nobleman, Roddy wants to try manual labour in order to support his impoverished but respected family. His mother insists he ~~resuscitate~~ the flagging family fortune by marrying Bella Box, the daughter of a war-profiteer. Bella herself explains Roddy's dilemma:

"You mean," obliged Bella, "why can't he marry a girl in his own class?" Betty nodded.
 "Why--supply practically exhausted. Haven't you heard? This country has had one of her peaceful revolutions, and all the aristocrats are keeping chickens."(143)

Betty discovers that her American business sense can be of help to the easily-misled Roddy, and she takes his financial affairs in hand.

Roddy and Betty, quite predictably, fall in love. But Betty has learned something from her engagement to Lansing Carter; she wants to make sure that Roddy has no financial motives. She waits until Roddy proposes before revealing that she is, in fact, an heiress. The "gold cure," which is the cure for gold hunger, is effected, and both Betty and Roddy are convinced that their love is sufficiently ideal. Lansing Carter obligingly falls in love with Bella Box, and both couples happily marry.

In Title Clear and The Gold Cure Duncan creates Americans who, like President Lanchester in His Royal Happiness, recognize the importance of their British heritage. For whatever reason, Duncan clearly modifies her view of the United States in her last two novels, moving away from her negative depiction of American insensitivity and destructiveness and towards a more positive view of the United States. Campbell Fraser is able to embrace his homeland after many years in the United States; Betty Van Allen effects a genuine marriage between wealth and aristocracy. The novels represent Sara Jeannette Duncan's attempt to cater to the imagination of the British public, and to contribute to the war effort.

Conclusion

Sara Jeannette Duncan did not lose or abandon her initial commitment to the building of the Canadian nation during her long years abroad. She continued to explore, in her nine international novels, the nature and possibilities of the Canadian identity which she had tentatively sketched in her journalism. She brought "the King's goldenrod" with her to her mountain garden in Simla, just as she brought her belief in Canada to the far-flung outpost of Empire; and both blossomed under her constant care.

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Duncan recognizes that Canada's discovery of its own strengths is characterized by a struggle against the domination of Britain and the United States.

Although both countries are traditionally Canada's friends, and each shares common bonds with Canada, both countries have lost their initial devotion to ideals; arrogance, materialism and political corruption have taken their place. Britain and the United States often come to see Canada as a store of wealth to be raided, a raw wilderness devoid of culture and character; more often, they do not see it at all. In Duncan's novels, Canadians begin as a non-people, defining themselves, as others define them, as adjuncts to either British or American culture.

But Duncan demonstrates that Canada's days as a colony have ended. Canada is the sole society which still strives toward the ideal, and it has a moral responsibility to lead other nations in the same direction. Canadians must come to an understanding of the unique elements of their own culture, she seems to say, and of their important mission to bring together the divergent streams of the anglo-saxon race. Duncan strives to make such ideas credible by including realistic detail, metaphor and irony.

Joined with Britain in a bond of sentiment, Canada can re-invigorate the Empire, defeat materialism and reinstate the aristocratic ideal. She suggests that Britain, joined through Canada to the United States, could head the greatest military and ideological alliance in world history. Duncan depicts Canada as the active

agent in these proposed alliances, and the only nation with a clear vision of the future.

In viewing Canada as an ideal mediator between Britain and the United States, Duncan allies herself with major Canadian thinkers and authors of her own time and before. G.M. Grant, G.T. Denison, and to some extent George Parkin, held similar views. Criticisms of freedom in the United States and of British tradition appear in novels by John Richardson, T.C. Haliburton, Stephen Leacock and Hugh MacLennan. While discussion of imperial federation as a serious proposal is limited to writers of Duncan's own time, her assessment of Britain and the United States is part of a tradition which extends into the twentieth century. Writers such as Richardson and Leacock are far beyond the scope of this study, but their connection with Duncan reveals that she is part of a tradition of Canadian writers who share a vision of the uniqueness of Canada and a constructive awareness of the positive and negative aspects of the nation's two most important influences, Britain and the **United States**.

All of Duncan's international novels, then, can be seen as "Canadian literature." They form an intermediate step between the Yankees, Britons and Bluenosers of T.C. Haliburton and the corresponding cultural representatives which appear in Stephen Leacock's prose. They comment fundamentally on constituents of

the Canadian nation, and reflect Post-Confederation Canadian ideas of politics, identity, society and the individual. Even though only one of the international novels is set in Canada, all reflect Sara Jeannette Duncan's important contribution to the articulation of Canada's cultural heritage.

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