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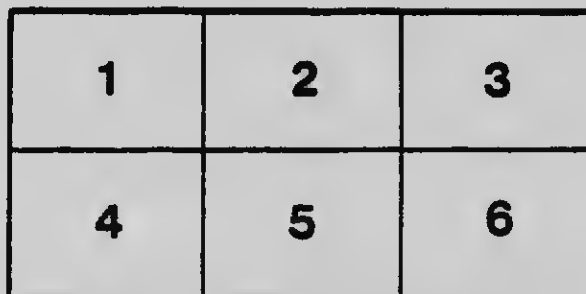
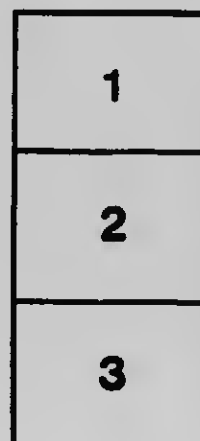
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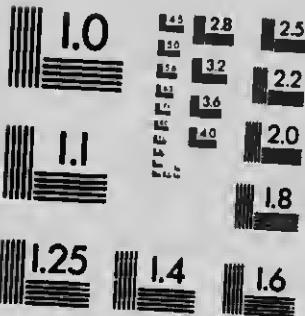
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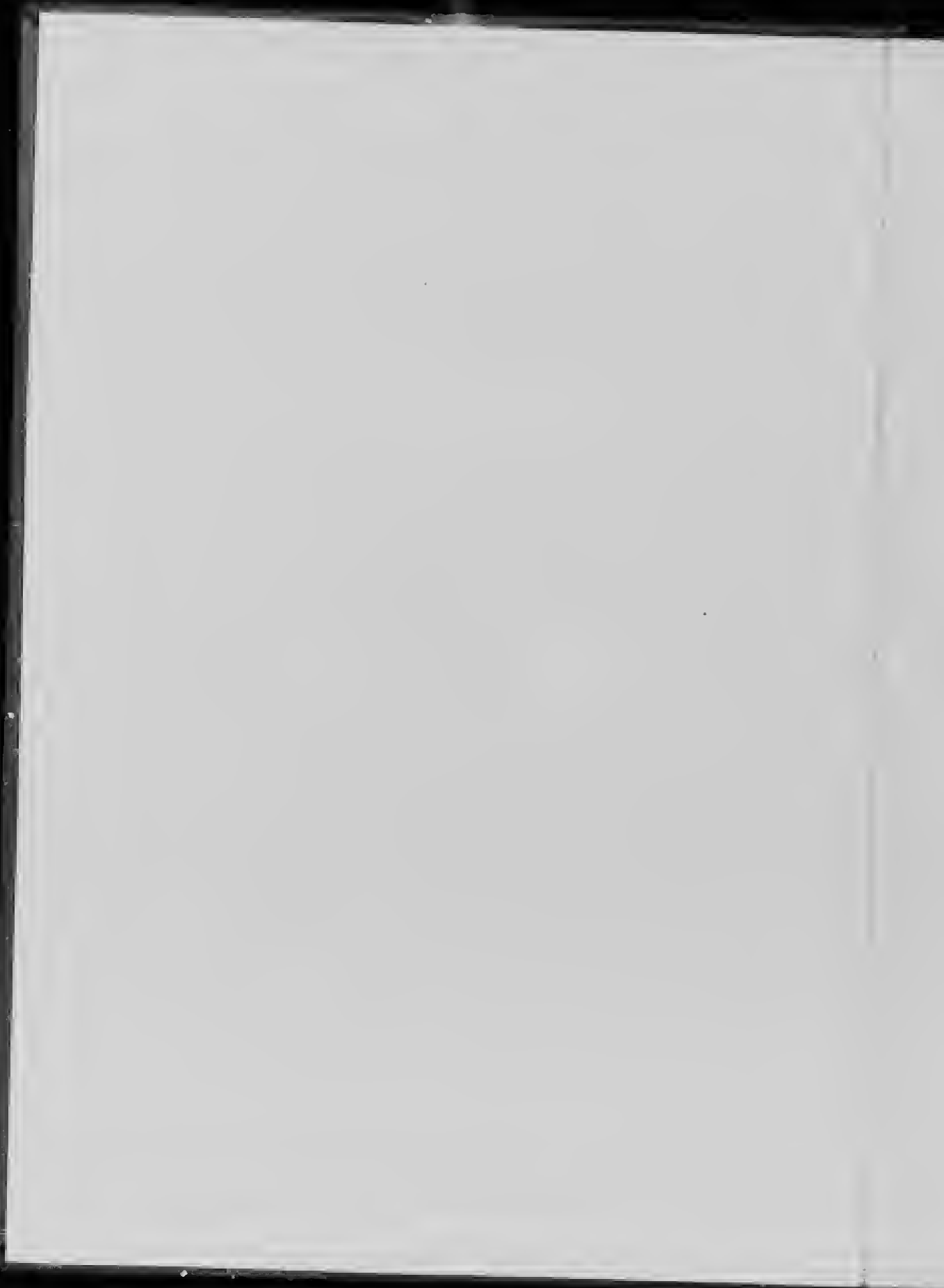
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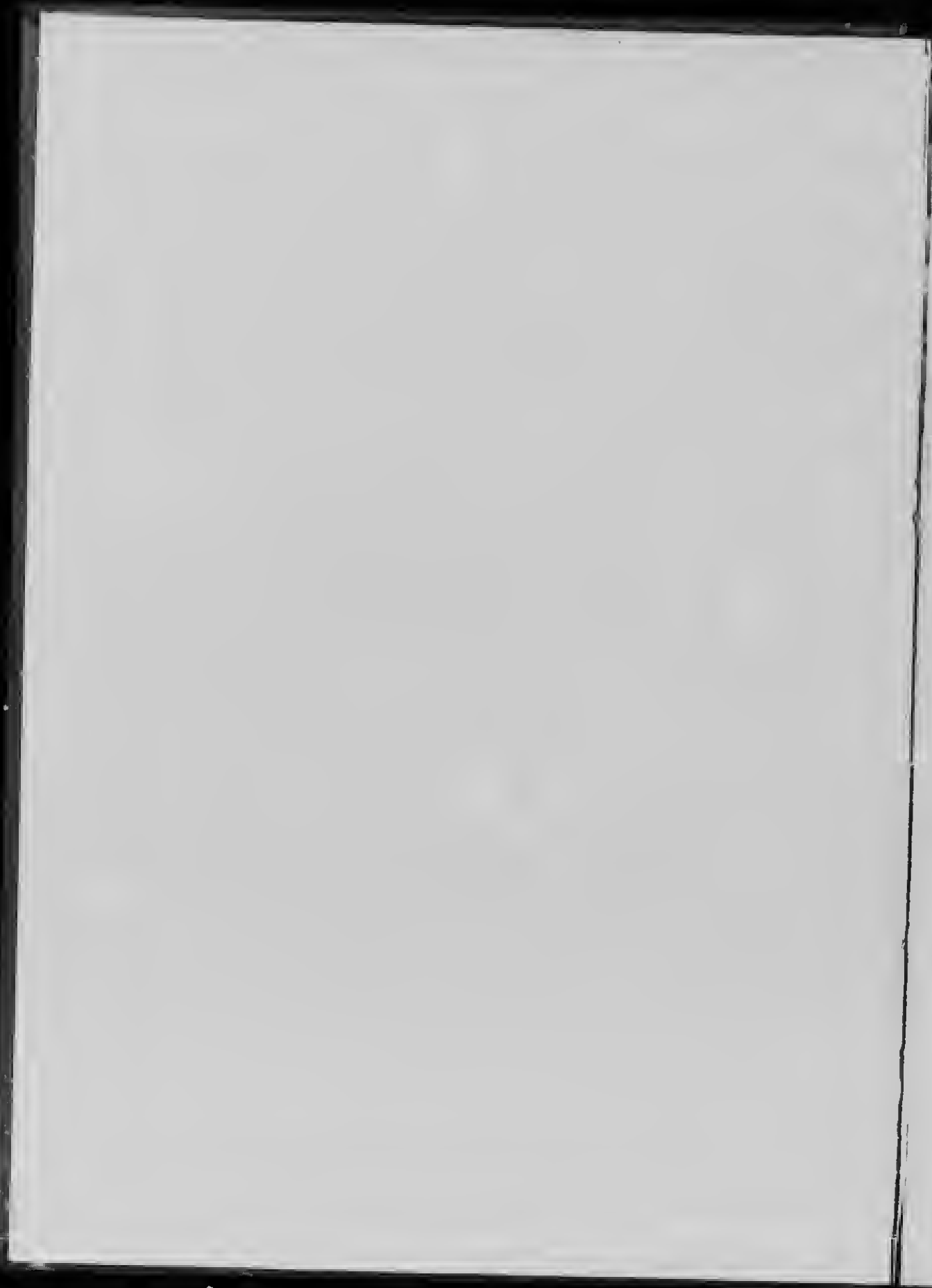


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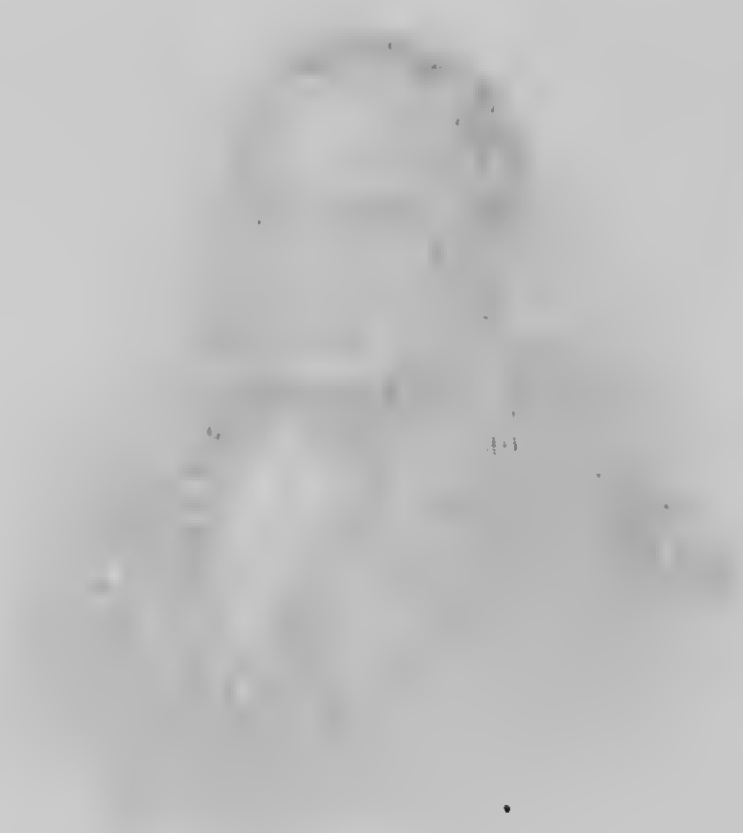


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THOMAS CHANDLER HALIBURTON
From an engraving in the Dominion Archives

**ENGLISH-CANADIAN
LITERATURE**

BY

THOMAS GUTHRIE MARQUIS



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This Volume consists of a Reprint, for private circulation only, of the Seventy-first Signed Contribution contained in CANADA AND ITS PROVINCES, a History of the Canadian People and their Institutions by One Hundred Associates.

Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty,
General Editors



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ENGLISH-CANADIAN LITERATURE

I

INTRODUCTORY

HAS Canada a voice of her own in literature distinct from that of England? This question has attracted a good deal of attention in Canada and has been the subject of numerous discussions in home magazines and reviews. In Great Britain, however, the critical periodicals apparently have not yet recognized a purely Canadian¹ literature. While these periodicals have frequently reviewed the literatures of Norway, Sweden, Russia, the United States, Spain, Italy and other countries, no British critic so far seems to have thought Canadian literary achievement of sufficient importance to treat it seriously as a whole or to look for its distinctive note.

The United States has a literature fine and forceful, and though the language is the language of England the voice is her own: her writers have a vigorous national note, and narrate and sing the achievements of their ancestors and contemporaries in a manner characteristic of a nation that in so short a time has attained a giant's proportions. Has Canada such a voice? The answer is that she has—not one of great volume, it is true; but, as we shall see, in poetry at least, the Canadian note is clear and distinct and the performance is of good quality and of permanent value.

¹ To avoid repetition of the awkward and inexact expression English-Canadian, Canadian is used throughout this article to designate literature produced by writers using the English language. For a survey of French-Canadian literature see p. 435 *et seq.*

But, if we except such isolated writers as Richardson, Haliburton and Sangster, we shall find very little Canadian literature worthy of consideration that is not the product of the last fifty years. This should not be a source of surprise. Canada as a British country is only about one hundred and fifty years old. During the first thirty or forty years of the British régime few English people settled in the new colony, and these, for the most part, were of the official and military class, and scorned things colonial. They brought with them British traditions and British ideas, and remained satisfied with the literary productions of the Old World and treated lightly any attempt at literary achievement in the New. The Canadian-born as a force did not appear on the scene until near the close of the eighteenth or the beginning of the nineteenth century. When he did arrive he had but little leisure or inclination for literature. He had pioneer work to do—forests to cut down, stubborn lands to till, homes to build and roads to construct. It is only necessary to read the narratives of English travellers in Canada to appreciate how impossible it was for Canadians in the early days of British rule to turn their minds to creative effort, or indeed to devote much of their time to study. Moreover, until the first quarter of the nineteenth century had passed, there were no educational institutions in the country of a character likely to fit the inhabitants to interpret nature or life adequately, or to express their views in artistic form. King's College at Windsor, Nova Scotia, was the one striking exception. Its influence was early felt; it made Haliburton possible and gave him a small audience in his native province capable of appreciating his work.

During one hundred and fifty years before Canadians began to express themselves in prose and in verse, literature had been cultivated in the American colonies, and writers of such power as Benjamin Franklin had appeared to give models to the young nation. The people of the United States had, too, almost from the beginning of their colonial history, exceptionally fine educational institutions. Harvard and Yale were renowned centres of culture long before English settlers ventured in numbers into the unbroken

wilderness of Upper Canada or to the rugged shores of the Maritime Provinces.

It is not surprising, then, to find that nearly all the noteworthy literature of Canada is of recent origin. We must expect, too, that the quantity, compared with that of older nations, will be small; and yet if quantity were the only test Canada might be said to have a significant literature. In verse alone she has had from three hundred to four hundred singers, who have piped their lays in every province from the Atlantic to the Pacific. But, as might be expected, most of this verse is crude and commonplace, and it is unfortunate that some compilers have seen fit to include such work in Canadian anthologies, and that pseudo-critics have given words of the highest praise to what are clearly very inferior performances. The time has arrived when the writers of Canada should be studied as English and American writers are studied; for in spite of its youthfulness, in spite of the disadvantages under which its people have laboured, the Dominion may lay claim to a creditable body of good prose and good verse. It is no longer necessary to pad out a review with encomiums of backwoods poets, or to claim, as Canadian, men and women of English or American birth and training who were mere 'birds of passage' in Canada, and whom Canada has no more right to claim than has the United States to claim Roberts, Carman and Duncan. Some of these 'birds of passage,' it is true, had a profound influence on Canadian writers, and early showed the wealth of material that lay at hand for the sons and daughters of Canada when they should arrive at maturity and take pride in their country and its builders. Any survey of Canadian literature should therefore include references to a number of non-indigenous authors who received their inspiration and did their work in Canada; but a distinction should be made between such writers and those who may properly be considered as native Canadians.

It is proposed to deal with Canadian literature in the following order: history, biography, travels and explorations, general literature, fiction and poetry. In some instances, as in the case of Haliburton and of Roberts, an

author will be found in several of these classes, but the main study of his work will be given in the class where he has won peculiar distinction.¹

II

HISTORY

CANADA is exceedingly rich in material for historical literature, yet no Canadian so far has produced a great history in the sense in which the works of Macaulay, Green, Prescott and Motley are great. The richest field, that of the old régime, was invaded by an American historian, Francis Parkman, whose histories have been an influence for growth and a storehouse on which hundreds of writers have drawn; short stories, studies innumerable, and many able novels have had as their inspiration incidents strikingly presented by Parkman; but his narratives ended with the conspiracy of Pontiac, and he left untouched all the later history of Canada. The chronicles of the pioneers of Upper Canada and of the Eastern Townships, the stirring events of that nation-making conflict, the War of 1812, and the annals of a long struggle for political freedom still await a Canadian historian of knowledge and constructive genius.

The first noteworthy Canadian historian writing in English was George Heriot (1766-1844). Heriot was born in the island of Jersey, but early in life he came to Canada, where he occupied a number of important government positions. He was deputy postmaster-general of British North America from 1799 until 1816. He served through the War of 1812 and was with Morrison and Harvey at the gallant fight of Chrystler's Farm. Heriot published in 1804 in London, England, the first volume of his *History of Canada*. The work was never completed, and was little more than a well-written digest of the *Histoire Générale de la Nouvelle France* by Charlevoix. Heriot is much better known to the

¹ No attempt has been made to give a complete list of Canadian writers and their works. The aim has been to select for study those who appear to be most representative of the country and its people.

student of Canadian affairs by his *Travels Through the Canadas*, published in 1807—a work that admirably describes the country and the hard conditions under which the pioneer laboured.

More important and far-reaching in his influence as a historian was William Smith, the son of an eminent New York lawyer. William Smith was born in New York. His father was a pronounced loyalist, and after the independence of the revolting colonies was recognized he moved with his family to Quebec. Shortly after his arrival in Canada he was appointed chief justice. His son took up the study of law and was clerk of the legislative assembly in Lower Canada and later master in Chancery. In 1814 he was appointed an executive councillor. For many years during his official life he had been making careful notes on Canadian history for his own use. He appears to have had no thought of publishing these, but was persuaded to do so by his friends. His *History of Canada, from its First Discovery to the Year 1791*, although printed in 1815, did not reach the public until 1826. These two volumes do not make interesting reading. The style is heavy and there is but little literary ease shown in telling the thrilling story of early Canada. The work is, however, very valuable. Smith had access to much first-hand material, and his appendices and notes add greatly to the usefulness of his history.

Robert Christie (1788-1856) had the honour of being the first Canadian-born English-speaking historian to do any important work. Christie was a native of Windsor, Nova Scotia, and studied law in Quebec. Shortly after beginning the practice of law he was elected to the assembly for Gaspé. In the stormy period prior to the Rebellion of 1837 he threw the weight of his influence on the governor's side and was on three different occasions expelled from the house by the popular party. On each occasion he was re-elected by his constituents, and he had the honour of being Gaspé's representative in the first parliament after the Union. He is now remembered solely by his *History of Canada*, a work in six volumes. The title-page of the first volume gives a very complete description of the contents of his history.

It is *A History of the late province of Lower Canada, Parliamentary and Political, from the commencement to the close of its existence as a separate province, embracing a period of fifty years, that is to say, from the erection of the province in 1791 to the extinguishment thereof in 1841, and its re-union with Upper Canada by Act of the Imperial Parliament, etc.* The title-page is characteristic of the work. The style is dull, involved, almost unreadable; but Christie, though no stylist, was a conscientious workman and collected every available document bearing on the period, and studied and assiduously examined contemporary publications for historical material. This, added to the fact that he lived in Canada during the years covered by his history and played an active part in the events leading up to the Union, makes his work essential to any person desirous of gaining a true knowledge of the political struggle that took place in the Province of Quebec during the first half of the nineteenth century. Before producing his *magnum opus* Christie had published, in 1818, *Memoirs of the Craig and Prevost Administration, 1807-1815*, and, later, a study of Lord Dalhousie's administration. These he incorporated in his larger work.

John Charles Dent (1841-88) was a native of England; but he was brought as an infant to Canada, and he took such an active interest in Canadian affairs, and studied Canadian questions to such purpose, that it is not unfitting to place him among purely Canadian writers. Dent received his early education in Canada, and studied and practised law for a time in Ontario, but later went to London, England, and took up journalism. In 1867 he returned to America and worked at journalism in Boston for three years, coming to Canada in 1870 to join the staff of the *Toronto Globe*. Dent produced two notable Canadian histories—*The Last Forty Years* (1841-81) and *The Story of the Upper Canadian Rebellion*, both of which, from a literary and historical point of view, show a great advance on any previous Canadian historical work. Besides these two comprehensive works he edited and for the most part wrote *The Canadian Portrait Gallery*, an invaluable source of information regarding the important

leaders in social and political life in Canada. Dent was conscientious, painstaking and fearless, though not always without bias. He had an attractive literary style—lucid, smooth-flowing and vigorous—and much of Macaulay's power without Macaulay's rhetorical or, better perhaps, oratorical exaggeration. Some of his characterizations of public men are particularly good; exceptions are noted in the case of William Lyon Mackenzie and of John Rolph in *The Upper Canadian Rebellion*. Dent, like many others, had a deep-seated dislike of Mackenzie, who was battling by fair means and foul that the old order might give place to the new, and an undue admiration for Rolph, Mackenzie's more timid associate in the struggle; and accordingly his narration of the events of the rebellion appears strained and, in some degree, untrue.

William Canniff (1830-1910), an eminent Ontario physician, found in his busy life time to devote to the writing of Canadian studies of an important character. Canniff was of United Empire Loyalist descent, and was born near Belleville, Upper Canada. He received his general education at Victoria University, Cobourg, and his medical training in Toronto and New York. Before beginning the practice of medicine in Canada he gained experience as an army surgeon in the Crimean War. He also acted in the same capacity with the army of the North during the Civil War in the United States. Canniff was not a literary artist, but his *History of the Settlement of Upper Canada*, his *Sketch of the County of York*, and his *Upper Canadian Rebellion, 1837*, afford a storehouse of facts that future historians will find exceedingly useful.

The most remarkable history so far produced in the Dominion is *The History of Canada* by William Kingsford (1819-98). Kingsford was born and educated in England, but came to Canada in 1837, when a mere boy, with the 1st Dragoon Guards, in which he had enlisted. He obtained his discharge in 1841 and took up engineering as a profession. He devoted much of his time to literary work, and wrote numerous essays and pamphlets on engineering and other questions. He was long impressed with the possibilities

of a voluminous history of Canada, and when sixty-five years old he began the Herculean task of writing the story of the country from its discovery to the Union of 1841. He toiled laboriously at his vast undertaking for over thirteen years, and had the satisfaction of completing it shortly before his death. His ten massive volumes are a monument to individual industry. On account of the heaviness of his style his work can never become popular. No student of Canadian history can afford to ignore it, but it has to be used cautiously. When Kingsford had made up his mind on any question, he often seemed unable to recognize the value of evidence contrary to his view. His effort to prove that Champlain was a Huguenot is an excellent example of his historical method. While he was diligent to examine historical documents he does not seem to have been careful in making his notes, and his volumes bristle with errors of detail.

In 1901-2 there appeared a work in six large volumes entitled *The Siege of Quebec*. This work was the joint production of Arthur G. Doughty and George W. Parmelee. It stands by itself as a comprehensive study of a special period. Everything pertaining to the great siege of the battle-scarred city was examined, and documents and letters bearing on the period were faithfully reproduced. The authors had the advantage of working on the spot where the events narrated occurred. They were able, with the historical documents before them, to trace accurately the movements of the vessels and the troops taking part in the siege.

Doughty followed up this work with his shorter books, *Quebec under Two Flags*, *The Fortress of Quebec* and *The Cradle of New France*. In these there is true literary history; 'fancy, the one-fact more,' has coloured and given life to material that in the hands of many other historians would have made 'dry as dust' reading. Before undertaking these historical works, Doughty, in his *Rose Leaves* and *Song .Story of Francesca and Beatrice*, had won distinction as a graceful poet.

William Wood of Quebec has produced a most able book, *The Fight for Canada*, wherein he covers the same ground

dealt with by Parkman in *Wolfe and Montcalm*, and does not suffer by comparison. He has thrown much new light on the struggle between France and England for imperial control in North America, and his style is vigorous, swift and pictorial. His characterizations of Montcalm and Vaudreuil and the men surrounding them, of Wolfe and his officers and men show insight and judgment. In *The Fight for Canada* Wood emphasizes the importance of sea power. He shows most convincingly that without the wooden walls of England France could never have been driven from the American continent. In 1912 two little biographies, *Wolfe* and *Montcalm*, appeared from his pen. These were intended mainly for young readers, but they are so vigorous in treatment that any mature man or woman should enjoy them.

Thomas Chandler Haliburton as a force in literature is pre-eminent among Canadian writers. Haliburton, as we shall see later, was essentially a humorist, but he began his literary career with history, and his *Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia*, published in 1829, gave evidence of a master hand. Notwithstanding the title of his book, Haliburton was a historian of the romantic school. He examined such documents as were at hand, but the story interested him more than statistical detail or documentary evidence. He does not seem to have recognized that the discussions in popular assemblies, the commonplaces of political endeavour, have a human interest that is as entertaining and instructive, if properly handled, as the struggles between nations for empire. Two other works of a historical nature were produced by Haliburton, *The Bubbles of Canada* (1837) and *Rule and Misrule of the English in America* (1851).

Nova Scotia has produced several other important historians, such as Beamish Murdoch and Duncan Campbell. Both these men were little more than compilers, but tried honestly to do useful patriotic work. Campbell in his *History of Nova Scotia* and his *History of Prince Edward Island* showed greater historical accuracy than did Haliburton, but Campbell had nothing of Haliburton's illuminating personality or of the breadth and vigour of his outlook.

Closely allied to Murdoch's *History of Nova Scotia* is James Hannay's *The History of Acadia from its First Discovery to its Surrender to England by the Treaty of Paris*. Hannay's work has vigour, but he was a man of strong prejudices and in his history is not always accurate or just. He had little sympathy with the Acadians or their leaders, and he had such a rooted dislike of the New Englanders who came in contact with them that he is not always fair to these sturdy colonists.

No event in Canadian history has received greater attention and study than the War of 1812. David Thompson (1796-1868) was one of the first to deal with this nation-making struggle. His *War of 1812* gives, as far as he was able to do so, an accurate and unprejudiced account of the contest. Thompson's book is of peculiar value in that the author had a knowledge of military affairs—having been a soldier of the Royal Scots—and a personal acquaintance with the first seat of the war—having for a time taught school at Niagara. But, as might have been expected in a country where there was practically no reading public, the book was a financial failure. Thompson was unable to pay his printers' bills, and thus the first historian of the War of 1812 spent a term in gaol as a debtor as a result of his efforts to enlighten Canadians on their country's past.

Lieutenant-Colonel William F. Coffin (1808-78) published in Montreal in 1864, *1812: The War and its Moral; a Canadian Chronicle*. Colonel Coffin's account is of little value, as it is exceedingly inaccurate. The material is badly organized and the numerous digressions detract from the narrative.

Gilbert Auchinleck's *History of the War* is more valuable, on account of the wealth of official documents it contains, but the writer, who was one of the editors of the *Anglo-American Magazine*, in which his history made its appearance serially, was possessed of an antagonism to the Americans that mars many of his chapters.

James Hannay (1842-1910), already referred to with regard to his *History of Acadia*, also wrote a comprehensive account of the War of 1812. Hannay was a journalist and had a facile

pen and a trenchant style. His *War of 1812* is a very readable book, but, for the average reader, a dangerous one. He had a hatred of the United States and its institutions, and as a consequence his judgment was sadly warped. The works of such writers as Coffin, Auchinleck and Hannay are chiefly significant as an antidote to the violently partisan histories of this period published in the United States.

In many ways the most important Canadian history of the War of 1812 is that by Major John Richardson. Richardson fought through the campaign from the capture of Detroit until he was taken prisoner at the battle of Moravian Town. It was his purpose to write a history of the entire war, but so apathetic was the public that he became discouraged and left his task unfinished. His history was a somewhat hurried performance, undertaken with the hope of increasing the circulation of his newspaper, *The New Era*, in which it appeared serially. But Richardson was a trained writer and soldier, and the events of the war during the years 1812 and 1813 were strongly presented. His characterizations of such men as Brock, Procter and Tecumseh are excellent. In 1902 his *War of 1812* was brought out in a well-edited new edition by Alexander Clark Casselman. The full bibliography, the excellent biography, and the copious notes on men and incidents touched on in the work make this edition of Richardson's *War of 1812* one of the valuable books published in the Dominion. Major Richardson likewise wrote *Eight Years in Canada*, a historical narrative covering the Durham, Sydenham and Metcalfe administrations.

While Eastern Canada has had its historians the West has not been neglected. Alexander Ross produced several works which, both as history and literature, rank high. Ross was for a time a clerk in the service of the North-West Company. He joined Astor's Pacific Fur Company in 1810, but returned to the service of the North-West Company in 1814. At the time of the union of the fur companies in 1821 he entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company and settled in the Red River colony. He consequently knew the West at first hand, and his *Fur Hunters of the Far West*, his *Adventures on the Columbia* and

his *Red River Settlement* depict the struggles of the Western pioneer fur traders and settlers. The *Red River Settlement* is a particularly strong book. The description of the fight of the first inhabitants against flood, famine, the rigours of the western winter, and human enemies, if at times rough and crude in style, is graphic and impressive.

Alexander Begg (1840-98) published several histories of the North-West and a controversial work entitled *The Creation of Manitoba*. Begg lived in Manitoba during the formative period of the province, and his account of the causes and course of the first Riel rebellion is valuable. He had very little literary power, and his books are useful only for the information they contain.

Another Alexander Begg (1824-1904) of Victoria, British Columbia, wrote the *History of British Columbia from its Earliest Discovery to the Present Time*. Other works of importance on the West are: Sir W. F. Butler's *Great Lone Land*, J. C. Hamilton's *The Prairie Province*, R. G. Macbeth's *The Selkirk Settlement and the Making of Manitoba*, G. Mercer Adam's *The North-West*, Donald Gunn's *The Province of Manitoba*, Captain Huyshe's *Red River Expedition*, Alexander Morris's *The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba and the North-West Territories*, John Macoun's *Manitoba and the North-West*, and George Bryce's *Manitoba; Its Infancy, Growth and Present Condition*, *Lord Selkirk's Colonists* and *The Remarkable History of Hudson's Bay Company*.

Agnes Laut has done more than any living writer to make the work of the pioneer explorers and traders of Canada known to the world. Her books, *The Conquest of the Great North-West*, *Pathfinders of the West*, and *Vikings of the Pacific*, prepared after conscientious research in the archives of the Old World and the New, and after the author had personally traced the wanderings of many of the explorers, give illuminating accounts of the heroic days of Canadian history.

Not the least among Canadian writers was Adolphus Egerton Ryerson (1803-82). Ryerson won a wide reputation as a controversial writer and played an important part

in moulding public opinion in the struggle leading up to Confederation. When over seventy years old he undertook to write a history of the *Loyalists of America and Their Times*. His work contains valuable information, but the vigour he displayed in his early literary work is lacking.

There have been many short popular histories of Canada; among the best of these are: John Mercier McMullen's *History of Canada*, George Bryce's *Short History of the Canadian People*, Henry H. Miles's *History of Canada under the French Régime*, W. H. Withrow's *Popular History of Canada*, J. Castell Hopkins's *Story of the Dominion*, Sir John George Bourinot's *Story of Canada*, Charles G. D. Roberts's *History of Canada*, and W. H. P. Clement's *History of the Dominion of Canada*.

The histories by Roberts and Bourinot have literary qualities of a high order, but, like all the writers of popular histories, these authors have not paid sufficient attention to their sources, and have relied too much on books and too little on documentary evidence for their facts.

There are, besides, a number of works dealing with special phases of Canadian affairs. Useful books are: John Hamilton Gray's *Confederation*—an unfinished production, Nicholas Flood Davin's *The Irishman in Canada*, W. J. Rattray's *The Scot in British North America*, George Stewart's *Canada under the Administration of the Earl of Dufferin*, Joseph Edmund Collins's *Canada under the Administration of Lord Lorne*, A. G. Morice's *The History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia* and *The Great Déné Race*, W. O. Paymond's *The History of the River St John, 1604-1784*, and W. R. Harris's *The Catholic Church in the Niagara Peninsula*. Gray's book is of peculiar value, coming as it does from the pen of a man who played an essential part in the Confederation movement. Rattray's and Stewart's books show a distinct advance in style and treatment on previous Canadian histories.

There are, too, numerous local histories that have great value for the general historian. There is scarcely a district, in old Canada at any rate, that has not had its historian: James Croil's *Historical Sketch of Dundas*, H.

Scadding's *Toronto of Old*, T. W. H. Leavitt's *Counties of Leeds and Grenville*, J. Ross Robertson's *Landmarks of Toronto*, E. A. Owen's *Pioneer Sketches of Long Point Settlement*, Calnek and Savary's *History of Annapolis County*, James Young's *History of Galt and Dumfries*, Mrs C. M. Day's *The Eastern Townships*, R. Cooney's *History of Northern New Brunswick*, and many others, should be studied by the historian to enable him to grasp the details of the story of the making of the Dominion.

All Canadian historians, however, have worked at a disadvantage. Until recently original sources were in a large measure unavailable to the general public, and writers had to depend for the most part on second-hand evidence. Thus errors have been repeated and multiplied. Now, fortunately, the Dominion Archives and several of the provincial archives have been placed on a sound basis, and the future historian will have the material at his hand to enable him to deal with any period fully and accurately.

III

BIOGRAPHY

THE subject of biography is one that is quite as interesting and important in any nation's development as the mere narration of the facts and incidents of history. The movements of troops in battle, the passing of acts in assemblies, are simply manifestations of the personalities of the strategists and tacticians who inspire the forces in the field, and of the statesmen and politicians who mould the opinions and fashion the ideals of the nation.

The writing of Canadian biography has been too often left to personal friends or pronounced partisans with no literary training; and in many instances the result has been collections of excerpts from diaries, of extracts from letters and political speeches, strung together by a thin and commonplace thread of narrative.

William Hamilton Merritt was one of the most important figures in early British-Canadian history. He was a veteran

of the War of 1812, a pioneer of Upper Canada, a man high in the councils of his country, and the chief force in carrying to completion the construction of the fine system of canals that connect the Great Lakes with the ocean. The preparation of his biography was entrusted to a relative, who threw together a mere compilation of bald facts, badly arranged. The biographer forestalled criticism by remarking in his preface that 'No efforts have been made to render the work attractive by sensationalism, or to introduce the finer arts known to those who write for effect.' It is never necessary to be sensational, but to produce a book of any permanent value it is essential that the author should know his art. Books are written that they may be read, and only literature that appeals at once to the heart and to the mind can ever find a wide audience. Unfortunately the majority of Canadian biographers, like the author of the *Life of William Hamilton Merritt*, have been inadequately equipped for the work they undertook.

To the same class belongs *The Life and Speeches of the Honourable George Brown*, by the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie, a former prime minister of Canada and an honest, conscientious statesman. But fighting political battles and administering the affairs of a nation do not peculiarly fit a man for literary work, and Mackenzie's biography of George Brown is not a strong book. An excellent contrast is afforded in the recently published *George Brown* by John Lewis, an experienced writer and a close student of the political development of Canada. The author of this book shows a thorough grasp of national events and a sympathetic insight into the character of the distinguished statesman and the men, both friends and foes, who surrounded him.

A book that stands out with peculiar prominence in Canadian biographical literature is *The Life and Times of William Lyon Mackenzie*, by his son-in-law, Charles Lindsey. Lindsey, if not the outstanding Canadian writer of his time, at least occupied a particularly high place as a littérateur. Although closely related to Mackenzie, he did not agree with all his political tenets, and having his historical conscience highly developed, he was able to produce a work

of the very greatest value. The matter is well arranged, the style is vigorous and in keeping with the subject, and the important political and social questions touched on are skilfully handled. This biography was republished in 1908 with a valuable introduction, numerous notes, and some additions by G. G. S. Lindsey.

John Fennings Taylor (1820-82) did much to perpetuate the memory of eminent Canadians. Taylor was born in London, England, but came to Canada when nineteen years old. He held several clerical offices in the assembly and council of Canada under the Union, and was deputy-clerk of the Dominion Senate after Confederation. He wrote numerous essays and reviews and three notable biographical works: *Portraits of British Americans*, *The Last Three Bishops appointed by the Crown in British North America* and *The Life and Death of the Honourable Thomas D'Arcy M'Gee*.

David Breckenridge Read, a lawyer by profession, devoted much of his life to presenting to his countrymen the lives of their notable men. He has enriched Canadian biographical literature by his *The Lives of the Judges of Upper Canada*, *The Life and Times of General John Graves Simcoe*, *The Life and Times of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock* and *The Lives and Times of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock and Ontario*. He likewise wrote a careful account of the Rebellion of 1837. Read was painstaking, but many of his pages have but little direct bearing on the subject under treatment. His *Life of Brock* often looks as though he deliberately took up side issues for the purpose of padding his book.

The Life of James Fitzgibbon, by Mary Agnes Fitzgibbon, is valuable both for its subject-matter and the manner in which this is presented. Fitzgibbon was one of the most picturesque figures in the early history of Canada, and he is admirably drawn in this biography. He was a veteran of the War of 1812, and in studying the character and conduct of Fitzgibbon the author has thrown much new light on that nation-making period of Canadian history.

Sir John A. Macdonald, the most striking figure that has appeared on the political stage of British North America,

naturally attracted biographical writers. J. Edmund Collins, G. Mercer Adam, J. P. Macpherson, George R. Parkin and Sir Joseph Pope have all written extended biographies of the great statesman. Sir Joseph Pope's is the standard, and is indeed probably the best example of biographical writing that has been produced in Canada, its only weakness being that the writer is not always just to Macdonald's great opponent, George Brown. Pope was for ten years Sir John's private secretary, and having had the confidence of Sir John and of Sir John's friends, he was well equipped to give a full and accurate account of the early life and of the political struggles of the foremost of the Fathers of Confederation. In two large volumes the political story, extending over forty years, is told with truth, fulness and vigour; and in all discussions the central figure, Macdonald, stands out prominently—the author never losing touch with the main subject of his work.

A companion production to Pope's *Memoirs of the Right Honourable Sir John Alexander Macdonald* is Sir John Stephen Willison's *Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the Liberal Party*. Willison, through his journalistic experiences in the press gallery of the House of Commons in Ottawa and his thorough training on the *Toronto Globe*, of which he ultimately became editor-in-chief, was well fitted to deal with the distinguished leader who has latterly controlled the destinies of the Liberal party, and, until very recently, of Canada. Willison was handicapped in that he was writing the life-story of a man still living. It is difficult to view a contemporary with proper historical perspective or to judge of contemporary questions without some bias. The work, however, is remarkably free from prejudice, and the style is at once graceful and elevated. Pope's *Sir John Alexander Macdonald* and Willison's *Sir Wilfrid Laurier* give an excellent insight into the political history of Canada during the latter half of the nineteenth century. The one supplements the other, and they should be read together.

There is no adequate study of the life of Joseph Howe, the great Nova Scotian. Though lacking in the practical wisdom of Macdonald or Laurier, Howe is perhaps the only

Canadian-born parliamentarian who in intellectual power and breadth of view may be classed with the great men of the British Isles—Cobden, Bright and Gladstone. George E. Fenety has given a chatty anecdotal life of Howe, but it has little literary or historical value. Principal Grant's *Joseph Howe* is brilliant, brief and sketchy, a bit of hero-worship, and leaves much to be said; but when Grant speaks of Howe as 'Nova Scotia incarnate' he sums up in a compelling phrase the secret of Howe's influence in his native province. He was not merely the leader of the popular party; he *was* the popular party. Judge Longley, in his *Joseph Howe*, has given an interesting and vigorous account of the orator, poet and statesman, but this work is inadequate—a sketch that requires much filling in.

Edward Manning Saunders in his *Three Premiers of Nova Scotia* has given a graphic account of the lives of the three most notable politicians of his native province—J. W. Johnstone, Joseph Howe and Sir Charles Tupper. Edward Ermatinger wrote a readable biography of that most picturesque of pioneers in Upper Canada, Colonel Talbot. A. N. Bethune gave a commonplace and somewhat biased study of Bishop Strachan. George M. Wrong's *Life of Lord Elgin* is one of the latest and best of Canadian biographical productions. J. Castell Hopkins is a voluminous writer on Canadian questions, and, judging by the circulation of his books, a very popular one. His work usually shows traces of hurried preparation, but his *Life and Work of Mr Gladstone* and his *Life and Work of Sir John Thompson* indicate superior gifts for biographical and historical narrative.

George Monro Grant, by his son, William Lawson Grant, in collaboration with Charles Frederick Hamilton, is in every way a worthy presentation of the career of the eminent divine, publicist and educationist.

Any one who desires an intimate acquaintance with a number of strong men who played important parts in the drama of nation-making in Canada will find the following works of non-Canadian authors valuable: Stone's *Life of Joseph Brant* (Thayendanegea) and *Life of Sir William Johnson*, Scrope's *Life of Lord Sydenham*, Kaye's *Life of*

Lord Metcalfe, and Walrond's *Life and Letters of Lord Elgin*. These books, written by men born and trained under other skies, are free from the provincialism and local prejudice that mar many of the biographies by Canadian-born writers.

At the beginning of the twentieth century an important series of Canadian biographies, *The Makers of Canada*, began to make its appearance. Many of the books in this series are good, and some are of exceptionally high quality. Jean N. McIlwraith's *Sir Frederick Haldimand* gives an excellent insight into the character of that early governor of Canada, and is peculiarly valuable for the sidelights it throws on life in Canada in the period immediately after the Revolutionary War. In Duncan Campbell Scott's *John Graves Simcoe* is found the best modern study of the pioneer life of the loyalists in Upper Canada. Adam Shortt's *Lord Sydenham* is a scholarly study of the man who, by consummating the Union, paved the way for responsible government and Confederation. W. D. Le Sueur's *Frontenac* is a sympathetic treatment of the history of the greatest of the governors of New France. It is sober in judgment and has a literary finish and a historical accuracy that make it at once entertaining and instructive.

While *The Makers of Canada* series and the works of Pope and Willison have done much to elevate the tone of Canadian biographical literature, there yet remains room for improvement in this field. The public will in the future demand of Canadian biographers a high standard and will not be satisfied, as they apparently have been in the past, with compilations pitchforked together regardless of workmanship or historical truth.

IV

TRAVELS AND EXPLORATION

THE possibilities of stirring adventure tempted many daring spirits to penetrate the vaguely known region stretching from Hudson Bay and the Great Lakes to the Pacific and the Arctic. Traders in search of beaver skins, travellers lured on through curiosity, explorers eager

to extend geographical and scientific knowledge, invaded in numbers the mighty rivers of the east and west and north, and the plains and mountain regions haunted by buffalo, grizzly bears and savages. Journals were kept, and many, such as those of Samuel Hearne, of Thomas Simpson and of Daniel Williams Harmon, are of great interest. Even though these journals have small literary value, they are storehouses of information and observation on which the trained writer can draw. But there are a few books of Canadian exploration that rank high, in passages at least, as literature.

One of these explorers, Alexander Henry the elder (1739-1824), produced a remarkable book. Henry was born in New Jersey. After many years spent as a fur trader in the region of the Great Lakes, he settled as a merchant in Montreal. He occupied his leisure time writing an account of his explorations, under the title *Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories*. This book was published in New York in 1809, and nearly a century later, in 1901, a new edition with an adequate biography and copious notes was brought out under the editorship of James Bain of Toronto. Henry was a man of great powers of observation. He was more than a mere trader, and he gives much valuable information about the regions he visited. The flora and fauna of the country and the savage tribes are all carefully described by him. He traded in the West during the time of Pontiac's War, and his thrilling experiences at Michilimackinac, where he was at the time the massacre of the garrison took place, are related with the skill of a literary artist. Henry's powerful pen-picture of Minavavana, the Ojibwa chief, and his painted warriors, the dramatic report of the chief's speech defending the attitude of the Indians towards the English, are in the manner and have some of the force of the father of history, Herodotus. So good was Henry's narrative that Francis Parkman, who usually clothed the accounts of traders and historians in his own glowing language, saw fit, when dealing with the massacre of Michilimackinac in his *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, to quote at great length from Henry's book, and there is nothing

finer in Parkman's works than the passage of thrilling narrative taken from Henry's *Travels and Adventures*.

Sir Alexander Mackenzie (1755-1820) was another trader and explorer who had literary power in a high degree. Mackenzie was born at Stornoway, Island of Lewis, Scotland. He came as a young man to Canada and joined the North-West Company. In its service he soon rose to high rank; but with him the fur trade was chiefly a means to an end. The north and west of the American continent were still unexplored, and his great aim was to penetrate to the farthest north and to the Pacific Ocean. Both of these feats he ultimately accomplished, reaching the Arctic in 1789 and the Pacific in 1793. On his return from his last great exploring expedition he wrote his *Voyages from Montreal through the Continent of North America, 1789-1793*. This work was published in London, England, in 1801. His narrative is the simple direct relation of a man of action. The hardships he endured in his great undertakings, the determination not to be overcome, make stimulating reading. Like Henry he was a keen observer. The awe-inspiring and sublime scenes that he passed through on his way to the Arctic, down the lordly river that has since borne his name, and that met him on every hand as he courageously toiled through the hitherto impenetrable Rocky Mountains, are depicted with wonderful clearness and strength. The wanderings of the heroic Ulysses are commonplace compared with the travels of this Scottish explorer who was his own Homer. Mackenzie's account of the Peace River country and his pen-picture of the Methye Portage and of the Rockies rank with the best descriptive literature. For his eminent achievements he was honoured with knighthood shortly after the publication of his *Voyages*.

In the first half of the nineteenth century a number of travellers, some of them of exceptional literary ability, visited Canada and embodied their impressions of the country and its people in books. While these books are not to be classed as Canadian literature, they are of such importance to those who desire to know the early struggles of the pioneers and the conditions of the formative period

of Canada, that they cannot be passed by without a word of comment.

John Howison visited Canada in 1819-20, and published in 1821 his *Sketches of Upper Canada*. Howison's travel sketches are of 'a domestic and personal nature.' His journey through Upper Canada was made shortly after the War of 1812, and shows in a convincing manner the results of the war on the growth of the country and on the character of the people. The picture he gives is not a pleasing one; but it is undoubtedly a true one. Ignorance and poverty abounded, and hardship was the common lot. Howison wrote with a vigorous pen, and many of his descriptive touches are very fine. His account of Niagara Falls gives one of the earliest pictures we have of that stupendous cataract, and it still ranks among the best.

Anna Brownell Jameson (1794-1860), who had already won a high place in British literature, spent a part of 1836-37 in Upper Canada, and in 1838 published in London, England, three volumes entitled *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada*. She was in ill-health; the hard conditions and lack of genial companionship in Toronto made her lot during the first period of her sojourn far from a happy one, and her mental and physical condition coloured her work. She saw little beauty in the settled part of the country, and sought escape from ennui in studying masterpieces of modern literature. No finer appreciative criticism has been written in Canada than that in her 'winter studies.' But she is at her best in her 'summer rambles.' She was a brave woman, who courageously endured the rude conditions in the primitive inns and the rough journeys over forest roads in her eagerness to know at first hand the character of the at that time, out-of-the-way and sadly neglected corner of the British Empire. Every page of her three volumes is delightful, and her nature sketches and her characterizations are incomparable. Mrs Jameson completely shakes off her depression when she is once in the presence of primeval nature in the vast forests and by the broad sea-like lakes. She has an artist's eye for nature and a fine sympathy with the pioneers in their toil and isolation. Her descriptions, too, of the

Indians and their customs throw much light on the aboriginal tribes inhabiting the Great Lakes region, and on their relationship to the Canadian government. Her journey through Western Canada from Toronto to Sault Ste Marie and return was a rapid one; but every point of interest is described with a graphic pen and a trained observer's insight.

Sir R. H. Bonnycastle (1791-1848) wrote two books on Canada—*The Canadas in 1841* and *Canada and the Canadians* (1846). Bonnycastle spent a number of years in Canada and was familiar with the country from the Labrador coast 'to the far solitudes of Lake Huron.' He had visited 'the homes of the hard-working pioneers in the vast forests' and the wigwams 'of the wandering and savage Indians.' He was a lieutenant-colonel in the Royal Engineers and had served as a lieutenant-colonel of militia in Upper Canada during the Rebellion of 1837. His work has therefore the double interest of being that of an observer of this outpost of empire and of one who had helped to hold it true to British connection in a time of storm and stress. He had a genuine love of the country. His descriptions are all inspired by affection, and his characterizations of the people are done with sympathy. His portrayal of the French-Canadian boatmen who managed the boats in which he ascended the St Lawrence from Montreal to Kingston is particularly good, and his books are of exceeding interest for the sidelights they throw on Canadian social and political conditions.

A somewhat remarkable book was published in London in 1853. It was entitled *Pine Forests and Hacmatack Clearings*. From the title one would naturally expect to find an account of the forest wealth and the lumbering industry of Canada; but there is little in it about either. It is a story of 'travel, life and adventure,' in which the pine forests and hacmatack clearings occasionally appear incidentally. This book was written by Lieutenant-Colonel Sleigh, who, as an officer of the 77th Regiment, had seen service in Nova Scotia, in Cape Breton and in Lower Canada. He later served as a field-officer of militia, a lieutenant-colonel commanding a regiment, and a justice of the peace. His military and official career in British North America, together with exten-

sive travel in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and the Canadas, enabled him to speak with more or less authority on the country and its people. He was, moreover, one of the proprietors of Prince Edward Island, and a pioneer steamship owner in British North America, for he had a steamer, the *Albatross*, of 1100 tons burden, which ran between New York and the ocean ports of the Maritime Provinces and Canada. Sleigh was a man of strong views, and his account of the movement for reciprocity, which he vehemently opposed, shows the opposition that Lord Elgin had to contend with in consummating that important trade measure. But it is not as a soldier, landed proprietor, steamship owner or political writer that Sleigh is interesting; it is as an observer of conditions in Canada in the middle of the nineteenth century. His graphic account of the ice-passage of the Straits of Northumberland, his scathing remarks on the 'anti-renters' and the council of Prince Edward Island, his chatty accounts of manners and conditions in primitive Cape Breton, and his appreciation of work done by French Canadians on behalf of Great Britain in 1775 and again in 1812, all make an excellent contribution to Canadian history.

There are many other works somewhat similar, in whole or in part dealing with Canada and Canadians, by travellers and sojourners in the country, that are important to the student of Canadian literature and history. Historians generally lay stress on war and exploration, on parliaments and legislators. This is essential; but the people at their meetings, in their homes and workshops, on the farms and in the inns should be studied and understood; and the Canadian writer who wishes to make his history, poetry or romance a living thing must draw largely on the literary productions of the men and women who wrote from personal observation of pioneer life in the provinces of British North America.

In 1859 Paul Kane (1810-71), the celebrated Canadian artist, whose career as a painter is dealt with elsewhere in this volume,¹ published in London, England, his *Wanderings of an Artist among the Indian Tribes of North America*. His

¹ See p. 602.

literary effort proved to be no less interesting than the important series of paintings produced as a result of his three years' wanderings among the western tribes. The trained eye of the artist is seen on every page. The habits, customs and mode of life of the savages of the plains and of the Pacific slope are faithfully delineated. The picturesque scenery of the Far North and West—the towering mountains, the tumbling streams and the broad plains—is portrayed with a 'great painter's clear and exact vision.' His account of British Columbia in the forties made that country for the first time familiar to the world.

In the summer of 1872 Sandford (afterwards Sir Sandford) Fleming, engineer-in-chief of the Dominion government, made an overland journey to the Pacific to study the country in the interests of the projected railway, which was to be a physical bond of union between old Canada and the western provinces. On this expedition he took with him as his private secretary the Rev. George Monro Grant (1835-1902). The literary result of this journey was Grant's book *Ocean to Ocean*. Principal Grant (as he was afterwards known) was born at Albion Mines, Nova Scotia, and was educated for the ministry of the Presbyterian Church at the University of Glasgow. In 1877 he was chosen principal of Queen's University, Kingston; and, by his organizing ability and his indefatigable industry, he made that institution one of the notable seats of learning in the Dominion. He was an ardent Canadian and a pronounced imperialist, and wrote much in the interests of Canada and the Empire. His busy public life prevented him from devoting his energies to creative literary work, but his *Ocean to Ocean* shows that he might easily have won as high a place in letters as he achieved as an educationist, publicist, and platform and pulpit orator. *Ocean to Ocean* is in the form of a journal. It was written from day to day at hotels, by camp fires and in trading posts. It abounds in humour and pathos. Breadth of judgment and keenness of observation illuminate its pages; and in the presence of nature—vast, rugged and inspiring—Grant had a lyrical force and fire that make many of his pages read like

prose poems. One of his touches of description, dealing with the Rocky Mountains, will serve as an example of his power :

We had come inside the range, and it was no longer an amphitheatre of hills, but a valley ever opening and at each turn revealing new forms, that was now before us. Roche Ronde was to our right, its stratification as distinct as the leaves of a half-opened book. The mass of the rock was limestone, and what at a distance had been only peculiarly bold and rugged outlines, were now seen to be different angles and contortions of the strata. And such contortions! One high mass twisting up the sides in serpentine folds; another pent in great waving lines, like petrified billows. The colouring, too, was all that artist could desire. Not only the dark green of the spruce in the corries, which turn into black when far up, but autumn tints of red and gold, as high as vegetation had climbed on the hillside; and above that, streaks and patches of yellow, green, rusty red and black, relieving the grey mass of limestone; while up the valley every shade of blue came out according as the hills were near or far away, and summits hoary with snow-bounded horizon.

George Monro Grant was deeply impressed with the richness and possibilities of the Dominion, and his book did much to awaken thinking Canadians to the potential greatness of their country. In *Ocean to Ocean* he foretold with prophetic insight the Great West of to-day, with its broad cultivated plains, its great cities, and its hundreds of towns and villages.

One of the most entertaining and instructive books of exploration written by a Canadian is J. W. Tyrrell's *Across the Sub-Arctics of Canada*. The author made three journeys (in 1885, 1893 and 1900) through the wilderness region west of Hudson Bay. The narrative of his trip in 1893 is as thrilling as Mackenzie's account of his overland journey to the Pacific. The plunge into the unknown wilderness, the hunting of cariboo and musk-ox, adventures with polar bears and the wild leap down the unfamiliar rapids make stirring reading.

Samuel Edward Dawson is a Canadian author who has

done good work in several fields, but is best known by his writings dealing with discovery and exploration. His voluminous work, entitled *The St Lawrence Basin and its Border-Lands*, is the result of many years of historical investigation. In it there is given an exhaustive account of 'the discovery and exploration of the north-east coast of North America and of the great transverse valley of the St Lawrence which searches the continent to its very heart.' It was intended to be mainly a contribution to geographical literature, but the ground traversed is full of 'historic interest and abounds with romantic adventure'; and Dawson, while handling his subject with scientific exactness, is never dull. The pages are illuminated with glowing touches of description, and he occasionally pauses in his narrative to depict the characters of the explorers and colonizers. With a stroke of his pen such a man as Champlain is revealed: 'Champlain, while practical and efficient in his daily duties, aimed at establishing a settled industrial colony which should hold for France the gateway of the golden East. With unflagging perseverance and with imperturbable patience he devoted his whole life to this patriotic task—the most single-hearted and single-eyed servant France ever possessed.' *The St Lawrence Basin and its Border-Lands*, both by its exact information and its literary finish, will doubtless long hold an unrivalled place as an authoritative work on the early exploration of what are now the eastern provinces of British North America.

In 1908 Lawrence J. Burpee published his *The Search for the Western Sea*. This is in many ways the ablest historical account of the work done by explorers of the Great West and North from the days of Henry Hudson to those of Simon Fraser, David Thompson and Sir John Franklin. There is in Burpee's book little effort after rhetorical effect. The work is admirably organized. The multiplicity of detail is given with the care and accuracy of a skilled investigator, and the personalities of the explorers are presented with sympathy and fidelity. *The Search for the Western Sea* is an essential book to the student of the early history of the great North-West.

In the matter of travels and exploration the reports of scientists working in the interests of the Canadian government, such as Henry Youle Hind, J. B. Tyrrell, Robert Bell and A. P. Low, will be found to be of interest, from both a scientific and a literary point of view. The army of workers sent out by the government year by year to the ends of the great Dominion bring back with them notes that, when thrown into the form of an official report, serve in many instances as excellent raw material for literature. Indeed there are at times in these reports passages that are in themselves true literature.

V

GENERAL LITERATURE

BRITISH NORTH AMERICA had as its first settlers men from the British Isles and from the thirteen colonies. In the Old World, during the latter half of the eighteenth century, agitations for reform were in the air and the battle for the freedom of the Press was being waged. Magazines and newspapers were beginning to make their influence felt. In the thirteen colonies education was highly valued, and American inquisitiveness was making the newspaper a necessity in the homes of the settlers. It thus happened that when the English-speaking people began to pour into the provinces by the sea and along the St Lawrence and Great Lakes, printing presses were soon at work in their midst.

Three years after the founding of Halifax the *Halifax Gazette* made its appearance. It was published 'at the printing office in Grafton Street' by John Bushnell, and was first issued on March 23, 1752. It had a hard struggle for existence; it suspended publication after several months, and did not appear regularly until late in the year 1760. The first number of the *Quebec Gazette* was printed on June 21, 1764; for seventy-eight years this paper was published in both French and English, and for thirty-two years longer

was continued as an English newspaper. In 1783, the year of the great migration of the United Empire Loyalists to St John, and before the Province of New Brunswick was organized, the *Royal St John Gazette and Nova Scotia Intelligencer* was issued. The name was changed in the following year to that of *Royal Gazette and New Brunswick Advertiser*. Montreal had a newspaper, the *Gazette*, in 1785, Charlottetown one in 1791, Newark (Niagara) one in 1793, Fredericton one in 1806, and Kingston one in 1810. The papers of the widest influence in the early part of the nineteenth century were the *Montreal Herald*, the *Nova Scotian* at Halifax, and the *Colonial Advocate* at Toronto.

The establishment of these newspapers had the good effect of widely disseminating a desire for education. Every man was ambitious to get at first-hand news and politics—particularly the latter. The times were rough, and the style of the writers for the most part was in keeping with the conditions of life. From the beginning of the nineteenth century until the establishment of responsible government there was in the Canadas and in the Maritime Provinces a sharp line drawn between the party favouring executive control of affairs and its opponents, and the papers supporting either of these factions presented their views with a fanatical vigour and a vituperative force that often descended to the coarsest Billingsgate. The general reading public of British North America may be said to have been cradled in satire and abuse, exaggeration and party vindictiveness. But there were a number of early writers who rose to a higher plane. Some of the letters to the Press have been preserved in book form, and show their authors to have been men of seriousness, insight and lofty powers of expression. The letters of three of these writers are of great value for the light they throw on the times in which they were written. They are *Nerva* (1815), *The Letters of Veritas* (1815) and *The Lower Canadian Watchman* (1825).

At the close of the eighteenth century the first Canadian magazine made its appearance. This was the *Quebec Magazine*. It was published by Samuel Neilson, and its first

number was issued on August 1, 1792. With few exceptions Canadian magazines have been short-lived. The reading population of Canada—that is, the population that cares for serious reading—has been, until recent years, comparatively small. Moreover, British and American magazines have been available at small cost, and it has been difficult for a Canadian publisher to compete with them. But several of the magazines while they lasted gave the public substantial reading. Chief among those published in the Canadas were the *Canadian Magazine* (1823-24), the *Canadian Review* (1824-26), the *Anglo-American Magazine* (1852-55), the *British American Review* and the *Literary Garland* (1838-51), the last having as contributors such able writers as William Dunlop, Charles Sangster, Susanna Moodie and Catharine Parr Traill. Later in the century George Stewart for five years (1867-72) conducted at St John *Stewart's Quarterly*, in which the articles were of a high order. The *Canadian Monthly* (1872-82) and *Belford's Magazine* (1876-79) were high-class magazines that had a wide influence in their day. These early magazines had among their contributors a number of well-known writers who had received their training in Great Britain, and many of their articles compare favourably with those appearing at the same period in the British reviews. In the *Bystander*¹ Goldwin Smith gave the public brilliant studies of current events. In the *Week* (1884-96), promoted and, at any rate in its first year, largely maintained by him, he fostered the literary spirit, and placed the paper in the front rank of Canadian literary journals. But the public demand was insufficient, and, like every similar venture, the *Week*, after a few years' battling, was forced to cease publication.

Latterly Canadian magazines have been in lighter vein, aiming to please rather than to instruct. Caught by the spirit of the time, publishers now devote more of their attention to the pictorial than to the literary side of their

¹ The *Bystander* was begun in January 1880 and appeared monthly for eighteen months. It was revived as a quarterly in January 1883, and continued for one year; again revived as a monthly in October 1889 and continued to September 1900.

publications. In a commercial age, too, business and finance occupy much attention, and many of the leading periodicals give more space to the literature of the dollar than to anything else. Reviews that appeal to the serious-minded are, however, still published in Canada. The *University Magazine*—brilliantly edited by Andrew Macphail at Montreal—and *Queen's Quarterly*—conducted by a group of able men at Kingston—are worthy exponents and interpreters of current investigation and opinion.

There are several other important Canadian works that should properly come under the head of periodical literature. Since 1896 the *Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada*, edited by George M. Wrong and H. H. Langton and published annually by the University of Toronto, has been giving excellent criticism by specialists on books relating to the Dominion. The *Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs*, founded in 1901 by J. Castell Hopkins, and written wholly by him, is an exceedingly valuable work. It is a yearly register of current Canadian history, but, unlike other annuals or year-books, it is written in so broad a spirit and with so fluent a pen that interest is given to the very commonplaces of political, social and business life.

Two large Canadian publications of the 'monumental' kind should be mentioned. The first, *Picturesque Canada*, was edited by Principal Grant. The magnificent and diversified scenery of the Dominion from ocean to ocean, the varied types of life, the romantic interest that surrounds the birth and growth of the provinces and hallows such spots as Annapolis Royal, Quebec, Niagara, Winnipeg, and the Pacific coast give writers and artists admirable opportunities for creative work. It is doubtful if *Picturesque Canada* is or ever was much read, but the reader who turns to it will find a number of descriptive passages well worthy of perusal. The second, *Canada: an Encyclopædia of the Country*, edited by J. Castell Hopkins, covers a great variety of topics and contains much valuable information. Many of the contributions are well written, others are faulty and immature, and the whole shows evidence of hasty compilation. The editor gives numerous valuable notes on Canadian affairs; but

even here the hurried workmanship leaves much to be desired.

Canada presents a rich field for scientific writers. The sea-fretted provinces, the polar world, the prairie region, the tumbled hills, have all attracted Canadian writers of exact scientific knowledge and no small degree of literary skill. Four at least have won a world-wide reputation by their studies—Sir William Logan, Henry Youle Hind, Sir Daniel Wilson and Sir John William Dawson.

Sir William Logan (1798-1875) was born in Montreal and was of United Empire Loyalist descent. He was educated in the Royal Grammar School in his native city, and at Edinburgh High School and University. In 1829, after completing his university studies, he returned to Canada and remained for a brief period, but he went back to Great Britain and laboured in a scientific capacity in Swansea, Wales. He again returned to North America in 1841, and after investigating the coal-fields of Nova Scotia and Pennsylvania he accepted the position of first director of the Geological Survey of Canada. He wrote extensively on science, his articles appearing chiefly in technical journals and in the proceedings of scientific societies. The *Geology of Canada* was his chief literary-scientific work, and has been the basis for the studies of all subsequent geological investigators.

Henry Youle Hind was born in England in 1823 and came to Canada in 1847. He occupied important positions as teacher of science in the Toronto Normal School and Trinity College, and he conducted important exploring expeditions in the prairie country drained by the Red and Saskatchewan Rivers. Hind wrote a number of works of a scientific character, chief among which are—*Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857*, *The Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Expedition of 1858*, *Sketch of the Overland Route to British Columbia* and *Explorations of the Interior of the Labrador Peninsula*. Between the years 1852 and 1855 he edited the *Canadian Journal*, a periodical in the interests of science and art, and in 1864 brought out an ambitiously planned work entitled *Eighty Years' Progress of*

British North America, 1781-1861. This work contains a number of articles by Hind and by such other eminent authorities of the day as T. C. Keefer, J. C. Hodgins and the Rev. William Murray. Its statistics on transportation, resources, education and population are very valuable. All that Hind touched he made interesting, and he did much to make Canada known to the world. He possessed a ready pen, and by his literary skill and scientific insight made the driest facts attractive.

Sir Daniel Wilson (1816-92) was a Scotsman whose influence as a scientist, littérateur and educationist was felt in every part of the Dominion. He came to Canada in 1853, and his most valuable scientific production, *Pre-historic Man*, was published in 1862. While he was a prolific writer on scientific subjects, he devoted much of his time to general literature. His *Chatterton, a Biographical Study* (1869) gives an illuminating and sympathetic account of the life of the half-mad boy poet. *The Missing Link* (1871) is an entertaining venture into the Shakespearian field. His scientific labours did not dull his imagination, and he found time for poetry, and his *Spring Wild Flowers* (1873) is a volume of graceful verse. But Sir Daniel is chiefly remembered as an educationist. He occupied for many years the chair of English Literature in University College, Toronto, and in 1887 became president of the University of Toronto. For his work as a scientist, educationist and littérateur he was knighted by the queen in 1888.

Sir John William Dawson (1820-99) holds easily the first place among native Canadian scientific writers. Dawson was born in Pictou, Nova Scotia, and received his early training in Pictou Academy. After leaving the Academy he went to Edinburgh, and in that city devoted himself to the study of science. He early attracted the attention of Sir Charles Lyell, and while a student and after graduation assisted that eminent scientist in his explorations in Nova Scotia. In 1850 Dawson was appointed superintendent of education for Nova Scotia and did much to put on a sound basis the educational system of the province. In 1855 he was chosen principal of McGill University, Montreal, and for thirty-eight years

remained at the head of that institution. Under him, and largely by his work, it became one of the most conspicuous seats of learning in the British Empire. Although absorbed in educational work, he found time to continue his scientific studies and investigations and to produce a number of able books on geology and palæontology. While he handled his subjects with scientific exactness, he had a facile pen, and he breathed the breath of life into the driest scientific themes. Among his chief works are *Acadian Geology*, *Story of the Earth and Man*, *Science of the Bible*, *Dawn of Life*, *Origin of the World*, *Egypt and Assyria*, *The Meeting-Place of Geology and History* and *The Ethics of Primeval Life*. He was an uncompromising opponent of the more advanced school of scientific writers represented by such men as Darwin, Wallace, Huxley and Haeckel, and although somewhat narrow in his views he commanded the respect of the scientific world to the end of his career, and was highly esteemed both at home and abroad. When the Royal Society of Canada was organized Dawson was chosen as its first president; and in 1884 he was knighted by Queen Victoria for his achievements in education and science.

Some of the best literary work done in Canada has been in nature studies. This northern land, teeming with animal life, has proved a rich field for a number of nature writers, chief among whom are Ernest Thompson Seton and Charles G. D. Roberts. There is a similarity in the respective attitudes of the writers just mentioned towards the brute world, and yet between them there is a difference. Thompson Seton is the more scientific of the two and has the trained eye of the specialist. His *Lives of the Hunted*, *The Biography of a Grizzly*, *The Biography of a Silver Fox* and *Krag, the Kootenay Ram* show him at his best, combining as they do the exact knowledge of the scientific observer with a fine sympathy for the lives of the hunted who always have, in his phrase, 'a tragic end.' His point of view is admirably stated in *Wild Animals I Have Known*: 'We and the beasts are kin. Man has nothing that the animals have not at least a vestige of; the animals have nothing that man does not in some degree share. Since,

then, the animals are creatures with wants and feelings differing in degree only from our own, they surely have their rights. This fact, now beginning to be recognized by the Caucasian world, was first proclaimed by Moses and was emphasized by the Buddhist over two thousand years ago.'

Even more valuable than his romantic studies of animal life are his purely scientific studies: *Mammals of Manitoba*, *Birds of Manitoba*, *Art Anatomy of Animals* and *The Life History of North America*. *The Arctic Prairies of Canada* is a travel book dealing with every phase of nature in the Far North of the Dominion, and is an admirable and useful study of the region drained by the Peace and Mackenzie Rivers. The geology of the country, and plant and animal life are all described in this work in minute detail.

Ernest Thompson Seton was born in South Shields, England, on August 14, 1860, but as he came to Canada when five years old, and spent ten years of his life in the backwoods of the country and was trained in Canadian schools, it is proper to claim him as an exclusively Canadian writer, even though, like many other recent Canadian littérateurs, he has been drawn away from the country of his adoption to the United States. But so long has he lived with Canadian nature in the mountain regions of the West and in the vast prairie country, so saturated is his mind with Canadian life, colour and atmosphere, that he can never be anything but a Canadian.

Charles G. D. Roberts, who, as we shall see later, has gained high rank as a poet, is a prolific writer of animal stories. In *Earth's Enigmas* (1896) he first appealed to the public in this rôle, and since that time he has won wide popularity with such books as *The Heart of the Ancient Wood*, *The Kindred of the Wild*, *Watchers of the Trail*, *Red Fox* and *Haunters of the Silences*. Roberts lacks the scientific exactness with regard to nature of Thompson Seton, but he has the same general point of view towards the animal kingdom; to him 'we and the beasts are kin.' His studies of the life-habits of birds, animals and fishes are written with knowledge and sympathy. *Red Fox* is his most perfect animal story, but *Earth's Enigmas* contains a number

of animal stories that are typical of all his work. The stories in this volume, 'Do Seek their Meat from God,' 'The Young Ravens that call upon Him,' dealing with the mystery of the struggle for existence in the animal world, and the powerful piece of word-painting, 'Strayed,' touch upon enigmas that appeal to all thoughtful minds. In these the writer is finely serious; he is in the presence of the mysteries of life, and he handles them as only a man with a poet's imagination and creative genius could. In his workmanship, too, he shows the same characteristics that mark his poetical productions. His artistic conscience never slumbers, and he carves and chisels his stories with the care of a Daudet or a de Maupassant. Nothing could be finer than his drawing of the ewe wildly rushing after the eagle that is fleeing to its rocky eyrie with the ewe's young lamb; 'the lamb hung limp from his talons, and with piteous cries the ewe ran beneath, gazing upward and stumbling over the hillocks and juniper bushes.'

The main fault with the nature stories of Thompson Seton, Roberts and indeed the great majority of writers who make studies of animal life is that their animals are too human. Landseer in his masterpieces of animal life put a human eye in every animal he painted, and Roberts and Thompson Seton and their fellow-writers put a human brain in their animals: but their work is salutary; it creates sympathy with nature and refines the human heart.

Margaret Marshall Saunders of Halifax has written many short stories and a number of excellent novels, but her chief strength is as a student of domestic animal life. Her *Beautiful Joe* is already a classic and has had the distinction of being translated into many foreign languages.

These are the best known of Canadian popular students of nature, but there are many others. No country is richer in this kind of work, and in all the leading journals articles and stories dealing with nature frequently appear and are widely appreciated.

Literary criticism has little place in a young country, and quite naturally there has been a dearth of critical writers in Canada. Until very recent years criticism was done in

a very haphazard manner, but there are now, mainly in the universities, a number of men who are exerting a wide influence by giving sound critical standards and thus elevating literary taste in the Dominion. One of the strongest of these is James Cappon of Queen's University, Kingston. Cappon is a Scotsman, educated in the universities of his native land, of England and of the Continent. He has been in Canada since 1888 and has shown an appreciation of Canadian effort. Before coming to the Dominion he published an exhaustive study of Victor Hugo entitled *Victor Hugo: a Study and Memoir*. He found at least one Canadian author worthy of the most serious examination, and in his *Roberts, and the Influence of His Times* has pointed the way for Canadian critics. This work is scholarly, sympathetic and discerning. It is to be regretted that Cappon stopped with Roberts. Lampman, Carman, Campbell and Isabella Valancy Crawford are worthy of similar treatment, and an adequate presentation of their strength and weakness would tend to shape the character of Canadian letters; and no one seems to be so well fitted to give this presentation as is James Cappon.

W. J. Alexander in his *Introduction to the Poetry of Robert Browning* shows insight into that 'subtlest asserter of the soul in song.' Archibald MacMechan by his editing of Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus* and *Heroes and Hero-Worship* has achieved excellent critical work. He has likewise done much by his appreciative studies of James de Mille's prose and verse to make that distinguished Nova Scotian known to a large public. Andrew Macphail of McGill University is an essayist of power. Pelham Edgar and Theodore Arnold Haultain have both done excellent work in the field of the essay and review. George M. Wrong and H. H. Langton and their associates in the *Review of Historical Publications*, already mentioned, have contributed not a little to the elevation of literary standards in Canada. For some years Martin Griffin has contributed an excellent column of literary comment and criticism, 'At Dodsley's,' to the *Montreal Gazette*. George Murray was long the most forceful critic in Montreal, and John Reade of the same city

has devoted much of his literary skill and mature judgment to appreciative criticism of Canadian work. Recently several able articles on Canadian poetry have been contributed by J. D. Logan to the *Canadian Magazine*. These show good critical judgment. Criticism is needed. Authors and publishers would both be the better for it. Until Canada has literary standards of judgment, born of criticism, the trivial, commonplace, melodramatic and even vulgar will continue to usurp the place of serious, dignified, artistic literature.

Canadians, like all northern people, take life seriously. There is a marked lack of humour in poets, novelists and dramatists—and without humour there can be no true greatness. Haliburton, indeed, has it to a pre-eminent degree, but since the day of Haliburton Canadian literature has been woefully deficient in humour. Among the poets William Henry Drummond, and among the novelists Sara Jeannette Duncan, both of whom will be dealt with later, have a keen sense of humour, but they are exceptions. Since the death of Haliburton, for some sixty odd years, Canadian literary work has had a very sober tinge. Recently a humorist has arrived in the person of Stephen Leacock. Leacock is an Englishman by birth, but as he came to Canada when only seven years old, Canadians can claim him, if not as a product of the soil, at least as a graft on the Canadian literary tree. While writing such sober biography as his *Baldwin*, *La Fontaine and Hincks*, and such dry economics as his *Elements of Political Science*, he has found time to write three purely humorous works—*Literary Lapses*, *Nonsense Novels* and *Sunshine Sketches of a Little Town*. But Leacock is not so much a humorist as a wit. It is not the atmosphere of his work but the absurd situations and incidents that attract us. He is purely of the American school of humorists, and while enjoying his 'nonsense'—to use his own word—a sentence of that celebrated critic Sainte-Beuve is worth reflecting upon: 'The first consideration is not whether we are amused and pleased, but whether we were right in being amused and in applauding it.' Leacock is one of the most promising of Canadian writers. He has a graphic and brilliant style, and is a close observer of character.

Several Canadian writers have won a high place by their studies of constitutional history and parliamentary institutions. Two stand out with peculiar prominence—Alpheus Todd and Sir John George Bourinot. Alpheus Todd (1821-1884) was one of the most scholarly, painstaking and exact writers of Canada. He was born in England but came to America when a boy. He early entered the service of the legislative assembly of Upper Canada, and after the Union was assistant librarian and later librarian. At Confederation he became Dominion librarian and held this important office till his death. His works, *The Practice and Privileges of the Two Houses of Parliament*, *A Treatise on Parliamentary Government in England: its Origin, Development and Practical Operation* and *Parliamentary Government in the British Colonies* are largely technical in nature, but are written in a masterly style and are most highly valued as exhaustive treatises on their subjects.

Sir John George Bourinot (1837-1902) occupied for many years a leading place in Canadian letters. He was born in Nova Scotia and was educated in that province and at Trinity College, Toronto, Ontario. This dual training gave him a broad national attitude free from provincialism. He was at once a historian, a biographer, an essayist and a writer of works of a more or less technical character, but his fame rests chiefly on his exhaustive studies of Canadian parliamentary practice and procedure and of the constitution of Canada. In *Canada Under British Rule*, *Builders of Nova Scotia*, *The Story of Canada* and *Lord Elgin* he presents Canadian affairs with strength and with not a little grace of style. Among his best efforts were his *Intellectual Development of the Canadian People* and *Canada's Strength and Weakness*. As clerk of the House of Commons, Ottawa, a position which he held for thirty-two years, he had ample opportunities to study Canadian national affairs and men, and he made full use of them. He was a man of sympathetic nature, discriminating judgment and wide learning.

The life and political career of Joseph Howe (1804-73) will be fully dealt with in the section of this work on the Atlantic provinces. But that eminent statesman cannot

be passed by without notice in this general review of Canadian literature. Howe was a journalist who for many years was without a peer in his native province, Nova Scotia. He moulded popular opinion and created a literary taste that has had its influence to the present day. As an orator he was without an equal in British North America, and some of his orations, inspired by passing events and local conditions, have still power to thrill the reader, even though the man with the flash of eye and telling gesture that mean so much in oratory, that ephemeral art, is absent. Howe's speeches and letters, edited by his friend William Annand and first published in 1858, hold a place by themselves in Canadian literature. In the two volumes are included his letters to Lord John Russell written in 1839. These letters have a vigour and a dignity, a temperate tone and a literary finish, a statesmanlike grasp of provincial and imperial questions, that place Howe in a class by himself among eminent Canadian parliamentarians. They are, too, models of style that might advantageously be studied by every Canadian student of national and imperial questions. His lectures are somewhat too rhetorical, and to be appreciated must be read in the light of the times in which they were uttered.

But for his busy political and journalistic life Howe might have won distinction as a poet. A volume of his poems and essays was published in Montreal in 1874, one year after his death; and while these poems lack finish and are for the most part echoes of the music of such masters as Scott, Byron and Moore, they are the spontaneous utterance of a full heart and have a fine singing quality and abundant humour. Among Howe's other literary efforts were a tale, *The Locksmith of Philadelphia*, and a political lampoon, *The Lord of the Bedchamber*. Howe did much to foster Canadian letters, and to him is due the honour of having, through the columns of his paper, introduced Thomas Chandler Haliburton to the public.

William Henry Withrow (1839-1908) was a theological writer of power and a historian capable of presenting the driest facts in a pleasing manner, but in this latter rôle he depended too much on secondary sources for his information.

He was born in Ontario and was educated at Victoria College, Cobourg, and University College, Toronto, and entered the ministry of the Methodist Church. His grasp of living questions and his literary ability were soon recognized, and he was appointed editor of the *Canadian Methodist Review*. As an editor his tolerant pen was a force for Christian unity. He wrote one exceptionally scholarly work, *The Catacombs of Rome and Their Testimony Relative to Primitive Christianity*. The catacombs of Rome have attracted many writers, but Withrow's study of them has never been surpassed.

Goldwin Smith (1823-1910), to whom reference has already been made, spent the last thirty-nine years of his life in Canada, but he lived apart from Canadians, and never came thoroughly into touch with Canadian ideals. He is in no sense of the word a Canadian author, but he had a wide influence on Canadian opinion and Canadian literature. Through the *Bystander*, the *Week*, the *Farmer's Sun* and other papers in which he was interested, he did much to cultivate a higher taste in journalism, and even his most bitter antagonists (and he won the dislike of not a few men) acknowledged his pre-eminence as a writer. He encouraged Canadian literature while contending that, from its situation and traditions, Canada could never have a literature separate from that of the United States or of Great Britain. He had in the beginning hoped otherwise, and there is a pathos in the words given in his *Reminiscences* at the close of his career: 'My Oxford dreams of literary achievement never were or could be fulfilled in Canada.'

But Canada is awakening, and there is a growing national sentiment that demands national expression; and when Canadians have learned that money-making is not the most important thing in life, native writers may find a fit audience in their homeland and may not be forced to go to the markets of the United States or of Great Britain to win distinction before they receive recognition at home.

VI

FICTION

THE novel has been to the modern world for over one hundred years what the drama was to the Elizabethan age. The average reader desires knowledge with a sugar coating, and, as a result, men and women of imaginative bent of mind and literary skill find the story the best means of giving pleasure and instruction. History, politics, manners and customs, psychology, pathology, science and even theology have all been served up with the sauce of fiction.

The novel, as we know it, had its origin about the middle of the eighteenth century. Samuel Richardson, when he published his *Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded* in 1740, disclosed a new field for English literary talent. *Pamela* was in the form of letters, connected by plot interest, and to this form Richardson adhered in his other works. His style was widely imitated, and one of the ablest of his followers was Mrs Frances Brooke, the wife of the Rev. John Brooke, a chaplain of the forces at Quebec in the days of Guy Carleton.

Mrs Brooke, before coming to Canada, had published a romance entitled *Lady Julia Mandeville*, and while a resident of the Province of Quebec she wrote the first Canadian novel, *The History of Emily Montague*. This story was dedicated to Guy Carleton 'to whose probity and enlightened attention the colony owes its happiness, and individuals that tranquillity of mind, without which there can be no exertion of the powers of either the understanding or the imagination.' Mrs Brooke was a bird of passage in Canada, but her romance faithfully depicts Canadian life and glowingly pictures Canadian scenes, and it is essential that every student of Canadian literature should have some acquaintance with it.

Emily Montague was first published in 1769, and so popular was it that a second edition, at least, was issued

in four volumes in 1777. The story is told, after the manner of Richardson, in the form of letters, which are so skilfully presented that a pleasing and uninterrupted plot is woven throughout. The letters are full of enthusiasm for Canada, a country where 'one sees not only the *beautiful* but the *great sublime* to an amazing degree.' The descriptions of wild nature, of the glories of such cataracts as Montmorency, are well done, while with a rapid pen the *beau monde* of Quebec—the officers and noblesse—and the Canadians, 'gay, coquettish and sprightly,' are faithfully reproduced. In the letters the characters of the writers are admirably revealed. Emily Montague, the typical fair maiden of early English fiction, and Edward Rivers, an ideal English gentleman, the heroine and hero of the piece; Arabella Fermor, a vivacious, sprightly coquette, and her father Captain William Fermor, a serious-minded, thoughtful officer; Major Melmoth and Captain Fitzgerald; Madame des Roches, a French lady of noble type; and Sir George Clayton, a conceited coxcomb—are all distinct personalities. Arabella Fermor is as finely drawn as any character in eighteenth-century fiction, while her lover, Fitzgerald, is as good as the best of Lever's gallant Irish soldiers. In an age when literature was broad, when vulgar jests often marred the written page, the first Canadian novel made its appearance—a strong, clean, healthy romance.

During the next fifty years no Canadian novel of importance was published. In 1832 the publication of *Wacousta*, by Major John Richardson, marked the true beginning of Canadian fiction. There were, it is true, such books as *Comparison for Caraboo* (1817) by Walter Bates (1760-1842), sheriff of King's County, New Brunswick; and Mrs Julia Catharine Hart's (1796-1867) *St Ursula's Convent; or, the Nun of Canada* (1824), the first book printed in Upper Canada,—but these were not true novels and are scarcely worthy of notice in a literary review. Major Richardson is, therefore, entitled to be called the first Canadian novelist.

John Richardson was the son of Robert Richardson, a Scottish surgeon in the Queen's Rangers stationed at Niagara.

In 1793 the young surgeon married Madeline Askin, daughter of Colonel John Askin, a wealthy merchant of Detroit. In 1796 their son John was born. From 1801 until the outbreak of the War of 1812 young Richardson lived in the vicinity of Detroit. This was a historical spot, the scene of many Indian combats, and replete with grim, ghastly and heroic events. Richardson's grandmother, who vividly recalled the Pontiac siege, entertained her imaginative grandson with thrilling stories of the romantic and tragic days of her youth. These tales had a twofold impulse; they created the martial spirit in the boy and impelled him, when his mind was mature, to give the world stories of his country's heroic past.

When the Americans declared war against Britain and marched their soldiers across the Canadian border, Richardson was one of the first to enlist in Brock's army. With the 41st Regiment he was present at the capture of Detroit, and he was in every important fight with the right division of the army until the fatal battle of the Thames (Moravian Town), when he was taken prisoner and held captive for nearly a year in a United States prison. After the war ended he received a commission in the 8th (King's) Regiment, and sailed from Quebec, hoping to play a part in the European struggle in which England was engaged against Napoleon; but before his vessel reached Europe Wellington and Napoleon had met at Waterloo, and the great European war was at an end.

In 1816 Richardson went to the Barbados with the 2nd (Queen's) Regiment, but the climate so affected his health that he returned invalided to England within two years. For some ten years he lived in London on his half-pay, supplemented by what he could earn with his pen. He seems to have written mainly on Canadian and West Indian subjects. It was at this period that he wrote the only poem by him that has come down to us, *Tecumseh*, a correct but somewhat stilted performance. In 1828 his first important novel appeared, *Ecarté; or, The Salons of Paris*. This story was so severely and unjustly criticized that Richardson lost heart, and for several years attempted

no sustained literary work. *Ecarté* is in some ways a striking book, depicting in lurid colours the evils of gambling.

Wacousta ; or, The Prophecy is the novel by which Richardson is best known. In this story he deals with a heroic theme. It is based on the tales he had heard while living near Detroit and on his own knowledge of the region where the events he describes are supposed to have taken place. In *Wacousta* we have characters similar to those that move through Cooper's romantic pages. It has been said that Richardson is a mere imitator of Cooper, and his own statement, that he had 'absolutely devoured three times' *The Last of the Mohicans*, would seem to show that he had been influenced by the popular American novelist. But Richardson's Indians are his own and are in many ways more natural than Cooper's 'noble red men.' Richardson knew Indians at first-hand, and had fought side by side with such warriors as Tecumseh in the War of 1812. *Wacousta* has a well-woven plot and is packed with thrilling incidents. British soldiers, fur traders, habitants and Indians figure in it and are all distinctly drawn. True, it has much that is melodramatic, and the language at times is utterly out of keeping with the position and circumstances of the speakers ; but *Wacousta* has lived and can still be read with interest.

Richardson spent a part of 1835-36 in Spain with the British Auxiliary Legion. His experiences in Spain were the occasion for two interesting works : *Movements of the British Legion* and *Personal Memoirs of Major Richardson*.

When the Rebellion of 1837 threatened to disrupt the Empire, Richardson hurried to Canada to give his military experience to his country, but all danger was passed before his arrival. The writing impulse once more possessed him, and he set to work on a new story—this time dealing with events and characters with which he had become familiar in the War of 1812. *The Canadian Brothers ; or, The Prophecy Fulfilled* was published in Montreal in 1840. It was not a profitable venture, and eleven years later Richardson wrote of it as a book 'I published in Canada—I might as well have done so in Kamschatka.' But Canada was hardly to be censured for not consuming a large edition ;

it had then a very limited reading population, and this population was engaged in hewing down the forests and breaking soil and had little time for novels. *The Canadian Brothers* is weakly constructed. In the story Richardson introduces historical figures under their own names, and takes unwarranted liberties with historical facts. Some years later *The Canadian Brothers* was published in the United States under the title *Matilda Montgomery*.

During the next ten years Richardson was engaged largely in journalism and in the writing of historical works, but he went back to fiction in 1850, and in that year published *Hard Scrabble; or, The Fall of Chicago*, and in 1852 *Wannan-gee; or, The Massacre of Chicago*. Several years after his death *The Monk Knight of St John: a Tale of the Crusade and Westbrook; or, The Outlaw* appeared with his name on their title-pages. These novels were written in New York city, to which Richardson had moved in 1848 or 1849. The close of his life was a most unhappy one. He was an exile from the land he loved, and had a hard struggle in New York city against disease and extreme poverty. He died in 1852 and lies buried in an unknown grave. There is something pathetic in the fate of this first Canadian novelist who ended his days seeking to earn his bread among a people against whom he had valiantly fought.

While Richardson was engaged in historical studies and fiction in England and in Upper Canada, down by the sea in Nova Scotia a much greater genius was at work. Thomas Chandler Haliburton (1796-1865) occupies a unique place in Canadian literature, and stands undoubtedly as the foremost writer of British North America. Haliburton was the son of Henry Otis Haliburton, a judge of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas. He was born in Windsor, Nova Scotia, and was educated at King's College in that place, from which institution he graduated in 1815. He was called to the Bar in 1820 and practised law in the historic old town of Annapolis (Port Royal). He had a pleasing personality and in early life a fine gift of oratory. This won him a seat in the legislative assembly, but he remained in the assembly for only three years, and seemed to take much to heart

a reprimand he received from the council for calling that venerable body 'twelve dignified, deep-read, pensioned old ladies, but filled with prejudices and whims like all other antiquated spinsters.' In 1829 he was appointed to the judgeship formerly held by his father, and moved from Annapolis to Windsor. Here, with leisure and an ideal spot for a creative genius, he began his literary work. In 1841 he became a judge of the Supreme Court. This office he resigned in 1856 and went to England, where he was to spend the rest of his life. In 1859 he entered the British House of Commons as representative for Launceston. It was a time when the Little England idea held a place in parliament; colonies were looked on as a burden and many of the statesmen deemed that it would be wise to let them shift for themselves. Haliburton, an ardent imperialist, battled against this doctrine to the end of his parliamentary career, and did much to keep alive the imperial idea in both Great Britain and Canada.

Haliburton as a historian has already been noticed in reference to his history of Nova Scotia. The *Bubbles of Canada* and *Rule and Misrule of the English in America* show him to have been able to illuminate the past and to throw much light on contemporary political problems. An aristocrat by training and bent of mind, he feared mob rule, and was strongly opposed to responsible government, the panacea Lord Durham recommended for the ills of British North America. Time has proved Durham right and Haliburton wrong; but Haliburton's judicial analysis in the *Bubbles of Canada* of the situation in Canada, particularly of the Ninety-Two Resolutions, is still worthy of perusal by students of Canadian political history.

While Haliburton has been included among writers of fiction, a novelist in the generally accepted sense of the word he was not. There is only the thinnest thread of plot in his works, but his characters are among the best imaginative creations of modern times, one of them, Sam Slick, taking rank with such immortals as Pickwick, Tartarin of Tarascon and Huckleberry Finn. Indeed he is, in a way, better done than any of these, for while he is drawn with

fine humour, his language sparkles with wit and wisdom that are lacking in the creations of Dickens, Daudet and Mark Twain. Sam Slick, while 'dressed in cap and bells' by his creator, is, like Touchstone and the other 'fools' of Shakespeare, a preacher of wisdom and righteousness by means of extravagant drollery. *The Clockmaker; or, The Sayings and Doings of Sam Slick of Slickville, The Attaché; or, Sam Slick in England, Wise Saws and Modern Instances and Nature and Human Nature* are the 'Sam Slick' books proper. *The Clockmaker* first made its appearance serially in Joseph Howe's *Nova Scotian* in 1835-36. It is in three series, the first published at Halifax in 1837, the second and third in London in 1838 and 1840 respectively. In 1840-42 *The Clockmaker* was translated into German and published at Brunswick.

The Attaché was published in 1843-44; Sam Slick's *Wise Saws and Modern Instances* in 1853 and *Nature and Human Nature* in 1855. The main interest of these books is 'Sam Slick.' This shrewd Yankee pedlar is the medium through which Haliburton, with penetrating humour, analyses society, impales hypocrisy, studies life and lays bare the weaknesses of humanity. Aphorism and epigram abound, and wisdom is crystallized in phrases that have not perished with the passage of time. Many, very many, of Sam Slick's flashes of wit and bits of wisdom have become incorporated into our everyday speech. Such cannot be said of any other Canadian author. The first book of the 'Sam Slick' group is the best. The hero of the piece is on familiar soil, and his antics, his humorous hyperbole, his odd manner of speech, his quaint turns of thought, are in keeping with his environment. As the 'Attaché' he is not so good, and his manners and language while moving in English aristocratic circles strike one as being decidedly grotesque; but even here in his nonsense there is much sense. Haliburton found the name 'Sam Slick' such a popular one that when he published the *Bubbles of Canada* (1839) and *The Letter Bag of the Great Western; or, Life in a Steamer* (1840) he made Sam Slick the nominal author. His other important works are—*The Old Judge; or, Life in a Colony* (1847), a work

that was translated into both French and German; *The Season Ticket* (1860), which appeared first in *Dublin University Magazine*; and *Traits of American Humour* and *Americans at Home*, two works made up of extracts from contemporary American literature and merely edited by Haliburton.

Judge Haliburton is the one early writer of Canada who has won a place in English literature. He was not only the creator of a distinct character and the utterer of words that live; he was also in a sense the creator of a school of writers. American humour received its impulse from 'Sam Slick,' and Haliburton was, moreover, the first writer to use the American dialect in literature. Artemus Ward, Josh Billings and Mark Twain are, in a way, mere imitators of Haliburton, and he is their superior. He has not, it is true, Mark Twain's power of telling a story and literary art, but as a humorist, in the best sense of the word, he was greater than that distinguished American writer. American humorists produce their effects largely by exaggeration. Haliburton produced his by genial humour, by kindly satire (he smiles even when most sarcastic), by penetrating wit, and most of all by the illuminating wisdom of his detached utterances. His satire is not so much against individuals, to whom he is kindly, as against types; but at times, when punishment is deserved, he directs his caustic satire against individuals, and he has drawn several characters with the power of a Hogarth, a Cruikshank or a Gillray. He had an affection for Nova Scotia and an ardent hope for a united British Empire, and in satirizing the 'inertia' of Nova Scotians and the 'narrowness' of the people of Great Britain, he did it for the purpose of rousing them to action and to breadth of mind. While it is in aphorism that he is at his best, he could draw a character with inimitable strength. Nothing could be finer than his sketch of Captain Barkins, with countenance weather-beaten but open, good-natured and manly; and of Elder Stephen Gran, with face 'as long as the moral law, and perhaps an inch longer,' who seemed to feel that 'he had conquered the Evil One and was considerable well satisfied with himself.'

How packed with wit and wisdom are some of Haliburton's sentences! What could be better than the following?

'You may stop a man's mouth by crammin' a book down his throat, but you won't convince him.'

'We find it easy enough to direct others to the right road, but we can't always find it ourselves when we're on the ground.'

'Whenever you make an impression on a man, stop; your reasonin' and details may ruin you.'

'It is in politics as in horses; when a man has a beast that is near up to the notch, he had better not swap him.'

'Power has a natural tendency to corpulency.'

'A joke, like an egg, is never no good except it is fresh.'

What a world of tender feeling, admirably expressed, we have here:

'A woman has two smiles that an angel might envy; the smile that accepts a lover before words are uttered, and the smile that lights on the first-born baby and assures him of a mother's love.'

Thomas Chandler Haliburton, despite much careless, hurried work, coarseness of expression and diffuseness of language, stands high above all other Canadian writers. He possesses to an extraordinary degree that informing personality which makes for greatness. Of him we can say as Ben Jonson said of Shakespeare: 'He was not of an age but for all time.'

The Rev. J. C. Abbott (1789-1863) emigrated to Canada in 1818, and for many years laboured as a missionary of the Church of England in what is now the Province of Quebec. Abbott had the interest of his adopted country much at heart, and was the first enthusiastic advertiser of British North America. He published two works with regard to the country: *The Emigrant to North America, from Memoranda of a Settler*, which appeared in the *Quebec Mercury* (1842) and as a pamphlet in Montreal in the same year; and *Philip Musgrave; or, The Adventures of a Missionary in Canada*, printed in London in 1843. The latter work is

a story based on the facts and incidents of *The Emigrant to North America*. Philip Musgrave was popular in its day and attracted the attention of two of Canada's governors-general, who distributed hundreds of copies of the book among people seeking information about British North America. Abbott's desire was to give information that would be valuable to Old World farmers coming to a country where they would have to face new conditions, and he clothed his information in language and in a manner that are at once strong and pleasing.

About the middle of the last century readers of the *Literary Garland* were familiar with the initials R. E. M. These stood for Rosanna Eleanor Mullins (1832-79) of Montreal, who in 1851 married Dr Leprohon of her native province. This talented authoress wrote a number of excellent stories dealing with Canadian life and manners. Her first novel was published in 1848. It is entitled *Ida Beresford*, and is a remarkable production for a girl only sixteen years old. There are in all some eight novels from her pen, four of which, *Ida Beresford*, *The Manor House of De Villeraï*, *Antoinette de Mirecourt*—in many ways her best book—and *Armand Durand* were translated into French. Mrs Leprohon was a graceful writer and a skilful portrayer of character. She is particularly strong when moved by the pathos of a situation she has created. From a Canadian point of view *The Manor House of De Villeraï* and *Antoinette de Mirecourt* are her most important works. The first appeared in 1859 in the *Family Herald* of Montreal, whose staff Mrs Leprohon joined in 1860. The scene was Canada at the period of the Cession, and the characters are largely the habitants of the Province of Quebec. The simple, kindly lives of these people are sympathetically portrayed; their quaint, homely manners and customs are given with fulness and exact knowledge.

Mrs Catharine Parr Traill (1802-99) was a member of the famous Strickland family, of which five daughters achieved distinction in literature; and one son, Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel Strickland (1804-67), although without pretensions to literary power, produced one of the most

valuable descriptive works dealing with Canadian life in pioneer days—*Twenty-seven Years in Canada West*; or, *The Experiences of an Early Settler*.

Mrs Traill was born in the county of Kent, England, and when thirty years old came with her husband to Canada. Her home was first in the primeval forest near Rice Lake. The conditions of life were hard in the wilderness, but they in no way blunted Mrs Traill's perception of the beautiful in nature and life or detracted from her power of presenting to others what she saw with an artist's eye. She produced two readable novels: *Lady Mary and Her Nurse*; or, *A Peep into Canadian Forests* and *The Canadian Crusoes: A Tale of the Rice Lake Plains*, published in London, England, in 1850 and 1852 respectively. These books are better known under the modern titles of *Afar in the Forest* and *Lost in the Backwoods*.

Mrs Traill, however, achieved greater distinction as a writer on nature than as a novelist. Her *Studies in Plant Life*; or, *Gleanings from Forest, Lake and Plain* is the best popular Canadian botanical book written by a resident of Canada. Trees, animals, birds and flowers were her familiar friends; it was her faith 'that every flower enjoys the air it breathes.' Her scientific labours received recognition. Lady Charlotte Greville, who was greatly impressed by collections of Canadian ferns and mosses made by Mrs Traill, induced Lord Palmerston to secure for her a grant of £100 for her services as a naturalist, and the Canadian government presented her with an island in the Otonabee River. She continued to write with unimpaired vigour until the end of her long life. Her last two works, *Pearls and Pebbles* (1894) and *Cot and Cradle Stories* (1895), gave insight into the workings of nature, the latter being an excellent collection of simple, imaginative tales for children.

Mrs Susanna Moodie (1803-85), a sister of Catharine Parr Traill, began her literary career at the early age of fifteen. In 1831 she married John W. D. Moodie, a half-pay officer of the 21st Fusiliers, and with him came to Canada in 1832. She and her husband by training and education were totally unfitted for the rough conditions of Upper

Canada ; and their struggle for existence, first near the town of Port Hope and later in the unbroken forest ten miles north of Peterborough, makes pathetic reading ; all the more so as it was the lot of hundreds of people of similar birth and training, who came to Canada in search of riches during the first half of the nineteenth century.

Although a novelist and a contributor of stories to Canadian and American magazines, Mrs Moodie's fame rests largely on her two descriptive works, *Roughing it in the Bush ; or, Life in Canada* (1852) and *Life in the Clearing versus the Bush* (1853)—the former being published later under the title, *Life in the Backwoods*. These works were written largely for the purpose of counteracting the pernicious influence of the extravagant immigration literature that was being spread broadcast through Great Britain by immigration agents and land companies. Thousands of men and women had been induced to come to Canada, there to meet conditions with which they were unable to battle ; and in many instances they had succumbed to the struggle and their lives had been hopelessly wrecked. *Roughing it in the Bush*, in particular, painted in a realistic manner Upper Canada as it really was, and had a salutary influence. It has much literary merit, and, even though the motive that inspired it no longer exists, it still remains a valuable book, a veritable Canadian classic. In it the times are faithfully reproduced. The stories scattered through the pages still entertain, and the characters introduced are depicted with droll humour and tender pathos, and show the author to have had a deep insight into life. Mrs Moodie's novels have not stood the test of time as well as her descriptive works on Upper Canada ; but *Mark Hurdlestone, the Gold Worshipper, Flora Lindsay ; or, Passages in an Eventful Life, Matrimonial Speculation, Geoffrey Moncton ; or, The Faithless Guardian* and *Dorothy Chance* can yet be read with enjoyment.

Mrs Moodie was, too, one of the best of the early Canadian poets. Imaginative, keenly alive to the beauties of nature, sympathetic with suffering, patriotic, she wrote a number of poems which—at least during her lifetime—had a wide

appreciation. Some of them were set to music and were popular in Canadian homes sixty years ago.

James de Mille (1836-80) was one of the most voluminous of Canadian writers of fiction. De Mille was born in St John, New Brunswick, and died in Halifax, Nova Scotia. He had an excellent grounding in the ancient and modern languages, and taught classics for some years in Acadia College, and, during the closing years of his life, English and rhetoric in Dalhousie College, Halifax. He wrote in all twenty-eight or twenty-nine stories, besides numerous short stories, and at least one poem, *Behind the Veil*. This poem was found among his papers after his death, and was published under the editorship of Archibald MacMechan in 1893. In artistic and imaginative qualities *Behind the Veil* was much in advance of the poetical work done in British North America before the modern school of Canadian poets began their work, about 1880, the year of de Mille's death.

De Mille's first important book, *The Martyrs of the Catacombs*, was published in 1865, and his last, *A Castle in Spain*, thirteen years later. It is hardly correct to say his last, for ten years after his death, when such weirdly imaginative tales as H. Rider Haggard's *King Solomon's Mines* and *She* were attracting attention, de Mille's *A Strange Manuscript found in a Copper Cylinder* made its appearance. This extravagant tale of adventure, quite as good as many others of its class, had the usual fate of such stories—it was momentarily popular, and then forgotten. De Mille's genius had a wide range. In *The Dodge Club; or, Italy in 1859* he showed a humorous vein. His six volumes in the *B.O.W.C. Series* and the three in the *Dodge Club Series* prove him capable of writing healthy, vigorous stories for the young. Novels with a mysterious setting, romances sentimental in character, and fiction interesting by its thrilling incidents, he wrote with equal ease.

William Kirby (1817-1906), through his book *The Golden Dog (Le Chien d'Or)*, has deservedly won a high place among Canadian novelists. *The Golden Dog* in a way marked the beginning of a new era in Canadian literature. In time it turned the attention of writers to the rich material to be found

in the past of Canada for fiction, and it has been followed by a number of romances with a historical foundation. In many respects it still holds the first place among Canadian historical novels.

William Kirby was born at Kingston-upon-Hull and came to Canada with his parents in 1832. For five years the Kirbys resided in Montreal; they then moved to Niagara, where the rest of William Kirby's long life was spent. For over twenty-five years he edited and published the *Niagara Mail*, and for nearly a quarter of a century longer held the office of collector of customs at Niagara. Kirby was a thorough Canadian and an ardent imperialist, and ever showed a deep interest in the history of the country in which his lot was cast. His first production was a historical poem, *The U.E.; a Tale of Upper Canada* (1859). In 1888 he published a collection of poems entitled *Canadian Idylls*, a second edition of which was issued in 1894. He is also the author of a historical work, *The Annals of Niagara*, and of several other volumes of prose. But he is remembered solely by his historical romance, *The Golden Dog*, first published in 1877.

For his novel he selected the most magnificent theme this continent afforded—the final struggle between the French and the English for empire in America. His stage is the rocky citadel of Quebec, and his actors are governors and intendants, officers and merchants, noble ladies of New France and the humble habitants. He had a genuine admiration for the French, and his characters are all sympathetically drawn. No French writer could have shown more feeling than did Kirby in his presentation of the unhappy country surrounded by foreign foes and plundered by Bigot and his henchmen, Cadet and de Péan. Kirby had thoroughly saturated his mind with the history of Old France and New France in the days of Louis xv, and his vivid imagination enabled him to give a faithful picture of the times. The officials of Quebec, the seigneurs and their dependants are all faithfully portrayed. Count Philibert and his son Pierre are presented in the grand manner, and the father is probably the best-drawn and best-sustained

character in Canadian fiction, while Amélie de Repentigny and Angélique des Meloises—as wide as the poles apart in character—are strongly depicted women. *The Golden Dog* is a mixture of the manner of Scott and the manner of Dumas. At times the story drags, largely due to the desire of the author to give local colour and to detail fully the life of the period with which he is dealing; but the well-conceived plot and the stirring incidents with which the work is packed sustain interest. *The Golden Dog* is a great book—a book that has turned the feet of thousands of pilgrims towards Quebec. As a historical novel, however, it is not without its blemishes. Many of the characters were not as black as they are painted, and some of the noble Frenchmen who move through its pages are—as the documents that have come down from the times prove—far from being as noble as they are pictured. *The Golden Dog* is highly thought of by French Canadians, and was translated into French by two of the most distinguished writers of the Province of Quebec, Louis Frechette and Pamphile Le May.

Among other Canadian novelists of the earlier period worthy of consideration are: Mrs May Agnes Fleming (1840-80), who was the author of twenty-two novels of a highly sensational character; John Lesperance, who, in *The Bastonnais: a Tale of the American Invasion in Canada, 1775-1776*, produced a useful and accurate story of the times; the Hon. Lucius Seth Huntington, whose *Professor Conant* gives an excellent study of English and American political and social life; Mrs Mary Ann Sadlier, a prolific writer of fiction, biography and essays; and Louisa Murray, one of the most graceful writers of prose and verse who have ever appealed to the Canadian public.

As we shall see later, a new movement took place in Canadian poetical literature about the year 1880; some ten years after this date Canadian fiction entered upon a new stage in its development. It would be quite within the mark to take the definite year 1890 as the dividing line between the early writers, more or less provincial in their art, and the modern school, influenced by world

standards. In that year Gilbert (afterwards Sir Gilbert) Parker took up his residence in London, England, and began the stories, many of them dealing with Canadian life in the past and present and with Canadian colour and atmosphere, that were to make him easily the first of Canadian novelists. Two years later his volume of short stories, *Pierre and his People*, was published, and a Canadian writer of more than ordinary force took his place in the world of fiction. It was in 1890, too, that Sara Jeannette Duncan (Mrs Everard Cotes) began her career as a writer of books with *A Social Departure*. In 1891 Lily Dougall's first novel, *Beggars All*, was published, and in 1889 Margaret Marshall Saunders's *My Spanish Sailor* had appeared. During the next decade Charles W. Gordon, Charles G. D. Roberts, Norman Duncan, William M^cLennan, Blanche Lucile Macdonell, Joanna E. Wood, Allan Richard Carman, Edward W. Thomson and other strong writers of fiction appeared in the Canadian field, producing well-constructed stories, artistic in treatment, and showing a power to make characters of the past and present live on the written page.

Sir Gilbert Parker occupies a high place among writers of fiction. He was born in Camden East, Ontario, in 1860, and spent the first twenty-five years of his life in Canada. His literary training was unique. It was his original intention to enter the ministry, but after studying arts and theology for a brief period at Trinity College, Toronto, he followed his literary bent and took up letters as a profession. In 1885, after some experience as a writer of poems and sketches and as a lecturer on literary subjects, he went to Australia, and for a time was on the staff of the *Sydney Morning Herald*. He has been a persistent traveller, visiting the outlying portions of Europe and every corner of the Empire—Northern Canada, the South Sea Islands, Egypt and the Far East—and wherever he has gone he has been a close observer of life. His books show him to have been influenced largely by his Canadian home and training, and his earlier works all have a Canadian colour and atmosphere; but while he is spoken of as a Canadian, it would be more correct to regard him as a literary product of the British Empire.

Canada, the Channel Islands, Egypt, South Africa—he has studied them all and makes them the stages on which his characters move. Incidentally he was in his youth an ardent student of Shakespeare, and knew by heart the greater part of a number of the poet's dramas. This may account for the fact that his first ambitious literary efforts were dramas, of which he wrote three during 1888-89; but he seems to have been discouraged by the reception accorded to his adaptation of his historical romance, *The Seats of the Mighty*, and concluded that it would be wise to give all his energies to the novel.

He first appealed, as already stated, to lovers of fiction in a volume of short stories entitled *Pierre and his People*—a very excellent collection showing much promise. 'Pretty Pierre,' the titular hero, the link that binds the various stories together, a half-breed with whom card-playing was 'a science and a passion,' is not as well done as some of the other characters. Pierre lacks reality and is the creation of the writer's imagination rather than a type of the life to be found in the early days in the Far West. Parker's Indians, too, are either idealized or brutalized, and lack realistic truth. But Sergeant Fones, 'the little Bismarck of the Mounted Police,' who had 'the fear o' God in his heart, and the law of the land across his saddle, and the newest breech-loading rifle at that'; and Sergeant Tom Gellatly, a blood-brother of Kipling's 'Mulaney,'—are powerfully created. The half-breeds, the Hudson's Bay Company's factors and employees, and the men of the Mounted Police are sketched in a comprehensive way, and the moving incidents by flood and field sustain interest. However, *Pierre and his People* can only be considered a tentative effort on the part of the author. Much of the work is slipshod. It is, for example, difficult to imagine that the author of *The Judgment House* could have ended a tragic story with such a sentence as this: 'The hands were wrinkled; the face was cold; the body was wet; the man was drowned and dead.'

During the next three years Parker produced six novels—*Mrs Falchion*, *The Trespasser*, *The Translation of a Savage*, *The Trail of the Sword*, *When Valmond came to Pontiac*, and

An Adventurer of the North—and one volume of poems, *A Lover's Diary*. In *The Trail of the Sword* he wrote with a verve and dash that remind one of Weyman and Doyle; but the book was too packed with incident, and the sudden and wide changes of scene marred its construction. In *When Valmond came to Pontiac* he attempted to depict life in a French-Canadian village; but the life is of his own imagination. Only at times is the habitant truly presented, and on the whole the study is a caricature. All these earlier novels may be considered the work of Parker's apprentice hand; but in 1896 a powerful and sustained novel appeared from his pen—*The Seats of the Mighty*. In this book, which is not without its faults, there is an artistic repose, a mastery, a fulness of treatment that bespeak the mature artist. The story is of the period of the conquest of Quebec and has a strong plot and vigorously drawn characters. Captain Robert Moray, the hero, obstinate, self-confident, somewhat of a boaster; Doltaire, with 'the one gift of the strong man,' inexorable when he made for his end, a fine study in contradictions, a heartless roué, yet moved by a true and noble passion, a flippant admirer of the excesses and trivialities of the court, yet a thinker with a penetrating intellect, a man whose self-consciousness is at once his strength and his weakness; Gabord, a rough soldier, one of nature's poets and gentlemen; the Chevalier de la Darante, the soul of truth and honour,—are all striking creations.

Bigot, Vaudreuil, Montcalm, Wolfe, and the other historical characters in the piece are sketched in with rapid, vigorous touches. The book is packed with thrilling incidents, sometimes impossible and sometimes highly exaggerated, it is true, but on the whole kept within bounds. There was in this work still something lacking. It has the fault of many historical novels. Parker was unable to project his spirit entirely into the time about which he wrote, and the men and women, despite their dress and manners, are all of the present rather than the past.

In 1897 Parker published *The Pomp of the Lavilletes* and in the following year *The Battle of the Strong*. The

latter book was a distinct advance on any of his previous works. In it he shifted the scene of his story from Canada to the Channel Islands, and his descriptions and character sketches are truer to life than in any of his Canadian books. He had evidently studied exhaustively the islands and their inhabitants, which had changed but little since the time portrayed in his story—the close of the eighteenth century. Philip d'Avranche and Ranulph Delagarde, Jean Tousel and Dormy Jamais, Guida Landresse and Maitresse Aimable Tousel are sympathetically drawn, and the book has touches of true humour, totally absent in his other stories save in isolated passages in *Pierre and his People*. In construction, in workmanship, in descriptive fineness, in its interpretation of life and in ethical value *The Battle of the Strong* showed a distinct advance in power and the artistic handling of his historical and romantic material.

In 1901 came *The Right of Way*. Here the author dealt with a pathological subject. Although the book has been highly praised, it has two leading defects. The scene is laid in the Province of Quebec, but the life is lacking in truth, while the hero is an impossibility. A careful analysis of his character and action will show that no one could possibly have been so clever and resourceful in so many odd directions as was Charley Steele.

In the meantime Parker entered on a new career. In 1900 he was elected in the Unionist interest for Gravesend and has since held a seat in the British House of Commons. His work done in literature received recognition from his sovereign, and in 1902 he was honoured with knighthood.

Parker's next truly great work, *The Weavers*, was published in 1907. The scene of this story is mainly in Egypt, and the book was written evidently after a most thorough study of the country, its problems and its people. The climax of Parker's art was reached in 1912, in the important creation, undoubtedly his masterpiece, *The Judgment House*. The scene of this great story is laid in London and in South Africa. The time is the period before and during the South African War. 'The Partners,' a group of men exploiting South Africa, coarse and strong characters;

Krool, the Hottentot-Boer, patriotic, vindictive, yet to his master as docile as a tamed animal; Byng, a diamond in the rough, who in the end turned out to be a polished gem; Jigger, the newsboy, and his sister Lou; Ian Stafford, philanthropist and statesman, familiar with the international game, with the defects of his qualities; Jasmine and Al'mah, the heroines of the piece,—are all living beings, men and women of flesh and blood. Parker in *The Judgment House* has attained the heights. He has proved himself capable of giving 'in the man of the day the eternal man,' and he takes his place among the truly great writers of fiction. But in this work he is no longer Canadian: *The Judgment House* is the result of his imperial training and of years spent in the social and political atmosphere of Great Britain.

The Rev. Charles W. Gordon, D.D. (Ralph Connor), was born in 1860 at Indian Lands, Glengarry, Ontario, and his early life was spent among the sturdy Highlanders who did so much of the pioneer work of the Dominion. Gordon is, in every way, a Canadian writer. He was educated in Canada; he has spent his whole life, save for a very short period as a student in Scotland, in the Dominion; he has devoted his entire attention to the study of Canada and Canadian men and women. He was educated at the University of Toronto and at Knox College. The mission field attracted his earnest, vigorous nature, and between 1890 and 1893 he worked among the miners and lumbermen of the North-West Territories. He began his literary career in 1897 with a brief sketch entitled *Beyond the Marshes*. In 1898 *Black Rock* won him a wide audience. It touched the popular heart with its rapid, terse style and its mingled humour and pathos, its sympathy with men half brutalized by their work and environment, and its admiration for the noble and self-sacrificing in life.

In his introduction to *Black Rock* Professor George Adam Smith wrote: 'He [Ralph Connor] has seen with single eye the life which he describes in this book, and has himself, for some years of hard and lonely toil, assisted in the good influences which he traces among its wild and often lonely conditions.' And he adds that he 'writes with the freshness

and accuracy of an eyewitness . . . with the tenderness and hopefulness of a man not only of faith but of experience.'

The heroes of Gordon's books, whether in the mines or the lumber camps, in the pulpits or the universities, in the cities or on the prairies, are all, each in his own way, 'fighting out that eternal fight for manhood, strong, clean, and God-conquered.'

In *Black Rock*, and in *The Sky Pilot* produced in the following year, the details of life in lumber and mining camps are well given, and the motley crews of vigorous, sometimes brutal manhood—Irish, Highland, French-Canadian, English—and the missionaries—Craig, Moore and Father Goulet—pious, manly, self-sacrificing, are portrayed with sympathy and insight. There is invariably the typical feminine guardian angel in all Gordon's books, but the weakness is that the author never varies her; and Mrs Mavor of *Black Rock* and Mrs Murray, the mistress of the Glengarry manse, are one and the same woman under different names. In these two early books the author shows that he understands French-Canadian life, at least in the lumber camps: Baptiste and Latour are quite as true to life as are the faithfully drawn characters of William Henry Drummond. In the 'strange medley of people of all ranks and nations' Gordon finds men with vices due rather to the circumstances of their lives than to the natural tendencies of their hearts. To him sin is largely 'energy gone wrong,' and evidently the purpose in his books is by their presentation of life and action to direct this energy properly.

Gordon, in his romances, is a teacher of ethics; a preacher by profession—in his novels he merely makes mankind at large his congregation. In *The Man from Glengarry* (1901) the characters are the men he was familiar with in his boyhood days, now playing their parts in the lumbering operations on the Ottawa River and the Gatineau. In the introduction to his book he has very clearly given his main reason for writing it: 'Not wealth, not enterprise, not energy, can build a nation into true greatness, but men and only men with the fear of God in their hearts and no other, and to make this clear is also a part of the purpose of this book.'

Theoretically Gordon is something of a Calvinist, but even a casual reading of his stories will show that by *fear* of God he really means *love* of God—love is made the impelling force for good in all his books. In *The Man from Glengarry* the characters Big Macdonald, Dannie Ross, Findlay Campbell, Louis Le Noir are men of 'hardness of frame, alertness of sense, readiness of resource, endurance, superb self-reliance, a courage that grew with peril, and withal a certain wildness which at times deepened into ferocity.' This book has preserved in vital form rough conditions and characters that are rapidly passing away under the influence of civilization and education.

In *Glengarry School Days* the crude conditions of life and education in the backwoods of Canada in the middle of the nineteenth century and even later are faithfully reproduced. In *The Prospector* (1904) and *The Doctor* (1906) the lives of a healer of souls and a healer of bodies in a new country where hardships have to be faced in the performance of duty are convincingly presented.

In 1909 Gordon hit on a happy title, *The Foreigner*. Admirable material for tragic and romantic use lies ready at hand for the investigator who will take the trouble to look into the lives of the foreign element in the cities or 'in the melting-pot of nations,' the Canadian North-West. The author of *The Foreigner* set out with high aims: 'Out of breeds diverse in traditions, in ideals, in speech, and in manner of life, Saxon and Slav, Teuton, Celt and Gaul, one people is being made. The blood strains of a great nation will mingle in the blood of a race greater than the greatest of them all.' There is much that is realistic, indeed, much that is after the manner of Zola and his followers of the naturalistic school, in *The Foreigner*; at times it is even repulsive in its details, but it has purple patches of great power.

In *Corporal Cameron* (1912) the action begins in Scotland, moves to the Province of Quebec and then to the North-West. The characters are largely repetitions, under other names, of the men and women of the early books, as are the incidents, save for the well-described Highland games.

Gordon's power lies not so much in his ability as a constructive artist as in his strong, isolated passages. His gentler action is commonplace; but his incidents, such as football matches and bar-room brawls, are masterly bits of work.

Norman Duncan is one of the Canadian authors who, at an early age of their literary career, were drawn away by the larger and more profitable markets of the United States. Duncan was born in Brantford, Ontario, in 1871, and was educated in that city and at the University of Toronto. In 1896, when twenty-five years old, he took a position on the New York *Evening Post*, and until 1901 he did all his best work for that journal. He first proved himself a master of the short story, and in his volume *The Soul of the Street* gave a series of sketches which for insight into life and for character drawing are as fine as anything done in the short story in America, and indeed compare favourably with the short-story work of the greatest of British short-story writers. These sketches, dealing with one section of the foreign element in New York city, show the author at the outset of his career to have had a genius for interpreting life. He presents in a masterly manner one phase of New York life, and he was able to do so because he had gone down into the street and into the homes and studied at first-hand the men and women he depicted.

But Duncan was soon to work in a new field. As a special writer he went to Newfoundland, a region he has made peculiarly his own. Hardy fisher-folk, traders and seamen—hospitable, tender, simple, willing for toil—and sturdy lads 'who know hardship and peril when the boys of the city still grasp a hand when they cross the street,' appealed to him, and he has drawn them with fidelity and strength, with tender pathos and grim humour. The rocky, rugged, storm-beaten shores of Newfoundland and the Labrador coast gripped his imagination. The North Atlantic ocean, with its icebergs, field-ice and 'growlers,' with its 'frothy fangs' and 'soapy seas,' has never been presented so 'deeply and faithfully'—to use the words of Frank Bullen, himself a master in portraying the ocean and the characters of the men who go down into the deep.

Dr Luke of the Labrador gave Duncan a distinct place in modern literature. In it the life of a hardy people playing their part on a hard stage is exhaustively treated. He found, too, the heroic in commonplace life; a healer of men working among humble, grateful, illiterate folk gave him as fine an opportunity for his genius as others have found amid the clash of arms and in the courts of nations.

Norman Duncan produced *The Adventures of Billy Topsail, The Crews of the Lightning Light and Billy Topsail and Company* a series of healthy, manly books for boys. They abound in adventure on rocky coasts, in blinding fogs and in the ice-packs. Through it there is a sea movement that is unexcelled by the best work of such trained seamen turned novelists as Rime and Bullen. In Duncan's books Newfoundland and the Labrador coast have been given a prominent place in literature. *The Measure of a Man* (1912) is laid in a different field. The hero, John Fairmeadow, is a reformed drunkard, a recruit from Jerry McAuley's mission in Water Street, New York. Fairmeadow had chosen for his work, in the capacity of a lay missionary, the lumber camps of Minnesota. He is a well-drawn, virile character who, when occasion demanded it, was quite capable of stepping from his pulpit and thrashing a disturber in his congregation into a respectful attitude. But Duncan has lost something of his power in this new field and with these new characters. There is not the definiteness, the reality in his landsmen that is to be found in his sea-folk. There is a vagueness in his character studies in this book, a lack of firmness of touch and an extravagance in incident that detract from its merits. He handles, it is true, the elemental passions with power. From the rough human rock there can be carved either a brute or an angel, and he has brought out both. But, though John Fairmeadow in this book appears 'in the measure of his service, in the stature of his soul, a Man,' he impresses one rather as a product of the author's imagination than a being of flesh and blood.

Charles G. D. Roberts has already been considered as a writer of animal stories, and will later be dealt with as a

poet, but it is also necessary to consider him briefly as a writer of fiction. He has worked mainly in a somewhat narrow field, the Maritime Provinces, but, so far as external nature is concerned, he has treated that region exhaustively. In *The Raid from Beauséjour*, *The Forge in the Forest*, *A Sister to Evangeline*, *The Prisoner of Mademoiselle*, and a volume of short stories, *The Marshes of Minas*, he has graphically pictured the 'romantic period in Canadian history when the French were making the very last struggle to retain their hold upon the peninsula of Acadie—now called Nova Scotia.'

Roberts is without an equal in Canadian literature as a writer of mellifluous prose; sea, sky, landscape—he has caught their rhythm and colour and described them in exquisite passages that read like a succession of lyrical poems; but his pictures of Acadian life are *couleur de rose*. The characters he draws in *A Sister to Evangeline* are not borne out by history. He lacks dramatic force, and the language of his men and women, in the light of the times in which they lived, is unnatural; but his style is inimitable and the local colour of his descriptions of such regions as Annapolis Basin, Minas Basin and the Isthmus of Chignecto would be hard to excel. Apart from his character portrayal, he has, in his Nova Scotian stories, as truly pictured the face of that part of the Dominion as has Hardy his Wessex coast or Egdon Heath.

In his short stories, each a prose poem, he has been influenced largely by the modern French school of whom Daudet and de Maupassant are the ablest representatives; but some of his work is distinctly original. In his studies in *Earth's Enigmas* dealing with lumber camps and lumbering operations he is peculiarly good. His residence on the St John and Miramichi—great lumber rivers—has well fitted him to handle these themes. In 'Within the Sound of the Saws' he has succeeded in making the mill town a reality to any one born within the sound of the saws, to whom the news that the mills were to close down was very much as if the sun were about to be removed for a season; and who measured the return of the spring, not by the first robin, but by the buzz of the saws, the dull clang of the

deal on the piles, and the heavy clatter of the mill carts. No second-hand observation could ever have produced the following paragraph :

In the middle of the mill worked the 'gang,' a series of upright saws that rose and fell swiftly, cleaving their way with a pulsating, vicious clamour through an endless and sullen procession of logs. Here and there, each with a massive table to itself, hummed the circulars, large and small ; and whenever a deal, or a pile of slabs, was brought in contact with one of the spinning discs, upon the first arching spurt of sawdust-spray began a shrieking note, which would run the whole vibrant and intolerable gamut as the saw bit through the fibres from end to end. In the occasional brief moments of comparative silence, when several of the saws would chance to be disengaged at the same instant, might be heard, far down in the lower storey of the mill, the grumbling roar of the great turbine wheels, which, sucking in the tortured water from the sluices, gave life to all the wilderness of cranks and shafts above.

It is the same with 'The Butt of the Camp' and 'At the Rough-and-Tumble Landing.' In the one Roberts has given with great truth the boisterous life of a lumber camp ; in the other, with graphic power, the most perilous task—breaking a log jam—that an ax-man can tackle.

William Wilfred Campbell,¹ another of Canada's widely known and appreciated poets, has been drawn aside from a field in which he peculiarly excelled and has written several descriptive works and two excellent novels—*Ian of the Orcades* and *A Beautiful Rebel*. The latter is on a Canadian theme, the War of 1812, but is not as good as the former, which has Scottish ground for its stage and Celtic characters as actors. *Ian of the Orcades* had not the enthusiastic reception it deserved. Had S. R. Crockett, for example, written it, it would have been hailed as an exceptionally powerful historical novel. The style is elevated, the characters are strongly drawn, the incidents are striking, given with intensity but without exaggeration ; and, as in Roberts's work, where the author is interpreting nature the story abounds

¹ See pp. 578-9.

in prose poems. There are in it passages of profound thought, and what has been said of Campbell's poetry might with equal appropriateness be said of this novel—through the tragic story 'there runs a deep undertone of haunting, mysterious suggestiveness which naturally links the restless phenomena of nature with the joys and sorrows of the human heart.'

Campbell is a Celt, and in *Ian of the Orcades* there are passages abounding in natural magic, that peculiar gift of Celtic writers. The dramatic passages, too, are well done; there is in them a naturalness, a vigour and truth that are lacking in many Canadian books that have had a wider audience.

No writer has possessed more enthusiasm for Canada or greater hope in Canada's future in material and spiritual things than William Douw Lighthall of Montreal, and no one has done more to make known to the world Canada's past and what Canadians of the present have been doing. His collection of poems, *Songs of the Great Dominion*, with his excellent introduction and notes, showed that a fine body of poetical work was being produced in Canada. Lighthall has also done much historical and antiquarian work, and has written three books of fiction of a high quality—*The Young Seigneur*, *The False Chevalier* and *The Master of Life*.

The Young Seigneur is not properly a novel, but rather a race and politico-sociological study. Its chief aim was, as the author says in his preface, the 'perhaps too bold one—to map out a future for the Canadian nation, which has been hitherto drifting without any plan.' Lighthall's plan evidently was not widely accepted. *The Young Seigneur* was published in 1888 under the nom de plume 'Wilfred Chateaucclair,' and 'the Canadian nation' continued to drift, and, judging from the parliamentary discussions during 1913, it is still drifting. Another aim of the author was to make the 'atmosphere of French Canada understood by those who speak English.' Few, we imagine, for whom the book was intended, have benefited by the study, but that is the fault of the reading public and not of the author. *The*

False Chevalier was published in 1898 and is a distinctly abler book. It has a well-worked plot, and the historical material both of Old France and of New France is skilfully handled. Several of the characters are drawn with dramatic insight. It would be hard to find in Canadian fiction a better or more truthfully portrayed character than the merchant Lecour of St Elphège, a fine type of prosperous habitant—simple-minded, honest, generous, industrious—or than his wife—romantic and ambitious for her son. Germaine Lecour, the son, is likewise well portrayed, but there is a disappointing unreality about him while he plays his part on the European stage. Lighthall is only at his best when on the firm and familiar ground of Canada. *The Master of Life* is an exceptional book, a unique book. It is a novel of Indian life without a white man in it; a story 'of woods and water and prehistoric times.' The central figure is Hiawatha, the founder of the League of the Five Nations, and the main interest of the story for Canadians centres round the destruction of Hochelaga, the town vividly described by Jacques Cartier in 1535, which had been wiped out of existence by the beginning of the seventeenth century. It is the destruction of Hochelaga that forms the principal theme of the book. *The Master of Life* is the product of years of study and reflection. It displays extensive archaeological research; and the primitive manners, the customs and mode of life of the Indians are reproduced with a fidelity that convinces. No other work that we know shows so well the stoicism, the melancholy, the fatalism, the poetical imagination, the indifference to life of the Indians, to whom all nature was a living thing through which and over which was the Master of Life.

William M^cLennan (1856-1904) was the author of three notable books of fiction, of an excellent volume of translations, *Songs of Old Canada*, and of original stories and essays of a high order. His collection of short stories, *In Old France and New*, portrays French character on two continents, subtly distinguishing between the life in France and in Canada. *Spanish John* is his best-known book; the style is good, the characters possess reality; it is crowded

with stirring incidents and the life of the time dealt with is faithfully reproduced. *The Span o' Life*, a historical novel of the days of Prince Charlie, was written in collaboration with Jean N. McIlwraith. It is a most readable story, with a romantic colour that is heightened by the bursts of song scattered through its pages.

W. A. Fraser first appealed to the public in his book, *The Eye of a God and Other Stories*, published in 1892, and has since produced many short stories and several novels. He is strongest in his short stories, several of which take rank among the best of modern times. The influence of Kipling is to be found in his work, and evidently he has closely studied the method of that master. Fraser has made the race-track his peculiar field. Among his best-known books are *Mooswa and Others of the Boundaries*, *The Outcast*, *Thoroughbreds*, *Brave Hearts* and *Sa'Zada Tales*.

Edward W. Thomson is a Canadian writer of varied experience. In 1865 Thomson, then a mere boy, enlisted in the American army and served with the Federal forces on the Potomac. In the following year, 1866, he was at Ridgeway doing duty against the Fenian invaders. He began his business career as an engineer and later joined the staff of the *Toronto Globe*. He is widely known as a sound writer on political questions, and also as a writer of excellent verse. He is seen at his best in his stories: *Old Man Savcrin and Other Stories*, *Walter Gibbs*, *The Young Boss and Other Stories*, *Between Earth and Sky* and *Peter Ottawa*, while being mainly for boys, can be enjoyed by both young and old. The characters are types of vigorous Canadian boyhood and manhood. Canadian forests, fields and streams are the theatre, and the incidents are depicted with a strength that could only be given to them by a man of action.

Robert Barr (1850-1912) was born in Glasgow and received his early education in Ontario, and for a few years taught school in that province. From 1876 until 1888 he was on the staff of the *Detroit Free Press*; and after that, until the time of his death, he lived in England. He could not be called a great novelist, nor is there in his work much

Canadian atmosphere. Indeed, his only story on a Canadian theme is *In the Midst of Alarms*, a story of the Fenian raid. He depends not so much on plot as on incident and on touches of humour that brighten his pages. His brother, James Barr (Angus Evan Abbott), was born in 1862 in Wallace-town, Ontario, but has since 1883 lived in England, where he has been engaged in journalism. He has written several excellent novels, which, however, are not widely known in his native land.

James Macdonald Oxley (1855-1907) wrote numerous boys' stories based on historical incidents, travels and adventures. These stories cover a wide range of territory. *Fife and Drum at Louisburg* deals with the siege of the fortress conducted by the New England troops under William Pepperrell and the British fleet under Admiral Warren in 1745. *Archie of Athabasca* takes the reader into the Far North of the Dominion, and *Up among the Ice-floes* gives thrilling adventures in the Arctic regions. All of Oxley's books are virile and healthy—excellent stories, fine in their descriptive passages and character drawing.

Arthur J. Stringer was born in London, Ontario, in 1876. After studying at the University of Toronto and at Oxford, he served his apprenticeship to literature in that excellent school, journalism, and was for a year on the staff of the *Montreal Herald*. In 1898 he moved to the United States, and, while still remaining a summer resident of Canada, has made New York city his home, and has written verse and prose largely in a manner suited to the taste of the magazine-reading public of the United States. He has produced much dainty verse, fine in thought and excellent in technique. Several of his novels, such as *The Silver Poppy* and *The Wire Tappers*, have been very popular, but they have little of the permanent value of Parker's *Battle of the Strong* or *The Judgment House* or of Duncan's *Dr Luke of the Labrador*.

One of the latest to enter the field of romance is the Rev. Robert Knowles, pastor of Knox Church, Galt, Ontario. He is a writer of the religio-sentimental school, and though his books are widely read they do not appeal to thoughtful

men and women. *St Cuthbert's*, *The Undertow*, *The Attic Guest*, etc., lack variety. Incidents, situations, characters are too often mere repetitions.

Mrs Everard Cotes (Sara Jeannette Duncan), who began her literary career under the nom de plume 'Garth Grafton,' was born in Brantford, Ontario. Mrs Cotes is the most voluminous of Canadian women writers, having written in all nearly twenty volumes. She first attained distinction in 1890 by her delightfully humorous travel book, *A Social Departure; or, How Orthocia and I went round the World by Ourselves*. This book is vivid in its description, kindly in its humour, delightful in its genial sarcasm. Mrs Cotes has long lived in India, and has done much to make the native and official life of that important part of the Empire known to the world. Her books have not Canadian themes or Canadian characters: *An Imperialist*, published in 1904, is her only story with a Canadian setting. She has a place well towards the front rank of modern humorists. Mrs Cotes is a keen observer of life, with exceptional descriptive powers, and a style that sparkles and scintillates, her pages bubbling over with incisive wit. She holds easily the first place among women writers of fiction born in the Dominion.

In the little fertile island province washed by the waters of the Atlantic and inhabited by a people of simple manners and customs, a novelist appeared in the closing years of the nineteenth century who was to make Prince Edward Island, its inhabitants and external nature, known to the world as they never had been before. Lucy Maud Montgomery, at that time a school-teacher in the province, sprang suddenly into fame by her first book, *Anne of Green Gables*. In 1911 Miss Montgomery married the Rev. Ewen McDonald, and has since resided in Ontario. *Anne of Green Gables*, published in 1908, took the reading public by storm. It won eulogies from such appreciative critics as Mark Twain—who called it the 'sweetest creation of child life yet written'—and Bliss Carman, who said that Anne, the heroine, must 'always remain one of the immortal children of fiction.' Other books by this author are *Anne of Avonlea*, *Kilmeny of the Orchard* and *The Story Girl*. Sympathy with child

life and humble life, delight in nature, a penetrating, buoyant imagination, unusual power in handling the simple romantic material that lies about every one, and a style direct and pleasing, make these books delightful reading for children and, indeed, for readers of all ages.

Alice Jones, daughter of the late lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia, A. G. Jones, is one of the noteworthy women writers of fiction in the Dominion. Her naturally fine intellect was sharpened and broadened by study in France and Italy. She first won a place in public estimation by her story, *A Hazard of Hearts*—which appeared in Frank Leslie's *Monthly*. This author has written five other stories: *The Night Hawk*—which she wrote under the nom de plume 'Alix John,' *Bubbles We Buy*—issued in England under the name Isabel Broderick, *Gabriel Praed's Castle*, *At the Harbour's Mouth* and *The Consul's Niece*. *Gabriel Praed's Castle*, published in 1904, is undoubtedly her strongest book both in plot construction and character portrayal.

Joanna E. Wood was born in Scotland, but came with her parents to Canada when a child. Her home is on the picturesque heights of Queenston, a spot unexcelled for beauty in Canada and replete with historical and romantic material. This author has produced in all seven novels: *Judith Moore*, *The Untempered Wind*, *The Lynchpin Sensation*, *A Daughter of Wilches*, *Where Waters Beckon*, *Farden Ha'* and *Unto the Third Generation*. In her works she shows an intimate acquaintance with early conditions in Canada, and treats her subjects with artistic fineness and praiseworthy seriousness.

Lily Dougall, formerly of Montreal but now for over twenty years a resident of Great Britain, should, like Robert Barr, be classed among purely British writers. She is one of the most cultured women writers of the day; all her novels have a purpose and have as their motifs social or moral problems.

Among other Canadian women worthy of special note who have written novels are: Blanche Lucile Macdonell, Agnes Maule Machar ('Fidelis'), Jean N. McIlwraith, Emily P. Weaver and Mrs S. F. Harrison.

VII

POETRY

THE chief glory of Canadian literature is its poetry. Scarcely had the guns ceased thundering against the walls of Louisbourg and Quebec before Canadian themes attracted the attention of writers. But the first poets who dealt with Canadian subjects were Canadian in no true sense of the word, and it was not until the beginning of the nineteenth century that Canadian-born writers began to express themselves in verse. In 1759 a poem entitled *The Reduction of Louisbourg* was published, and in 1766 another appeared under the name of *The Conquest of Canada ; or, the Siege of Quebec : a Tragedy*. These heroic themes stirred the imagination of sojourners in Canada.

There is much in British North America to inspire poets. No country in the world offers material for more varied themes. Broad rivers, leaping rapids, vast forests, fertile plains, eternal hills—every variety of scene is to be found in the Dominion of Canada and all have had their singers. The struggles of the pioneers against the savage wilderness, the dangers experienced by the hardy fisher-folk by the sea, the battling of the first inhabitants against the Indians, the fight for national existence during the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812, offer many themes. Poets, for the most part inadequately equipped, have essayed in humble, faltering verse to deal with every phase of Canadian nature and Canadian life.

It is not easy to say who was the first strictly Canadian poet worthy of mention. The honour would seem to belong to Oliver Goldsmith—a significant name. Goldsmith was a Nova Scotian, a distant connection of the immortal Oliver, and was born in Annapolis County in 1787. He held several important government positions in his native province, and died in Liverpool, England, in 1861. His poem, *The Rising Village*, published in 1825, is in many ways a remarkable one. It deals very fully with pioneer life in Canada. The

struggle with rude nature is admirably described. From the breaking of the soil until the peaceful village, prosperous and happy, stands fair to the eye, each step is told in verse, showing perhaps no high degree of art, but vigorous and correct. The poem is an imitation of Goldsmith's *Deserted Village*, and is eighteenth-century in manner and feeling. The following passage will serve to show its character :

Here the broad march extends its open plain,
 Until its limits touch the distant main ;
 There verdant meads along the uplands spring,
 And grateful odours to the breezes fling ;
 Here crops of grain in rich luxuriance rise,
 And wave their golden riches to the skies.

The farmer's cottage, bosomed 'mong the trees,
 Whose spreading branches shelter from the breeze :
 The winding stream that turns the busy mill
 Whose clanking echoes o'er the distant hill ;
 The neat white church beside whose walls are spread
 The grass-clad hillocks of the sacred dead,
 Where rude-cut stones or painted tablets tell,
 In laboured verse, how youth and beauty fell.

In these simple yet finely descriptive lines English-Canadian poetry may be said to have had an appropriate beginning. In humble verse Oliver Goldsmith recorded the hopes and fears, the struggles and victories, of the pioneer settlers in Canada.

John Fleming of Montreal was even earlier in verse-making than Oliver Goldsmith, but he was not Canadian-born, and his verse (it can hardly be called poetry) was in no sense of the word Canadian. The only poem by which he is remembered is 'An Ode on the Birthday of King George III.' This poem is stiff, wooden, stilted. It has little poetical feeling and abounds in hackneyed poetical phrases.

Robert Sweeny, a native of Ireland, published in 1826 *Odds and Ends*, a volume containing many dainty lyrics. Adam Kidd, born in Ireland in 1802, published in 1830,

one year before his death in Quebec, a volume *The Huron Chief and Other Poems*. The theme makes this volume distinctively Canadian. Kidd sang the sorrows of the unfortunate Hurons, and his lines prove him to have been an enthusiastic admirer of the sublime and beautiful in Canadian scenery. In his minor poems he shows the influence of Tom Moore and echoes his music.

Charles Dawson Shanly (1811-75) and James M^cCarroll (1815-96) both did excellent work in verse. Shanly was born and educated in Dublin, Ireland, and remained for only a brief period in Canada. M^cCarroll was likewise an Irishman, born in the county of Longford. He came as a boy of sixteen to Canada, and during a busy official and journalistic career, 'amid the thunder of the presses and the myriad-voiced confusion of public office life, he has found a quiet place within himself full of flowers and sunlight, the notes of birds and the murmur of streams.'¹ M^cCarroll's 'The Humming Bird,' 'The Grey Linnet' and 'The Vesper Hymn' are worthy of a place in any collection of Canadian verse.

It was not, however, until 1856 that a poet of more than ordinary skill in art, and one who was to hold a prominent place in Canadian literature, appeared. In this year Charles Sangster (1822-93) published by subscription *The St Lawrence and the Saguenay and Other Poems*. Sangster was born in Kingston, Upper Canada. He held a position in the ordnance office in his native town and for a period was engaged in newspaper work in Amherstburg and Kingston—two places which from their historical associations could not but stir the national pride and the imagination of a man of talent.

Sangster's early volumes showed an intense love of Canada and Canadian institutions, a pleasing poetical taste and fine singing qualities, but a lack of imagination and vigour. In 1860, in *Hesperus and Other Poems and Lyrics*, he struck a loftier note. He showed a deeper insight into nature and her moods, and in his patriotic poems, 'Brock,' 'Wolfe' and 'A Song for Canada,' did much to foster the

¹ From Charles L. Hildreth's Introduction to M^cCarroll's *Maddie and Other Poems*, 1889.

national sentiment that seven years later culminated in Confederation.

Although even his most enthusiastic admirers could hardly call his work great, Sangster will ever be valued by Canadians. His poetry is simple, humble, unpretentious, patriotic; but so thin is the vein he worked that during the last twenty years of his life he wrote but very little poetry. It could hardly have been otherwise. He had a small stock of ideas on which to draw; his early education had been very limited, and he was without the energy that gave such men as Burns and Whittier the power of educating themselves. They had, too, what he had not—the contact with literary minds more widely cultivated than their own. However, one of his poems at least has had a wider acceptance than any other by a Canadian poet. His stirring lyric on 'The Rapid' is a vivid, rousing bit of work. In language and rhythm it is splendidly imitative of the rush and sweep of the tumbling, leaping stretch of water so characteristic of Canadian streams.

In 1857 a poem that was to attract the attention of scholars in Canada, in England, and in the United States was published in Montreal. *Saul* was as much apart from other Canadian literary efforts as was Saul in Israel from the men of his time. It had a vigour, an intensity, a dramatic excellence that no other Canadian poem before its time, or indeed until the closing years of the nineteenth century, approaches. *Saul* was from the pen of Charles Heavysege, who, at the time of its publication, was a cabinet-maker working at his trade in Montreal. Heavysege was born in Huddersfield, England, in 1816 and did not come to Canada until 1853. While in England he had already tried his hand at literature and had published one book, *The Revolt of Tartarus*. Four years after his arrival in Canada *Saul* appeared. It was a drama—the purest and most difficult form of literary composition—a massive piece of work, divided into three parts of five acts each, and contained in all about ten thousand lines. The poetry throughout was in the grand manner. Heavysege was not educated in the ordinary sense of the word, but had saturated his mind



with the Bible and Shakespeare's dramas, and his ideas, borrowed largely from these sources and his own broodings over the problems of life and death, were presented with a dignity, austerity, epic grandeur and dramatic intensity such as are to be found in few poetic compositions first published in Canada, or, for that matter, on the American continent.

The characters in the drama, such as Saul, Malzah (Saul's evil spirit), David and Samuel, are magnificently sustained. Heavysege had thoroughly grasped the Hebrew spirit, and his language, if somewhat prolix, has a prophetic-like majesty, a seer-like intonation which helped to give *Saul* a place among the few really powerful dramas in English literature since the age of the great Elizabeth. It was never intended for the stage, but it has at times—though rarely, it is true—a force that recalls some of Shakespeare's most dramatic passages. Saul's vision, during his visit to the Witch of Endor, on the eve of his death is not unworthy of a place beside Richard III's on the eve of Bosworth Field. His sword had slain many; his victims rise before him and he vainly strives to shut out the spectacle with the words:

Who comes before me yonder, clothed in blood?
 Away, old man, so sad and terrible;—
 Away, Ahimelech, I slew thee not!—
 Nor these—nor these thy sons, a ghastly train.
 Nay, fix not here your dull, accusing eyes,
 Your stiff tongues move not, your white lips are dumb;
 You give no word unto the ambient air;
 You see no figure of surrounding things;
 You are as stony, carven effigies. . . .
 Out, vipers, scorpions, and ye writhing dragons!
 Hydras, wag not your heads at me, nor roll
 At me your fiery eyes.

Of *Saul* the *North British Review* said: 'Indubitably one of the most remarkable English poems ever written outside of Great Britain.'

Heavysege is commonly classed as a Canadian author, but erroneously so. The circumstance of his residence in Canada and the fact that his work was printed there are

in no way essential; he might have resided anywhere and have written the same book. He was thirty-seven years old when he arrived in Canada. *Saul*, as we have seen, was published four years later. The length of the poem and its general characteristics and finish would indicate that years were spent in its preparation. It is probable that it took shape in Heavysege's mind early in life and that the poem was composed before he left England; but, even granting that it may have been written in Canada, Heavysege was an English rather than a Canadian writer.

Besides *Saul* Heavysege published a volume of sonnets in 1855, *Jephthah's Daughter* and in 1860 *Count Filippo; or, The Unequal Marriage*. During the later period of his life he was engaged in journalism. He died in Montreal in 1879, lamented by all who knew him.

Alexander McLachlan (1818-96) was a poet of a very different stamp. He was a native of Scotland and came to Canada in 1840 at the age of twenty-two. He was a tailor, and while working at his trade composed poems that gained him an appreciative audience. His first volume of verse appeared in 1845 and was followed by *Lyrics* in 1858, *The Emigrant and Other Poems* (1861), and *Poems and Songs* (1874). In 1900 a complete edition of his poems, carefully edited and with numerous notes and a glossary, was published. McLachlan's love of man and of nature won him many admirers, but, while his verse appeals to the heart, every poem he penned has serious flaws due to a lack of education and of the power of self-criticism. Had he devoted much of the time he gave to composition to studying the masters of English verse, he might have achieved something really fine in poetry, but his work as it stands is commonplace and defective and adds nothing to Canadian literature, even though, from the great heart of the poet and the mind eager to enjoy nature and to cause others to enjoy it with him, he will continue to find readers among those who care much for feeling and little for art.

Thomas D'Arcy McGehee (1825-68) was a poet of considerable power, despite the fact that he was a busy publicist and

a hard-working politician. He spent only eleven years of his life in Canada, and, although he was one of the Fathers of Confederation and a minister of the crown, and published a volume of poems entitled *Canadian Ballads and Occasional Verses*, Canadians have no right to claim him as one of their poets. His volume of verse was published one year after he arrived in Canada. D'Arcy M^cGee, therefore, must be classed as an Irish poet. An Irishman he was by birth and at heart. His work is steeped in Irish feeling and his poetry has in it much of the music of Moore.

The year 1880 marks what has not unfittingly been called by J. D. Logan the Canadian Renaissance. A new era began with the publication of *Orion and Other Poems*. This volume was the work of a mere boy, Charles G. D. Roberts, who was born in New Brunswick in 1860, and at the time of its publication was teaching school in Chatham, in that province.

Orion and Other Poems attracted wide attention on its appearance, for it differed from all previous attempts at poetry in Canada. Here was verse of a high order, carefully done, showing scholarship and with something of the atmosphere of Shelley, Keats and Tennyson. There was nothing provincial about it. It was rich in itself and rich in promise. The themes were largely classical; the young poet had not dared to venture into original fields. It was serious verse throughout, and was free from the crudities that had marred the greater portion of Canadian poetry. Except for a too evident striving after literary conceits, a superabundance of epithets and an ornateness to be expected of a youth under twenty, the poems were, indeed, almost flawless.

Six years later Roberts's second volume, *In Divers Tones*, appeared. In this volume the poet showed a vast step in advance of his earlier work. His style was more subdued. He had largely broken away from classical subjects, and had his eye fixed on nature as he saw it about him. In 1893 his *Songs of the Common Day* was given to the world. This collection of poems showed still further growth: the art was finer and more mature, and inspiration was found

largely 'in common forms' and 'the soul of unregarded things.' The volume *Songs of the Common Day* contains Roberts's most ambitious and sustained effort in verse—'Ave' (published separately in 1892), an elegy written to commemorate the death of Shelley. Not only is this ode great as a Canadian poem, but it is also important as an English elegy and is worthy of study alongside of such a poem as Matthew Arnold's 'Thyrsis.' 'Ave' has a virile force, a sensuous splendour, an artistic excellence that make it compare favourably with the best work done in the United States and with the work of any of the recent singers of Great Britain. Its power can be judged from the following stanza :

Thyself the lark melodious in mid-heaven ;
 Thyself the Protean shape of chainless cloud,
 Pregnant with elemental fire, and driven
 Through deeps of quivering light, and darkness loud
 With tempest, yet beneficent as prayer ;
 Thyself the wild west wind, relentless strewing
 The withered leaves of custom on the air,
 And through the wreck pursuing
 O'er lovelier Arnos, more imperial Romes,
 Thy radiant visions to their viewless homes.

While this poem is in memory of Shelley, and while it characterizes with power and fidelity the work and life of that master genius, it is of peculiar interest as a truly Canadian poem with Canadian atmosphere and colour. Shelley had been an inspiration to Roberts, and with Shelley was associated in the poet's mind the spot in nature that first lifted his heart above the material aspect of things and made song vibrate in his brain. Those vast Westmoreland flats, 'miles and miles, level, and grassy, and dim' ; that red sweep of weedy shore, the blue hills, the sea mists, 'the sting of buffeting salt'—his life is full of them. Shelley strikes 'with wondering awe his inward sight,' and these are the very words he uses to describe the influence of the Tantramar marshes on his being. 'Ave' to be appreciated must be studied as a whole, but there are in it many passages that stand out

with peculiar lyrical prominence. A few will serve to show the poetic gems it contains :

And speechless ecstasy of growing June.

Again I heard the song
Of the glad bobolink, whose lyric throat
Pealed like a tangle of small bells afloat.

The common waters, the familiar woods,
And the great hills' inviolate solitudes.

But all about the tumult of his heart
Stretched the great calm of his celestial art.

The other poems in *Songs of the Common Day* are all worthy of close study. About his nature verse there will be found an aroma of marsh and salt sea air, a delight in Canadian woods and Canadian fields.

In *The Book of the Native*, published in 1897, Roberts made a still further advance. The influence of the years that bring the philosophic mind was manifest, for the author now grappled with deeper problems. In such a poem as 'Origins' he showed the action of the modern scientific spirit upon him. In this study he brings man into vital, physical contact with nature, and poetically awakens the mind to the influence of heredity and the kinship of all created things.

In 1898 *New York Nocturnes* was published ; and in 1901 a volume of collected verse appeared containing all his poems written before 1898 that Roberts wished to preserve. *The Book of the Rose* was given to the public several years later, and showed that though he was devoting himself largely to the writing of fiction and animal stories, he had lost none of his delicate art or his refined fancy. It must be said of Roberts, however, that his work has not an ethical centre, nor is he to be considered as an interpreter of life. But his poetry is something that should give pride to his fellow-countrymen. In *Roberts and the Influence of his Time*, already mentioned, James Cappon unhesitatingly says of Roberts that he 'is certainly the most distinguished of our

Canadian poets, those, at any rate, who use the English language.' In commenting on a number of passages selected to show the genius of the poet, Cappon remarks: 'If these passages were found in Wordsworth, say in the series of sonnets on the Duddon, they would be quoted by every one as fine and subtle renderings of the moods of Nature.' This is high praise from a critic of acknowledged authority, and ought to bring Canadians to study the work of Roberts; but this money-worshipping age, this age of prose and reason, is impatient of poetry.

Archibald Lampman was a spirit of the rarest excellence. Of him William Dean Howells wrote: 'His pure spirit was electrical in every line; he made no picture of the Nature he loved in which he did not supply the spectator with the human interest of his own genial presence, and light up the scene with the lamp of his keen and beautiful intelligence.' And again: 'The stir of leaf, of wind, of foot; the drifting odours of the wood and the field; the colours of the flowers, of skies, of dusty roads and shadowy streams and solitary lakes, all so preciously new, give his reader the thrill of the intense life of the northern solstice.' On account of the beauties that Howells found in Lampman's work many critics have given that poet the first place in Canadian literature.

Archibald Lampman was born in Morpeth, Ontario, in 1861. He was of United Empire Loyalist stock on both his mother's and father's side. His father was a clergyman of the Anglican Church, a scholar, and himself no mean poet. From his earliest days Archibald Lampman was delicate. While a child his parents moved to Gore's Landing, a small village on the shore of Rice Lake. Here in his seventh year young Lampman contracted rheumatic fever, which left him a cripple for four years and physically weak for the rest of his too short life. He received his education at Trinity College School, Port Hope, and at Trinity College, Toronto. In these institutions he laid the sound foundation of the scholarship that marks his poetical achievement. For a brief period after graduation he taught school, and then entered the civil service at Ottawa, where he spent

the remainder of his days faithfully doing the drudgery of office work, but ever keeping his sunrise aim, devotion to poetry. In February 1899, while the winter blasts swept his loved Ottawa valley, Lampman's spirit went to its eternal rest. His death at the age of thirty-eight was a most severe loss to Canadian literature. He was the one poet who had been altogether faithful to his art. He was a dreamer of poetical dreams and would allow nothing to turn him aside from clothing his dreams in exquisite verse forms.

During Lampman's lifetime he published two volumes: *Among the Millet and Other Poems* in 1888 and *Lyrics of Earth* in 1896. At the time of his death another volume, *Alcyone*, was in press. In 1900 his complete poems were brought out. The work of editing this volume was entrusted to his friend and fellow-poet, Duncan Campbell Scott. The excellent memoir by the editor is in itself a fine piece of work, both as biography and as appreciative literary criticism.

Archibald Lampman undoubtedly ranks high as a nature poet. Every season, every month in the year, every phase of nature seen along the Ottawa valley has been interpreted by him. He saw beauty in life's commonest things. Even the harsh croaking of the frogs gave him a subject for most melodious verse. A selection from the poem 'Heat' will serve to show his genius better than could any descriptive notes :

From plains that reel to southward, dim,
 The road runs by me white and bare ;
 Up the steep hill it seems to swim
 Beyond, and melt into the glare
 Upward, half-way, or it may be
 Nearer the summit, slowly steals
 A hay cart, moving dustily
 With idly clacking wheels.

By his cart's side the wagoner
 Is slouching slowly at his ease
 Half-hidden in the windless blur
 Of white dust puffing to his knees.

This wagon on the height above,
 From sky to sky on either hand,
 Is the sole thing that seems to move
 In all the heat-held land.

Beyond me, in the fields, the sun
 Soaks in the grass and hath his will;
 I count the marguerites one by one;
 Even the buttercups are still.
 On the brook yonder not a breath
 Disturbs the spider or the midge.
 The water-bugs draw close beneath
 The cool gloom of the bridge.

With a rapid pencil the poet has here limned a common Canadian country scene with the vigour and truth of a Millet. Lampman continually lived close to the heart of nature, and nature revealed herself to him and gave him the power to reveal her to others with a natural magic. He was, too, a consummate artist. He knew the value of words, and an examination of the passage quoted will show with what aptness, with what imaginative force he was able to use language. There is a pictorial splendour in such a poem as 'Heat,' a power of painting a broad landscape and giving at the same time its minutest details. Nor is it without its humanistic touch. That wagoner 'slouching slowly at his ease' adds human interest to the scene. In the background of it all there is ever the poet himself with his illuminating mind—'his keen and beautiful intelligence.'

Lampman was a master of the sonnet. Through this little instrument he breathed out some of his most beautiful and serious thoughts. Such sonnets as 'Truth,' 'Prayer,' 'Knowledge' and 'Sight' show the intense earnestness of the poet. His first desire was to be true; his prayer was for power to do worthy work and for the knowledge that gives insight. Lampman's work has not the splendid sensuousness of Carman's verse, nor has he handled as many and varied themes as Roberts; he lacks, too, the moral profundity of William Wilfred Campbell in that poet's inspired moments, but as an interpreter of nature in all her gentler phases he stands by himself. A knowledge of

his verse will open the eyes and ears of all who read it to the marvellous beauties of the fields and streams and woods that lie about them.

William Wilfred Campbell is another of the recent Canadian poets who have attracted many readers. He was born in Ontario in 1860, and was educated in Toronto and in Cambridge, Massachusetts. In 1885 he was ordained to the ministry of the Church of England. He gave up the ministry in 1891 and entered the civil service at Ottawa. He first came into literary prominence by his volume *Lake Lyrics and Other Poems*, published in 1889. This was followed by *The Dread Voyage* and *Beyond the Hills of Dream*, volumes showing no great advance in art but a firmer grip on the problems of existence. His tragedies *Mordred* and *Hildebrand* are powerful in thought. Although both dramas are somewhat loosely constructed, they have the distinction of being the ablest dramatic work produced in Canada. In *Mordred* the poet deals with an Arthurian theme, but he was unhappy in his selection of a subject. The unspeakable crime of Arthur does not make pleasant reading. Again, in a field so thoroughly exploited by such a master poet as Tennyson, it was difficult to avoid imitation. The Tennysonian note is prominent throughout the drama, and characters and manners are often little more than echoes. Dramatic force is frequently lacking, and in its place there is the epic note. In 1905 Campbell published his *Collected Poems*, a volume of some three hundred and fifty pages. He is undoubtedly a poet of power. He has a profundity of thought, a seriousness and an ethical purpose which no other Canadian poet possesses to the same degree. To him art is secondary.

One of his poems at least is pre-eminently great in idea and workmanship. 'The Mother' ranks with the very finest poems of modern times. 'A Present Day Creed,' 'The Blind Caravan,' 'Soul,' 'The Glory of the Dying Day' are among his most characteristic lyrics. 'Lazarus' is one of his strongest and most typical poems. The thought in it is the essential thing. Whittier, in 'The Cry of a Lost Soul,' has in his simple manner developed the same idea—

the cry of a lost soul reaching the ears of a spirit in heaven would cause suffering where it is generally supposed no suffering can be. Lazarus, in Campbell's poem, as he listens to an agonized voice rising suppliant, says :

This is no heaven with all its shining hosts ;
This is no heaven until that hell doth die.

In 'Lazarus,' as in most of his other poems, the poet is so much preoccupied with the idea beating in his brain that he is not always careful of his art, and there are lines that need polishing and thoughts that need recasting ; but these are the knots in the oak.

Bliss Carman is a Canadian poet who is held in the highest repute in the United States. By many he is considered the most eminent lyrical poet of the North American continent, and not a few agree with Arthur J. Stringer when he calls him 'the sweetest lyrist of America.'

Carman was born in Fredericton, New Brunswick, in 1861 and is of United Empire Loyalist descent. He received his early education under George R. Parkin at the collegiate institute in his native city. After a brilliant career in the provincial university he spent several years in post-graduate work in Edinburgh and Harvard Universities. In 1890 he began his literary career in New York city as literary editor of the *Independent*. He was afterwards connected with the *Atlantic Monthly* and the *Cosmopolitan*, and in 1894 published the *Chap Book* in Chicago. He later engaged in literary work in Europe, and his experience in Old World cities and scenes has done not a little to colour his verse. In everything his equipment is an ideal one for a poet : he is a good scholar ; he has had wide experience with life in the New World and the Old, and excellent opportunities for studying nature in all her moods. His first volume of verse appeared in 1893, and between that date and 1913 he has given the world nearly thirty volumes in verse and prose. His first book was entitled *Low Tide on Grand Pré*. This was followed by three volumes entitled *Songs from Vagabond*, written in partnership with Richard Hovey. His more important volumes of verse are *Behind the Arras* (1895), *Ballads of*

Lost Haven (1897), and the series of five volumes under the general title *Pipes of Pan*, which contained his best work done between 1897 and 1905. He has also written several prose works which from the point of view of style are admirable.

Carman has a song for every mood, and passes with ease from the grim, ghastly, grotesque force of 'The Red Wolf' to the rich beauties of the songs of the *Pipes of Pan* series or the exquisitely suggestive, longing plaintiveness of 'Exit Anlma.' He has not written, save in his early tentative efforts, on distinctively Canadian themes, but the colour of much of his work is Canadian. Even in *Pipes of Pan*, Greek in tone and colour, when he deals with nature, the voices of the birds and beasts that reach his ear, the colours that flash before his eyes from meadow, forest and hillside, are those with which he was familiar in his New Brunswick home. In 'Beyond the Gamut' his two lines,

Dared the unknown with Blake and Galileo,
Fronted death with Daulac's seventeen,

show how his heart feels towards Canada. Instead of Daulac we might have expected some such name as Leonidas in this combination, but the hero of New France appealed to Bliss Carman with more force than the hero of Thermopylae.

It is not an easy task to characterize Carman's work. He is a sort of twentieth-century blend of Omar Khayyam, Shelley and Robert Browning, with Tennyson's art thrown in to give delicate flavour to the whole. Not that he is as supremely great as any of these, but his thought and manner of expression suggest no lesser creative artists. He has Omar's love of sensuous beauty, Shelley's lyrical power, Browning's force and often his vagueness, and something of Tennyson's skill in concentrating an idea or scene into a uniquely obtrusive word or phrase. At times he combines imaginative power with realistic force. There is also a Norse atmosphere to much of his work. 'The Yule Guest,' 'The Last Watch,' parts of 'Outbound,' and 'The Tidings to Olaf' have something of the feeling inspired by the Norse sagas. 'Marsyas' and 'Beyond the Gamut' are exquisite pieces of lofty music and compare favourably with Browning's masterpiece in

music, 'A Toccata of Galuppi's.' They have much of Browning's manner, while they are at the same time the distinctive product of Carman's own individuality. But the poem 'Pipes of Pan' in *From the Book of the Myths* is in many ways his supreme effort. It is Greek, pagan, and gives an excellent interpretation of nature. The poet has entered thoroughly into the spirit of the early world in which men saw naiads, nymphs, dryads and oreads in every stream, grove, tree and mountain. It has, too, a colour and movement that suggest the Elizabethan renaissance, and is in many ways not unlike Milton's 'L'Allegro' and 'Il Penseroso.' Although the groundwork of the poem is Greek, Pan in this poem is wandering through and piping in Canadian scenes. 'Pipes of Pan' is of its kind a perfect piece of work; no jarring note is heard; thought, rhythm and language make a harmonious whole.

George Frederick Cameron (1854-85) is one of the most spontaneous of Canadian singers. Cameron was born in New Glasgow, Nova Scotia, but when fifteen years old he became a resident of Boston, and the greater part of his literary life was spent in that United States centre of culture. Even before going to Boston he had produced some excellent verse. The lyrical cry is to a marked degree present in every line he wrote. When pleasure or pain smote upon his spirit he burst into song. Love, liberty, the mysteries of life and death—these were his themes. There is nothing of a dramatic character in his work and but little that is descriptive. Characteristic of his best work are the two stanzas entitled 'Standing on Tiptoe,' which appeared in the volume *Lyrics*, published after his death:

Standing on tiptoe ever since my youth,
 Striving to grasp the future just above,
 I hold at length the only future—Truth,
 And Truth is Love.

I feel as one who, being a while confined,
 Sees drop to dust about him all his bars:—
 The clay grows less, and leaving it, the mind
 Dwells with the stars.

Much of his work was written in the cause of liberty. Wherever he saw oppression—in Ireland, Russia, or Cuba—he raged in song against it. There is a lyrical force and fire in his songs written between 1868 and 1872 on Spanish oppression in Cuba that may have done something to keep alive the fire of indignation which burst into flame twenty-five years later, and this humble Canadian singer may have played his part in driving Spain from the American continent. These poems were popular when published and are the best lyrics written on suffering Cuba. Cameron returned to Canada in 1882, and during the last three years of his too brief life did some of his best work—calmer in tone, deeper in thought and finer in workmanship than his early verse, yet with all its lyrical rush and sweep and spontaneity.

Robert Service is one of the most popular of the poets who have written in the Dominion, and though he is not a Canadian, his poems are distinctly a product of Canada and have to be considered in any review of Canadian verse. Service is of Scottish descent and was born in England in 1876. He came to Canada in 1897, and, while in the employment of the Bank of Commerce in the Yukon, was inspired by the grandeur and tragedy of that region to write three volumes of verse: *Songs of a Sourdough*, *Ballads of a Cheechako* and *Rhymes of a Rolling Stone*. His power lies in depicting rugged mountain scenery, the awful sublimity of the Arctic world, the vast beauty of such natural phenomena as the 'silver dance of the mystic Northern Lights,' and the rough, brutal, vicious life of a primitive mining region. There are in his work isolated passages of great power. The masculine force and dramatic intensity of his lines, the strong music of his stanzas, the admiration for the heroic in man attracted the public, and he found wide appreciation. He has nothing of the artistic fineness of the work of Roberts, Carman or Lampman, but he drives home some eternal truths with sledge-hammer blows. Other Canadian poets play pleasing songs on their rustic pipes, but Service has a whole anvil chorus. He has, however, the defects of his qualities to a marked degree. He too often forgets that vulgarity is not strength, that brutality is not force. Some of his subjects

are unspeakable, and many of his best poems are marred by unnecessary coarseness.

William Henry Drummond (1854-1909) was born in Ireland, but at an early age he came to Canada, and the whole of his literary work is Canadian. His distinction lies in his having created, or rather discovered, a striking and, in many respects, an original character in literature. True, the habitant had been presented in prose and verse before his day, but although such writers as William M^cLennan had made careful studies, charming in their simplicity and truth, of this picturesque figure of Canadian life, Drummond made him his own, and gave an exhaustive interpretation of his homely, kindly character. The broken English of the habitant is used as the vehicle for the poet's expression, and Drummond handles it with skill and makes his characters living beings. He had a genuine affection for the French-Canadian peasants, and, while presenting them in verse inimitable for its humour, he never caricatures them. He studied them on their farms and in their homes, and, through his sympathy, he was able to depict their lives with great fidelity.

8. During his lifetime Drummond published four volumes of verse: *The Habitant and Other French-Canadian Poems*, *Johnny Courteau and Other Poems*, *Phil O'-Rum's Canoe and Madeline Verchères* and *The Voyageur and Other Poems*. In 1909, shortly after his death, another volume was issued. The public never tired of Drummond's work. His wit and humour, the kindly smile that played through every line, and his tender pathos when dealing with the sorrows of the habitants gave him a wide audience of enthusiastic admirers. The habitant of Drummond will live in Canadian literature. Johnny Courteau, the members of the Laramie family, and the crew of the wood-scow *Julie Plante* will go down the ages hand in hand with 'Sam Slick.'

Charles Mair as a poet is as old as the Dominion. He was born in Ontario in 1840 and in 1868 published his first volume of verse, *Dreamland and Other Poems*. He is best known as the author of *Tecumseh*, a drama in five acts, first published in 1886. *Tecumseh* abounds in noble sentiments

and shows insight into Indian life and character. The language of the Indians, however, is not natural; sentiments and form of speech are those of a cultivated Englishman rather than of such Indians as Tecumseh and the Prophet. The movement of the verse has not the freedom, the conversational overflow essential to dramatic utterance. Too much of it is in the epic rather than the dramatic manner, but it has many fine passages and striking lines. Mair's poems 'A Ballad for Brave Women,' in which he sings the courage and patriotism of Laura Secord, and 'The Last Bison' are in many ways finer than *Tecumseh*. His description of the bison is most impressive:

His shining horns
Gleamed black amidst his fell of floating hair;
His neck and shoulders, of the lion's build,
Were framed to toss the world.

Frederick George Scott of Quebec has been one of the most persistent of Canadian poets, having published six or seven volumes of verse. His work has no distinctive note. He is a careful artist, and writes almost exclusively in a lyrical vein. Once or twice, as in 'The Frenzy of Prometheus' and 'Justin,' he strikes an epic note, and Miltonic and Tennysonian echoes are heard in his lines. He is at his best in such a poem as 'A Song of Triumph,' where he sings man's conquest of his environment.

In his hands are the sands of the ages, and gold of unperishing youth,
On his brow, even now, is the shining of wisdom and justice and truth;
His dower was the power to prevail, on the lion and dragon he trod,
His birth was of earth, but he mounts to a throne in the bosom of God.

Among other men who have a prominent place in Canadian song are John Reade, author of *The Prophecy of Merlin*, a poem showing imagination, scholarship and culture; Arthur Weir (1864-1902), author of three volumes of verse rich in music and good in their interpretation of the changing moods of nature; John Hunter-Duvar (1830-99), of Prince Edward Island, who wrote several dramas with lyrical interludes, quaint and sweet, and having a mediæval tone and colour; and Duncan Campbell Scott, the author of several

collections of lyrics, Canadian in colour and with a music rich in tone and splendidly interpretative of nature.

In 1884, on the receipt of Isabella Valancy Crawford's *Old Spookses' Pass, Malcolm's Katie, and Other Poems*, Lord Dufferin wrote the author a letter in which were the following words: 'It is time now that Canada should have a literature of its own, and I am glad to think that you have so nobly shown us the way.'

Isabella Valancy Crawford (1850-87) was born in Dublin, Ireland, and came with her father, a physician, to Canada in 1858. Dr Crawford settled with his family first in the village of Paisley on the Saugeen River, and later at Lakefield, near the Kawartha Lakes—picturesque spots, where the father, a man of 'wide reading and culture, waged an unsuccessful war against poverty.' His daughter had a keen, well-stored mind and a penetrating imagination. She saw poetry in life's common things and is, in a sense, the best of the interpreters of the typical life of pioneer days who have yet written prose or verse in Canada. As J. W. Garvin, the editor of her collected poems (1905), remarks, 'a great poet dwelt among us and we scarce knew her.' She died at the early age of thirty-six and she did her work among a people caring little for art, but she left behind her a body of work that is seldom commonplace, and which at times has a sincerity and a virility that are the gifts of only the greatest singers. 'The Helot' is a fine example of her genius. In it music, diction and ideas are in perfect harmony. Not one of its ninety-seven stanzas is weak. Its power is best shown by an example:

Bruteward lash thy Helots, hold
Brain and soul and clay in gyves,
Coin their blood and sweat in gold,
Build thy cities on their lives,—

Comes a day the spark divine
Answers to the gods who gave;
Fierce the hot flames pant and shine
In the bruised breast of the slave.

'Old Spookses' Pass' is a dialect poem possessed of great

dramatic force, rugged humour and good character interpretation. The sublimity of the elements at war in a mountain region and the wild rush of a herd of frightened cattle are depicted with a power and truth all the more astonishing as they are described by a woman unfamiliar with such scenes and are purely the product of an intense creative imagination. Through it all, too, thoughts such as are contained in the following stanza pulsate :

An' yer bound tew listen an' hear ii talk,
 Es yer mustang crunches the dry, bald sod,
 Fur I reckon the hills an' stars an' crick
 Are all uv 'em preachers sent by God.
 An' ibem mountains talk tew a chap this way :
 'Climb, if ye can, ye degenerate cuss !'
 An' the stars smile down on a man, an' say,
 'Cum higher, poor critter, cum up tew us !'

'Malcolm's Katie,' a pastoral idyll, is the only Canadian poem of any length that has taken as its subject the struggle of the pioneer with the primeval forest. It abounds in nature touches, its imagery is rich and in keeping with the characters and their environment, and the dramatic passages are varied and strong. The delicate love-song beginning 'O, Love builds on the azure sea' is as artistic as some of the lyrics with which Tennyson brightens his idylls ; and nothing stronger has been done in Canadian verse than the song in which the pioneer is shown doing 'immortal tasks' :

Bite deep and wide, O Axe, the tree !
 What doth thy bold voice promise me ?

I promise thee all joyous things
 That furnish forth the lives of kings ;

For every silver ringing blow
 Cities and palaces shall grow.

Bite deep and wide, O Axe, the tree !
 Tell wider prophecies to me.

When rust hath gnawed me deep and red
 A nation strong shall lift his head.

His crown the very heavens shall smite,
Æons shall build him in his might.

Bite deep and wide, O Axe, the tree!
Bright seer, help on thy prophecy!

Isabella Valancy Crawford's poetry has vigour and artistic excellence; it evinces a deep insight into nature in all her moods, faithfully interprets life, and is a worthy, if slight, contribution to the poetical literature of the English-speaking peoples.

E. Pauline Johnson (1862-1913) has a unique place in Canadian letters. In her veins was the blood of the Mohawks, the most renowned among the Indians of the Six Nations. She published in all three volumes of verse: *The White Wampum*, *Canadian Born* and *Flint and Feathers*, the last including the poems published in the earlier volumes.

Pauline Johnson was born on the Grand River Indian Reserve, and was the daughter of Chief Johnson of the Mohawks. Though her mother was an Englishwoman, the poetess ever prided herself on her Indian origin. She is at her best when portraying the savage instincts of the Indian heart, and such poems as 'A Cattle Thief' and 'A Cry from an Indian Wife' have much dramatic force. Her volumes abound in verse distinctively Canadian in subject; nor is she limited to one district. All the vast Dominion from Halifax to the Pacific Ocean was her 'stamping ground.' The tide-fretted shores of the Atlantic, the rapids and streams of the east and west, the cattle country, the Rockies, the Arctic regions have all had tributes from her. 'The Song my Paddle Sings' is one of her finest and best-known lyrics, a delightful bit of music with thought and rhythm in perfect harmony.

The beauty of Canadian scenery, the varied seasons, and the aspirations of a pioneer people have produced an astonishingly large number of women writers. Among those who have published volumes of verse are: Sarah Anne Curzon (1833-98), whose drama *Laura Secord*, a somewhat heavy and stilted performance, has given permanent form to one of the most heroic deeds of the War of 1812;

Agnes Ethelwyn Wetherald, who has to her credit no fewer than four books of poetry, all of which are rich in art and thought; Agnes Maule Machar ('Fidelis'), whose peculiar poetic domain is the Thousand Islands, and in whose verse there is a fine rendering of the restful beauty of that summer dreamland; Jean Blewett, strong in her portrayal of domestic life and homely scenes and incidents; S. Frances Harrison ('Seranus'), a maker of verses refined in colour, music and language; Kate Seymour MacLean, whose work is serious in thought and who has more than usual skill in expression; and Marjorie L. C. Pickthall, whose volume, *The Drift of Pinions*, published in 1913, shows subtle and delicate music and pictorial distinctness. At times—too frequently, indeed—Miss Pickthall's meaning is obscured by the fervour of her imagination, but one lyric at least, 'Dream River,' is a perfect bit of work. Its closing lines give an excellent idea of its qualities:

O, every morn the sparrow flings
 His elfin trills athwart the hush,
 And here unseen at eve there sings
 One crystal-throated hermit thrush.

From this rapid review it will be seen that a body of literary work distinctively national and worthy of serious consideration has been produced by Canadians. When the recent settlement of British North America is considered, when account is taken of the backward condition of education for many years and the exceedingly limited reading public that native authors have had to appeal to, the literary achievement must appear remarkable. Moreover, Canadian authors have been handicapped in having to compete in their own market with—it must be admitted—better creations than theirs by British and American authors. Again, as has been shown, many Canadian writers secure an appreciative audience in the United States and ultimately take up their residence in the republic; others are attracted to the mother country. In either case these self-expatriated Canadians shape their style and feelings into harmony with their new conditions. They in time lose their Canadian

colour and atmosphere and become a literary part of the country in which they have made their home. Parker, Carman and Duncan have lost to a large extent their Canadian identity.

The Canadian literary domain, too, has been invaded by foreign writers, and much of it has been worked by mere visitors to the Dominion. Parkman has written the early history of Canada with a fulness and in a manner that make it difficult, though not impossible, for any writer to do original historical work in the same field. Much of the storehouse of romance has been exploited by American and British writers of fiction. Mary Hartwell Catherwood, Conan Doyle, Jack London, Silas Weir Mitchell, Kirk Monroe, Mary N. Murfree ('Charles Egbert Craddock'), Charles Dudley Warner, Stewart Edward White, Mrs Humphry Ward and Henry Van Dyke have dealt with Canadian material better than have most Canadian-born novelists. But there are still rich literary fields to be cultivated; and with the increase of wealth and the consequent increase of leisure, with better educational establishments, Canadian authors will have a home market for their productions, and will doubtless be able to do as good work as is done in other parts of the English-speaking world.

J. G. Marquis

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CANADA AND ITS PROVINCES

A HISTORY OF THE CANADIAN
PEOPLE AND THEIR INSTITUTIONS
BY ONE HUNDRED ASSOCIATES

ADAM SHORTT
ARTHUR G. DOUGHTY
GENERAL EDITORS
IN TWENTY-TWO VOLUMES
AND INDEX



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THIS volume is designed in particular for the historical student and for general reference. In the first part the Authors and Editors will traverse the various historical contributions throughout the work, citing the documents and authorities on which the narratives are based and making critical and explanatory comment thereon. In deference to the majority of readers—who are averse to a text loaded with footnotes—very few citations have been given in the body of the work; but the student will find these Notes in the final volume serviceable and sufficiently exhaustive.

The second part of the volume will consist of the General Index. The entire work is to be taken as a unit for purposes of reference. Indexes to the individual volumes have, therefore, been dispensed with, and the General Index will cover the whole ground in one comprehensive and workable alphabetical system.

A special feature of the Index will be the grouping of references in historical order, and cross-indexing under comprehensive headings, such as—

ACADIANS	FAMILY COMPACT	MANUFACTURES
AGRICULTURE	FUR TRADE	MILITIA
BANKS AND BANKING	FEUDALISM	MINES AND MINING
BATTLES	FINANCE	RAILWAYS
CANALS	FISHERIES	SHIPBUILDING
CLERGY RESERVES	FORESTS	SHIPPING
CURRENCY	IMMIGRATION	TARIFFS
EDUCATION	LABOUR	TREATIES

Under the ordinary indexical entries of biographical and geographical names, it is proposed to give then and there a great deal of elementary and descriptive information; so that if the enquirer wishes merely a date, or the rank or position of a person or place, the Index itself will answer the question without further reference to the body of the work.

