

**“The Love Token of a Token Immigrant”:  
Judith Merrill’s Expatriate Narrative, 1968-1972**

by

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## Abstract

Judith Merrill was an internationally acclaimed science fiction (sf) writer and editor who expatriated from the United States to Canada in November 1968 with the core of what would become the Merrill Collection of Science Fiction, Speculation and Fantasy in Toronto. Merrill chronicled her transition from a nominal American or “token immigrant” to an authentic Canadian immigrant in personal documents and a memoir, *Better to Have Loved: the Life of Judith Merrill* (2002). I argue that Sidonie Smith’s travel writing theory, in particular, her notion of the “expatriate narrative” elucidates Merrill’s transition from a ‘token’ immigrant to a representative token of the American immigrant community residing in Toronto during the 1960s and 1970s. I further argue that Judith Merrill’s expatriate narrative links this personal transition to the simultaneous development of her science fiction library from its formation at Rochdale College to its donation by Merrill in 1970 as a special branch of the Toronto Public Library (TPL). For twenty-seven years after Merrill’s expatriation from the United States, the Spaced Out Library cum Merrill Collection - her love-token to the city and the universe - moored Merrill politically and intellectually in Toronto.

## **Acknowledgements**

I would like to thank my supervisor Dianne Newell for introducing me to the Merrill Collection and sharing her extensive collection of primary sources on science fiction and copies of Merrill's correspondence with me, as well as for making my visit to the Merrill Collection at the Library and Archives of Canada, Ottawa possible. Her assistance has been invaluable. I would also like to thank my family, most especially my husband for becoming an involuntary expert on Judith Merrill.

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*"I came to Rochdale, and for that matter to Canada, for the same reason I have invested the largest part of my adult life in speculative fiction: I wanted to change the world."*<sup>1</sup>

## Introduction

Judith Merrill (1923-1997), the 1950s science fiction (sf) writer and then internationally acclaimed science fiction anthologist and critic, left her position of power as the doyenne of American science fiction and became an intellectual and political refugee in Toronto during the fall of 1968. Merrill arrived in Toronto as a 'token,' or self-ascribed nominal émigré, "with fresh immigrant status, eight thousand books and magazines" and "fifteen file drawers of jumbled junk and value."<sup>2</sup> She predicated her decision to leave the United States for Canada on immediate circumstances, including the Vietnam War and the violent suppression of dissent at home; however, a lifetime of political activism informed her choice. Merrill was at the time forty-five years old, thrice married, and the mother of two grown daughters; she was the daughter of Zionists, a former teenage Trotskyist, and an aspiring "world citizen."<sup>3</sup> Her early exposure to science fiction was through the Futurians of New York, a group of young Americans who were science fiction fans and aspiring writers and publishers during the late 1930s and World War II. Politics influenced these authors' work, and Merrill's first science fiction short story, "That Only a Mother" (1948), and first novel, *Shadow on the Hearth* (1950), dealt with the contemporary terror of possible nuclear fallout.<sup>4</sup> In 1950 she also produced her first anthology, *Shot in the*

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<sup>1</sup> Judith Merrill and Emily Pohl-Weary, *Better to Have Loved: The Life of Judith Merrill* (Toronto: Between The Lines, 2002), 172.

<sup>2</sup> Merrill and Pohl-Weary, 191.

<sup>3</sup> In her memoir, Merrill discusses her short working relationship with Gary Davis, a WWII veteran and the founder of the International Registry of World Citizens in Paris. She met him in the 1950s and briefly considered co-writing a book about his experiences and the idea of world citizenship. Merrill remained interested in the concept and linked her move to Canada to a desire for world citizenship in other sections of her memoir. Please see the essay "Living and Working in the Toronto Cultural Scene" in Merrill's memoir, *Better to Have Loved*.

<sup>4</sup> Judith Merrill, *Shadow on the Hearth* (Doubleday & Family Book Club, 1950).

*Dark*. From 1950 forward Merrill, a “politically conscious” “revolutionary,”<sup>5</sup> continued to write, anthologize, and advocate speculative science fiction that addressed relevant sociopolitical concerns.

These life experiences, including her exodus from the United States in November 1968, are chronicled in Merrill’s award-winning memoir, *Better to Have Loved: The Life of Judith Merrill* (2002). The memoir was collaboratively constructed by Merrill and her granddaughter, Emily Pohl-Weary. Although Merrill only completed portions of the memoir before her death in 1997, she left Pohl-Weary with “thorough instructions” for organizing and completing the manuscript.<sup>6</sup> In their study of her non-linear, pioneering memoir, Dianne Newell and Jenea Tallentire identify Merrill’s intent to, as Merrill put it, “tell it like it was” regarding her life and her experiences.<sup>7</sup> Significantly, in the memoir Pohl-Weary identifies an unpublished piece by Merrill entitled “Toronto Tulips, Traffic and Grass: The Love Token of a Token Immigrant,” which Pohl-Weary suggests Merrill intended for a book proposal featuring herself as the “token immigrant.”<sup>8</sup> Merrill discussed another, similar book project (in a letter to friend Ivor Rogers) just weeks after the 1968 Chicago Democratic National Convention. She proposed an eye-witness account of the convention. The book would be, “for the record, like: because the brainwash operation...is already beginning to make people doubt what they actually saw....”<sup>9</sup> The book

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5 Virginia Kidd, introduction to *The Best of Judith Merrill*, (New York: Warner, 1975), 8.

6 Merrill and Pohl-Weary, 5.

7 Dianne Newell and Jenea Tallentire, “Co-Writing a Life in Science Fiction: Judith Merrill as a Theorist of Autobiography,” in A. Weiss, ed., *Further Perspectives on the Canadian Fantastic: Proceedings of the 2003 Conference on Canadian Science Fiction and Fantasy*. Toronto: ACCSFF, 2005. Typescript supplied by the authors.

8 Ibid., 181.

Merril described to Rogers did not materialize, but the three essays in her memoir "A Power in the Ghetto: Swinging London, Sour America, and 'Free Canada'"; "Rochdale College: A What if Time"; and "Toronto Tulips" partially capture Merrill's transition from American exile to American-Canadian as she experienced it.<sup>10</sup>

Merril was not a purposeful travel-writer (per se); it is possible, however, to read her memoir, correspondence, and interviews she gave as a type of experimentation with the genre. Merrill used what were conventions of travel writing to create a narrative recording of her expatriation from the United States. Portions of *Better to Have Loved* and Merrill's unpublished correspondence and drawings, published work, and interviews constitute her expatriate narrative. Sidonie Smith's gendered theory of automobility and her insightful identification of the "expatriate" travel narrative in *Moving Lives: 20th Century Women's Travel Writing* suggests a way to understand this narrative.<sup>11</sup> Examining women's narratives, Smith distinguishes between the expatriate narrative and traditional travel narratives, noting that the expatriate narrative

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9 Judith Merrill to Ivor Rogers, 12 September 1968, Judith Merrill Fonds, MG30-D326 v. 14, file 16, Library and Archives of Canada [hereafter, "Merril Papers"].

<sup>10</sup> Merrill began to work on her memoir in the 1990s and recorded stories and instructions for the memoir on tapes. Pohl-Weary explains in her introduction to the memoir that Merrill only completed a handful of essays before she died. This included portions of the sections on the Democratic National Convention and Merrill's experiences at Rochdale College. (Merril and Pohl-Weary 2002:5)

<sup>11</sup> Many theorists of travel writing offer gendered analyses of the genre. Karen Lawrence in *Penelope Voyages: Women and Travel in the British Literary Tradition* (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1994); Sidonie Smith in *Moving Lives: 20th Century Women's Travel Writing* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001); and Ronald Primeau in *Romance of the Road: The Literature of the American Highway* (Bowling Green, Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1996) explicate the gendered variances within travel writing. Smith argues that women historically used travel and travel writing to increase their personal agency, but that women's narratives remained constrained by patriarchy. For Smith, it is the technologies of motion - be it plane, train or automobile - that play an integral role in women's use of travel in redefining their identity. (Smith 2001:25) Both Lawrence and Primeau argue that women interpreted the places they encountered differently than men. Karen Lawrence concludes that women travelers produce distinct narratives, largely because, "[the] gender of the viewer affects the ideology of seeing as well as the tropes projected onto the foreign landscape." (Lawrence 1994: 17) Primeau concurs asserting that "American road narratives by women slow the pace, rechart the itineraries, and reassess the goals within the conventions of the typical road quest." (Primeau 1996:115)

chronicles an “alternative mobility.”<sup>12</sup> As Smith argues through her reading of Irma Kurtz’s *The Great American Bus Ride*, “[t]he expatriate takes home to her reader an America through which she deconstructs certain myths....”<sup>13</sup> Politically, Merrill’s expatriate narrative deconstructs American myths regarding personal and intellectual freedoms and American prestige, or “the Pride and the Power,” as Merrill refers to it.<sup>14</sup> Merrill was an alternative exile - both twenty-five years older than the average female resister and independent of a draft-aged man.<sup>15</sup> Her narration depicts an ‘alternative mobility’ that leads her to flee from the U.S. to Canada, not once, but twice. Applying Smith’s theory of automobility, which refers to a sense of mobility specifically linked to the freedom of travel, as well as her theories on travel and the formation and re-formation of individual subjectivities, elucidates Merrill’s expatriate narrative. Consequently, I argue that Merrill’s multifaceted narration of her move to Canada can be likened to a travel narrative, specifically, to an “expatriate narrative.”

Merril was a self-proclaimed “scout,” as discussed by Elizabeth Cummins, and a translator, a quality that Dianne Newell and Jenea Tallentire argue emerged in the late 1960s.<sup>16</sup> Her search for germane science fiction resulted in her traveling, first to London, England, twice in the mid-1960s, then to Toronto, Canada, with a significant side trip to Japan in the early 1970s. According to Newell and Tallentire, Merrill not only translated Japanese science fiction,

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<sup>12</sup> Smith, 199.

<sup>13</sup> Smith, 200. In *The Great American Bus Ride*, Irma Kurtz is an expatriate, residing in London, who decides to tour the United States in an effort to discover her “unknown homeland.” In 1967 Judith Merrill returned to the US from London in search of a homeland that was becoming increasingly foreign to her.

<sup>14</sup> Judith Merrill, “A Diversity of Exiles: Canada’s New Americans,” *Saturday Night*, August (1971): 33-34.

<sup>15</sup> John Hagan, *Northern Passage: American Vietnam War Resisters in Canada* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2001), 29. Hagan classifies the women who came to Canada, and observes that the vast majority of these women were attached to a draft-age man in some manner. He identifies Judith Merrill as one of the few women independently “resisting the [US] in a very long-term way.”

<sup>16</sup> Elizabeth Cummins, “Scouting SF.” *Extrapolation* 35 (1994): 5-13.



but also discovered that she was a translator “between ‘counter-culture’ and ‘establishment,’” and “between Canadians and American political refugees in Canada.”<sup>17</sup> By the early 1960s Merrill was a world-renowned anthologist and critic, and her “Year’s Best” anthologies and her “Books” column in *The Magazine of Fantasy and Science Fiction* [F&SF] (1963 to 1969) provided her with forums for chartering sea-changes in the genre. Her ensuing expatriate narrative fused her lived experiences as a political and intellectual refugee in Toronto and her life-long avocation of science fiction. I argue that Merrill’s expatriate narrative chronicled her transfiguration from a nominal or ‘token’ immigrant to a representative token of the American immigrant community residing in Toronto. Simultaneously, the narrative chronicles the evolution of the Spaced Out Library (SOL) from its transnational border-crossing to its formation as a library collection while resident in Rochdale College, and finally, to its donation by Merrill in 1970 to the Toronto Public Library (TPL). Judith Merrill’s extensive collection of books, magazines, and her personal papers were both a unique record of science fiction’s development and a history of the genre’s speculative power that would ultimately anchor Merrill in Toronto.

Despite her connection to the Spaced Out Library, Merrill only temporarily discovered home in Toronto. The denouement of her expatriate narrative was the transference of her personal collection of science fiction, first to Rochdale, then to the custodianship of the Toronto Public Library.<sup>18</sup> Here, Merrill permanently unpacked the intellectual and cultural baggage that affected

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<sup>17</sup> Dianne Newell and Jenea Tallentire, “Translating Science Fiction: Judith Merrill in Japan,” <http://www.sf-foundation.org/publications/academictrack/newell.php>, (accessed 10 April 2006).

<sup>18</sup> Merrill’s personal papers were temporarily stored at the SOL and ultimately donated to the Library and Archives of Canada in Ottawa during the 1980s.

her expatriation and guided her travels.<sup>19</sup> Merrill's expatriate narrative details her extraordinary political actions - her search for modern American revolutions, her move to Toronto, at first to live in a free university called Rochdale College, and the establishment of the Spaced Out Library cum Merrill Collection. The Spaced Out Library's Torontonians annexation parallels Merrill's transition from a 'token' immigrant residing in an "'in-between place'"<sup>20</sup> to a representative token of an authentic immigrant community living and working in Toronto during the late 1960s and the 1970s. Judith Merrill's expatriate narrative displays this simultaneous transition while juxtaposing the radical environment and social possibilities that Toronto fostered during the period and the restrictive political and intellectual environs that Merrill left behind in the United States.

**"The Token Immigrant" on the "egg inside an amoeba": the evolution of Merrill's expatriate narrative**

Merrill's expatriate narrative reveals the experiences of a 'token Immigrant' settling in Toronto, the city she characterized as not only her "amoeba," but also "the most active centre of intellectual, artistic, political, educational, and communications ferment in North America...."<sup>21</sup> Her expatriate narrative recounts her travels and transitions and offers detailed descriptions of the places she encountered. This focus on the environment is very much related to the type of science fiction Merrill advocated. For Merrill, science fiction worlds seem to have been central to the genre's destabilizing power. She observes in the introduction to her memoir, "I was once a writer of science fiction; that means my practice has always been to make the environment as

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<sup>19</sup> Sandra Martin, "The Essential Judith Merrill," *Fanfare*, July 6, 1977. In this especially perceptive piece, Martin likens Merrill's donation to the Toronto Public Library to unpacking cultural baggage.

<sup>20</sup> Merrill and Pohl-Weary, 199.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 182.

important as the characters in a story.”<sup>22</sup> As Merrill assumed the role of the traveler for her critical science fiction work, she moved from assessing the literary environs of science fiction to the actual places her anthology work and consequent travel took her.

Merril championed science fiction’s radical power in all her writings, and she was explicit regarding her views on the social and political utility of the genre. Dianne Newell links Judith Merrill and Rachel Carson’s “potent fictions of science,” and forcefully argues that both women reshaped the literary use of science. She asserts that by the early 1960s Merrill’s fiction and non-fiction propelled her to the position of “foremost female editor-critic...and perhaps most political person in North American science fiction circles.”<sup>23</sup> In a 1965 *F&SF* Books column, Merrill referred to the works under consideration as “action stories, adventures, thrillers” but advised the reader that “all of them are vehicles for thematic statements and/or ethical explorations of utmost seriousness.”<sup>24</sup> Leading up to the Democratic National Convention in Chicago in 1968, she used that column to affirm that “the science fiction idiom was adopted...as a standard vehicle for political comment.”<sup>25</sup> Merrill’s correspondence files reveal similar sentiments and highlight her belief in the power of science fiction to facilitate communication and diffuse cultural misunderstandings.

Travel is a key element of science fiction, and, like science fiction, travel writing provides authors with the opportunity to view their present circumstances from an alternative perspective. Ronald Primeau in *Romance of the Road: The Literature of the American Highway*

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 11.

<sup>23</sup> Dianne Newell, “Judith Merrill and Rachel Carson: Reflections on their Potent Fictions of Science,” *Journal of International Women’s Studies* 5:4 (2004): 32.

<sup>24</sup> Merrill, “Books,” *The Magazine of Fantasy and Science Fiction*. May 1965, 16.

<sup>25</sup> Merrill, “Books,” June 1968, 48.

elaborates on the subversive nature of travel writing conventions and observes that altering standard patterns “open[s] up the form to the individual, the divergent, and even the radical,”<sup>26</sup> noting that travel writing “reshaped itself in the basic quest motif into experimental, spatiotemporal structures very like science fiction.”<sup>27</sup> Both science fiction and travel writing are potentially subversive. The prominent science fiction theorist, Darko Suvin, argues that science fiction is classifiable as “paraliterature” or fiction that could “be used by the audience to deal with the world it confronted everyday,” literature that presented them with “an alternative to the commonplaces of routine existence.”<sup>28</sup> Merrill never used the term “paraliterature” to define the socio-politically relevant science fiction that she engaged with, but she advocated a relevant form of science fiction, one that, like paraliterature, would enable the reader to reflect on their present circumstances and envision alternative futures.

Still, by the late 1960s Merrill was increasingly frustrated with American science fiction’s seeming inability to address contemporary concerns like social revolutions and U.S. militarism. Merrill’s expatriate narrative reveals her struggle to come to terms with not only her status as an American but also her status within American science fiction. In her January 1969 *F&SF* Books column on the democratic convention in Chicago, she derided contemporary science fiction as a literature of the escape. In a revealing letter around the same time to British science fiction author Brian Aldiss, Merrill lamented, “I guess I’m getting farther and farther removed from attachment to the whole science fiction scene. I find more and more that the essence of science

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<sup>26</sup> Primeau, 4.

<sup>27</sup> Primeau, 89.

<sup>28</sup> Darko Suvin, *Positions and Presuppositions in Science Fiction* (London: MacMillan Press, 1998), 90.

fiction, the stuff that hooked me way back, is coming at me from different places..."<sup>29</sup> Earlier that year she had written a conciliatory letter to Arthur Clarke that foreshadowed her discontent with American politics and American science fiction. After audiences responded to Stanley Kubrick's film *2001: A Space Odyssey*, based on Clarke's story, she quipped unenthusiastically, "you realize the Science Fiction Brotherhood...has cast you into the pariahdom of the FarOuts....Welcome to the club."<sup>30</sup> She already felt like an outsider in the American science fiction scene upon her return from England in 1967.

Merril identified a "peculiar imperviousness" to new ideas and current social issues in the science fiction she was reading.<sup>31</sup> As Newell and Tallentire observe, "[s]he had lost faith in contemporary American science fiction to grapple with the contemporary social and political issues of the moment."<sup>32</sup> In her critical work and in later interviews Merrill railed against the degeneration of science fiction into sheer escapism. Not only was she opposed to the development of an "Escapist Literature," she was also quick to laud authors who engaged with "the revolutionary...concepts of 1968."<sup>33</sup> In her 1966 'Books' column, Merrill employed the

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<sup>29</sup> Merrill to Brian Aldiss, [n.d. circa August, 1968], Merrill Papers, v. 1 f. 15.

<sup>30</sup> Merrill to Arthur Clarke, 3 April 1968, Merrill Papers, v.4, file 13.

<sup>31</sup> Merrill, "Books." January 1969, 41.

<sup>32</sup> Newell, Dianne and Jenea Tallentire, "Learning the Prophet Business: The Merrill-Russ Intersection," in Farah Mendelsohn, ed., *Critical Companion to Joanna Russ* (Middletown CT: Wesleyan University Press, forthcoming 2006). Typescript supplied by the authors.

<sup>33</sup> Merrill, "Books." January 1969, 41.

metaphor of the literary explorer to describe these authors. They were “fringe people” who were “making use of [science fiction’s] unique properties when and as needed.”<sup>34</sup>

Merril’s anthology work and her search for literary explorers in general took her beyond American science fiction, and in her efforts to produce avant-garde anthologies she corresponded with writers and editors in Canada, England, Russia, Mexico, Japan, and elsewhere. Her correspondence chronicled an imperative need to travel outside of the United States. In a draft letter to Dell, publishers of her best of the year anthologies, Merrill decried American science fiction magazines of the day as “moribund,” and she concluded, “I must now regard the American s-f field as only a small corner of the area I have to cover intensively.”<sup>35</sup> While negotiating with publishers to expand her scouting endeavors, she discussed various “talent scouting” opportunities with her close science-fiction writer friend Katherine MacLean in a letter in March 1966. She wrote, “I’ve been thinking about...taking myself off to London and points elsewhere....” She intimated her plans to take care of matters in the U.S., then “haul ass for E[n]gland,” which she did later that year.<sup>36</sup>

The British sojourn - during which Merrill attended London WorldCon (an international science fiction conference) and remained behind for a few weeks to mix with the experimental writers of science fiction associated with the London-based magazine, *New Worlds* - whetted Merrill’s appetite for international science fiction and travel. Shortly after returning to the states from this, her first trip to London, in early 1966, Merrill set to work on an introduction to the

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<sup>34</sup> Merrill, “Books.” August 1966, 58.

<sup>35</sup> Merrill to Dell Publishers, [n.d.].

<sup>36</sup> Merrill to Kate MacLean, 15 March 1966.

translated anthology of Soviet science fiction stories: *Path Into the Unknown: The Best of Soviet Science Fiction* (1968). She confided to her contact on the project, the Russian science fiction writer Julius Kagarlitski: "I hope to use it as a step in the direction of persuading my publishers to send me to Moscow on a 'scouting' trip."<sup>37</sup> Although Merrill returned to London for an extended visit that year, she never made it to Moscow. Still, international travel became central to her plans and her work.

Thus, prior to her expatriation in/to Canada in fall of 1968, elements of travel writing had begun to appear in Merrill's critical work. As she traveled, she wrote about the environments and cultures that she encountered. Her "Books" column in January 1966 was penned in London; in it she describes the culture and "feel" of London even before discussing the city's science fiction scene. Likewise, travel themes infiltrated her anthologies. This is most notable in her British anthology, *England Swings SF* (1968), in which she showcased the British New Wave in science fiction. Her introduction to *England Swings* is a reference to her scouting work, wrapped in an analogy of travel. In a synthesis of her thoughts and lyrics from the Beatles' song "Sergeant Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band," Merrill described the anthology as "an action photo, a record of process-in-change...a look through the perspex porthole at the...momentarily stilled bodies in a scout ship boosting...fast, and heading out of sight into the multiplex mystery of inner/outer space." She concluded by reassuring readers, "I think this trip should be a good one."<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Merrill to Julius Kagarlitski, 22 February 1967.

<sup>38</sup> Judith Merrill, "Introduction," in Merrill, ed., *England Swings SF*, collated by Judith Merrill (New York: Doubleday, 1968), 9-11. Published in England as Judith Merrill's *Space-Time Journal*, (London: Granada Publishing Limited, 1972). *England Swings SF* was written for an American audience of science fiction writers, while *Space-Time Journal* was modified for a British sf audience.

Similarly, travel writing emerged in Merrill's decisively political January 1969 review column in *F&SF* on the Chicago Democratic Convention. The article, dateline Chicago, dealt explicitly with formal political events, and Merrill described the social unrest outside the convention in detail. She wrote about traveling to Chicago and her interactions with the Chicago police, the Yippies,<sup>39</sup> and sundry groups assembled for the convention. She portrayed Chicago as a police state and likened it to Prague, where during the same week in 1968 Russia invaded Czechoslovakia and crushed student dissidents mercilessly. After describing the terror of the situation and her personal efforts to assist activists she segued into her critical work as a reviewer: "[and] here I am, with the same stack of books... almost all of them are - remote."<sup>40</sup> Merrill was clearly frustrated with the "remote and pallid" science fiction she was reviewing, and her passionate account of her experience in Chicago eclipsed her review work.<sup>41</sup> The column highlights Merrill's attempt to negotiate her status as an American upon her return from the second, extended visit to England.

In addition to increasingly doubting science fiction's social utility, Merrill felt that recent cultural shifts expanded her purview as a writer. She recalls in the chapter of her memoir "Living and Working in the Toronto Cultural Scene": "During the 1960s there was a change in our cultural environment. After experiencing the atmosphere of domestic surveillance in Cold War America, it was liberating to suddenly discover that I did not have to dress up my ideas in

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<sup>39</sup> Yippies are politicized hippies and members of the Youth International Party, which was founded by Abbie Hoffman and Jerry Rubin in 1968. Please see Mark Kurlansky, *1968: The Year that Rocked the World* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2004) 14. Also, the chapter "Making Yippie!" in Faber's *Chicago '68*.

<sup>40</sup> Merrill, "Books." January 1969, 35.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 34.



costume and put them on stage sets behind the guise of fictional stories.”<sup>42</sup> She no longer felt compelled to couch her social criticisms in science fiction, and her expatriate narrative contains forthright criticisms and evaluations of the places where she went, and she unabashedly shared her sociopolitical concerns.

At this time Merrill developed a distinct form of what I would call political travel writing. She succinctly outlines her methodology in the introduction to her unpublished Japan journal, a loose, 32-page collection of “letter starts and journal attempts” and “revisions and addendums” that she wrote in 1972 during her second trip to Japan and kept with her papers. She ultimately planned to include “newspaper clippings, copies of letters written to [her], souvenir items, brochures, picture postcards, photos...tape transcripts and further notes,” with a view to chronicling her experiences in Japan.<sup>43</sup> Merrill explained, “I promised myself I’d keep a journal - and knowing myself...decided the only possible way was my writing to someone every day.”<sup>44</sup> Correspondence is a central component of Merrill’s travel narratives, and personalized maps delineating the geography of the regions she visited supplement the textual documents. Likewise, correspondence and self-styled maps are integral elements of Merrill’s expatriate narrative.

Merrill’s expatriate narrative moves beyond political commentary and captures the experiences of an American apostate. Unlike most travel narratives, Merrill’s story does not include a homecoming. It records a temporary departure, a reentry, and a final exodus from the

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<sup>42</sup> Merrill and Pohl-Weary, 203.

<sup>43</sup> Judith Merrill, Japan Transcript, 12 March 1972, typescript draft by Judith Merrill, Merrill Papers, v. 30, file: “Japan Journal.” Merrill’s 1972 journal on Japan was written in response to David and Evelyn E[b]esman’s *Conversations in Japan*. She sought to compare their experiences. Merrill also created a report from her first visit to Japan in the fall of 1970. Please see, Judith Merrill’s journal, 1970, Merrill Papers, v.8, file 25.

<sup>44</sup> Merrill’s Japan Transcript, 12 March 1972.

United States. Sidonie Smith argues, “[as the traveler] situates land, landscape, language, and people she also locates herself as a subject in motion through that world. Thus, [the traveler] is always engaged in the process of self-locating, and self-locating becomes an occasion for self-scrutiny....”<sup>45</sup> Seen in this light, Merrill is a “subject in motion”: the reflexive self-scrutiny displayed in her expatriate narrative reveals a complex transfiguration from an ambivalent American, to a token immigrant, to a representative token of the American émigré resistance. The expatriate narrative serves to situate Merrill, and her collection of books and correspondence, in Toronto. Although she had not anticipated living in Canada permanently, the downtown district of Toronto becomes her “egg within an amoeba,” and the University of Toronto student district becomes her “egg-within-an-egg.”<sup>46</sup> Both Merrill and her Spaced Out Library moved within this inner egg and Merrill remained within walking distance of the library. From Rochdale’s location at 341 West Bloor Street, less than two blocks from the University of Toronto football stadium, Merrill moved to Beverly Street; in 1970, the Spaced Out Library moved ten blocks down Bloor to Palmerston Avenue. Here, on Palmerston Avenue the Spaced Out Library developed from its Rochdale gestation to its maturation as a linchpin of the Toronto Public Library system. Merrill’s expatriate narrative documented her political disaffection and delineated Toronto as a refuge from not only American militarism, but also political and intellectual repression. Likewise, it records her efforts to seek “revolutions” in the U.S. and her consequent disenchantment with being an American citizen.

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<sup>45</sup> Smith, 27.

<sup>46</sup> Merrill and Pohl-Weary, 190.

## **“Paralysis”: The Chicago anti-revolution and its aftermath**

Merril spent the end of 1967 and the spring and summer of 1968 negotiating her American citizenship and searching for revolutions. The first American revolution she attended was the 1968 Democratic National Convention, and she drove herself, her daughter Ann, and two of Ann's friends across the Midwestern United States to get there. Merrill's documentation of that trip in her 1969 review column in *F&SF* signaled an awakening and marked the effective end of her association with *The Magazine of Fantasy and Science Fiction* and with American science fiction in general. Arguing that “all road-trips are protests...”<sup>47</sup> Ronald Primeau explains that most decisions to go on the road result from a desire for change, and that the writing of the narrative of travel frequently takes on a form of social and political protest.<sup>48</sup> Merrill habitually reiterated her quest for a revolution and her desire to effect change and to overcome an overwhelming ennui. Merrill may not have been able to foment change in Chicago, but her experiences there forever changed her. Approximately a decade later, she recalled in an interview with Robert Fulford for CBC radio that “[it] was in Chicago that it came to a head for me...I was no longer able to be a detached observer...nor was I ready to join the mob.”<sup>49</sup> This stultifying indecision led Merrill to the most radical of decisions, and she began her expatriation from the United States.

Merril's self-described personal paralysis both immediately preceding and immediately following her road trip to Chicago reflects the anxiety she experienced while attempting to navigate her status as an American citizen. The anxiety was reflected in her delayed response to

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<sup>47</sup> Primeau, 33.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 14-15.

<sup>49</sup> Kidd, 11.

a letter from Brian Aldiss after returning from the Chicago convention: "...was at least 10 days later before I was able to think coherently about anything in my personal affairs...."<sup>50</sup> A month later she confessed to the Toronto writer and poet Dennis Lee, who had introduced her to the idea of joining Rochdale College and was the main contact for her move to Canada: "I have wavered in a sort of immobilized anxiety for months now...totally unable to face up to the prospect of trying to sort through and pack up the burgeoning pile of books and papers...."<sup>51</sup> The violence and political suppression that Merrill witnessed and experienced at the Chicago Convention left her emotionally paralyzed. Suddenly it became necessary for her to organize the books and papers cluttering her Pennsylvania home and then locate an appropriate refuge for both them and herself. She explained to Lee how she had initially planned to return to London and elaborated, "[t]hat I am still is mostly a result of a split response to the political situation and artistic/intellectual atmosphere of the US these days...and a terrible, depressive lethargy...."<sup>52</sup> Similarly, she blamed "*the week in Chicago*" for her delayed response to her publishers at Rupert Hart Davis and shared with them her plans to move to Rochdale College in Toronto in early November.<sup>53</sup>

This paralysis would remain a poignant memory for Merrill. In her interview with Robert Fulford around the mid-1970s, Merrill described what brought her to Canada. She explained that she had returned to the U.S. from London for the first time in 1966 and again in 1967 because she felt she needed to search for a revolution. Instead of finding a revolution in the U.S., she

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<sup>50</sup> Merrill to Brian Aldiss, [n.d. circa August, 1968].

<sup>51</sup> Judith Merrill to Dennis Lee, 25 September 1968, Merrill Papers, v. 9, file 50.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Judith Merrill to Ajai Mehta of Rupert Hart-Davis Limited, 10 October 1968, Merrill Papers, v. 7, file 49.

experienced a “paralysis” that turned her away from activism because, in the aftermath of the Democratic National Convention, she felt that activism would be futile.<sup>54</sup> When Sandra Martin interviewed Merrill in 1977 for a story on the sixties, Merrill repeated her recollection that prior to attending the Chicago convention she was “in a kind of personality paralysis.”<sup>55</sup> Merrill’s memory of an anxious, “immobilized,” “depressive” paralysis, preceding and especially following her trip to Chicago, was unwavering from 1968 forward.

At the Democratic National Convention in Chicago Merrill encountered a level of violence that crystallized her political opinions about her native country. In the chapter of Merrill’s memoir, likely written from Emily Pohl-Weary’s taped interviews with Merrill in the early 1990s, Merrill explains, “I had been very much aware of the wickedness of my country for a long time. This was not a sudden discovery on my part. The Vietnam War brought it to a whole new quantitative level.”<sup>56</sup> Merrill’s opposition to the war in Vietnam was a primary motive for her Chicago sojourn. In her June 1968 ‘Books’ column in *F&SF*, entitled “Election Year, U.S.A.,” Merrill referred to the present-time as “A time of national dissatisfaction without historical precedent.” She explained, “I doubt that anyone from the President down is satisfied or optimistic; never has US prestige been so low with its own citizens....”<sup>57</sup> Merrill shared similar views with Arthur Clarke in her letter to him earlier that spring. She noted that the hopelessness she felt regarding the U.S. was “subject to minor revision by the McCarthy Phenomenon” but

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<sup>54</sup> Kidd, 11.

<sup>55</sup> Martin, “The Essential Judith Merrill.”

<sup>56</sup> Merrill and Pohl-Weary, 167.

<sup>57</sup> Merrill, “Books.” June 1968, 47.

observed, "this hope is minimal...."<sup>58</sup> The Eugene McCarthy phenomenon to which Merrill refers was McCarthy's unexpected success in the Democratic Party's presidential primaries on an anti-war platform. His victories had briefly resuscitated Merrill's belief in the potential of electoral reform. By August, this wavering hope, along with a prurient interest in the possibility of Yippies contaminating the Chicago water supply with LSD<sup>59</sup>, and most importantly, her search for a revolution, led Merrill to embark on a road-trip to the convention.

Merril did not find the revolution she was seeking in Chicago, but her presence and her participation in the riotous bedlam was nothing short of radical. Chicago Mayor Richard Daley refused to issue permits for demonstrations, which essentially guaranteed the participation of primarily extreme anti-war demonstrators and organizations.<sup>60</sup> Merrill affectionately referred to the group of students she chauffeured as the "McCarthy Art Department," because they carted their paint-staining equipment and fabric for pro-McCarthy banners with them to Chicago. Senator McCarthy's political upset had galvanized the anti-war movement. Nonetheless, on August 12, just fourteen days before the convention, McCarthy formally asked supporters to stay away from Chicago, citing potential "unintended violence or disorder."<sup>61</sup> Regardless of these warnings, thousands, including Merrill and her companions, maintained plans to protest the convention and the Vietnam War. As she wrote to her friend Dick Allen on August 24, 1968, the

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<sup>58</sup> Merrill to Arthur C. Clarke, 3 April 1968.

<sup>59</sup> Merrill and Pohl-Weary, 167.

<sup>60</sup> David Farber, *Chicago '68* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1998). Please see the chapter "Mobilizing in Molasses."

<sup>61</sup> Farber, 110.

night before she left for the convention, "[anyone] who goes to Chi[cago] this week is crazy, but...I am that kind of crazy...."<sup>62</sup>

Americans had already glimpsed Chicago's response to breakdowns in law in order on two occasions in the early spring. David Farber in *Chicago '68* recounts how Mayor Daley issued his infamous "shoot to kill" order to city police during a race riot elicited by the assassination of civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr. on April 4<sup>th</sup>.<sup>63</sup> Less than a month later, in a prelude to the convention violence, the city refused to issue permits to anti-war protesters and the police "clubbed, slugged, kicked, and Maced" peaceful demonstrators.<sup>64</sup> Each of these incidences served as powerful deterrents to individuals and organizations planning to demonstrate at the National Convention, but Senator Robert Kennedy's assassination in June of 1968 renewed organizers' efforts. The assassination also reaffirmed numerous politicians' and city administrators' beliefs that a breakdown in law and order was threatening the stability of the United States.<sup>65</sup>

Merril arrived in Chicago on August 25, 1968 and later likened it to a police state. The city had erected a 2,136 foot-long barbed wire fence around the amphitheater hosting the convention. Farber describes the landscape in chilling detail. All manholes were tarred shut. Roadblocks redirected traffic, and in anticipation of violence, a 40,000 man armed security force was in position.<sup>66</sup> Despite initial calm, skirmishes between protesters and the police ballooned

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<sup>62</sup> Merrill stayed with her friends Bob and Diane Hughes while she was in Chicago. (Judith Merrill to Dick Allen, 24 August 1968, Merrill Papers, v. 1, file 17.)

<sup>63</sup> Farber, 94.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 95.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 132.

into open conflict. The police savagely beat protesters, journalists, and camera crews. National guardsmen, equipped with M1 rifles, bayonets, shotguns, army carbines, and tear gas traversed the city in twenty-five army jeeps with concertina wire-cage fronts to repel and move crowds.<sup>67</sup> The disorder in Chicago paralleled the end of the Prague Spring, Czechoslovakia's brief political liberalization, and television stations showed contiguous clips of the Chicago disorder and Russian soldiers invading Czechoslovakia. In the chapter prepared for her memoir, Merrill recalls watching the violence from the safety of her friends' home: "[when] I saw tanks rolling down the streets on the screen, I forgot it was the same day that the Russians were invading Czechoslovakia. I stopped trying to write."<sup>68</sup> By Thursday Merrill was no longer able to stand by and assisted her daughter Ann and Ann's friend Martha by transporting wounded protesters and a medic team to and from the hospital in her station wagon.<sup>69</sup> As she told the co-author of her memoir, Emily Pohl-Weary, "[nobody] who watched it will ever forget it, but decades later only the ones who were in the middle of it still remember the acronyms, the slang, the jokes, and the terror."<sup>70</sup> In her January 1969 Books column Merrill recounted Chicago authorities denying medical aid to "hairy, hippie-types" and she railed against the profiling and the violence.<sup>71</sup> Chicago was the trigger for Merrill; her experiences there forced the dissolution of an already fragile American allegiance. She impulsively headed north to visit Toronto and shortly thereafter returned to the U.S. to pack her books and papers for a more permanent departure.

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<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 159-162

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., 169.

<sup>68</sup> Merrill and Pohl-Weary, 168.

<sup>69</sup> Judith Merrill to Ivor Rogers, 12 September 1968, Merrill Papers, v. 14, file 36.

<sup>70</sup> Merrill and Pohl-Weary, 168.

<sup>71</sup> Merrill, 'Books,' January, 1969.



Impetuous travel is facilitated by what Sidonie Smith identifies as “automobility,” which allows a traveler to freely choose new routes, change directions, and determine the duration of their travel and types of encounters they experience.<sup>72</sup> This was true for Merrill, as she spontaneously decided to drive home to Pennsylvania via the circuitous Canadian route.<sup>73</sup> Just as road narratives are often protests, theorists argue that in highway literature the car serves as a “weapon of social protest.”<sup>74</sup> Merrill’s station wagon went beyond symbolic politicization. It served as a political missile of sorts, bedizened in McCarthy paraphernalia, and filled with silk-screening equipment and propaganda, a copy of the *Toronto Anti-Draft Manual*,<sup>75</sup> and a small collective of bitterly disenchanted Americans fresh from the violence of ‘Daleytown.’ Merrill told Robert Fulford that when crossing the Canadian border after leaving Chicago, “the guard gave us a usual sort of Canadian smile for tourists. We felt the air had changed completely and sort of whooped it up in the car.”<sup>76</sup> She later recalls in her memoir that “[if] we had been wearing hats we would have been tossing them up and shouting, ‘Yippie! We’re free!’”<sup>77</sup> Merrill and the Art Department stayed with Merrill’s friend Chandler Davis, an American expatriate from the Cold War era who was a math professor at the University of Toronto, and Merrill began contemplating moving to Toronto.

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<sup>72</sup> Smith, 170.

<sup>73</sup> Merrill to Ivor Rogers, 12 September 1968. On their way to Canada, Merrill and the Art Department had a short layover in Ann Arbor, Michigan.

<sup>74</sup> Primuea, 83.

<sup>75</sup> Throughout her expatriate narrative, Merrill refers to this text as the *Toronto Anti-Draft Manual*. She is most likely referring to Mark Satin’s underground best-seller *The Manual for Draft-Age Immigrants to Canada*. Satin co-founded the Toronto Anti-Draft Program. (Hagan: 2001, 74-75).

<sup>76</sup> Kidd, 12. Robert Fulford, editor of *Saturday Night* and host of a CBC talk show, authorized Virginia Kidd to print portions of an interview that he did with Merrill during the 1970s on her expatriation from the U.S.

<sup>77</sup> Merrill and Pohl-Weary, 169.

After her travels to Chicago and her first, brief stay in Toronto, the truculent treatment of United States government agents during her re-entry to the U.S. resolved Merrill's indecision concerning her citizenship and role as an American. Border checks interrupt automobility. Sidonie Smith argues: "[a]t the redefining moment of the checkpoint, the traveler is made to understand herself as other in and to America."<sup>78</sup> At the Peace Bridge ("you should excuse the expression," Merrill quipped in the Fulford interview<sup>79</sup>), U.S. customs agents asked Merrill and her fellow travelers to pull over in order to examine her vehicle. Merrill described this "unpleasant incident" to Ivor Rogers. She observed that the "only cars pulled over for inspection were [those with] McC[arthy] stickers!!! ... maybe plain stupidity and sheer coincidence. Maybe. But...."<sup>80</sup> As agents rifled through Merrill's valise they unearthed her copy of the *Toronto Anti-Draft Manual*. Merrill recalled that "a great big Thing" ensued and that the American customs agents confiscated her book and sent it, along with her personal information, to the FBI. This was a seminal moment for Merrill. It solidified an emerging understanding of herself as "other in and to" the United States and exacerbated an existing fear for the safety of her personal property. She later stated, "if I had needed anything else more, that was it. I went home and packed...."<sup>81</sup> So she returned home to Pennsylvania and spent the following months arranging for a more permanent move to Toronto.

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<sup>78</sup> Smith, 202.

<sup>79</sup> Kidd, 12. Fulford interview.

<sup>80</sup> Merrill to Ivor Rogers, 12 September 1968.

<sup>81</sup> Kidd, 12.

### **“Escape from Amerika”: Merrill makes her exit<sup>82</sup>**

Merril's bristly dealings with American customs after her initial, short visit to Toronto following her trails in Chicago congealed her existing political reasons for escape. The culmination of these push factors led Merrill to flee the U.S. for Rochdale College in Toronto, with the core of what she would name the Spaced Out Library. In an October 1968 letter to Damon Knight, Merrill identified the “aftermath”<sup>83</sup> of Chicago as pivotal to her disaffection, and in an interview in 1970 she described arriving in Toronto as a “politically disaffected American who does not care to live in the United States any longer.”<sup>84</sup> A year later she described rejecting her responsibilities as an American citizen to a reporter.<sup>85</sup> Clearly Merrill had unsuccessfully negotiated her role as an American since her last return from England. Now she felt compelled to leave the United States for political, intellectual, and personal reasons. She could no longer accept her role as an American citizen.

Merril's political reasons for leaving were thus twofold. She opposed U.S. foreign policy, in particular the war in Vietnam; likewise, she opposed U.S. domestic policy, especially CIA and FBI actions at home concerning civil liberties and communication. Three years after her move to Toronto, she told a Japanese journalist, “I have to admit - I am not in favor of many things happening in America. Many of our young people, who were opposed to fighting in Vietnam,

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<sup>82</sup> Merrill was known for her travels and political activities, witness Jessica Salmonson's request for Merrill's participation in a new anthology. She was interested in Merrill's political experiences and suggested, “an article about your political background and escape from Amerika...” Eight years after her move to Toronto, Merrill was still known for her expatriation. (Jessica Salmonson to Judith Merrill, 7 December 1976, Merrill Papers, v. 15, file 9.)

<sup>83</sup> Merrill to Damon Knight, 12 October 1968, Merrill Papers, v. 9, file 20.

<sup>84</sup> Edna Hampton, “Science fiction writer meets weird world of Academe: Judith Merrill donates collection,” *The Globe and Mail* April 2, 1970.

<sup>85</sup> David Seed, “One of Postwar SF's Formative Figures,” *Interzone: Science Fiction and Fantasy* (no 126, December, 1994): 13-14.

were forced to leave [the] USA. I am not young anymore, but all my sympathies are with the youth. That's why I moved to Canada."<sup>86</sup> In other letters and interviews as well, Merrill linked her move to Canada to a desire to help dislocated American resisters. Toronto was the Canadian center for draft resisters and anti-Vietnam protest, and Merrill arrived there during the peak of the American exodus.

Merril made the connection between the United States' repression of other nations and a corresponding domestic repression, noting that "anyone who was opposed to the Vietnam War knew about the CIA's activities - the surveillance at home. I had to make a decision to either fight or leave so I left."<sup>87</sup> Merrill's experiences in Chicago illustrated the degree of force with which all levels of government were willing to stifle dissent. Her October 1968 letter to Damon Knight explained meeting with Dennis Lee and Chandler Davis after "the Chicago horrors" and what she described as "the advanced sampling of the police state."<sup>88</sup> Likewise, her experience re-entering the United States after her first, quick visit to Toronto clearly illustrated the government's intransigent reaction to the possession of dissident literature. Merrill believed that not only were her political rights in peril, but also her intellectual freedom. As she wrote to Dennis Lee, "[it] is to be remembered that I speak, throughout, not just in terms of politics but also in my special preoccupation with the arts and most particularly literature and communication in general."<sup>89</sup> Considering how cavalierly American customs agents confiscated

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<sup>86</sup> Vasili Zaharchenko to Judith Merrill, [n.d. circa 1971], Merrill Papers, v. 20, file 28. Zaharchenko included an interview Merrill did while in Japan entitled "Wings Lifted by Phantasy." It was published in the Japanese *Teknika Magazine*.

<sup>87</sup> Margaret Terol, "Science fiction writer: She put women into space 25 years ago," *Kitchener-Waterloo Record* July 17, 1975.

<sup>88</sup> Merrill to Damon Knight, 12 October 1968.

<sup>89</sup> Merrill to Dennis Lee, 25 September 1968.

a single book in her border crossing, it is not surprising that Merrill was concerned with the safety of her massive collection of personal papers and publications. The collection's security was a definite factor in her decision to leave the United States.

Yet, there was a second, quite different reason for Merrill's decision to leave. Sidonie Smith observes that some female travel writers flee subjectivities; Merrill was fleeing an American subjectivity at the same time as she was escaping from a "powerhouse" subjectivity within the field of science fiction.<sup>90</sup> Science fiction author and editor of London-based *New Worlds*, Michael Moorcock, recalled in his obituary to Merrill in 1997 that, "At that time [she moved to Canada] she was the most powerful and respected editor of SF in the world."<sup>91</sup> But Merrill had found little satisfaction in that powerfulness and increasing satisfaction in her teaching experiences at various universities. These experiences provided her with "a sense of usefulness,"<sup>92</sup> as she wrote to Brian Aldiss in August 1968, she felt compelled to shed the celebrity role: "[life] is too damn short to waste it in petty celebrity... I think I see more real satisfaction now in being able to tell a few [kids], "YOU CAN DO IT! The time is now!"<sup>93</sup> Merrill's expatriate narrative clearly reveals the formation and re-formation of her shifting subjectivities. In the mid-1970s she wrote to her friend and former lover, the American science fiction writer Walter Miller, about how ascribed roles began to dissolve around her in the late 1960s: "All except one, which I began to smash gleefully soon after I identified it absolutely.

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<sup>90</sup> Smith, 34.

<sup>91</sup> Michael Moorcock, obituary, *SOL Rising*, January, 1998, 6.

<sup>92</sup> Merrill to Dennis Lee, 25 September 1968.

<sup>93</sup> Merrill to Brian Aldiss, [n.d. circa August, 1968].

'Authority'...." In relation to the paralysis Merrill described earlier, she also explains a "peculiar stiffness of body" and being locked into statue to Miller.<sup>94</sup>

That Merrill left the United States and chose to relocate to Toronto rather than England or elsewhere was initially for practical reasons. She did not intend to stay in Canada; as she explained to Pohl-Weary, "[when] I arrived I had no intention of staying forever, Toronto was to be the 'in-between' place where I would figure out what I really wanted to do with my new, un-American life."<sup>95</sup> Merrill initially uses the moniker 'token immigrant' to indicate her pending transience and her disinclination to remain in Toronto. Regardless, Toronto was an unparalleled practical choice for Merrill, because, for instance, it was the only option that made possible the transport of her profuse papers and publications. She made this clear in her letter to Brian Aldiss in England, observing, "I will be out of the U.S., with all my books and files and sentimental treasures ([the]main reason for deciding on Toronto rather than London), which now seems urgently necessary to me."<sup>96</sup> Moreover, Toronto provided continued access to London science fiction markets and, like London, posed no language barrier.<sup>97</sup>

Still, Merrill was not a woman typically governed by practicality; her ideological reasons for choosing Toronto included her desire to assist dislocated Americans arriving in Toronto. Merrill in a long letter to Dennis Lee acknowledged that, "I have not quite been able to do the complete 'expatriate' thing, and simply go off to Majorca or Mexico - or London...."<sup>98</sup> She had

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<sup>94</sup> Judith Merrill to Walter Miller, November 14, Merrill Papers, v. 39, file 21.

<sup>95</sup> Merrill and Pohl-Weary, 199.

<sup>96</sup> Merrill to Dennis Lee, 25 September 1968.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

obviously given much thought to the issue and she saw moving too far from the U.S. as escapism. She explained, "going back to London, where it was so easy to become simply a non-American, a World Citizen-manque seemed more... of a cop out...." <sup>99</sup> Although she was prepared to renounce her American citizenship, a need for personal utility fueled her decision, and she was not prepared to abandon a lifetime of social activism. As she explained to Robert Fulford, "[my] feeling was that in Canada I could at least offer some usefulness or assistance."<sup>100</sup> Nonetheless, Merrill originally identified as a nominal immigrant, more interested in establishing world citizenship than Canadian citizenship. She acknowledges this twice in her memoir, observing that moving to Canada was as close as she could come to establishing world citizenship "without having to make that the focus of my life."<sup>101</sup>

Merril's opportunity to work as a resource person at Rochdale fused her desire to assist displaced American youths with her recent teaching experiences and provided space for her personal library. She was explicit regarding plans for a library at Rochdale, and in a declarative letter to Dennis Lee in September 1968 outlined her prerequisites for moving and her desire to establish a library. Merrill initially asked for a large living/working space, but observed: "if you have a library space in which you'd like to include most of my books and magazines - let's say A Science Fiction Collection for the use of the College in general - that would cut down on the total

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<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

<sup>100</sup> Kidd, 12.

<sup>101</sup> Merrill and Pohl-Weary, 198.

space considerably.”<sup>102</sup> She also asked for additional storage for her files. While her personal needs remained flexible, she observed that book and file space were “the main requirements.”<sup>103</sup>

Merril was adamant about maintaining personal access to these resources. She stressed the importance of bringing all her personal papers and described a neurotic fear of losing materials after leaving them behind: “[ideally], I should like to pack up everything, unsorted and unconsidered, and do my unpacking at leisure in the place where the things will stay, sorting as I go.” In much of Merrill’s correspondence she provided imagery of being overwhelmed with books and papers. She lamented to Lee, “my accumulated books and files occupy so much space that I periodically have to flee....”<sup>104</sup> Rochdale fostered grand expectations for Merrill and she extolled the intellectual, psychological, and social freedom and fulfillment she expected to find.<sup>105</sup> But first, Merrill had to re-enter Canada.

As she prepared for her second, and final, border crossing into Canada Merrill wrote to Dennis Lee in September 1968, “Query: what difficulties if any am I likely to have bringing this great mass of paper, both public and personal, across the border?”<sup>106</sup> She requested a formal letter of entry from Lee, and in a subsequent letter to him outlined her plans for her border crossing into Canada.<sup>107</sup> Merrill appears to have re-entered Canada in November 1968 with the same ease with which she first entered the country after her tumultuous time in Chicago a few

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<sup>102</sup> Merrill to Dennis Lee, 25 September 1968.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

<sup>105</sup> Merrill to Brian Aldiss, [n.d. circa August, 1968].

<sup>106</sup> Merrill to Dennis Lee, 25 September 1968.

<sup>107</sup> Merrill and Pohl-Weary, 170.



months earlier. Lee provided her with formal documentation to present to immigration,<sup>108</sup> and she entered Ontario as planned "driving in a rented truck with stacks and stacks of books, sorted and unsorted files"<sup>109</sup> and "a couple of mattresses, sheets and blankets, pots and dishes."<sup>110</sup> Sidonie Smith might have anticipated this; "travel," she contends, "facilitates speedy escape - from the past, from an outmoded identity. Physical freedom translates into psychological freedom."<sup>111</sup> Merrill fled two outmoded identities for Rochdale College that November: American citizen and American science fiction powerhouse. The atmosphere of the college, in addition to Merrill's unique teaching and learning opportunity there, provided her with respite from the personal and political paralyses she had recently endured. Likewise, the environment renewed Merrill's search for social and political alternatives.

### **The library of a "lift up literature": the Spaced Out Library<sup>112</sup>**

Merril recalled over the years that she started her life in Toronto as an "intellectual refugee." Rochdale was her first intellectual asylum and her copious files and books were essential to her role as a resource person at the college. Although Merrill may have been weary of conventional academic work, she was pleased at the prospect of working as a 'resource person' at Rochdale. Here, students made their own schedules and sought information and guidance from nonconformist academics and intellectuals in residence. Merrill, who had previously taught and

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<sup>108</sup> Dennis Lee to Judith Merrill, 17 November 1968, Merrill Papers, v. 9, file 50.

<sup>109</sup> Judith Merrill to Dennis Lee, 4 October 1968, Merrill Papers, v. 9, file 50.

<sup>110</sup> Merrill and Pohl-Weary, 191.

<sup>111</sup> Smith, 170.

<sup>112</sup> In her interview with the Japanese *Teknika Magazine* Merrill described the SOL as "a unique collection of science fiction," and observed, "[s]ometimes it is called the library of 'a lift-up literature'." Vasili Zaharchenko to Judith Merrill, [n.d. circa 1971], Merrill Papers, v. 20, file 28.

lectured at more traditional universities, wrote to Dennis Lee, “[your] phrase ‘resource person’, seems to me to describe so exactly what I have, to a great extent, been doing for some years in a disorganized [way]... that I cannot imagine why I did not coin it myself sooner.”<sup>113</sup> In the *Better to Have Loved* chapter “Rochdale College: A What if Time,” she describes the Spaced Out Library as a personal project and a “living laboratory.”<sup>114</sup> Upon her arrival in November 1968, Merrill began creating the science fiction library she had described in letters to Dennis Lee. At first, the arrangement was informal. According to Merrill, “[it] was an honour-system library, so we lost a lot of books... You weren’t donating your books - just making [them] available.”<sup>115</sup> Merrill’s indiscriminate lending at Rochdale eventually progressed to her founding of the Spaced Out Library, but she was more the visionary than the tactical librarian. In her memoir Merrill characterized her role as the developer of the Spaced Out Library.<sup>116</sup> While a student, “D.M.” (Michael) Price, read and catalogued the science fiction books, Merrill began fundraising, starting with a gala opening to showcase the library.

Merril strategically coordinated the opening of the Spaced Out Library at Rochdale with the moon landing in the summer of 1969.<sup>117</sup> Science fiction remained a potentially powerful political tool, and Merrill continued to emphasize the genre’s socio-political relevancy. Merrill considered the vast implications of the moonlanding, noting that “[t]his was a ‘what if?’ time in history. A time of complete change, when fiction - especially science fiction - had an important

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<sup>113</sup> Merrill to Dennis Lee, 25 September 1968.

<sup>114</sup> Merrill and Pohl-Weary, 175.

<sup>115</sup> Henry Mietkiewicz and Bob Mackowycz, *Dream Tower: The Life and Legacy of Rochdale College* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1988), 57.

<sup>116</sup> Merrill and Pohl-Weary, 178.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, 176.

role to play in questioning the existing social structures.”<sup>118</sup> She scheduled the “Grand Opening and Summer Festival” from July 13<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> and sent invitations to her network of science fiction notables such as: Chip Delaney, Fritz Leiber, Carol and Ed Emshwiller, Ivor Rogers, Cliff Simak, Roger Zelazny, Jim Salcis, Thomas Disch and Theodore Cogswell, as well as those in Russia and Japan. These authors were representative of the literary explorers she had written about in previous critical work.<sup>119</sup> She also asked science fiction icons, such as Isaac Asimov, to sponsor the library by agreeing to include their names on the library letterhead.<sup>120</sup> Meanwhile, students and volunteer librarians, with the aid of the Toronto Public Library (which lent display shelves, cataloguing guidelines,<sup>121</sup> and an exhibition of Victorian science fiction<sup>122</sup>), focused on setting up the library on the second floor of the college.<sup>123</sup>

The five-day festival featured panel discussions ranging from “Space-flight or Man in Space” to “Drugs & the Drug Culture” and included both filmmaking and kite-making seminars. In the spirit of Rochdale, Merrill wrote Tuli Kupferberg that she was “leaving room for a lot of people to decide what Their Own Thing to do is.”<sup>124</sup> Merrill characterized the festival as “largely

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<sup>118</sup> Ibid., 176.

<sup>119</sup> Critics noted the “subversive power” of Carol Emshwiller’s science fiction themes, Ed Emshwiller produced avante garde, award-winning experimental movies and cover art, and Roger Zelazny, Jim Sallis and Thomas Disch were all members of the American New Wave in science fiction, writing socially relevant science fiction. (John Clute and Peter Nicholls, *The Encyclopedia of Science Fiction* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1993) 240, 381, 1109, 1046, 1365.)

<sup>120</sup> Judith Merrill to Isaac Asimov, [n.d.], Merrill Papers, v. 1, file 14.

<sup>121</sup> Merrill and Pohl-Weary, 176.

<sup>122</sup> Judith Merrill to Theodore Cogswell, 18 June 1969, Merrill Papers, v. 36, file 21.

<sup>123</sup> For instance, in a letter to John Lawlor, Merrill mentions Glenn Sinclair, a McMaster University librarian, assisting them with the library. (Judith Merrill to John Lawlor, 2 July 1969, Merrill Papers, v. 9, file 44.)

<sup>124</sup> Judith Merrill to Tuli Kupferberg, 23 June 1969, Merrill Papers, v. 9, file 33.

a publicity and money-raising gimmick.” By July 1969 the Spaced Out Library’s relationship to Rochdale was financially tenuous and for Merrill the festival represented a final gambit for financial solvency.<sup>125</sup> The Summer Festival was heralded as one of the most successful Rochdalian ventures. Merrill is credited for its implementation; yet, some members of Rochdale College had objected to planning for it at all.<sup>126</sup> This was symptomatic of the nihilistic attitude with which many Rochdadians approached the college. Rochdalian tensions between members (or students/residents) and transient “crashers” were endemic. Merrill sought reform and published a “Grannygrunt” in a Rochdale *Daily* calling for residential rent requirements and mandatory work-study in the Communications Centre and the Spaced Out Library.<sup>127</sup> Moreover, Merrill advocated leaving the eighteen-storey high-rise on Bloor Avenue and moving Rochdale to a small collective of adjoining homes.<sup>128</sup> She decried “responsibility droppages”<sup>129</sup> at Rochdale and recalled that after the festival the Spaced Out Library was open only intermittently due to insufficient funding. She explained during an interview in the 1980s that, “[stuff] was just getting ripped off. So I took back the basic science fiction library.”<sup>130</sup>

Consequently, Merrill sought a new refuge for her collection. She had already moved out of the college after less than a year at Rochdale and was living in a shared house with other American exiles.<sup>131</sup> She temporarily stored the collection in her room, which produced in her a

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<sup>125</sup> Judith Merrill to James Parr, 17 June 1969, Merrill Papers, v. 13, file 22.

<sup>126</sup> David Sharpe, *Rochdale: The Runaway College* (Toronto: Anansi, 1987), 68.

<sup>127</sup> Sharpe, 76.

<sup>128</sup> Mietkiewicz and Mackowycz, 249-50.

<sup>129</sup> Sharpe, 215.

<sup>130</sup> Mietkiewicz and Mackowycz, 58.

<sup>131</sup> Merrill and Pohl-Weary, 205-206.

psychologically crushing atmosphere reminiscent of the pre-Rochdale space arrangement. She recalled in her memoir that “[when] I brought all my books home, my tiny room was completely filled with them... I fell asleep at night waiting for the books to topple onto me.”<sup>132</sup> Ultimately, early cooperation forged what would become a lifelong relationship between Merrill and the Toronto Public Library. Merrill explains in her memoir and in interviews that Harry Campbell (chief TPL librarian) requested that she donate her collection to the Toronto Public Library, in exchange for continued access to her books and files.<sup>133</sup> She agreed and donated a total of 5,000 books and periodicals on August 10, 1970. The Spaced Out Library then moved to a house on Palmerston Avenue and became a special branch of the Toronto Public Library. Over a year after the move, Merrill explained in a letter to her friend Harvey Jacobs,

I made this deal with the Toronto Public Library, after it became clear Rochdale couldn't support the SOL: Now there's a little six room house with an acquisition budget, a seminar budget, two library staff people, room for ALL my papers and books (those I've given the library and those I haven't), and an office for the Consultant - namely me - I get \$200 a month...for telling them what books I think the should buy and what seminars I think we should hold, and having my name connected with the place.<sup>134</sup>

Accessibility to her collection informed Merrill's transnational relocation, as well as her donation to the Toronto Public Library. Merrill's expatriate narrative reveals how the Rochdale experience simultaneously affected the transformation of her library and her understanding of herself as an immigrant. She recalls in her memoir, “[the] year I lived there, and the two more I participated from outside, turned my life and my psyche around.”<sup>135</sup> She increasingly identified

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<sup>132</sup> Ibid., 206.

<sup>133</sup> Mietkiewicz and Mackowycz, 58.

<sup>134</sup> Judith Merrill to Harvey Jacobs, 11 October 1970, Merrill Papers, v. 8, file 30.

<sup>135</sup> Merrill and Pohl-Weary, 174.

as less of a 'token' immigrant. Merrill recalled that as early as the spring of 1969, during her first visit to Montreal, she realized: "I have become a Torontonion." <sup>136</sup> To Harvey Jacobs in October 1970, following her first visit to Japan, she described herself as a "blossoming member of the Canadian... establishment." <sup>137</sup> She soon dropped altogether the descriptor 'token' from references to her immigrant status: in "Toronto Tulips" she writes, "[t]he Immigrant (me: this time not Token) is being interviewed for a CBC program on 'intellectual refugees'." <sup>138</sup> Like the interview with Robert Fulford of CBC, Merrill's assiduous efforts to avoid traveling under the aegis of an American passport to the Japanese International Symposium on Science Fiction (ISSF) during the fall of 1970 signified her transitional immigrant status. In a letter to Hiroyo Endo, the General Secretary of the International SF Symposium to which she had been invited, she explains, "I am one of the people usually described here in Canada as a 'resistance exile' from the U.S...." <sup>139</sup>

Merrill's nascent affiliation with the Canadian state mirrored the Spaced Out Library's establishment in Toronto. The Spaced Out Library, as an official branch of the Toronto Public Library, moored Merrill in the city and her professional affiliation with the library offered her an official venue from which to express her sociopolitical opinions. When the Toronto Public Library absorbed the Spaced Out Library, Merrill effectively maintained her status as a resource person. To her close friend Katherine MacLean, she explained: "what I'm supposed to do is

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<sup>136</sup> Ibid., 191.

<sup>137</sup> Merrill to Harvey Jacobs, 11 October 1970.

<sup>138</sup> Merrill and Pohl-Weary, 187.

<sup>139</sup> Judith Merrill to Hiroyo Endo (General Secretary, ISSF '70), 10 July 1970, Merrill Papers, v. 8, file 25.

recommend book acquisitions and organize seminar programs - to suit myself mostly."<sup>140</sup> She maintained the 'do-your-own-thing' aspect of Rochdale in the library's new location. Merrill may have grumbled from time to time that the Spaced Out Library "just barely" supported her;<sup>141</sup> however, she described "reveling" in her new office and endlessly promoted the Spaced Out Library in numerous interviews.<sup>142</sup> Similarly, Merrill was unable to suppress her enthusiasm for the most recent incarnation of the Spaced Out Library, describing it as an "incredible reality!" to Kit Reed in the spring of 1971.<sup>143</sup> The flexibility of the Merrill's position as chief consultant to the Spaced Out Library allowed Merrill to teach, lecture, and travel as she desired.<sup>144</sup> Moreover, the Spaced Out Library, in its official Torontonion capacity, anchored Merrill to the city and facilitated her transfiguration from ostensive to genuine immigrant.

Merril's expatriate narrative includes Canadian publications from the early 1970s that capture Merrill's transition from refugee to genuine immigrant. Her *Saturday Night* magazine review of recent publications on the movement of war resisters to Canada, for example, reveals her increasing self-identification as a genuine Canadian immigrant. Most notably, she includes herself among resistance exiles by using the modifier "we" throughout the piece.<sup>145</sup> She describes a loss among American immigrants "of both the Pride and the Power," and observes

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<sup>140</sup> Judith Merrill to Kate MacLean, 12 October 1970, Merrill Papers, v. 10, file 26.

<sup>141</sup> Judith Merrill to Sol and Maggie Goodman, 29 January 1971, Merrill Papers, v. 7, file 9.

<sup>142</sup> Judith Merrill to Kate MacLean, 12 October 1970.

<sup>143</sup> Judith Merrill to Kit Reed, 22 May 1971, Merrill Papers, v. 14, file 25.

<sup>144</sup> Witness Merrill's two working visits to Japan in 1970 and in 1972.

<sup>145</sup> Merrill, "A Diversity of Exiles: Canada's New Americans," 33.

that, "[some] have begun to replace [American pride] with a sense of Canadian identity."<sup>146</sup> Merrill would easily have identified with those who had initially planned on a temporary Canadian residence, only to become positively Canadian. Merrill's letters to the *Toronto Telegram* around the same time reinforce this shifting self-identification and links it to her connection to the Spaced Out Library. To an article on the need for Canadian independence from the U.S. she responds, "[some] of the fiercest proponents of Canadian independence in the country today are (ex-) Americans."<sup>147</sup> In a subsequent letter she refers to Canada as "my new country." "As a New Canadian," she explains, "I [am] vitally concerned with the preservation of the kind of human dignity, civil liberty, and open communication I have found here."<sup>148</sup> The Spaced Out Library was a large part of that "New Canadian" identity, for her special position as consultant to the collection formally attached her to Toronto and forged her entrance into the Torontonians 'establishment': Merrill identified herself as a "communicator" and refers to her role as a consultant to the Spaced Out Library, as well as to her war resistance activities. Significantly, the New Canadian first emphasized her role as a consultant of the Spaced Out Library.<sup>149</sup>

Merrill's expatriate narrative illuminates not only her attachment to the Spaced Out Library, but also the unalterable connection she made between the library and the city of Toronto. Merrill's expatriate narrative is rich with characterizations of Toronto as a unique city and the only place where the Spaced Out Library could have originated and thrived. Toronto is

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<sup>146</sup> Ibid.

<sup>147</sup> Judith Merrill to the *Toronto Telegram*, 18 April 1971, Merrill Papers, v. 18, file 16.

<sup>148</sup> Judith Merrill to Mr. Braithwaite of the *Toronto Telegram*, 20 April 1971, Merrill Papers, v. 18, file 16.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid.



the antithesis to the American intellectual and political repression from which Merrill fled. It is 'her' Toronto, her amoeba-encased egg, and, in particular, the university district, the 'egg within an egg,' that fostered her library. In "Toronto Tulips" she explains, "[the] Spaced Out Library (SOL) marks the tip of the Toronto egg for me in so many ways [that] it's hard for me to write about it all."<sup>150</sup> Indeed, in her bulbous, rudimentary, ink-sketch of the city, she placed the Spaced Out Library at the tip of the 'egg,' near the subways she indicated with dotted lines.<sup>151</sup> Merrill's narrative places the Toronto-Dominion Centre, co-ops and communes, China Town, and the Kensington Market within her amoeba-egg, but it is the Spaced Out Library that prominently crowns her ovoid abstraction.

Merril discusses "Rochdale spin-off[s]"<sup>152</sup> in her memoir and designates Toronto as a unique "nexus" or "matrix" capable of engendering not only Rochdale College, but also its sundry spin-offs.<sup>153</sup> The Spaced Out Library was an essential spin-off for Merrill, as it allowed her to ensconce her various science fiction resources and organize lectures and discussions about social and political issues that she deemed significant. As Michael LeBlanc notes in his recent study of Judith Merrill and Isaac Asimov's explorations of science fiction-related themes in non-fiction and alternative mediums (like radio), by the early 1970s Merrill was exploring science fiction-related subjects through exclusively non-fiction avenues.<sup>154</sup> An example of such activities, centered around her position at the Spaced Out Library, was a discussion series that

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<sup>150</sup> Merrill and Pohl-Weary, 185.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, 183.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, 189.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>154</sup> Michael LeBlanc, "Judith Merrill and Isaac Asimov's Quest to Save the Future" (MA thesis, University of British Columbia, 2005) 3. A shorter version of this study is forthcoming in *Foundation Magazine*.

she organized for the summer of 1971 entitled, "Spaceship Earth: Speculations on Survival Potential."<sup>155</sup> Merrill says she extrapolated the series' theme from a talk she had attended, in which the metaphor of a "Technology Bus" was employed - a fine travel metaphor. "The [technology] bus seems to be speeding, ever faster, toward some entropic armageddon; we are already past the tree line. And now we find there is no driver...we are all passengers and prisoners in a vehicle powered by its own accrued momentum, and steered by a program of its own inertial design," she writes in the general announcement for the series. In the spirit of the introduction to her earlier British "New Wave" anthology, *England Swings* she adds that "[t]he Spaceship Earth series... starts with the assumption that we are on a Bad Trip, and adds the belief/hope that we can still find a way to end/change it." The series provoked more than simple discussion, and following it, Merrill observed in a letter to Katherine MacLean that the project "led to a current ongoing effort...to establish an ecology-info-exchange and library/materials centre."<sup>156</sup> As Merrill's old Futurian confidante, and her long-standing science fiction agent, Virginia Kidd, assiduously noted in her introduction to a 1970s collection of Merrill's science fiction stories, "[Merril] doesn't only talk and write and teach. She thinks; and she acts."<sup>157</sup>

### **Conclusion: Reciprocal Regenerations and the Love Token of a Kaleidoscopic Immigrant**

Employing Sidonie Smith's notion of mobile subjects clarifies Merrill's expatriate narrative and elucidates her experiences as a 'subject in motion,' reflexively analyzing her transition from an ambivalent American to a New Canadian. The narrative showcases the link between Merrill's

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<sup>155</sup> Merrill's general announcement for SOL's Spaceship Earth series, [n.d.] circa 1971, Merrill Papers, v. 18, file 10.

<sup>156</sup> Judith Merrill to Kate MacLean, 4 August 1971, Merrill Papers, v. 10, file 26.

<sup>157</sup> Kidd, 13.

politics and her mobility. Correspondingly, the expatriate narrative links Merrill's politics to science fiction, and situates both Merrill and the Spaced Out Library in Toronto. Merrill created the Spaced Out Library for the practical purpose of preserving a revolutionary collection of literature; yet, for Merrill the books were only vehicles for ideas, and it was the thought, discussion, and activism elicited from these ideas that she hoped to foster. The entrenchment of the Spaced Out Library in Toronto moored Merrill to the city and provided her with a professional platform from which to act and advocate her views. Merrill had previously produced "paraliterature," science fiction positing social alternatives. She reflected on her science fiction in a 1968 correspondence to Dennis Lee: "I once acted as one of many who conveyed to these same current activists an awareness of the discrepancy between the world around them and the world that might be."<sup>158</sup> In the 1970s, Merrill contended that science fiction "can communicate to people about these changing times; it can act as a preparation for radical change and an advocate and cushion for accepting change."<sup>159</sup> Merrill concretized this political potential in the Spaced Out Library by effectively creating and preserving a pantheon of paraliterature. In this way, Spaced Out Library was not only a monument to speculative thought and political and intellectual freedom, but also Merrill's enduring connection to Canada. The Spaced Out Library was Judith Merrill's love token to Toronto, and to posterity.

Merrill clearly delineates Canada as a refuge from American militarism and social repression in her expatriate narrative. In the spring of 1970, Merrill explained to Mack Reynolds, "I believe we are, at long last, in the initial stages of a true world revolution in thought and behavior as well

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<sup>158</sup> Merrill to Dennis Lee, 25 September 1968.

<sup>159</sup> Robert Sibley, "Turning to Mysticism: People Forgetting Rational Explanation," *The Whitehorse Star* April 27, 1977.

as political and economic structures... the focal point of the process is...the revolutionary crisis in the U.S.”<sup>160</sup> In the 1970s Merrill believed that in Canada, unlike the U.S., political change was possible, and her prognoses for the United States were increasingly apocalyptic. In a 1974 letter to Walter Miller, Merrill asserted, “The planet is desperately ill, and all parts of it are suffering, in various ways, to various degrees, in resonance with the basic illness. If one thinks of the U.S., with all its internal alienations and extending fibers, as a cancerous body in the planet, the rest of what I’m trying to say is evident.” Although Merrill characterized the U.S. as a tumor, she stipulated, “I don’t think the entire planet is finally doomed...Maybe what’s better about Canada is just an atmosphere in which it still seems possible to try.”<sup>161</sup>

Merrill came to Canada after fruitlessly searching for an American revolution in 1968, but by the 1990s, the world revolution she identified twenty years earlier had engulfed Canada, infecting the nation with the accompanying American cancer Merrill had also foreseen. Thus, she concludes in the final essay of her memoir, “Improbable Futures”: “I have begun to feel about Canada more or less the way I felt about the United States when I had to leave that country. The only difference now is that there’s no place left for me to go.”<sup>162</sup> So Merrill remained in Toronto, anchored to the city by her library. Here, she unpacked her cultural baggage, depositing her books, and initially her correspondence, in the Spaced Out Library. She explained this to Walt Miller in the mid-1970s, observing, “[got] rid of the last (literal) protective barriers when I stripped my walls of books and magazines, and let Toronto Public Libraries build the walls elsewhere - where I could walk in - and out. As you can readily imagine, this process was not

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<sup>160</sup> Judith Merrill to Mack Reynolds, [n.d. circa 1971], Merrill Papers, v. 14, file 28.

<sup>161</sup> Judith Merrill to Walter Miller, 9 November 1974, Merrill Papers, v. 39, file 20.

<sup>162</sup> Merrill and Pohl-Weary, 264.

painless."<sup>163</sup> This process, captured in Merrill's expatriate narrative, encompassed the reciprocal regenerations of the Spaced Out Library and Merrill. As Merrill's library transformed from jumbled boxes of books to a bona fide library, Judith Merrill transformed from a nominal 'un-American' to a *genuine* Canadian immigrant. Near the end of her life, Merrill desired to resume her travels, but there were no longer any alternatives to the United States or Canada. She remained linked in name, spirit, and propinquity to the Spaced Out Library, her love-token to Toronto. For twenty-seven years, until Merrill's death in 1997, the Spaced Out Library cum Merrill Collection of Science Fiction, Speculation and Fantasy enabled her, a permanent expatriate and kaleidoscopic immigrant, to travel, translate, and teach.

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<sup>163</sup> Merrill to Walter Miller, November 14.

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