

The GROWTH of
CANADIAN NATIONAL FEELING
as REFLECTED in
The POETRY and NOVELS
of ENGLISH CANADA

by

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ABBREVIATIONS

Certain abbreviations are used in the footnotes and bibliography of this thesis to refer to works of which frequent use has been made. Following are the abbreviations together with the titles for which they stand.

- Bennett -- Bennett, E.H., ed., New Harvesting, Toronto, Macmillan, 1938.
- Broadus -- Broadus, E.K., and Broadus, E.H., A book of Canadian prose and verse, Toronto, Macmillan, 1934.
- C.C.B. -- The Canadian Bookman.
- C.F. -- The Canadian Forum.
- C.M. -- The Canadian Magazine.
- D.R. -- Dalhousie Review.
- Logan and French -- Logan, J.D., and French, D.G., Highways of Canadian Literature, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1928.
- Q.Q. -- Queen's Quarterly.
- Rhodenizer -- Rhodenizer, W.B., Handbook of Canadian literature, Ottawa, Graphic, 1930.
- Smith -- Smith, A.J.M., ed., The book of Canadian poetry, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1943.
- Songs of the Great Dominion -- Lighthall, W.D., ed., Songs of the Great Dominion, London, Scott, 1889.
- U. of T. Q. --- University of Toronto Quarterly.

The GROWTH of CANADIAN NATIONAL FEELING

AS REFLECTED IN

The POETRY and NOVELS

of ENGLISH CANADA

CHAPTER I

FACTORS INVOLVED in CANADIANISM

and

ENGLISH CANADIAN LITERATURE

The growth of the British Commonwealth of Nations has been one of the significant developments in World history during the last one hundred years; and of the several processes involved the development of Canada into an independent nation has been very important. For this reason that process requires special attention from students of World history in general, and from Canadian historians in particular. The importance of the question is further increased by the fact that the formation of the Canadian nation in 1867 as a direct result of this movement is the only one of several contemporary major developments of national sentiment--Canadian, German and Italian in particular--which has not brought in its wake long and bloody wars and continuous and widespread animosities both within and beyond the borders of the affected areas. Every aspect of the growth of Canada into a national entity must, therefore, be examined. One interesting field for investigation is Canadian literature. An examination of this literature should reveal the sincerity and depth of the Canadian national feeling which

has accompanied the growth of Canada, and suggest in what sections of the country such feeling is fully matured.

A study of the history of Canada and Canadian literature reveals that in the earlier periods there were various sentiments which played an important part in the lives and thoughts of Canadians, and influenced the course of the nation's history. Eventually, as a distinctly Canadian spirit began to emerge, these forces, continuing, tended to hamper and impede the growth of the Canadian nation. These various factors which have tended to thwart the development of nationalism in Canada are six in number and may be divided into two distinct groups. One of these is ^{at times} ~~fundamentally~~ antagonistic to the growth of a national spirit, and tends to attract allegiance to larger and foreign units. The influences in this category are imperialism, colonialism, and internationalism. The other group includes impulses which are detrimental to a true national consciousness only when that consciousness is superficial, and really consists of one or more of these forces. These impulses are localism, the spirit of the New World, and Americanism. These six forces have combined to prevent the expression of a true Canadian spirit in English Canadian literature in all but a very few cases. This is ~~unfortunate~~ for Canada, for any country which cannot evoke a national feeling is surely doomed.

If our national establishment is worth maintaining in Canada, and most of us are thoroughly convinced that it is, we must be one nation, not nine. We cannot be Imperialists, Annexationists, or Provincialists. If we are to survive as a state, we must be Nationalists, in heart and soul, rather than merely on tariff issues. We must be ourselves, Canadians, for better or worse, without apologies.

1. MacFarlane, R. O., "Canada: one country or nine

Because of their considerable importance it is necessary to investigate more closely the nature of these forces which have at times served as anti-national influences in Canada. Because their country was once a British colony, and is still an integral part of the Commonwealth, Canadians have felt imperial and colonial sentiments from the earliest days of its history. "Imperialism" is that national feeling which places the welfare and prosperity of the empire--in this case the British Empire--before any other allegiance. "By "colonialism" is meant the attitude of mind which emphasizes the larger loyalties to Mother Country and Empire, almost to the complete exclusion of loyalty to one's native colony, province or country"²--in this case Canada. In practice these two influences have blended and appeared as one in most cases in Canada. As well as being the predominant force in the early history of English Canada, they have exerted a major influence in English Canadian literature from the earliest times. Almost all the writing produced in English speaking Canada in the Eighteenth Century sprang from them.³ In the Nineteenth Century other influences--localism, Americanism, and the spirit of the New World--became important, but colonial and imperial attitudes continued almost unchecked in the literature of the land.

1. (cont.) provinces?", D. R., v. 18, p. 16, April 1938.

2. Sage, W. N., "Where stands Canadian history?", in Saunders, R. M., ed., The Canadian Historical Association, Annual Report, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1945, p. 5, n. 1.

3. See Chapter 2, p. 1. For the Nineteenth Century see chapters 2 and 3; for the Twentieth Century, chapters 4 and 5.

In the Twentieth Century this influence has been gradually weakening; but there are even to-day many signs of pure colonialism or of imperialistic fervour in the more conservative quarters of the country. In the Nineteenth Century many Canadians were able to blend their imperial and colonial with their Canadian sentiments; but even then these feelings thwarted the growth of Canadianism in some cases; and in the Twentieth Century they have usually done so in those cases where they were important.⁴ The twin impulses of imperialism and colonialism have been major factors detrimental to the development of a Canadian national awareness.

Economic motives have further accentuated this attitude in many writers. Canada has always provided a lean market for literature, and Canadians who depend on writing for a living have been forced to sell their material in foreign markets. Such writers have always found in Britain one of their two chief markets,^{4a} and have consequently tended to deal almost exclusively with those aspects of Canadian life which are pleasing to this overseas audience. Furthermore, to hold this distant market Canadian writers have had to interpret Canadian life in a way which would appeal to non-Canadian readers. They describe the glamorous and romantic aspects of Canada, but do not attempt to present the country as it really is. Thus the development of a Canadian spirit in literature

4. Charles Mair, W. D. Lighthall, and others were Canadian in spirit as well as imperial or colonial in attitude; on the other hand writers such as Gilbert Parker, William Wilfred Campbell and William Wye Smith allowed their colonial or imperial attitudes to kill their Canadian feelings almost completely. A Twentieth Century example is Esther Kerry.

4a. Cf., for example, Miss E. Burton (*Cling to her, waiting*, 1939); K. Conibear (*Northward to Eden*, 1938); H. B. Dix (*The Fixer*, 1936, etc.); G. E. Morton (*Ashes of murder*, 1936, etc.); D. Temple (*Out with the Mounties*, 1937); etc.

has been considerably retarded by this necessity of writing for a foreign market.

These impulses--imperialism and colonialism--have become gradually less and less influential in Canada; but as they have weakened a new force--internationalism--has been steadily emerging as an impulse which may become detrimental to the development of a national consciousness in Canada and its expression in English Canadian literature. "Internationalism" refers to the attitude now current which tends to overcome racial and other barriers and seeks for human co-operation on a world-wide basis. It is a cosmopolitan attitude--the final triumph of a civilized World. As a force it tends to be hostile to nationalism--which puts the nation before anything else no matter what hardship to other peoples such action involves--everywhere in the World. In Canada it has tended to replace colonial and imperial attitudes as another external distraction to divert Canadians from national sentiments.

The remaining three impulses which have hampered the development of national feeling in Canada are not distinctly hostile to it, and have actually been the forerunners of it in some cases. The most important of these influences has been localism. "Localism" refers to that attachment which everyone feels for the district in which he was born or in which he lives. If this attachment is so strong that it supersedes every other allegiance it is better described as "provincialism". If the attachment is not narrow, but so broad and tolerant that it approaches Canadianism in scope, it may be termed "regional" rather than local. Considering the many

separate settlements out of which Canada has grown and the major geographic barriers which still isolate many of them, it is not strange that localism has been a major force in the country's history. It was the earlier feeling to develop, but--based on a love of nature, as it largely is--it has tended to broaden and produce a genuinely Canadian rather than a purely local outlook. Only in those cases where it has remained strictly provincial⁵ has localism impeded the growth of Canada as a nation. The earliest Canadian writers were local in attitude of necessity; they knew of no unit larger than their particular province of which they are an integral part. Localism is inevitable in their works. As Canada has developed as a nation the extent and depth of the national sentiment at various stages in her history can be determined by the extent to which localism has lingered in literature and not grown into regional or national attitudes.

A second impulse which has been the basis for Canadianism is the spirit of the New World. "The spirit of the New World" refers to that feeling which causes many European immigrants to forget Old World customs and attitudes and look to their future in the Americas with no regrets for the life they have left behind them. The whole outlook is that of the pioneer, and similar to the attitude of all immigrants to newly developed areas. Like localism, this spirit of the New World

5. The attitude of the French in Quebec has often been strictly provincial. ~~The original isolation of these people was strengthened by this is largely the result of~~ the Quebec Act of 1774, which perpetuated separate French institutions and customs and kept them strictly different from those of the British in other parts of Canada.

need not detract from a national sentiment if the patriotism involved is strong and healthy; indeed it was the earlier of the two feelings to emerge and has gradually grown into Canadianism as the pioneering sections have become civilized. But if the feeling for Canada is only superficial it often dissolves on close examination into the spirit of the New World. In literature this force has been of considerable significance.

The remaining impulse is best described as "Americanism". "Americanism" is that attitude found in many North Americans ^{North of the Rio Grande,} both within and outside the United States of America, which tends to place the customs and affairs of that country foremost in their minds. The United States has always been a major force in Canadian minds as well as an important factor in the nation's history, and every Canadian must be favorable or hostile to it. With such a powerful neighbour in mind at all times--with American literary productions flooding the country--it is impossible for Canadians to exclude American influence from their thoughts. If one does he usually turns to Britain instead. Furthermore the United States is the primary market for most Canadian writers; and this situation--as in the case of those who write for a British market--has coloured much Canadian literature. Those writers who produce for an American market present only those features of Canadian life which interest Americans--the part with tourist attraction. They neglect the everyday Canadian almost invariably. And indeed many such writers have gone to live in the United States to acquire the spirit of the public which is

interested in them.

These six influences--imperialism, colonialism, and internationalism; localism, the spirit of the New World, and Americanism--were all active in Canada long before the advent of a seventh and different force--nationalism. "Nationalism" is a term which has been used with so many varying interpretations that unless a specific statement of the sense in which the term will be used is made the value of the word is negligible. The following explanation⁶ is lengthy, but valuable in that it indicates precisely what is meant in most cases when the word is used; it is the sense in which the word will be used in the present treatment. It does not, however, suggest the exact form nationalism has taken in Canada.

In the present report the term nation has been used to denote a human group with the following characteristics:

- (a) The idea of a common government, whether as a reality in the present or past, or as an aspiration of the future.
- (b) A certain size and closeness of contact between all the individual members.
- (c) A more or less defined territory.
- (d) Certain characteristics (of which the most frequent is language) clearly distinguishing the nation from other nations and non-national groups.
- (e) Certain interests common to the individual members.
- (f) A certain degree of common feeling or will, associated with a picture of the nation in the minds of the individual members....

Nationalism has been used in the report to denote a consciousness of the distinctive character of different nations, including the one of which the individual is a member, and a desire to increase the strength, liberty, and prosperity of nations. Its effect is not necessarily taken as being confined to the individual's own nation,

6. Royal Institute of International Affairs, Nationalism, Oxford University Press, 1939, p. xvi.

although admittedly this is very often the case, nor is the nationalist necessarily conceived as making the interest of his own nation supremely important. In short, the term is used in such a sense that Mazzini, Gladstone, and Woodrow Wilson can be described as exponents of nationalists as well as Herr Hitler.

This is a satisfactory and inclusive definition. The sense it gives to the term has been well summarized by Mr. G. P. Gooch, who writes, "nationalism denotes the resolve of a group of human beings to share their fortunes, and to exercise exclusive control over their own actions."⁸ Such is the nature of nationalism.

Of particular interest is that example of nationalism known as Canadianism. This force has received considerable attention from certain students who have tried to define it, but have met with little success.⁹ The trouble seems to be that it is impossible to make any general rules concerning the form which it will take. It is a very elusive force, and each example of it merits special consideration. Nevertheless it is easy to determine the general limits of the term; "Canadianism"¹⁰ involves some twelve factors. The basis of all Canadian feeling is a love of Canadian nature and the Canadian countryside, in which the people of the land live. In Canada this

7. ibid., p. xx.

8. Gooch, G. P., Nationalism, Swarthmore, 1920, p. viii.

9. cf. Macdonald, W.L., "Nationality in Canadian poetry", C. M., v. 62, pp. 3000- 305, March 1924.

10. Throughout this thesis the terms 'Canadian' or 'national feeling', 'Canadian' or 'national sentiment', 'Canadian' or 'National awareness' and 'Canadian' of 'national consciousness' will be considered as synonymous with 'Canadianism' as here defined. The word 'Canadian' by itself may, however, be used

influence is of particular significance, for Canadian nature is very beautiful and widespread. A second factor is geographic unity. Enough has been said concerning the hampering effect of geography in Canada,¹¹ not enough about its consolidating influence. Isolated by two oceans, and sharing in general the same climate throughout, the country is as much a geographic unit as is the United States. The two oceans are, furthermore, the means of exit and entry for the interior--another unifying force--and there are natural waterways half way across the country from the Atlantic Ocean. History, also, has played an important part in creating a Canadian national feeling. Since 1763 Canadians have a common history, and look with pride on *many* ~~Chateauguay, Chrysler's Farm, and~~ engagements during the First and Second World Wars as co-operative efforts to preserve or strengthen the nation in which Canadians of all racial origins--English, French and others--but Canadians only were involved. Basic also is the retention of the British tie--a desire natural to English Canadians, but felt by French Canadians also, in the interests of preserving their own identity.¹² Parallel with this British feeling and basic from the earliest times is an anti-American feeling, which has played a most important part in the development of Canadianism, and, more particularly, in

(note 10, cont.) to include both national and regional influences, in contrast with the more restricted term 'national'.

11. cf. Sage, W. N., "Geographical and cultural aspects of the five Canadas", The Canadian Historical Association Annual Report, 1937, pp. 28 - 34, for an excellent treatment of this view.

12. cf. Cobban, A., National self-determination, Oxford University Press, 1945, p. 80.

causing Confederation itself. Along with this feeling there is also a general antagonism to all foreign lands--even to Great Britain itself when conflicting interests arise. These are six major factors involved in Canadianism.

Also important is enthusiastic interest in the advancement of Canadian autonomy, ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ the desire to be an independent nation; and, ultimately, this involves the assertion of the right to secede from the Commonwealth (although this involves the legal aspect only).¹³ Coupled with this is an active interest in Canadian politics--in the conduct of the dominion parliament at Ottawa. And Canadianism involves an interest in questions other^{than} political, also on a national scale--economic, social and cultural uniformity; a general interest in the Canadian scene. Added to this, and a more recent development, are ties of transportation and communication--the trans-continental railways, newspapers with a Canadian outlook, and in recent years the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. Less tangible, but also involved, are certain common attitudes of faith. A devotion to the doctrines of the Christian religion is a major influence tending to create a Canadian nation, especially considering the fact that each Church has its separate Canadian organization. And, lastly, a belief in internal and international co-operation and a love of peace, prosperity, and the pursuit of happiness for everyone in the World has been a distinct quality of Canadian national feeling. These twelve factors combine to produce what is known as "Canadianism".

13. ibid., p. 81.

With these facts in mind, we can now turn more particularly to the influence of nationalism in Canadian literature and make the few limitations which are necessary before we proceed with the general study planned. In Canada poetry and fiction are the only branches of the fine arts which have received any extensive support during a considerable period of time, although in recent years the School of Seven has created a national art and Merrill Denison and others a national drama. For this reason--and because they alone provide an extensive field for one survey--it is convenient to limit the present study to these two fields.^{13a} Creative literature is, probably, more likely to reflect the feelings of the country than is any other type of literature. The creative artist interprets and describes the community in which he lives and the feelings that seem vital in it. If there is a strong national feeling in Canada this, too, should appear in Canadian literature. However it is possible to draw definite conclusions only in the period following Confederation when literature was produced in some volume.

In Canada literature has been written in many languages, but an adequate study of most of the work in languages other than English and French has only recently been started. The most important non-English literature in Canada has been the French material produced in Québec. However it is impossible to consider even this literature here because of the quantity involved. Furthermore all important anthologists and historians of Canadian literature to date have devoted their attention to the work written in one language only. Therefore

13. a. For this reason short stories, such as the Sunshine Sketches of Stephen Leacock, have not been dealt with in this thesis.

it is reasonable to consider in this study only English Canadian literature. A further justification for this limitation arises out of the fact that important contributions to this field have been made from all of Canada's provinces, whereas the French work is limited largely to Quebec. The English Canadian field therefore offers the most satisfactory opportunity for obtaining a cross-section of the Canadian attitude as a whole. A study of trends in French Canadian literature would however be a desirable supplement to this study.

The question then arises, 'What is English Canadian literature?' If Canada had her own language the answer to this question would be obvious. But English is the language of many other countries which have an important influence in all Canadian thought. It is useless to limit the study to those writers who were born in the country, for two reasons. Immigrants have produced work that is quite as Canadian in every sense of the term as is that of native born writers. No one denies that Joseph Conrad's work belongs to English--not to Polish--literature. Also, these native writers often leave the country and write work that is definitely not Canadian. And yet it is wrong to consider the work of tourists national, although they may seem to write work that breathes Canada through and through. Writing of this kind has appeared from American and British authors who have never seen the country. There are only two safe criteria whereby literature can be classified as Canadian. All that has been written by native born writers while they live in the country is Canadian; what they write abroad may or may not be so. Furthermore all that has been written by immigrants which contains a Canadian flavour

of any kind is Canadian. No strict rules are possible, but these two generalizations should include most cases of what can reasonably stand for Canadian literature.

With these various factors in mind it is only necessary to note one or two obvious reservations before beginning our treatment. Whether a writer expresses any national feeling or not has obviously little effect on the quality of his work. Therefore we are not concerned here with the merits or demerits of various writers. On the other hand some limits are necessary; so that while major writers who are not Canadian in outlook will receive only brief mention, the insignificant authors who do reveal a Canadian sentiment will also receive little mention. This restriction is fair, because those writers who have scarcely been remembered during the last few decades are surely unimportant writers, and hence do not reflect the major literary movements of their day. Usually they are 'hack' writers who write for some motive alien to the composition of fine art, and hence do not enter the scope of this treatment. Furthermore the desirability or undesirability of a Canadian national sentiment does not concern us in this treatment. All that we wish to discover is the extent of the feeling for Canada present in the various periods of the nation's history, without considering the value of such feeling. What is significant is the extent to which English Canadian literature reflects the emergence of nationalism in Canada during the last century. History reveals various significant indications of the actual presence of such a feeling as an active agent, but has this feeling become sufficiently pervasive to affect poets

and novelists? A comparison of the influence of national feeling in Canadian history with the evidence of its reflection in literature should provide the answer to this question. With these points in mind, therefore, let us turn to an examination of English Canadian literature in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries in order to discover the amount of national awareness extant therein.

CHAPTER II

CANADIANISM and CANADIAN LITERATURE

in the period prior to

CONFEDERATION

The American Revolution created not one nation, but two. Just as the United States of America owes its existence to that movement, so ~~the Dominion of~~ Canada also stems from it. Before the American Revolution Canada was predominantly a French province hostile to Britain, and bitter over the recent Cession or Conquest. The Maritime Provinces were only sparsely populated, and Ontario and the West virtually uninhabited by any but the native Indians. But after the American Revolution those people in the new republic who were not in favour with the change of allegiance migrated to Canada. They turned the wilderness from a predominantly French province into a strong British colony. New Brunswick and Upper Canada owe their existence to this migration, and Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and Quebec all received significant numbers of Loyalists.¹ These immigrants brought with them a hate and fear of the country to the south which--united with the French distrust of the American colonies--prevented any possibility of annexation for centuries, and created the present Canada.

1. The Loyalists must have numbered well over 40,000. Wittke, C., A history of Canada, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1941, pp. 57, 64 and 65, suggests the following figures: Upper Canada, 10,000 (by 1785); Prince Edward Island, 600; Cape Breton, 3,000; Nova Scotia 18,000; and New Brunswick, 10,000 (by 1783).

Whether the American Revolution by itself would have provided a stimulus for a strong national feeling is doubtful--early Canadian poets and novelists did not deal with it to any extent. It did, however, bring into Canada many immigrants--the Loyalists--who hated republicanism and were devoted to the monarchy, and the animosity it created has been accentuated by a series of clashes and incidents. Before another three decades were past the two peoples were engaged in another war--the War of 1812²--which forced them even farther apart, renewed old animosities and created new ones, and reinforced Canada's separate development. Thus the first and most important factors in the creation of the present Dominion of Canada occurred within sixty years of the Conquest; and even at that time a ~~strong~~ Canadian feeling was beginning to emerge, at least in Upper and Lower Canada, based on antagonism to the United States. It is true that antagonism to the United States would foster a strong British feeling in this early period, but it must have also created a feeling of union among all British colonies north of the United States. That the feeling aroused was distinctly Canadian appears plainly in the various victories during the War of 1812--victories that resulted from and also caused much pride in the peoples of British North America.³

2. cf. page 33 of this chapter for the effect of the war on Richardson.

3. Such skirmishes as Chateauguay and Crysler's Farm did much to create a common feeling of pride in Canada. At Chateauguay a group of French Canadians and Indians defeated an American force nearly three times its size.

Another factor dating from this early period which did much to prepare the way for the possibility of a unified nation in Canada was the French Revolution. The French in Quebec were loyal to the Church, and the old order, and therefore became antagonistic to their former fatherland as the Revolution progressed and its supporters in France became more radical. Furthermore this feeling did not dwindle appreciably during the Nineteenth Century, and politicians could rely on the hatred of 'liberalism' to keep Quebec within the Liberal Conservative Party (as it later became) for many decades to come. At the time of the American Revolution the French in Quebec were disappointed in France for another reason; the French government gave considerable help to the American states to free them from British control--to those very states which had been the traditional enemies of Quebec.⁴ These various factors have fostered the growth of Canadian national feeling, but have exerted little influence in English Canadian literature.⁴

There were, however, other forces at work in British North America which more than balanced those influences which tended to foster a common Canadian feeling. Nova Scotia, which has remained in its present boundaries since Cape Breton was returned to it in 1820, was settled predominantly by pre-Loyalist New Englanders, Loyalists, and Scots.⁵ The province

4. One English Canadian novelist who has dealt with the question of French aid to the American Republics is William Kirby. See excerpt from The Golden Dog, Chapter 3, p. 28.

5. cf. Creighton, D. C., Dominion of the North, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1944, p. 206.

had little interest in Canada, for its chief economic tie was with the West Indies, and the American settlers were actually within the social and cultural orbit of New York and the New England states. In 1806 the province contained 65,000 inhabitants, in 1822 some 81,300⁶. In 1827, with the addition of records from Cape Breton, the figure stood at 123,600; and by 1861 it had reached 330,800.

New Brunswick was first settled by Loyalists, who formed a bureaucracy and established the Church of England. To this staid and settled community came Acadians, British and Irish, many of whom engaged in the thriving lumber industry, which upset the stable bureaucracy. Roman Catholics, Baptists and Methodists threatened the established Church. With all these various local interests to occupy their minds the people developed ^{little} interest in Canada. In 1806 there were some 35,000 people in the province; by 1824 some 74,000; and by 1861 some 252,000. Prince Edward Island was at that time an isolated agricultural province which, however, grew at a faster rate than any other province except Upper Canada. In 1806 the residents numbered 9,600; in 1841 the figure stood at 47,000, and by 1861 it had increased to 80,800. The Maritime Provinces as a whole remained isolated colonies with much more interest in the New England states than in Canada. There have been few nationally minded poets or novelists from this part of Canada

6. These and all other population figures--unless otherwise specified--are taken from Burpee, L. J., An Historical Atlas of Canada, Toronto, Nelson, 1928. See Appendix I, Table I, taken from Burpee, for the period before Confederation.

until the Twentieth Century.

Lower Canada was occupied during this period with a struggle between French and English inhabitants. The French desired isolation and opposed progress of any kind. The English, who were merchants and business men, pressed for progress and united action with Upper Canada whenever possible. Lower Canada was not affected to the same extent as were the other provinces by immigration, but its French population doubled in the sixty years following the Conquest and greatly outnumbered all other settlers in British North America combined.⁷ In 1765 the population figure stood at 69,800; by 1806 it had risen to 250,000. By 1831 it had again doubled, standing at 553,000; and again by 1861, when it reached 1,112,500.

Most affected by immigration, and the first nationally minded section of the country was Upper Canada. Loyalist in origin, the province was soon changed into an American province, but subsequent British immigration restored its former complexion.⁸ Nevertheless the American influence was very important, as is indicated by the power of the Methodist Church which came with it. This body soon broke with both American and English branches of the same Church, an indication, one writer believes, of "the growing nationalism of the Canadian frontier."⁹ In 1806 the population figure stood at 70,700; in 1824 at 150,000. By 1834 it had again doubled, standing in

7. cf. Burt, A. L., A short history of Canada for Americans, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1942, p. 134.

8. ibid., pp. 134-5. 9. Creighton, op. cit., p. 216.

that year at 321,100; and by 1861 it had reached 1,396,000.

Thus although certain foreign influences had laid the basis of a Canadian feeling by 1815, isolation was the predominant feature of British North America during this period. Nevertheless the basis on which a national feeling could arise was there, and in the following half a century it did begin to appear. The complexion of the population was, however, greatly changed by immigration. In 1806 British North America contained some 430,000 people; in 1825 some 830,000. By 1835 this figure had increased to 1,270,000; and by 1860 to 3,120,000. New settlers mean new attitudes and a submerging of former ones. Slowly isolation grew less potent, and Canadianism more significant. There is, however, almost no Canadian literature dating from the 1820's or earlier.¹⁰

During this period the pressing political issue was reform, in all parts of British North America. In the United States Jacksonian democracy was promising a new era for the common man, and in Great Britain various democratic measures, culminating in the Great Reform Bill of 1832, were passed in parliament. In British North America the movement led to the Rebellion of 1837. This event was most significant in the development of self-government in Canada, but probably did not result from any national sentiment. The movement was directed primarily against factions in Canada rather than against the British government, and paralleled similar democratic movements in England itself. The Rebellion did, however, lead indirectly

10. The Rising Village is the notable exception. All other early literature was colonial, American or local; see p. .

to an increase of Canadian feeling. After the suppression of the uprising there was considerable friction with the United States over the Caroline incident and raids across the border by members of the Hunters and Patriot Lodges. The resultant anti-American feeling strengthened sentiments still bitter over the American Revolution and the War of 1812, and increased Canadian unity.

The immediate result of the Rebellion was Lord Durham's mission to Canada, which culminated in his famous report. The report recommended legislative union and local autonomy for the people of Upper and Lower Canada, but pointed out that race hatred seemed to prevent any possibility of a unified Canadian people.¹¹ At that time the colonial office was still following the Old Colonial System, which had always been the basis of British colonial policy. The recommendation regarding union was quite compatible with the system and was immediately put into effect. The other major plan of the Durham Report--local autonomy--had to wait until the fall of the Conservative ministry in 1846 before officials sympathetic with it came into power in England. The Union Act of 1840 reunited Upper and Lower Canada and created one Canadian government to rule it. Thus the colonial office tried to repair the damage done by the Quebec Act of 1774 and the Constitutional Act of 1791 whereby racial and religious differences in Canada were accentuated and the two areas were severed politically. Now,

11. ^{letter of} cf. "Lord Durham to Lord Glenelg", ^{Aug. 9, 1838,} in Kennedy, W. P. M., Statutes, treaties and documents of the Canadian constitution, Oxford University Press, 1930, pp. 359 - 360.

however; it was too late, for feelings were bitter on both sides. There was, then, this fatal flaw¹² in the Union Act of 1840--it accentuated differences even further by giving equal representation to each part of the colony without regard to population, with the result that a double majority became necessary in each administration. The Union did, however, prepare the way for a larger union a quarter of a century later.

The year 1846 is significant in the history of Canada because during it the Whig ministry of which Lord Grey was colonial secretary came into power in England. The Whig Party represented business interests and supported free trade. Colonies were only a nuisance in the new economic ^{order} plan, and the government was not very concerned with what happened to them. Thus it was that Lord Elgin became governor of Canada, and with the approval of Lord Grey allowed self-government to develop in Canada. With this stimulus behind them the new Canadian administrations gradually enacted various measures of importance. These have all been significant in the development of Canadian autonomy, but were probably not associated with national sentiments when enacted.¹³

12. cf. Creighton, op. cit., p. 283; Burt, op. cit., pp. 158 - 159. Burt points out that the Union Act was most unjust to the French. It placed the large public debt of Upper Canada on the shoulders of the French of Lower Canada as well as on the English of Upper Canada; it made English the official language; and it provided for equal representation.

13. Important among these measures were The clergy reserves act(1854), The seigniorial tenures act(1854) and three Union Act amendment acts(1848, 1854 and 1856 respectively). The last three acts dealt with the official language (French also being allowed), the power to alter the constitution of the legislative council, and the power to make laws regulating the appointment of a speaker in the legislative council. See Kennedy, Statutes, pp. 516 - 535.

There were, nevertheless, several important expressions of early national feeling in the late 1850's and early 1860's, soon after the most important of these measures had become law. These are significant because they indicate the temper of some leading minds in Canada at a time when English Canadian literature was almost void of any national expression. Thomas D'Arcy McGee was, in 1860, looking forward to the time "when we should be known not as Upper or Lower Canadians, Nova Scotians, or New Brunswickians, but as members of a nation designated as the Six United Provinces."¹⁴ John A. Macdonald, foremost among the Fathers of Confederation, believed that Canadians "were standing on the very threshold of nations, and when admitted we should occupy no unimportant position among the nations of the world."¹⁵ Most significant, however, and earlier in date than these sentiments, is a document dating from 1858. A. T. Galt, minister of finance, presented the following "Resolutions on Federation."¹⁶

1. That in view of the rapid development of the population and resources of Western Canada, irreconcilable difficulties present themselves to the maintenance of that equality which formed the basis of the Union of Upper and Lower Canada, and require this House to consider means whereby the progress which has so happily characterized this province may not be arrested through the occurrence of sectional jealousies and dissensions. It is, therefore, the opinion of this House that the Union of Upper and Lower Canada should be changed from a Legislative to a Federative Union by the subdivision of the province into two or more divisions, each

14. cited in Kennedy, W. P. M., The constitution of Canada, 1534 - 1937, Oxford University Press, 1938, p. 290.

15. ibid., p. 289.

16. Kennedy, Statutes, pp. 535 - 536.

governing itself in local and sectional matters, with a general legislative government for subjects of national and common interest; and that a Commission of nine members be named to report on the best means and mode of effecting such constitutional changes.

2. That considering the claims possessed by this province on the North-western and Hudson's Bay territories and the necessity of making provision for the government of the said districts, it is the opinion of this House that in the adoption of a federative constitution for Canada means should be provided for the local government of the said territories under the general government until population and settlement may from time to time enable them to be admitted into the Canadian Confederation.

3. That a general Confederation of the provinces of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island with Canada and the Western territories is most desirable and calculated to promote their several and united interests by preserving to each province the uncontrolled management of its peculiar institutions and of those internal affairs respecting which differences of opinions might arise with other members of Confederation, while it will increase that identity of feeling which pervades the possessions of the British Crown in North America; and by the adoption of a uniform policy for the development of the vast and varied resources of these immense territories will greatly add to their national power and consideration; and that a Committee of nine members be appointed to report on the steps to be taken for ascertaining without delay the sentiments of the inhabitants of the Lower Provinces and of the Imperial Government on this most important subject.¹⁶

Even as this desire for Canadian federation was being felt it was becoming certain that the Union was impractical. Members in parliament separated into two groups of not unequal size. The Liberal Conservative group consisted of French Canadian Roman Catholics and English Tories. The Reform or Liberal group consisted of the French Parti Rouge and the Upper Canada Reform Party of George Brown. With the following of each group uncertain governments were in constant fear of defeat. The first real crisis came in 1858, but many more followed in the 1860's. It was as a result of this political

deadlock that George Brown joined the Conservative government in 1864 with a view to finding a solution to the problem in a federation of British North American provinces. Thus political deadlock was the immediate cause of Canada's desire for Confederation.

As this political trouble was becoming more complicated the American Civil War broke out. There had been a strong Canadian sentiment for over half a century based on hostility to the United States, and now at this moment so convenient for the cause of Confederation in Canada it was renewed and strengthened.¹⁷ As the defeat of the South became more and more certain Canadians feared that the North American balance of power would be destroyed.¹⁸ To augment the alarm resulting from this fear came the open disgust of Great Britain with Canada and a suggestion that British troops should be withdrawn when the Canadian parliament rejected a militia bill in 1862. Added to this was the threat that westward expansion in the United States might block similar development in Canada, and the hostile attitude of the American government. This increased considerably towards the end of the Civil War, when the American customs officials began demanding passports from tourists, and the American government threatened to repeal legislation providing for the import and export of Canadian merchandise through the United States in bond, served notice of the termi-

17. cf. Martin, C., "The United States and Canadian nationality", Canadian Historical Review, v. 18, pp. 1 - 11, March 1937.

18. cf. Creighton, op. cit., p. 287.

nation of the Rush-Bagot agreement of 1817, and decided that reciprocity must end. The situation was further complicated by the actual border clashes, known as the Fenian raids, which occurred at this time.¹⁹ With all these important signs of friction with the United States looming before their eyes, Canadians realized the need for Confederation and began to think of British North America in national terms. The effect was most potent in New Brunswick, where it ^{helped to} ~~discredited~~ the pro-American anti-Confederation Smith government and caused the people to return an administration favorable to the union at the next elections.²⁰ Thus New Brunswick authorized Confederation and made it possible for Tupper in Nova Scotia to do likewise.

In addition to these major causes there were certain other factors which also prepared the way for Confederation. For one thing the new economic attitude to colonies in England was significant. If Canada were to have preferential treatment within the Empire no longer she must look elsewhere for assistance. By means of the Reciprocity Treaty she was able for a while to substitute the United States for Great Britain in her economic system, but that aid, too, came to an end prior to Confederation. The only remaining alternative was to formulate a national economic policy, which indeed did occur shortly after Confederation. There was also the new unity

19. cf. Stacey, A. P., "Fenianism and the rise of national feeling in Canada at the time of Confederation", Canadian Historical Review, v. 12, pp. 238 - 261, Sept. 1931.

20. cf. Creighton, op. cit., pp. 299, 303.

provided to the country by the development of systems of transportation and communication. The widespread construction of railways and the growing importance of the St. Lawrence waterway certainly contributed to the development of a federated country. Indeed the St. Lawrence system had always been a unifying force in Canada.

It was the one great river, which led from the eastern shore into the heart of the continent. It possessed a geographical monopoly; and it shouted its uniqueness to adventurers. The river meant mobility and distance; it invited journeyings; it promised immense expanses, unfolding, flowing away into remote and changing horizons. The whole west,²¹ with all its riches, was the dominion of the river.

And finally there was the increasing interest in the West felt particularly by Upper Canadians and by business men in Lower Canada. Canadians hoped for a future in the West to rival that open to the United States, and national rivalry called for national endeavour to back it.

With all these factors combining at just the opportune moment with political deadlock and fear of the United States, Confederation became possible and was achieved in 1867. It was a practical move undertaken to thwart various dangerous tendencies, but many people at that time felt that there was no possibility of the merger enduring, or of Canada becoming a nation. The country was divided into two groups, with the majority of anti-confederates in the Maritimes and of those in favour of the move in Upper Canada. Said one Nova Scotian, "I do not think that the people of Nova Scotia want annexation

21. Creighton, D. G., The commercial empire of the St. Lawrence 1760 - 1850, Toronto, Ryerson, 1937, p. 6. (cf. also pp. 1 - 21).

to the United States, but why should you drive them against their interests and inclinations into a union with Canada--with which they have no natural means of communication, and no sympathy?"²² Confederation was, however, based on a generous tolerant feeling. "'We were of different races,' said Cartier, 'not for the purpose of warring against each other, but in order to compete and emulate for the general welfare.'"²³ It was on such a spirit that the Canadian nation was founded.

Nevertheless in spite of the strength Canadianism must have enjoyed in the decades before Confederation there was little contemporary reflection of it in the fine arts of the country. A considerable quantity of poetry and some novels were produced, but the basic sentiments were almost invariably colonialism, Americanism, or localism. It was not until the latter part of the century that Canadian literature began to reflect this vital Canadian sentiment which produced Confederation. It is, however, interesting to examine briefly the literary activity of English Canada in this period.

The first English literature written in Canada appeared in the latter half of the Eighteenth Century, and was written by soldiers in the British forces that conquered Canada from the French and later defended its frontiers from the American republics. Thus the poem "The Reduction of Louisburgh", by Valentine Neville, appeared in 1759; and "The Conquest of Canada or the Siège of Quebec: a tragedy", by George Cockings,

22. Creighton, Dominion of the North, p. 301.

23. ibid., p. 312.

was published in 1760. A long piece of some 8,000 lines--
The Conquest of Quebec: an epic in eight books--was written by
Henry Murphy and appeared in 1790. And the first Canadian
novel--The History of Emily Montague, by Mrs. Frances Brooke--
dates from 1769. Thus the first impulse which motivated
English Canadian writers was an imperialistic one, blending
with and later becoming secondary to a more colonial attitude.

While English Canadian writers were expressing their
British sentiments immigrants from the United States were
producing work of a local character with an American flavour in
Nova Scotia. In the Eighteenth Century Puritan literature of
the type popular in New England flourished there, notably in
the hands of Henry Alline (1748 - 1784), himself a native of
Rhode Island. After the American Revolution writers of
loyalist tradition from the United States produced literature
similar to that of the Puritan School in its local and American
tone. Chief figures in this group are the poets Joseph
Stansbury (1740 - 1809) and Jonathan Odell (1737 - 1818), and
the journalist Jacob Bailey (1731 - 1808). Another Nova
Scotian, Thomas Chandler Haliburton, was probably the most
noted of all English Canadian writers before Confederation.
His humorous novels are often considered to be lasting crea-
tions. But the main impulse which they reflect is neither
localism nor the spirit of the New World; it is rather a pure
Americanism (in the narrowest sense of the word.). None of
these early contributions to English Canadian literature
reflect a spirit which is in any way Canadian; but the first
faint evidence of a feeling for Canada appears at this time in

Oliver Goldsmith's poem of 1825, "The Rising Village".

"The Rising Village"²⁴ presents primarily the spirit of the New World; but there is a feeling in it that is faintly national. It is Canadian in the feeling for nature, and in the spirit of adventure found in the new land. But the impulse is weak and elusive, for Goldsmith knew of no unit in North America larger than the Maritime region to which he could belong--this was many years before Confederation was even thought of. The feeling is so weak that Logan believes it to be only the semblance of a genuine Canadianism.²⁵ But this opinion is scarcely correct; the poem contains more than that. It is "the first poetic representation of the experiences by which the Loyalists triumphed over home-sickness and material obstacles and came to love and have faith in Canada, the land of their adoption."²⁶ The following lines, which would sound anything but national in a post-Confederation poem, sound distinctly Canadian for 1825.

Not fifty summers yet have passed their clime--
How short a period in the space of time--
Since savage tribes, with terror in their train,
Rushed o'er thy fields, and ravaged all the plain.
But some few years have rolled in haste away
Since, through thy vales, the fearless beast of prey,
With dismal yell and loud appalling cry,
Proclaimed his midnight reign of terror nigh.
And now how changed the scene! the first afar
Have fled to wilds beneath the northern star;
The last has learned to shun man's dreaded eye,
And, in his turn, to distant regions fly.
While the poor peasant, whose laborious care
Scarce from the soil could wring his scanty fare,

24. first published 1825, revised 1834; quoted in part in Smith, pp. 53 - 55.

25. cf. Logan and French, p. 96. 26. ~~Rhodanthen~~ p. 162.

Now in the peaceful arts of culture skilled,
Sees his wide barn with ample treasures filled;
Now finds his dwelling, as the year goes round,
Beyond his hopes, with joy and plenty crowned.²⁴

--11. 19 - 36.

Oliver Goldsmith was the first poet whose writings suggest a Canadian tone. But the first English Canadian authors to write consciously about their country were novelists. Goldsmith could not have been aware of Canada as his country, and any national flavour evident in his work must have been unconscious. But in response to the growing demand for a national literature two pre-Confederation novelists--John Richardson and Mrs. Leprehon²⁷--wrote fiction that contained a distinctly Canadian flavour. Of these Richardson was by far the most important as a novelist.

John Richardson was born at Queenston on the Niagara River in October, 1796 of Jacobite stock. His father was a surgeon in the British army, and when in 1801 his duties required him to live with his unit, his wife and son went to Detroit to live with her father, Colonel Askin. Colonel Askin was a merchant in Detroit who in 1796²⁸ had elected to remain loyal to the British flag but had been obliged to remain in Detroit another five years for business reasons. Consequently shortly after he was joined by his daughter and grandson he moved

27. Mrs. Leprehon (Rosanna Eleanor Mullins, 1832 - 1879) wrote three novels of some importance. The first of these, "Ida Beresford", appeared in the Literary Garland (a Canadian periodical of that time) in 1848. The Manor House of de Villeraie was published in 1859, and Antoinette de Mirecourt in 1864. These works are now rare and not easily obtainable; but it is the opinion of one critic that Mrs. Leprehon was "the first Canadian novelist whose work is the direct result of the nationalistic movement in Canadian literature." (Rhodenizer, p. 79)

28. In 1796 Detroit was evacuated by its British garrison

across the river into Upper Canada, settling nearly opposite the foot of Hog Island.²⁹ He and his wife were proud of their British allegiance and filled young John with much of their pride; and in particular Mrs. Askin impressed him with the details of Pontiac's seige of Detroit in 1763.³⁰ In 1802 Dr. Richardson settled at Amherstburg in the Western Division of Upper Canada, and shortly afterwards his family joined him there. It was the beautiful scenery of this region that thrilled the artistic appreciation of young John. Thus in his early youth Richardson had already been impressed strongly by the beauty of the region in which he lived and by the anti-American feeling fostered by his grandparents--the two influences which later became the basis of his Canadianism.

His anti-American feeling in particular gained additional strength during the War of 1812. Richardson entered that conflict before he was fully 16, and was a member of the Guard of Honour which took possession of Detroit when it capitulated. He was taken prisoner in 1813 and held for about a year in various places. Thereafter he saw active service in the British army until 1818, mostly in the West Indies. In 1818 he was placed on half pay, and devoted himself to literature with some success until 1838. In that year he returned to Canada (after having lived abroad for some twenty-four years)

(note 28, cont.) under the terms of Jay's Treaty.

29. A site often mentioned in Wacousta, and near the present city of Windsor.

30. Pontiac was a leading Indian chief at the time of the British Conquest of Canada. As war chief of the Ottawas he organized Indian tribes into a kind of army, and succeeded in

and again devoted himself to literature. He died in poverty at New York in 1852.

Major Richardson had already written several poems and novels based on Canadian situations³¹ when in 1832 he wrote the historical romance Wacousta or The Prophecy in which he displayed his Canadian sentiments. It is a story of the Pontiac Conspiracy and reveals particularly the experiences of the author's youth. It was his grandmother who interested him in the subject he chose, and it was also she and her husband who first impressed the difference between "American" and "British" upon him. In Wacousta Richardson frequently distinguishes between "Canadian" and "American", although at the time of which he is writing such a distinction was of little significance.

Wacousta³² first appeared in 1832, over thirty years before Confederation. Hence in estimating the extent to which national sentiment is evident in it, it is necessary to make allowances for this fact. Indeed each literary creation of any period should be examined independently of any general rules. What appears very Canadian at one time and in one writer will not necessarily so appear in another. Just what conception of Canada Richardson entertained is uncertain. At times he uses the term 'Canadian' to refer only to the French of Quebec.

(note 30, cont) capturing 8 out of 12 forts attacked in 1763, although he failed in his own attack on Detroit after a ~~siege~~ ^{siege} of five months. cf. Parkman, F., Conspiracy of Pontiac and the Indian War, Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1912, 2 vols.

31. The long poem Tecumseh deals with the War of 1812, and the novel Ecarte introduces several Canadian situations.

32. Richardson, J., Wacousta, Toronto, McClelland and

Thus he refers throughout Wacousta to one such character as 'the Canadian'; and the editor of the 1923 edition notes that "the term "Canadian" as used by the author denotes--as the name originally did--the descendants of French settlers in Canada."³³ But at other times the author refers to Canada as opposed to the United States; this is a general use of the term and quite likely reflects a broad Canadian attitude. In his first chapter he writes, "it often happened in Canada during this interesting period that..."³⁴ At another point he notes, "To the right, on approaching from the town, lay the adjacent shores of Canada, washed by the broad waters of the Detroit."³⁵ Again he writes, "the vessel...was finally seen to cast anchor in the navigable channel that divides Hog Island from the shore of Canada..."³⁶; and again, "he...pursuing his way across the river, had nearly gained the shores of Canada...."³⁷ These incidental references (and these are all of this kind there are in the book) seem to indicate that the author has a feeling for Canada as his native land. However insofar as this feeling is based on anti-Americanism it is as much pro-British as distinctly Canadian. Indeed it seems certain that at all times during the Nineteenth Century anti-Americanism played a predominant part in moulding Canadian feeling.

Nevertheless anti-American feeling was not the only

(note 32, cont.) Stewart, 1923.

33. ibid., p. 102.

34. ibid., p. 4.

35. ibid., p. 115.

36. ibid., p. 353.

37. ibid., p. 450.

basis of Canadianism then evident. Richardson, in common with other writers of his century, felt a sense of unity within Canada through the appreciation of Canadian nature. This feeling is significant for it indicates a common impulse that is constructive in the development of a national awareness. It is true that in many cases such appreciation tends to be local or regional rather than national, but as long as it is not strictly provincial it is Canadian in tone. In Wacousta the most sustained evidence of Canadian sentiment is to be found in the description of landscape and nature. In particular the following paragraph seems national in inspiration.

The sun was high in the meridian as the second detachment, commanded by Colonel de Haldimar in person, issued from the fort of Detroit. It was that soft and hazy season, peculiar to the bland and beautiful autumn of Canada, when the golden light of heaven seems as if transmitted through a veil of tissue, and all animate and inanimate nature, expanding and fructifying beneath its fostering influence, breathes the most delicious languor and voluptuous repose. It was one of those still, calm, warm, and genial days which in those regions come under the vulgar designation of Indian summer, a season that is ever hailed by the Canadians with a satisfaction proportional to the extreme sultriness of the summer and the equally oppressive rigor of the winter³⁸ by which it is immediately preceded and followed.

These are indications of a true Canadian sentiment evident in Richardson. But his national consciousness was at all times mingled with a sincere love of Britain. He had the colonial attitude common to almost every English Canadian writer in the Nineteenth Century.³⁹ He speaks of the "true and

38. ibid., p. 100.

39. In Richardson's case this British attachment was undoubtedly strengthened by his years of service in the army--not only in Canada but also in the West Indies and Spain.

loyal British soldier",⁴⁰ "native England",⁴¹ and "the indomitable daring of the British sailor."⁴² In these references Richardson reveals that he was a man of his times, although he expressed more clearly than any of his contemporary artists his feelings for the country. In summary, Richardson in his Wacousta expresses the first important Canadian sentiment in English Canadian literature; much of this is based on an antagonism to the United States blended with a colonial attitude to Britain, but a truly national note is struck in some of the descriptions of the Canadian landscape.⁴³

The only Canadian poet of significance to write before the Confederation period was Charles Sangster. His interests are similar to those of the novelist John Richardson, and therefore reveal, in combination with his, the general attitude of Upper Canadians prior to Confederation.⁴⁴ Like

40. Richardson, op. cit., p. 22.

41. ibid., p. 34.

42. ibid., p. 277.

43. The Canadian Brothers of The Prophecy Fulfilled, the sequel to Wacousta, is also Canadian in sentiment; but it was written to provide a national literature for Canada, and sounds very artificial in tone. (Rhodenizer, p. 79).

44. The only other outstanding poets and novelists of the period lived in Nova Scotia; they were Oliver Goldsmith, Joseph Howe and Thomas Chandler Haliburton. In contrast to the Canadian spirit evident in the Upper Canada writers, these Maritime poets and novelists reveal predominantly North American, imperial and local, and American and local influences respectively. This contrast between the two sections of Canada is interesting; it suggests that at this period the people in the Maritime Provinces felt only a local interest--they had no conception of a future continent-wide nation, whereas the people in Upper Canada already felt a much broader allegiance embracing at least the eastern half of the modern Dominion of Canada. This feeling was probably the direct result of the Union Parliament which was set up after Lord Durham's mission to Canada.

Richardson, Sangster shows a Canadian feeling based on united action in the past and on an appreciation of Canadian nature. Indeed Sangster was the first poet to treat Canadian subjects matter in more than a strictly local manner.⁴⁵

James Sangster, Charles' father, was a native of Scotland who fought on the Loyalist side in the American Revolution; but he died before Charles was 2, and thus had little influence on his son's thoughts.⁴⁶ Anne, Charles' mother, was the daughter of Scottish settlers in Prince Edward Island. Charles was born at Point Frederick, near Kingston, in Upper Canada, in a district then surrounded by the Canadian forests which play such a large part in his poetry. He was at first a clerk and messenger in the ordnance office, but from 1849 to 1861 he was engaged in newspaper work, mainly with the Kingston Whig. It was during this period when he was a newspaper employee that he published his two volumes of poetry, The St. Lawrence and the Saguenay and other poems in 1856, and Hesperus and other poems and lyrics in 1860. In his later years he published no more verse.⁴⁷

Charles Sangster was the first poet to reveal a vital Canadian feeling in his work; but in the majority of his poems no such feeling appears. These poems reveal his wide reading in English literature, and are imitative of poets in that field.

45. cf. Rhodenizer, p. 165; Dictionary of Canadian Biography, p. 387, etc.

46. Charles Sangster displays little anti-American feeling in his work. In places he reveals a pride in his Scottish ancestry, but this is probably derivative from his mother.

47. In 1864 he joined the staff of the Kingston Daily News.

Both the subjects and the style derive from such famous poets as Wordsworth, Byron, Shelley and Tennyson.⁴⁸ Most important poets go through a similar period of imitation as they develop their own genius; but Sangster ceased writing poetry before he had passed beyond this stage. Therefore the fact that most of Sangster's poems are imitative of English writers does not necessarily indicate the tastes of the reading public in Canada before Confederation. These imitative poems may result from such a taste; but they could also result from the natural inclination of a young poet to read and copy from masters.

Of more significance are those poems which suggest a Canadian inspiration in some way. The most widespread Canadian influence present in his work is evident in the treatment of nature seen in some 10 of the shorter poems and sonnets in the Hesperus collection as well as in 3 of the 4 longer poems in that group.⁴⁹ In many cases the description suggests a regional or Canadian appreciation rather than a purely local picture. Particularly Canadian are the twin poems "The snows"⁵⁰ and "The rapids"⁵¹; "The rapids" reads in part,

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(note 47, cont.) and from 1868 to 1886 he was employed in the Post-office Department at Ottawa. He married twice, once in 1855 and again in 1865; and was the father to three children by his second marriage. He died in 1893.

48. Of the 46 shorter poems in his Hesperus and other poems and lyrics 12 deal with love; 15 with life, religion and eternity; 4 with pastoral themes; and 3 with the life of the poet. None of these poems suggest Canada in any way. Of the longer poems "Hesperus" shows no Canadian feeling whatever; and only 3 of his 18 sonnets are Canadian in any way. (See Appendix II, Table I for an analysis of his volume).

49. See Appendix II, Table I for an analysis of Hesperus.

50. Hesperus and other poems, Montreal, Lovell, 1860, p. 92.

51. ibid., p. 94.

All peacefully gliding,
 The waters dividing,
 The indolent barge moved slowly along,
 The rowers, light-hearted,
 From sorrow long parted,
 Beguiled the dull moments with laughter and song:
 "Hurrah for the Rapid! that merrily, merrily,
 Gambols and leaps on its tortuous way;
 Soon we will enter it, cheerily, cheerily,
 Pleased with its freshness, and wet with its
 spray." ⁵¹ --11. 1-10.

A few of Sangster's descriptive poems suggest a Canadian atmosphere by treating the life of the Indian. These poems seem to lack sincerity and are bookish rather than truly Canadian. ⁵²

In contrast with these poems others of the descriptive poems suggest little or no Canadian inspiration, but rather a foreign influence similar to that evident in the imitative poems in the collection. ⁵³

Even more important in their reflection of a Canadian feeling are those poems which deal with subjects from Canadian history. These poems in particular seem to reflect a national feeling current in the country before Confederation based on a pride in united action in the past. In most of these poems Sangster puts his Canadian feeling above his strong colonial sentiments. He does have a firm admiration for England, but he never lets that obscure his national spirit. "Mr. Sangster, while cherishing a loyal attachment to the mother-land, gives Canada the chief place in his heart." ⁵⁴

52. cf. "Autumn", p. 65; "Falls of the Chaudiere", p. 53; sonnets 16 (p. 177) and 17 (p. 178). See Appendix II, Table I.

53. cf. "The wren", p. 111; "The April snowstorm, 1882", p. 132; etc. See Appendix II, Table I.

54. Dewart, E. H., "Charles Sangster, the Canadian poet", C.M., v. 7, p. 29, May 1896.

In his poem "Quebec"⁵⁵ he muses over the famous ~~sé~~ge which decided the fate of Canada. In it he expresses his pride in England when he notes her fame⁵⁶; but throughout it is obvious that Canada has first place in his heart, as the climax of his emotion expressed in the closing lines shows. The poem reads--

Quebec! how regally it crowns the height,
Like a tanned giant on a solid throne!
Unmindful of the sanguinary fight,
The roar of cannon mingling with the moan
Of mutilated soldiers years ago,
That gave the place a glory and a name
Among the nations. France was heard to groan;
England rejoiced, but checked the proud acclaim,--
A brave young chief had fall'n to vindicate her name.

Wolfe and Montcalm! two nobler names ne'er graced
The page of history, or the hostile plain;
No braver souls the storm of battle faced,
Regardless of the danger or the pain.
They passed unto their rest without a stain
Upon their nature or their generous hearts.
One graceful column to the noble twain
Speaks of a nation's gratitude, and starts
The tear that Valour claims and Feeling's self imparts.⁵⁵

"Quebec" is a good example of Sangster's method of musing over the past history of his country. It is his most successful method of revealing his Canadian spirit. A more successful poem belonging to this group is his famous "Brook"⁵⁷, written in 1859, which reads in part as follows.

55. Songs of the Great Dominion, p. 307.

56. "Quebec", lines 8 - 9.

57. Songs of the Great Dominion, pp. 254 - 255; Smith, pp. 92 - 93. The version cited is that of the first of these books.

One voice, one people, one in heart,
And soul, and feeling, and desire!
Re-light the smouldering martial fire,
Sound the mute trumpet, strike the lyre,
The hero deed can not expire,
The dead still play their part.

Raise high the monumental stone!
A nation's fealty is theirs,
And we are the rejoicing heirs,
The honoured sons of sires whose cares
We take upon us unawares,
Ass freely as our own.

We boast not of the victory,
But render homage, deep and just,
To his--to their--immortal dust,
Who proved so worthy of their trust,--
No lofty pile nor sculptured bust
Can herald their degree.

No tongue need blazon forth their fame,--
The cheers that stir the sacred hill
Are but mere promptings of the will
That conquered then, that conquers still;
And generations yet shall thrill
At Brock's remembered name.⁵⁷ --ll. 1 - 24.

This is probably Sangster's most successful method of suggesting his national spirit; but as we have seen he does reveal his feeling for the country in other ways--particularly in nature lyrics which reflect the Canadian scene. He could also write the 'drum and trumpet' style of verse, a type which has been very popular in Canada. In particular his poem "Song for Canada"⁵⁸ contains some stirring passages:

Our lakes are deep and wide,
Our fields and forests broad;
With cheerful air
We'll speed the share,
And break the fruitful sod;
Till blest with rural peace,
Proud of our rustic toil,
On hill and plain
True kings we'll reign,
The victors of the soil.

58. ibid., pp. 25 - 26.

But let the rash intruder dare
To touch our darling strand,
The martial fires
That thrilled our sires
Would light him from the land.⁵⁸

-- 11. 16 - 30

Sangster displays a significant Canadian spirit for a poet writing before Confederation. This spirit is best revealed in his treatment of historic sites and heroes, but some of his nature poetry also contains a truly Canadian touch. These poems reveal a distinctly Canadian spirit mainly because the poet was so thoroughly Canadian himself that his feelings were sincere and therefore naturally appeared in his work. But his more conscious attempts to be national--his 'drum and trumpet' verse--although enthusiastic are not very successful. The main reason for this is that they deal with generalities that might apply to almost any country. And yet, reviewing the Nineteenth Century, Mr. E. H. Dewart wrote, in 1896,

In some important respects, Sangster is still the most representative of our bards. It is not merely that his themes are Canadian, he lived in an atmosphere of Canadian sentiment, and everything he wrote is permeated with the free spirit of the "grand old woods" and broad lakes of his country.⁵⁹

And indeed very few English Canadian poets have expressed as sincere a national feeling in their work as Sangster did in a few of his best poems.

During the century before Confederation a strong national feeling seems to have developed in Canada, mainly in Upper Canada, based on antagonism to the United States, and on love of the Canadian landscape. However this feeling did not produce much literature that was distinctly Canadian during

59. Dewart, op. cit., p. 29.

this period. Most of the poets and novelists were too local, or too American, or too colonial in their attitude to feel any Canadian sentiments. The most significant exceptions to this condition were the novel Wacousta by John Richardson and a few poems by Charles Sangster. The main Canadian influence in these works stems from the anti-American feeling which had been strong in the country since the time of the American Revolution and the War of 1812. Not for over half a century did the first of these two events have any effect on Canadian literature; and it was almost two decades after the War of 1812 when Wacousta first appeared. Thus there was a considerable time lag before this vital feeling first found expression in the fine arts of the country. And even Wacousta is based more on the earlier Pontiac Conspiracy than on the wars with the United States. There was little vital national feeling in Canadian literature before Confederation, and what there was represented attitudes that must have been important for a considerable time in the lives of the people of the land.

CHAPTER III

CONFEDERATION and CANADIAN LITERATURE

in the latter part of the

NINETEENTH CENTURY

Confederation in Canada did not proceed from an irrepressible national feeling in the residents of British North America, but was adopted primarily for practical reasons. Since 1867 a Canadian national feeling has emerged as a result of political union; but even to-day many sections of the citizenry do not appreciate the fact that Canada is a nation, and their country. It is true that a feeling of unity had arisen in British North America as a result of the American wars; but that feeling had affected only a comparatively small section of the Canadian people, for since 1812 the complexion of the Canadian population had been changed by immigration. There is little or no evidence to indicate that many people in any of the British provinces other than Upper Canada felt any deep national feeling prior to Confederation.¹ The main force leading to the Confederation movement was, rather, the political stalemate which hounded the Union parliament in the years preceding the movement.² It was this condition which caused

1. As we have seen only John Richardson and Charles Sangster--both Upper Canadians--expressed any vital Canadianism in their literature in the pre-Confederation period. During that period both the French in Quebec and the English in the Maritime Provinces were too provincial to be Canadian in any national sense.

2. This was, at least, the immediate cause of Confederation. The state of union that had existed between Upper and Lower

rival political leaders to co-operate, and resulted in the sending of delegates to the Charlottetown Conference. In 1867 many Canadians felt that Confederation was impractical,³ and those who did support the plan did so only for practical reasons.⁴ This attitude continued long after Confederation was achieved, and as late as 1889 Goldwin Smith, certainly no opponent of the idea of a Canadian nation, was writing in The Bystander,^{5, 6}

The Bystander has the heartiest sympathy with those who strive to make Canada a nation....But there is no use in attempting manifest impossibilities, and no impossibility apparently can be more manifest than that of fusing or even harmonizing a French and Papal with a British and Protestant community.⁶

(note 2, cont.). Canada in the quarter of a century prior to Confederation actually made the move feasible. Then, when the political deadlock developed in the early 1860's Canadians felt that the obvious solution was federation such as had been suggested for the Maritime Provinces.

3. cf. Wallace, W. S., "The growth of Canadian national feeling", Canadian Historical Review, v. 1, p. 137, June 1920. In particular Mr. Wallace mentions a speech by a member of parliament, one Christopher Dunkin, in which the speaker could see no possibility of a Canadian nationality in view of the varying allegiances of Canadians to London, Paris, Ireland or Washington.

4. ibid., pp. 137 - 138. In particular Mr. Wallace mentions John Rose and Goldwin Smith. Both favoured Confederation, but only for practical reasons at that time.

5. ibid., p. 138.

6. Nova Scotians, and people from the Maritimes in general, have been slow to accept Confederation. This reluctance is probably the direct result of the resentment which Nova Scotians in 1867 felt against the way in which Confederation had been forced on them. It is true that Joseph Howe changed his attitude after his visit to London, but nevertheless Nova Scotia has always voted Liberal in the belief that it is revenging itself on the Conservative Party for the part it played in the affair. Very few Maritime writers have been national in any way. The first one to indicate a significant and widespread Canadianism was the novelist Miss. L. M. Montgomery. But except for

Nevertheless there were present in Canada at the time of Confederation a few men of vision who felt not only the possibility for but also the necessity of a strong national feeling. At first scattered and insignificant, this feeling slowly gathered strength until it grew into the Canada First movement in 1870 and 1871. As early as 1868 Charles Mair, a member of this pro-national group, had been contributing articles with a national flavour, describing the new North-west, to the Toronto Globe; but it was not until 1871 that this plan to propagate Canadianism became significant. In that year W. A. Foster, clearly the leader of the group, delivered a speech outlining the purposes of the new group. He entitled his speech Canada First: or, our new nationality, and from this title the movement acquired its name. Shortly after this time the Canada First movement entered politics, and proclaimed a national program. Its success was immediate, with the election of Thomas Moss in West Toronto in 1874, but short-lived. Both the Liberal and Conservative Parties immediately began a drastic campaign of extermination, and soon the Canada First Party disintegrated. As has often been pointed out,⁷ this was fortunate as far as the cause of nationalism in Canada was concerned, for Canadianism ceased to be a party issue. And

(note 6, cont.) here it is only in very recent times that Maritime writers have become really Canadian, the most notable example being Hugh MacLennan, the novelist.

7. cf. Wallace, op. cit., p. 158; Kennedy, W. P. M., The Constitution of Canada 1534 - 1937, Oxford University Press, 1938 (2nd edition), p. 340.

furthermore both the Liberals and Conservatives have adopted various aspects of the Canada First platform,⁸ and co-operated to develop a Canadian nation. The main significance of the Canada First Party is that it shows just how Canadian some leading men of that period really were. Perhaps the best expression of this sentiment is to be found in the Aurora Speech of Edward Blake of the Liberal Party, who in 1874 broke temporarily with his party and seemed to approach the program of the Canada First Party in his national sentiments. The tone of Blake's comments indicates the sentiments of nationalists in Canada in 1874, as the following passage from it suggests:

Let me now turn to another question which has been adverted to on several occasions, as one looming in the not very distant future. I refer to the relations of Canada to the Empire. Upon this topic I took, three or four years ago, an opportunity of speaking, and ventured to suggest that an effort should be made to reorganize the Empire upon a Federal basis. I repeat what I then said, that the time may be at hand when the people of Canada shall be called upon to discuss the question. Matters cannot drift much longer as they have drifted hitherto. The Treaty of Washington produced a very profound impression throughout this country. It produced a feeling that at no distant period the people of Canada would desire that they should have some greater share of control than they now have in the management of foreign affairs; that our Government should not present the anomaly which it now presents--a Government the freest, perhaps the most democratic in the world with reference to local and domestic matters, in which you rule yourselves as freely as any other people in the world, while in your foreign affairs, your relations with other countries, whether peaceful or warlike, commercial or financial, or otherwise, you have no more voice than the people of Japan. This, however, is a state of things of which you have no right to complain, because so long as you do not choose to undertake the responsibilities and

8. ibid., p. 158. The Liberal Party under Blake, Laurier, and King have supported constitutional autonomy, whereas the Conservative Party under Macdonald, Borden, and Bennett has supported an economic national policy.

burdens which attach to some share of control in these affairs, you cannot fully claim the rights and privileges of free-born Britons in such matters. But how long is this talk in the newspapers and elsewhere, this talk which I find in very high places, of the desirability, aye, of the necessity of fostering a national spirit among the people of Canada, to be mere talk? It is impossible to foster a national spirit unless you have national interests to attend to, or among people who do not choose to undertake these responsibilities and to devote themselves to the duties to which national attributes belong.

The establishment of autonomy in Canada has proceeded through two separate and fairly distinct stages. The first of these stages developed during the period before the Great War of 1914 - 1918, when the Canadian people secured virtual autonomy in internal affairs. Many of the privileges of self-government dated from the period prior to 1867; but there were still several important limitations to be removed after that date. Freedom in these matters resulted from strong agitation from within Canada, incited by the new national spirit. The second phase in the attainment of complete autonomy in Canada has proceeded during the early part of the Twentieth Century, with the development of independence in external affairs. A gradual growth in Canadianism has accompanied both phases of this general development, and, indeed, made it necessary. The rate at which Canada has secured independence may be taken as a reliable measure of the growth of a national spirit in the citizenry of Canada.

9. Wallace, W. S., ed., "Edward Blake's Aurora Speech, 1874"; Canadian Historical Review, v. 2, p. 255, Sept. 1921. Elsewhere in his speech Blake made other interesting comments. "The future of Canada, I believe, depends very largely upon the cultivation of a national spirit." (p. 256). "I have no hesi- in saying that the Government of Canada is far in advance, in the application of real Republican principles, of the Govern-

Blake in his Aurora Speech of 1874 revealed his own Canadian sentiments and pointed out that Canadians did not enjoy a satisfactory measure of self-government. In 1875 he returned to the Liberal cabinet as Minister of Justice, and proceeded to bring in several significant reforms. These were necessary because enthusiastic Canadians were dissatisfied with the continuing colonial status of their country. The first significant change was the establishment of a Supreme Court in Canada in order to reduce the number of appeals to the Privy Council. More important was the reform in the power of the governor-general which resulted from Blake's representations to the British government. After 1877 the governor-general no longer was required to reserve legislation on certain types of bills, and his privilege of pardon was reduced.¹⁰ These reforms were most important in themselves; but of significance also was the spirit in which they were introduced. Blake's

(note 9, cont.) ment of either England or the United States." (pp. 257 - 258).

10. cf. Kennedy, W. P. M., ed., Statutes, treaties and documents of the Canadian constitution 1713 - 1929, Oxford University Press, 1930 (2nd edition), p. 672, n. 1, as follows,

Various changes have taken place in the position of the governor-general. From the year 1867 to 1878, his instructions forbade him to give his assent to any bill (a) for divorce, (b) for granting land or money or gratuity to himself, (c) for making paper or any other currency legal tender, (d) for imposing differential duties, (e) contrary to treaty obligations, (f) interfering with the discipline or control of the naval or military forces of the crown in Canada, (g) interfering with the royal prerogative, or the rights and property of British subjects outside of Canada, or with the trade and shipping of the United Kingdom and its dependencies, (h) containing provisions to which the royal assent has already been refused or which have been disallowed. Acting on these instructions twenty-one Bills were reserved. In 1877, after Edward Blake, minister of

national sentiments were quite as strong when he was in office as they had been at the time of his Aurora Speech. In a memorandum to the British cabinet, submitted while he was treating for reform, Blake pointed out the national basis of his proposals.

'Canada is not merely a colony or province: she is a dominion composed of an aggregate of seven large provinces federally united under an imperial charter, which expressly recites that her constitution is to be similar in principle to that of the United Kingdom. Nay, more; besides the powers with which she is invested over a large part of the affairs of the inhabitants of the several provinces, she enjoys absolute powers of legislation and administration over the people and territories of the North-west, out of which she has already created one province, and is empowered to create others, with representative institutions. These circumstances, together with the vastness of her area, the numbers of her population, the character of the representative institutions and of the responsible government which as citizens of the various provinces of Canada her people have so long enjoyed, all point to the propriety of dealing with the question in hand in a manner very different from that which might be fitly adopted with reference to a single and comparatively small young colony. Beside the general spread of the principles of constitutional freedom, there has been in reference to the colonies a recognized difference between their circumstances, resulting in the application to those in a less advanced condition of a lesser measure of self-government, while others are said to be invested with "the fullest freedom of political government"; and it may be fairly stated that there is no dependency of the British crown which is entitled to so full an application of the principles of constitutional freedom as the dominion of Canada.'¹¹

(note 10, cont.)

justice, had visited England, the practice of enumerating the titles to be reserved was discontinued, a suspending clause being inserted in acts which would otherwise require the governor-general's reservation.... In addition, during Lord Dufferin's tenure of office difficulties arose over the prerogative of pardon, and Lord Dufferin exercised it without the advice of his ministers. During his visit to England, Blake arranged for a change.... somewhat revised in 1905.... (but cf. Ch. V, p. for the "Byng affair" of 1926).

11. Kennedy, W. P. M., The constitution of Canada, Oxford

The Conservative government, which came into office in 1878, also contributed to the development of autonomy, so well advanced in the preceding years through the agency of Blake. In 1879 the question of a High Commissioner for Canada in London arose when the difficulties resulting from the frequent trips ministers in the Canadian cabinet were obliged to make to London became fully apparent. At first the British government opposed any such office on the grounds that it threatened the existence of the Empire. In reply the Canadian government asserted its right to equality with the government of the United Kingdom in internal affairs; the official opinion was that

In considering many questions of the highest importance, such as the commercial and fiscal policy of the Dominion as affecting the United Kingdom, the promotion of Imperial interests in the administration and settlement of the interior of the Continent, and on many other subjects, indeed on all matters of internal concern, the Imperial Government and Parliament have so far transferred to Canada an independent control that their discussion and settlement have become subjects for mutual assent and concert, and thereby have, it is thought, assumed a quasi-diplomatic character as between her Majesty's Government, without in any manner derogating from their general authority as rulers of the entire Empire.¹²

Nevertheless at this time the government of Canada believed in only internal autonomy; as regards external affairs it desired to follow the wishes of the imperial government faithfully.

(note 11, cont.) University Press, 1938, p. 243.

12. "Report of a committee of the Privy Council for Canada (1879)" enclosed in a letter of 1880, "The Marquis of Lorne to Sir M. E. Hicks Beach", quoted in Kennedy, Statutes, pp. 678 - 679.

The Committee would further respectfully submit, in elucidation of the views contained in the memorandum, that the Government of Canada, in respect of negotiations with foreign Powers, in no respect desire to be placed in the position of independent negotiators.¹³

Even fairly ardent nationalists were, in 1880, as strongly imperial as they were Canadian, if not more so. This was, indeed, the final position national sentiment in Canada attained to during the Nineteenth Century.

The final important achievement tending towards autonomy gained by Canada in the Nineteenth Century concerned economic treaties with other nations.¹⁴ Difficulty arose over the inclusion of Canada as part of the Empire in most-favoured nation treaties made by the Imperial government, and over the desire of Canada to conclude separate treaties with certain foreign countries, particularly the United States of America, and France. In this matter, also, the British government was dubious about the stand taken by the Canadian cabinet. Said Sir Henry Wrixon on this issue,

'I have no idea of a nation as anything else than one complete unity with regard to an outside nation, and I cannot understand a dependency of the Empire arranging with an outside power.'¹⁵

13. ibid., p. 679.

14. In practice a solution had been found to this problem earlier in the century, as indicated by Elgin's reciprocity treaty of 1854, and Macdonald's negotiations with the American government in 1871 (to be dealt with later in this chapter). It only remained to work out legal authority for independent action, and to ensure its continuance in the future.

15. cited in "The Marquis of Ripon to the governor-general of Canada", Kennedy, Statutes, p. 681.

Finally in 1899 a new practice began to operate; Canada would henceforth have the right of separate withdrawal from and of separate adherence to treaties concluded between the Imperial government and foreign powers.¹⁶ Following this decision Canada could abstain from any commercial treaty which Great Britain made with any foreign power; and she could also establish her own treaties with other powers, but through imperial offices. This commencement of independent action in external affairs has developed into a major issue in the Twentieth Century.

One of the most important factors in the development of a national feeling in Canada after 1867 was the westward expansion of the new dominion, combined with the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway and the resultant immigration. This rapid expansion and unexpected growth ~~must have~~ greatly strengthened national feelings in the eastern provinces, tying them closer to each other in the new federation than they could otherwise have been; and even more significant that this ~~must have been~~^{was} the feeling evoked in the new Western provinces.^{16a} The three prairie provinces were created by the dominion government and have little or no separate history to inspire them. Furthermore immigrants to these provinces were in large measure immigrants to Canada as a whole, and not to French Quebec, or English Ontario or the Maritimes. They left their former nationality behind them across the Atlantic Ocean, and accepted

16. cf. Kennedy, The constitution of Canada, p. 349.

16a. Compare, for example, the attitude of Charles Mair; see pp. 61-62.

their Canadian allegiance with deep sincerity.¹⁷ It seems likely, therefore, that the peoples of the prairie provinces would, on the whole, ~~were~~ ^{tended} to be more national and less local in their sentiments than Canadians in the Eastern provinces or in British Columbia, all of whom had important pre-Confederation histories to inspire them.

Nevertheless this opportunity for pride in Canada was somewhat impaired at the beginning. When Manitoba joined the Union in 1870¹⁸ there was considerable fear of the national allegiance among French-Indian settlers in the west. In particular the people feared they might lose their claim to their lands, and that they might suffer for their Roman Catholic religion. The Canadian representative handled the situation somewhat tactlessly,¹⁹ with the result that the half-breeds set up their own government under the leadership of Louis Riel. The rebellion was easily suppressed, but Canada felt humiliated at the way in which the situation had developed; and some loss of national interest ~~must have~~ resulted, at least temporarily.

17. Many of these immigrants had had strong national feelings in their European fatherlands; they now transferred their affections to Canada, and became strongly national Canadians.

18. In 1870 both the British and Canadian parliaments approved the admission of Manitoba into Confederation; but in 1886 Canada was given permission to deal herself with any territories of the Dominion which might later become provinces. cf. Kennedy, Statutes, p. 680

19. cf. Stanley, G. F. G., The birth of Western Canada, London, Longmans, Green and Co., 1936, pp. 67 - 86 on this affair. (pp. 327 - 379 for the Second Riel Rebellion). Mr. McDougall, the governor designate, was ordered to assume the administration of Manitoba only after the troubled conditions had died down. He crossed the border while Riel was still well entrenched, and had to flee back again to escape the rebels.

Following the entrance into Confederation of British Columbia in 1871, Canada had to undertake the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway. At the time this project aroused much bitter feeling in various parts of Canada. In the East Canadians felt the construction was far too costly; in British Columbia that it was not sufficiently rapid;²⁰ and on the prairies that it was a threat to existing conditions. Nevertheless the construction of a transcontinental railway was most important in the inspiration of national sentiment in Canadians. To have such a vital means of communication across the broad and unsettled country within two decades of Confederation was indeed a miracle; but it was a necessary and important ^{step} in the creation of a Canadian national feeling. Perhaps the railway would do little to arouse such feeling among residents of Quebec; but in every other part of the dominion its influence ~~must have been~~ ^{was} widespread. In the Maritime Provinces it would tend to turn the people away from the economic and social orbit of the New England states, of which they were really a part. To the residents of Ontario it offered a splendid opportunity for migration west. On the prairies it thwarted absorption by American expansion and reduced localism and isolation. And in British Columbia it provided a death blow to annexation and made the Canadian allegiance desirable. Indeed, the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway was one of the most important

20. The people of Eastern Canada felt the railway to be an insufferable burden on them undertaken for political reasons alone. British Columbians resented delay in fulfilling treaty obligations and appealed to London (a move which nationally minded Canadians resented). Blake discussed the issue in his Aurora Speech (quoted p. 48, above, on another matter).

factors in the development of modern Canada.

In spite of its importance to Canada, however, the building of the railway was largely responsible for the Second Riel Rebellion, suppressed in 1885. Indians and half-breeds resented the railway because of the evils of civilization which accompanied it. The buffalo herds were depleted, half-breeds again feared they would lose their land, and unscrupulous whites were flooding the country with whiskey. As a result Louis Riel was again able to set up a government, and in March of 1885 he and some of his followers attacked a troop of Mounted Police near Prince Albert, killing some and injuring others. After a bitter overland march a Canadian army under an imperial commander succeeded in suppressing the rebellion. This campaign by an all Canadian force was significant in the evolution of the Canadian nation, and was the one satisfactory result of the affair. But in Quebec the hanging of Louis Riel aroused anger, and left bitter feelings which hampered the growth of Canadianism in that region.

In the period following the American Revolution and the War of 1812 animosity to the United States of America was the chief force tending to create a national feeling in Canadians. This factor was, indeed, one of the two main influences in the works of pre-Confederation poets and novelists which tended to make them Canadian in tone. This influence continued and grew stronger in the period following Confederation, although other factors, as have been suggested, were at least equally important in fostering Canadianism in this

period.²¹ In 1871, ^{Sir} John A. Macdonald, the prime minister, was engaged in negotiations with the American government over certain border issues, particularly Fenian Raid claims and the San Juan question. He was a member of the British delegation, and as such found that Canadian issues were neglected by the delegation as a whole because the other delegates were more concerned with the question of the "Alabama claims" than with problems of vital interest to Canada. As a result ^{Sir John A.} ~~Mr.~~ Macdonald found that the British government did not offer Canada much support in her claims for compensation for the Fenian Raids and misuse of the Atlantic fisheries, or in the dispute over the San Juan question. It was, indeed, significant that for the first time a Canadian official was a member of a British delegation; but at the time ^{Sir John A.} ~~Mr.~~ Macdonald was more concerned over the fact that he would lose some support at the polls because he seemed to have sacrificed Canada's interests to the United States. He did win the election of 1872, but his party was forced to use such dishonest measures to do so that two years later the Liberal Party was able to gain a strong majority.

The election of 1874 was only the first of a series of elections in which Canadian animosity to the United States was a contributing or deciding factor. In 1878 the Liberal

21. As we have seen, Canadian animosity against and fear of the United States was increased considerably in the 1860's by the Civil War, the building of the Pacific railway, and the Fenian Raids. See Martin, C., "The United States and Canadian nationality", Canadian Historical Review, v. 18, pp. 1 - 11, March 1937; and Stacey, A. P., "Fenianism and the rise of national feeling in Canada at the time of Confederation", Canadian Historical Review, v. 12, pp. 238 - 261, Sept. 1931.

Party was urging a renewal of reciprocity with the United States.

Sir John A.

Mr. Macdonald, in opposition, adopted a plank from the Canada

First Party platform and urged a protectionist "national

policy". Canadian nationalism came to his support, and he won

the election. In 1882 and again in 1887 Macdonald and his

national policy won general elections in opposition to the

Liberal Party under Blake. Thereafter Wilfred Laurier assumed

leadership of the opposition, and in 1891 fought his first

national campaign, again urging closer economic ties with the

United States. Again national feeling defeated reciprocity;

but in 1891 imperial feelings were more important during the

campaign than was Canadianism. Macdonald's slogan, "a British

subject ^{I was born} a British subject. I will die"²² provided the rallying point for his party.

Thus towards the close of the Nineteenth Century imperial and colonial relations became significant in Canada, as they did in other parts of the Empire, and late in the century this feeling became so strong that it tended to impede the development of Canadianism. The culmination of this imperialism appeared at the time of the Boer War, when English Canadians supported the Empire enthusiastically. Thus temporarily the growth of Canadianism was definitely thwarted by imperialism.

During the Nineteenth Century there was a remarkable growth of national feeling in Canada. This was long fostered by animosity to the United States of America, but after 1867

22. This phrase is inscribed on Macdonald's statue in Kingston, Ontario.

other factors became important in the development of such feeling. The immediate inspiration of Confederation itself has always been most important to Canadians. It has aroused pride in the nation as a whole and in the struggles and hardships endured in the process of becoming a nation. The struggle for internal autonomy naturally accompanied such development of Canadianism, and in turn served to increase it considerably. National pride demands national status, and virtual internal autonomy was secured in the years immediately following Confederation. The tide of immigration into the Western area has been another very important factor in the strengthening of Canadian nationalism. It is true that the two Riel Rebellions were temporary setbacks accompanying westward expansion, but even these aroused some national pride when Canadian forces were used to suppress them. Again, the transcontinental railway, which also resulted from the westward expansion, was another outstanding factor in the practical union of Canada. In all, during the latter part of the Nineteenth Century there was a gradual and strong development of national pride in Canada, more significant in some sections of the Canadian community than in others, but to some extent affecting all parts of the dominion.

The Canadian people were undoubtedly becoming nationally minded during this period. During this period also Canadians were for the first time evolving a national literature significant both in quantity and in quality. It is interesting, therefore, to consider to what extent this national sentiment is reflected in the literature of the

country, and when it first makes its appearance. In some cases it is immediately and strongly apparent; in some cases it is only occasionally evident; and in a few cases it is quite absent. This diversity suggests that some sections of the Canadian community were much more strongly affected by national feelings than were others; and to some extent the sections of the country from which various degrees of Canadianism in literature emanate should suggest the relative strength of this sentiment in the various sections of the country.

The outstanding poet of Confederation in the Nineteenth Century was Charles Mair of the Canada First Party. Born in 1838 at Lanark in the Ottawa Valley of wealthy Scottish parents, Charles had ample time in his youth to cultivate his mind for a literary career. During his attendance at Queen's University he began corresponding with a Dr. Schultz of Red River, with the result that the lure of the western plains impelled him to study medicine with the object of joining Dr. Schultz on the completion of his course. In 1868 Mair went to Ottawa to read the proofs of his first volume of poetry, Dreamland, which was published in that year. While there he established a considerable reputation for himself in government circles by making a précis of the Hudson's Bay Company Charter and Treaty Rights for a member of parliament. Because of this success he was appointed paymaster of a Government construction gang which was building a railroad from Winnipeg to Lake of the Woods. Thus began Mair's career in Western Canada, the career which brought him into close contact with the rapidly expanding dominion. His first volume was a success, and spurred on by

the favorable reception it received Mair contributed a series of articles to the Montreal Gazette and the Toronto Globe in which he tried to develop a sincere Canadian feeling. It was at this time that the Canada First Party was becoming important, and it was through these articles that Mair made his most significant contribution to its cause. Following the completion of his government job, Mair moved further west and became a fur trader, and was thus occupied when the First Riel Rebellion broke out. Mair and his wife were taken prisoner in that outbreak, and Mair was sentenced to be shot; but he managed to escape. He then moved to Windsor, and wrote his long drama Tecumseh, which he published in 1886. His wide experiences on the prairies had made him the logical person to treat such a subject. Following the Second Riel Rebellion, in which he fought, Mair again resumed his fur trading occupation, moving to Prince Albert. In 1890 he wrote his powerful and moving essay on The American Bison for the Royal Society of Canada; his plea was so strong that the Dominion Government established a sanctuary for buffalo at Wainwright, in the Rocky Mountains near Banff.²³ In 1899 he joined the Scrip Commission and travelled down the Mackenzie River; this journey led to his famous essay Through the Mackenzie Basin, published in 1908, probably the most important of all his writings. Mair published his last and most significant volume of poems, Canadian Poems, in 1901. He died in 1925.

23. cf. Garvin, J. W., ed., Masterworks of Canadian authors, Charles Mair, Toronto, Radisson Society, 1926, p. vi.

The volume Dreamland and other poems was published in 1868, in the year following Confederation. Many of the poems in the collection are distinctly Canadian--indeed the volume as a whole is much more Canadian in tone than any that preceded it--but none reflect directly the spirit of Confederation. Most of the poems are descriptive in character, and all that achieve a Canadian note fall into this category. Of the 32 poems in the collection, 15--almost half--deal with themes of life or death and are not Canadian in any way. These are the typical subjects to be expected of poets, and suggest the influence of Mair's extensive erudition. Of the remaining poems some 7 are descriptive in character but not distinctly Canadian. These, too, suggest the influence of Mair's reading. The remaining 10 poems are all Canadian in flavour, and most of them carry a national tone; 7 may be so described, whereas 3 are local rather than national in scope.²⁴ Typical of the Canadian description evident in these poems is "The pines."²⁵ The following passage from that poem is distinctly Canadian and indicates the general tone of the poems in this collection.

And the cypresses murmured of grief and woe,
And the linden waved solemnly to and fro,
And the sumach seemed wrapt in a golden mist,
And the soft maple blushed where the frost had kissed.²⁵
--ll. 9 - 12.

Less typical of the collection but definitely national in

24. See Appendix II, Table II for an analysis of Dreamland and other poems.

25. All references to Dreamland are to Mair, C., Dreamland and other poems, Montreal, Dawson, London, Low, 1868, reprinted in Garvin, J. W., ed., Master-works of Canadian authors, Toronto, Radisson Society, 1926, pp. lxix - 74. "The pines" is on pp. 6 - 9.

flavour is "Night and morn"²⁶, which deals with the troubles of the native Indian. In this connection it is significant to remember that before 1868 Mair had not left Ontario, and did not have the thorough knowledge of Indian problems which he later acquired.

But, in the ancient woods the Indian old,
Unequal to the chase,
Sighs as he thinks of all the paths untold,
No longer trodden by his fleeting race.
And, Westward, on far-stretching prairies damp,
The savage shout, and mighty bison tramp
Roll thunder with the lifting mists of morn.²⁶

The long drama Tecumseh, published eighteen years later, was a much more significant poetic endeavour than was the Dreamland volume, and was strongly national in flavour. The theme itself was calculated to arouse Canadian sentiments, and Mair's treatment of it only served to heighten its value for this purpose. Perhaps the most important way in which Mair develops the Canadian flavour is by the use of long passages of description that create a national tone. These are similar to the poems we have examined in the Dreamland collection, but are even more distinctly Canadian than those poems were. The following passage is typical of the descriptive sections of the poem.

We left
The silent forest, and, day after day,
Great prairies swept beyond our aching sight
Into the measureless West; uncharted realms,
Voiceless and calm, save when tempestuous wind
Rolled the rank herbage into billows vast,
And rushing tides, which never found a shore.
And tender clouds, and veils of morning mist,
~~Ceas't flying shadows, chased by flying light~~
Into interminable wildernesses,

26. Tecumseh, pp. 18 and 20. and "Canadian Poems", Toronto,

Flushed with fresh blooms, deep perfumed by the rose,
And murmurous with flower-fed bird and bee.
The deep-grooved bison-paths like furrows lay,
Turned by the cloven hoofs of thundering herds
Primeval, and still traveled as of yore.
And gloomy valleys opened at our feet,--
Shagged with dusk cypresses and hoary pine;
And sunless gorges, rummaged by the wolf,
Which through long reaches of the prairie wound,
Then melted slowly into upland vales,
Lingering, far-stretched amongst the spreading hills.²⁷
--Act IV, Sc. 7.

In addition to these passages of description Mair also endeavoured to present a national tone by introducing passages on the attitudes of various characters to Canada and the Empire. These are presented in the way in which people of 1812 would feel; but nevertheless it is interesting to note that patriotism for Mair seems to mean a strong belief in Empire as well as a distinctly Canadian attitude. This imperial attitude was a part of the Canadianism present in all Nineteenth Century writers. In the present century it has dwindled considerably, and in many cases is quite absent. A typical passage of this type from Tecumseh is the following excerpt from the lines allotted to Brock.

I believe in Britain's Empire, and
In Canada, its true and loyal son,
Who yet shall rise to greatness, and shall stand
At England's shoulder helping her to guard²⁸
True liberty throughout a faithless world.

The Canadian poems were not published until 1901; they therefore reflect the experiences of a quarter of a century of life on the Canadian prairies. They should; and do,

27. "Tecumseh, a drama and Canadian poems", Toronto, Briggs, 1901, reprinted in Garvin, op. cit., pp. 75 - 275 ("Tecumseh" and notes, pp. 75-198), Act IV, Scene 7.

28. ibid., Act IV, p. 143.

represent the ultimate in Canadian sentiment which Mair attained to in his writing. Of the 21 poems in the collection 12 are on poetic themes, and are therefore not distinctly Canadian.²⁹ But the remaining 9 are all strongly Canadian in sentiment, and present the most vital expression of national feeling evident in English Canadian poetry in the Nineteenth Century. Several of these poems deal with the Indian, others with Canadian history, and two with the Canadian landscape. Typical of these poems is the stirring historical treatment, "A ballad for brave women"³⁰, which reads in part as follows.

A story worth telling our annals afford,
'Tis the wonderful journey of Laura Secord! --ll. 1 - 2.

Ah! faithful to death were our women of yore!
Have they fled with the past, to be heard of no more?
No, no! Though this laurelled one sleeps in the grave,
We have maidens as true, we have matrons as brave;
And should Canada ever be forced to the test,
To spend for our country the blood of her best--
When her sons lift the linstock and brandish the sword,
Her daughters will think of brave Laura Secord.
--ll. 113 - 120.

Thus we see that during the latter part of the Nineteenth Century Charles Mair was writing poetry that was strongly Canadian in flavour. His publications span the whole life of the Dominion of Canada in that century, and reveal the gradual development of a strong national spirit in him. This emerged primarily as a result of his life on the Canadian prairies, where he was in constant contact with the native Indian and the pioneering development of the Canadian west, and where he experienced the crises of the Riel Rebellions. This

29. See Appendix II, Table III, for an analysis of Canadian poems

30. "Tecumseh and Canadian poems", op. cit., pp. 233-236.

contact with vital elements in the growth of the new nation was the major factor in the evolution of Mair's Canadianism; but it is also significant to note that from the first Mair was nationally minded. His prairie life did not create a Canadian spirit in him, for he possessed that as early as 1868, when he joined the Canada First group. It is impossible, therefore, to determine from Mair's career whether feelings and events in the Canadian west were vital enough in themselves to create a national feeling in Canadians in the Nineteenth Century. What Mair's work does indicate is, rather, that there was a vital national feeling present in at least some Canadians from the earliest days of the nation's history, and that this feeling was accentuated by developments in the expanding west. It was there that the future of Canada as a country lay. The fear of the American states and the need for political readjustment may have created the Canadian nation, but the westward expansion in the late Nineteenth Century did much to create a national feeling. Nevertheless Mair is not primarily a reflector of this condition, but a prophet and forerunner of it. He was a strong nationalist at a time when comparatively few people in Canada realized they were Canadians. Mair was the leading poet of Confederation in the Nineteenth Century, and was one of the main forces urging the creation and development of a strong Canadian feeling. His nationalism, although definitely dated,³¹ is as strong as that of any Canadian poet down to very recent times.

31. As we have seen, it was mixed with a colonial attitude, as was all Canadian feeling in the Nineteenth Century.

Mair³² expressed the most consistent Canadian feeling among Nineteenth Century poets, but certain other writers were able at times to express sentiments quite as vital and significant as his. One of the most interesting of these poets was Alexander M'Lachlan. Born in Johnstone, Scotland, on the banks of the Clyde in 1818, M'Lachlan was over twenty before he came to Canada. His father had come to Canada some ten years earlier and eventually bought a farm. Alexander came in 1840, sold his father's farm, and spent ten years buying various farms and trying his hand at pioneering, only to decide finally that farming did not suit him. In 1850 he moved to Erin township in Wellington County in Ontario, and for a quarter of a century devoted himself to tailoring, reading, writing and lecturing. He spent the remainder of his life on his son's farm, except for a few months in his last year, 1896, when he lived at Orangeville mourning his son's death at the farm.

As a poet, M'Lachlan reflects the varying experiences

32. Two poets contemporary to Mair in his early work are worth noting. Thomas D'Arcy McGee was born in Ireland in 1825. He was a strong nationalist and fled to the United States because of his part in the abortive uprising of 1848. Eventually he came to Canada and aided in the creation of the Canadian nation. He wrote most of his poems before he came to Canada, but in those written in Canada ("Jacques Cartier", "The launch of the Griffen", and a few pioneer ballads) he achieved a distinctly Canadian sentiment (see Markey, J., "Thomas D'Arcy McGee: poet and patriot", C.M., v. 46, pp. 67 - 72, Nov. 1915). John Reade (1837 - 1919) was also born in Ireland. Coming to Canada in 1856, he spent all his life in newspaper work except for the period from 1859 to 1868 during which he first studied law and then became a Church of England clergyman. His one volume of poems (The prophecy of Merlin and other poems, 1870) is primarily colonial in sentiment, although some Canadian flavour is evident. cf. Boyd, J., "Hastings", Songs of the Great Dominion, pp. 28 - 32. (See also Boyd, J., "John Reade", C.M., v. 53, pp. 74 - 77, where the opposite point of view is suggested.).

of his life. Many of his poems must have been written prior to his emigration to Canada; but there is no way of determining just which belong to this early period. In general his poems treat such themes as 'life', 'life and eternity', 'religion', 'freedom', 'love', and 'nature'--the usual subjects for the poetic muse. Of 158 poems in his Collected works 8 are distinctly Canadian, but 24 are definitely Scottish in tone.³³ Of the remainder some 11 reflect Canada in some way. Thus Alexander M'Lachlan did not express a Canadian sentiment throughout the whole of his work--nor was it possible for him to do so. Nevertheless he indicates the way in which the pioneer became Canadian and expressed a sincere national sentiment.

M'Lachlan uses all types of approaches to express his Canadian emotions. He is master of the artificial type of martial verse in which the expression does not sound entirely sincere. In this category is the poem "Hurrah for the new dominion",³⁴ part of which reads as follows:

Hurrah for the grand old forest land,
Where freedom spreads her pinion!
Hurrah with me for the maple tree!
Hurrah for the new dominion!³⁴ -- ll. 5 - 8.

Much of his work stresses a love of freedom, which also in places became a feature of his Canadianism. One such poem is "Young Canada, or Jack's as good as his master",³⁵ certainly national in sentiment.

33. See Appendix II, Table IV, for an analysis of The poetical works of Alexander M'Lachlan, Toronto, Briggs, 1900.

34. The poetical works of Alexander M'Lachlan, Toronto Briggs, 1900, p. 208.

35. ibid., p. 207.

I love this land of forest grand!
The land where labour's free;
Let others roam away from home,
Be this the land for me!
Where no one moils, and strains and toils,
That snobs may thrive the faster;
And all are free, as men should be,³⁵
And Jack's as good's his master! --ll. 1 - 8.

The only long poem M'Lachlan turned his hand to was "The Emigrant".³⁶ This poem obviously is based on his own pioneering experiences, and is at times distinctly Canadian, although it also emphasizes love of Scotland and the spirit of the New World.

Land of mighty lake and forest!
Where stern Winter's locks are hoarest;
Where warm Summer's leaf is greenest,
And old Winter's bite the keenest;
Where mild Autumn's leaf is searest,
And her parting smile the dearest;
Where the Tempest rushes forth
From his caverns of the north,
With the lightnings of his wrath
Sweeping forests from his path.... --ll. 1 - 10.

Thou art not a land of story;
Thou art not a land of glory;
No traditions, dates, nor song
To thine ancient woods belong;
No long lines of bards and sages
Looking on us down the ages;
No old heroes sweeping by
In their war-like panoply,
Yet heroic deeds are done
Where no battle's lost or won;
In the cottage in the woods,
In the desert solitudes;
Pledges of affection given
That will be redeem'd in heaven.
Why seek ye a foreign land
For the theme that's close at hand?³⁶ --ll. 25 - 40.

But perhaps the most interesting and frank expression of Canadianism is the humorous poem "Old Canada, or gee buck gee",³⁷ definitely a forerunner of the Service-Drummond group of poets.

36. ibid., pp. 204 - 256.

37. Smith, pp. 83 - 84.

I tell ye what! them and their books,
 Are getting to be perfect pukes;
 And sure enough this education
 Will be the ruin o' the nation;
 We'll not ha' men, it's my opinion,
 Fit to defend our New Dominion;
 Not one o' them can swing an axe,
 But they will bore you with their facts;
 I'd send the critters off to work,
 But that, by any means they'll shirk!
 Grandad to some o' them I be,
 O, that's what riles and vexes me!³⁷
 Ain't it a caution?--Gee Buck Gee!³⁷ --ll. 27 - 39.

In all, M'Lachlan was definitely Canadian throughout much of his work.

Also Canadian in places is the work of Isabella Valancy Crawford.³⁸ Miss Crawford was born in Dublin, Ireland, in 1850, and came to Canada with her parents eight years later. She grew up in a pioneering region, and stayed in such surroundings until 1864, when she moved to Lakefield in Peterborough County. Later she moved to Peterboro itself, where she died suddenly in 1887. In her poetry she dealt with the usual poetic themes--love, life, and eternity. Several poems reflect Canadian nature, based on the district in which she grew up. However so indistinct and conventional is her treatment of the subject that in few places are they recognizable as Canadian. Of the 86 poems in her Collected poems only 2 are distinctly national in theme, although others do suggest a Canadian appreciation.³⁹ Miss Crawford's work indicates the moderate influence national feelings exerted on many Canadians during the Nineteenth Century--seldom strong but often widespread.

38. Garvin, J. W., ed., The collected poems of Isabella Valancy Crawford, Toronto, Briggs, 1905.

39. See Appendix II, Table V for an analysis of her work.

Typical of this feeling is "Malcolm's Katie: a love story", her long poem, which deals with pioneer life.

"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 ev'ry silver ringing blow,
Cities and palaces shall grow!

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

"When rust hath gnaw'd me deep and red,
A nation strong shall lift his head!

"His crown the very Heav'ns shall smite,
Aens shall build him in his might!"

"Bite deep and wide, O Axe, the tree;
Bright Seer, help on thy prophecy!"⁴⁰ -- ll. 1 - 14.

These, then, are the poets who expressed the most significant Canadianism in their work during the Nineteenth Century.⁴¹ Two were immigrants to Canada and Ontario, but revealed important national feelings. The third, Charles Mair, was a native of Ontario, but spent much of his life in the Canadian west. He expressed strong and vital national sentiments in his poetry. There were, however, other important poets who did not feel the tide of growing nationalism to nearly the same extent as did these three poets. Foremost among such poets were the members of the Roberts-Carman-Lampman group, whose attitude bears examination. Typical of the group, and

40. Smith, p. 136.

41. Another poet of the period who suggested a national awareness in several of his pieces was John Edward Logan (1852-1925). Particularly significant are such poems as "A blood-red ring hung round the moon" and "The injun", although the latter one is also strongly colonial. (Verses, Pen and Pencil

yet more overtly national than some members of it, is Sir Charles G. D. Roberts; a detailed study of his work will suffice to show the general attitude of the poets in this group.

Charles G. D. Roberts, the major figure in this group, does not reveal a consistent national sentiment in his work. In places he handles Canadian imagery very well, but only in a local and Eastern manner; of his many hundreds of poems fewer than a dozen are Canadian in any significant way. Born in Douglas, New Brunswick, in 1861, Roberts spent almost all his Canadian period in the Maritime provinces. Until he was 14 he lived at the mouth of the Tantramar River in the district so prominent in his poetry. He attended the University of New Brunswick until 1879, and thereafter lectured at the University of King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia after spending a few years in Toronto on the staff of the Week. He left Canada in 1896 and lived in New York and later in England until 1924, when he returned to Canada. He died in 1943. Thus during the formative years of his life Roberts lived almost exclusively in the Maritime Provinces; and during the greater part of his poetic career he was outside Canada and wrote work in no way Canadian. Furthermore the Maritime Provinces were at first uninterested in and even antagonistic to Confederation, and had long felt their isolation from Canada. Poets and novelists from Nova Scotia were not Canadian⁴² in feeling

(note 41, cont). Club, Montreal, 1916.

42. Goldsmith was the only pre-Confederation writer from the Maritime Provinces who wrote with a Canadian feeling, and his work was certainly not national in spirit. These provinces were in the social and cultural orbit of New York and

before Confederation, and have much influence not to so become in this period. For these reasons there seems little chance that Roberts' poetry will reflect more than a casual interest in Canada as a nation.

Sir Charles G. D. Roberts was both a poet and novelist, and achieved considerable literary fame in both fields. However in both types of literature his approach to the Canadian scene is parallel, and need therefore be studied only in one. As a poet Roberts did much of his significant work in his early life, before he left for New York in 1896. His first volume, Orion and other poems (1880), was experimental and reveals predominantly the influence of his wide reading. Like many first volumes it is regarded, by some critics at least, as "all artifice; all artificial" and in no way Canadian.⁴³ His second volume, In Divers Tones, appeared in 1887 and contains poems based on Canadian national feeling. This and the others of his early volumes were collected and published in 1907 as Poems.⁴⁴ This volume provides a convenient basis for an examination of the extent to which Canadian feeling permeated Roberts' work.

Of the 182 poems in this collection 22 in the group "New York Nocturnes" and 64 of the 69 in the "Miscellaneous poems" were written in the United States and based on American situations.⁴⁴ Furthermore the long introductory poem "Ave!"

(note 42, cont.) the New England states for a long time, and it is significant that when Roberts and Carman--both poets--left Canada they went to live in this region.

43. Logan and French, p. 118.

44. Boston, Page, 1907; analysis in Appendix II, T.VI.

is a poetic piece written for the Shelley centenary. Of the remaining 95 poems 48 treat topics such as eternity and life, and 4 are distinctly imperial. Of the remainder, 33 deal with Canadian nature in a purely local fashion, while 10 are regional or national in scope. If these 10 were well spaced throughout his poetic career, Roberts would rank as a nationally minded poet; but they are not, coming instead from one short period in his life and appearing, almost all of them, in the In Divers Tones group. Indeed "with the single notable exception of Roberts' spasmodic 'Call' to the Canadian people to achieve a nation or Canadian setting and colour in some of his nature poetry, Roberts' verse is anything but Canadian."⁴⁵

In his ten distinctly Canadian poems Roberts does, nevertheless, express vital national sentiments. It was in these poems that he differed from other poets of the Roberts-Carman group, and showed the effect of the impact of Confederation on the life of the Canadian people. Although in essence only 'drum and trumpet' verse, the most notable of these poems are so enthusiastic and obviously sincere that they equal the best that has yet been done by Canadian poets in the field of patriotic poetry. One of the best of these pieces is the poem "Canada".⁴⁶

45. Logan and French, p. 115. Mr. A. J. M. Smith (Smith, p. 174) presents the opposite point of view. After pointing out the sentiment of Roberts' national odes, he remarks, "Yet the deepest and most enduring expression of nationalism is to be found in Roberts' poems of nature and the Acadian countryside, where the expression is implicit and indirect." His view, however, seems incorrect.

46. Poems, pp. 125 - 127; Smith, pp. 174 - 176; Broadus, pp. 33 - 34; Songs of the Great Dominion, pp. 18 - 20.

O Child of Nations, giant-limbed,
Who stand'st among the nations now
Unheeded, unadorned, unhymned,
With unanointed brow,--

How long the ignoble sloth, how long
The trust in greatness not thine own?
Surely the lion's brood is strong
To front the world alone!

How long the indolence, ere thou darest
Achieve thy destiny, seize thy fame,--
Ere our proud eyes behold thee bear
A nation's franchise, nation's name?

The Saxon force, the Celtic fire,
These are thy manhood's heritage!
Why rest with babes and slaves? Seek higher
The place of race and age.

I see to every wind unfurled
The flag that bears the Maple Wreath;
Thy swift keels furrow round the world
Its blood-red folds beneath. --ll. 1 - 20.

Montcalm and Wolfe! Wolfe and Montcalm!
Quebec, thy storied citadel
Attest in burning song and psalm
How here thy heroes fell!

O Thou that bore'st the battle's brunt
At Queenston and at Lundy's Lane,--
On whose scant ranks but iron front
The battle broke in vain!--

Whose was the danger, whose the day,
From whose triumphant throats the cheers,
At Chrysler's Farm, at Chateaugay,
Storming like clarion-bursts our ears?

On soft Pacific slopes,--beside
Strange floods that northward rave and fall,--
Where chafes Acadia's chainless tide--
Thy sons await thy call. --ll. 29 - 44.

But thou, my country, dream not thou!
Wake, and behold how night is done,--
How on thy breast, and o'er thy brow
Bursts the uprising sun! --ll. 53 - 56.

Roberts' most successful poem written under this
national impulse is undoubtedly "An ode to the Canadian

Confederacy".⁴⁷ Although it is written in the blatant style of the 'drum and trumpet' poets it expresses an emotion that sounds quite sincere, so rich is the enthusiasm displayed. It is a call to the Canadian nation to arouse itself and take its rightful place in the World. Thus it is not merely an exclamation of delight in Canada because that is the author's country, as most such poems are. "An ode for the Canadian Confederacy" is probably the best that has been done in Canada with this style of verse.

Awake, my country, the hour is great with change!
 Under this gloom which yet obscures the land,
 From ice-blue strait and stern Laurentian range
 To where giant peaks our western bounds command,
 A deep voice stirs, vibrating in men's ears
 As if their own hearts throbbed that thunder forth,
 A sound wherein who hearkens wisely hears
 The voice of the desire of this strong North;--
 This North whose heart of fire
 Yet knows not its desire
 Clearly, but dreams, and murmurs in the dream.
 The hour of dreams is done. Lo, on the hills the gleam!

Awake, my country, the hour of dreams is done!
 Doubt not, nor dread the greatness of thy fate.
 Tho' faint souls fear the keen, confronting sun,
 And fain would bid the morn of splendour wait;
 Tho' dreamers, rapt in starry visions, cry,
 "Lo, yon thy future, yon thy faith, thy fame!"
 And stretch vain hands to stars, thy fame is nigh,
 Here in Canadian hearth, and home, and name;--
 This name which yet shall grow
 Till all the nations know
 Us for a patriot people, heart and hand
 Loyal to our native earth,--our own Canadian land!

O strong hearts, guarding the birthright of our glory,
 Worth your best blood this heritage ye guard!
 Those mighty streams resplendent with our story,
 These iron coasts by rage of seas unjarred,--
 What fields of peace these bulwarks well secure!
 What vales of plenty those calm floods supply!
 Shall not our love this rough, sweet land make sure,
 Her bounds preserve inviolate, though wider?
 O strong hearts of the North,

47. Poems, pp. 127 - 128, Songs of the Great Dominion, p. 30.

Let flame your loyalty forth,
And put the craven and base to an open shame,
Till earth shall know the Child of Nations by her name!⁴⁷

Thus Roberts achieved a vital national sentiment in several of his poems in the In Divers Tones group.⁴⁸ This indicates that Confederation made a deep impression on the minds of many Canadians who were not, on the whole, nationally minded. Throughout the rest of his work, however, Roberts revealed little or no vital Canadian awareness. He wrote frequently on nature, but in a local rather than a distinctly Canadian fashion. In this his work is similar to that of most of the other poets in the Roberts-Carman group, who need not, therefore, be examined in such detail.

W. Bliss Carman (1861 - 1929) was born at Fredericton of Loyalist descent. He left Canada in 1881, and remained abroad, except for brief visits, during the rest of his life. He is not usually regarded as a nationally minded writer; indeed, Mr. L. A. Mackay, in an analysis that scarcely seems correct, insists that he was a minor American, not a Canadian, poet, referring to the "delusion that Carman is a Canadian poet."⁴⁹ Logan also notes that his work is not Canadian in sentiment.⁵⁰

48. William Douw Lighthall (1857 -) wrote several national poems similar to those of Roberts; but his work is inferior to that of Roberts and sounds quite artificial. Much more significant was his Canadian anthology, Songs of the Great Dominion, which stresses national poetry. Among his national poems are "Canada not last", "The confused land", and "National hymn" (pp. 28, 21, 22 respectively in his anthology). He also endeavoured to strike a Canadian note in his historical romance, The Young Seigneur (1888).

49. "Bliss Carman", C.F., v. 13, p. 183, Feb. 1933.

50. cf. Logan and French, p. 139; but contrast Lighthall in Songs of the Great Dominion, p. 449.

The reason for this opinion seems to be that Carman wrote no such obviously Canadian pieces as those of Roberts, nor do any of his pieces show a keen interest in Canadian history. But neither of these is necessary, surely, before a work of art may be considered national. It is true that Carman spent little time in Canada after 1881, but neither did Roberts after 1896. Roberts' nature verse has seemed national in inspiration to many readers; and yet much of it has a local rather than a national flavour. Carman's work is of just the same type. Frequently it, too, appears to express a feeling only for the locality (as, for example, "Low tide on Grand Pre"); but quite often a national consciousness--albeit a weak one--is also present. And this sentiment is not confined to any one period of his work, as was Roberts' Canadianism. Lighthall quotes his "Carnations in Winter"⁵¹, which is surely as Canadian as any nature poetry yet written; in 1920 he wrote "An open letter"⁵², which is definitely national in inspiration; and in 1924 appeared the frivolous ditty "Advice to the young"⁵³, another Canadian poem.

I saw across a valley the autumn rains come down,
And sweep in solemn grandeur across the forest crown;
And I thought upon the valley where each man walks alone,
And all the trails run out and stop at the edge of the unknown.
But I did not dread the solitude, nor find those vast forlorn
With their unfolding silence, for I was Northern born.
The great unbroken wilderness was all a joy to see,
And the firs and painted spruces are like old friends to me.
And when I heard the whisper of the snow begin to sing,

51. Songs of the Great Dominion, p. 449.

52. C.F., v. 1, pp. 80 - 82, Dec. 1920.

53. C.B., v. 6, p. 7, Jan., 1924; replied to by Barrington, C., "Quizzing a poet", C.B., v. 6, p. 37, Feb. 1924.

My heart went wild for gladness, as if it had been spring.
Out of the gray came whirling the legions of air,
That dance upon the storm-wind and make the world more fair.
All night they wrought their witch-work until the morning glow,
When every bough was bending with the blossoms of the snow.
Then slowly very slowly I crept out to the wild,
With the rapture and the wonder and the footsteps of a child.⁵²
--ll. 45 - 60.

These lines are Canadian if nature poetry can be, and are indicative of the impulse evident in a considerable portion of his work. Carman seems to have acquired a national sentiment quite as strong as that present in any other poet of this School. He frequently escapes the localism so common to his group, and to Canadian writers in general; and he never suffers from the colonial domination found in Campbell. Some writers have expressed a deeper and others a more widespread but few have revealed as sincere a feeling for Canada couched in such delicate tones as that of Carman's poetry.

Archibald Lampman (1861 - 1899), who has been called "Canada's greatest nature poet"⁵⁴, has a considerable reputation as an interpreter of the essential spirit of Canada. Logan, who is the foremost protagonist of this opinion, states that he was "a subtle interpreter of the Canadian national spirit by way of a new and philosophic interpretation of Nature in Canada."⁵⁵ This view, which seems much too strong, has been challenged in recent years.⁵⁶ Born at Morpeth, Kent County, Ontario of Loyalist descent, he worked in the civil service at Ottawa during most of his life. His work, which is nature

54. Rhodenizer, p. 207.

55. Logan and French, p. 207. cf. also Smith, p. 183;
Logan, J. D., "The literary group of '61", C.M., v. 37, pp. 559-
562, Oct. 1911; Knister, R., "Archibald Lampman", D.R., v. 7, p. 350, Oct. 1927.
56. cf. Kennedy, L., "Archibald Lampman", C.F.,

poetry similar in general to that of Carman⁵⁷, is often purely local in character, but at times distinctly Canadian. It is probable, however, that his work seems so typical of Canada to some critics⁵⁵ because it is descriptive of Ontario, and must strike a familiar note to residents of that part of Canada. Among his more broadly Canadian passages are one from the poem "Sapphics",⁵⁸

Clothed in splendour, beautifully sad and silent,
Comes the autumn over the woods and highlands;
Golden, rose-red, full of divine remembrance,
Full of foreboding.

Soon the maples, soon will the glowing birches,
Stripped of all that summer and love have dowered them,
Dream, sad-limbed, beholding their pomp and treasure
Ruthlessly scattered. --11. 1 - 8.

and two from "The woodcutter's hut",⁵⁹

(note 56, cont). v. 13, pp. 301 - 303, May 1933.

57. Another poet of this school whose work is very similar to that of Lampman and Carman in its approach to Canadianism is Frederick George Scott (1861 - 1944) of Ontario.⁶⁰ Particularly Canadian in feeling is his poem "The unnamed lake" (The unnamed lake and other poems, Toronto, Briggs, 1897, pp. 7 - 9; Collected poems, Vancouver, Clarke and Stewart, 1934, pp. 8-9).

It sleeps among the thousand hills
Where no man ever trod,
And only nature's music fills
The silences of God. --11. 1 - 4.

Contemporary to F. G. Scott was Duncan Campbell Scott, who was born in Ottawa in 1862 and worked during much of his life in the civil service. He is also a nature poet whose work is not, on the whole, distinctly Canadian. He has often been praised for the Canadian feeling evident in some of his work (Logan and French, pp. 159, 177; Hammond, M. O., "The poet of the Laurentians", C.M., v. 32, p. 456, March 1909); but he has stated that poetry should not be consciously national ("Poetry and progress", C.M., v. 60, pp. 187-195, Jan. 1923) although he does desire to see a national literature in Canada ("A decade of Canadian poetry", C.M., v. 17, pp. 153-8, June, 1901). His work as a whole does present a national outlook because he has treated Quebec (In the Village of Viger, 1896, and the one act (note 57 cont., and notes 58 and 59 on next page).

Far up in the wild and wintry hills in the heart of the cliff-
 broken woods,
 Where the mounded drifts lie soft and deep in the noiseless
 solitudes,
 The hut of the lonely woodcutter stands, a few rough beams that
 show
 A blunted peak and a low black line, from the glittering waste
 of snow.... --ll. 1 - 4.

Day after day the woodcutter toils untiring with axe and wedge,
 Till the jingling teams come up from the road that runs by the
 valley's edge,
 With plunging of horses, and hurling of snow, and many a
 shouted word,
 And carry away the keen-scented fruit of his cutting, cord upon
 cord. --ll. 13 - 16

Passages such as these are as characteristic of Canada as they
 can be, and suggest an appreciation of the country as a whole
 that makes Canadian flavour appear naturally and unconsciously
 to the poet's expression.

Emily Pauline Johnson (1862 - 1913) was born on the
 Indian reserve near Brantford of Indian and English parents.
 Her formal education was limited--she attended the Indian school
 on the reserve, and later Brantford Central School--but before
 she was 12 she had read Longfellow, Scott, Byron and Shakes-
 peare. After 1892 she went on many lecture tours, and in 1909
 she settled in Vancouver. The sentiment evident in her poetry
 evolved gradually from a passionate protest against wrongs
 suffered by the Indians, through a proud Canadianism, to a
 genuine world outlook. Her treatment of Canadian nature is
 similar to that of the other poets in the Roberts-Carman group.

(note 57, cont.) play Pierre) and the prairies ("At Gull Lake,
 1810", Smith, pp. 222 - 225) in addition to his native Ontario.

58. (see p. 81) Scott, D. C., ed., The poems of
Archibald Lampman, Toronto, Briggs, 1915, pp. 217 - 218.

59. (see pp. 81, 82) ibid., pp. 247 - 250.

Among her more distinctly national pieces is "Prairie Greyhounds"⁶⁰, which indicates the Canadian sentiment inspired by the building of the transcontinental railway.

C. P. R. Westbound--No. 1

I swing to the sunset land,
The world of prairie, the world of plain,
The world of promise, and hope, and gain,
The world of gold, and world of grain,
And the world of the willing hand.

I carry the brave and bold,
The one who works for the nation's bread,
The one whose past is a thing that's dead,
The one who battles and beats ahead,
And the one who goes for gold.

I swing to the land to be:
I am the power that laid its floors,
I am the guide to its western shores,
I am the key to its golden doors,
That open abode to me.⁶⁰

--11. 1 - 15.

These, then, are the major poets of the Roberts-Carman group whose work suggests in any way a Canadian national awareness.⁶¹ In contrast to such distinctly national poets as Mair, M'Lachlan, and Miss Crawford, their work--except for a

60., Broadus, pp. 46 - 47.

61. One poet of this group whose work is colonial and imperial rather than Canadian in tone was William Wilfred Campbell (1861 - 1919). William was the son of the Rev. Thomas Campbell, rector of the Anglican Church at Berlin (Kitchener), Ontario. During his youth he moved with his family to various parts of Ontario, the beauty of the scenery at Wiarton on Georgian Bay being particularly attractive to him. He, too, entered the ministry, preaching in turn in New Hampshire, New Brunswick, and at Wiarton; but after 1890 he was in the Civil Service at Ottawa. His work both in poetry and fiction (A Beautiful Rebel, etc.) is thoroughly imperial in character, over half his poems falling into this category. (cf. Allison, W. T., "William Wilfred Campbell", C.B., April 1919, p. 15).

few of Roberts' poems--~~their work~~ is not overtly national in tone. Often, too, their nature poetry is not as typical of Canada as a whole as is the work of those poets. And yet in their more distinctly Canadian pieces the writers in this group do present sentiments quite as significant and national in outlook as do any other writers during the Nineteenth Century. Considering that national feeling was only beginning to emerge in Canada during this period, the sentiments expressed in these works are probably much more typical of the feelings of Canadians as a whole than are those of Mair and the more thoroughly national writers.⁶²

In addition to the work of these established poets there was considerable incidental poetry written late in the Nineteenth Century, much of which appeared in periodicals such as The Canadian Magazine. Although much of this poetry is purely local or even provincial in character, some of it is Canadian in outlook. This work is significant because it indicates that national sentiments were fairly widespread throughout Canadian literature, and not merely concentrated in the work of a few writers. A fair summary of the nationally inspired poems found in incidental poetry during the latter

62. Some modern critics do not agree with this estimate of their work. Writes Miss Grace Tomkinson ("The watched pot of Canadian poetry", D.R., v. 14, p. 464, Jan. 1935), "Their work, as we look back now, seems curiously off the same piece. They all wrote a great deal about nature, which was to be expected in a new country where the seasons, as someone suggests, have a way of thrusting themselves dramatically upon us, demanding attention. They were more or less colonial, leaning heavily on the established traditions of the Motherland, convinced of their own audacity in attempting to break new ground in Canadian themes, by no means sure that our homespun words had poetic value."

part of the Nineteenth Century, as well as a few examples of colonial, imperial and local verse, appears in Table I, on page 86. Typical of such work is "At Ste. Thérèse" by Mrs Susie Frances Harrison ("Seranus", 1859 -), editor of the early anthology of Canadian poetry, The Canadian Birthday Book (1887).

Whichever way one goes one sees
The séminaire, and is sure to meet
The tall twin towers of the grim église,

And but for the keen Canadian breeze
Blowing the sharp Canadian sleet
Over the Lombardy poplar trees

To me and Pierre, who says it will freeze
By night, I feel as if I must greet
The tall twin towers of the grim église

For an Old World church with Old World fees
The Old World carillon sounding sweet⁶³
Over the Lombardy poplar trees. --11. 4 - 15.

..... (cf. Table I)

Fiction was, on the whole, only a minor literary activity in Canada late in the Nineteenth Century. Nevertheless interest in it revived in the last two decades of the century, and national sentiments appeared extensively in many novels. After 1877 the impulse of Confederation and national Canadian awareness aroused, ^{in some cases,} considerable interest in the historical romance, the most significant novels dating from this period being Kirby's The Golden Dog and Parker's The Seats of the Mighty.

That impulse produced tangible evidence in our literature because of a conscious realization of national ideals and a sensing of the spirit of a courageous and romantic past in a country that, superficially viewed, had barely reached the stage of 'growing pains'.⁶⁴

63. Smith, pp. 169 - 170.

64. Logan and French, pp. 241 - 242.

TABLE I

CANADIAN SENTIMENT IN MINOR POETS' LATE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

<u>Author</u>	<u>Poem</u>	<u>Source</u>	<u>Sentiment</u>
Armstrong, G.W.	"Canada"	... <u>C.M.</u> , v. 6, p. 314, Feb. 1896	...some imperialism.
	..."Dominion Hymn"	... <u>C.M.</u> , v. 7, p. 227, June 1896	...imperialism.
Bramble, C.A.A.	..."This Canada of Ours"	... <u>C.M.</u> , v. 14, pp. 40-1, Nov. 1899.	Canadianism.
Campbell, C.	..."Canadian Hymn"	... <u>C.M.</u> , v. 13, p. 134, June 1899.	...colonialism.
Duvar, J.H.	..."De Roberval: a drama"	...published 1888.	...Canadianism.
Edwards, L.A.,	..."To the soldiers of the second contingent"	... <u>C.M.</u> , v. 14, p. 486, March 1900.	imperialism in the Boer War.
"Fidelis"	..."Dominion Day"	... <u>Songs of the Great Dominion</u> , pp. 15 - 17.	...colonialism.
Gosnell, R.E.	..."From ocean to ocean"	... <u>C.M.</u> , v. 2, p. 96, Nov. 1893	...imperialism.
Gourlay, R.	..."A Canadienne"	... <u>C.M.</u> , v. 6, p. 165, Dec. 1895	...surface nationalism.
Hart, P.W.	..."A message from a few millions"	... <u>C.M.</u> , v. 14, p. 486, March 1900.	imperialism in Boer War.
Howland, O.A.	..."Canadian hymn"	... <u>C.M.</u> , v. 9, p. 463, Oct. 1897	...surface nat.
Lawson, F.	..."To Canada"	... <u>C.M.</u> , v. 12, p. 301, Feb. 1899.	...Canadianism.
Livingstone, K.	..."Hymn to Canada"	... <u>C.M.</u> , v. 7, p. 554, Oct. 1896	...surface nat.
McManus, E.	..."Canada"	... <u>C.M.</u> , v. 9, p. 279, Aug. 1897	...surface nat.
Meyers, R.D.	..."Children of the Queen"	... <u>C.M.</u> , v. 14, p. 447, March 1900.	imperialism.
Moodie, Mrs. S.S.	..."Canadian hunter's song"	... <u>Songs of the Great Dominion</u> , p. 172.	...Canadianism.
Muir, A.	..."The Maple Leaf Forever"	...written 1867	...imperialism.
Murray, R.	..."From ocean unto ocean"	...popular hymn	...surface nat.
Rowe, H.K.	..."En route to Alaska"	... <u>C.M.</u> , v. 11, p. 61, May 1898	...the New World.
Sherman, F.	..."A word from Canada"	... <u>C.M.</u> , v. 9, pp. 324-5, Aug. 1897.	imperialism.
Straton, B.	..."From '85"	... <u>Songs of the Great Dominion</u> , p. 24.	surface nat.
Upham, R.	..."The future of B.C."	... <u>C.M.</u> , v. 4, p. 391, Feb. 1896	...localism.
Yule, P.V.	..."Poems of the heart and home"	...published 1881	...surface nat.

William Kirby (1817 - 1906) was born in Kingston-upon-Hull, England, and came to Canada with his parents in 1832. He was educated in Cincinnati and later in Montreal, and then went to Niagara, where he published the Mail for twenty years. From 1871 to 1895 he was Collector of Customs at Niagara. His poetry is at times Canadian in flavour,⁶⁵ but more significant than it is his famous novel, The Golden Dog (1877), which has been called "the greatest Canadian novel".⁶⁶ It displays a patriotic fervour for Canada as part of the Empire, and one critic goes so far as to say "In fact Canadian scenes are glorified not so much because they are things of beauty in themselves as because they constitute an ideal place in which to foster the British sentiment to which he was so intensely devoted"⁶⁶; but this description seems rather too strong. Nevertheless The Golden Dog is hardly as Canadian in inspiration as the pre-Confederation novel Wacousta is. The theme is Canadian, and many statements in the book reveal a sincere attempt to be national; but at times forces detrimental to a true national flavour predominate. However the book opens on a sincere Canadian note.

"'See Naples and then die!' That was a proud saying....But I now say, 'See Quebec and live forever!'....this bright morning is worthy of Eden, and the glorious landscape worthy of such a sun rising."⁶⁷

But this sentiment is not often repeated in the novel, although

65. The United Empire Loyalists, a tale of Upper Canada, 1846; Canadian idylls, 1888 and 1894. Particularly national in flavour is the "Spina Christa" (Songs of the Great Dominion, pp. 240 - 252), which is a fanciful survey of Canadian history.

66. Rhodenizer, p. 83.

67. Kirby, W., The Golden Dog, Toronto, Musson, n.d., p.1.

in one place Kirby stresses the importance of Canada, writing,

New France, after gathering a harvest of glory, such as America had never seen reaped before, fell at last, through the neglect of her mother country. But she dragged down the nation in her fall, and France would now give the apple of her eye for recovery, never to be, of "the acres of snow", which La Pompadour so scornfully abandoned to the English.⁶⁸

Much of the Canadian sentiment is couched in a strong anti-American feeling, as seen in the assertion that "'I once with six hundred Canadians surrounded all New England....we swept Connecticut from end to end with a broom of fire.'"⁶⁹, and "'Against all the force of New England. But I cannot promise the same against the English regulars, now landing at New York!"⁷⁰ But the main spirit stressed is a colonial rather than a national one. Kirby is pleased to note how happy the French were under the British, and how well they were treated, writing,

The Canadian saw, with resentment, French fleets and armies dispatched to America, to aid the Bostonians, a fraction of which force sent in the hour of need would have saved New France from conquest! The assistance which had been so brutally denied to her own children, France now gave lavishly to their hereditary enemies who had for over a century been trying to conquer Canada.

Through causes rooted deeply in the history of New France, the Canadians had ever regarded the English colonists in America as their enemies, far more than the English themselves, and, therefore, when driven to a choice between the two, they remained true to England, and their wise choice has been justified to this day.⁷¹

Sir Gilbert Parker was born in Camden East, Ontario, of Loyalist descent, in 1860. He studied to be a minister, but took up literature and journalism instead. He went to Australia

68. ibid., p. 373.

69. ibid., p. 7.

70. ibid., p. 128.

71. ibid., p. 574.

in 1885, and lived in England after 1897. He was an imperialist at heart and wrote novels set in many parts of the Empire. In places he is quite Canadian in spirit, but only rarely. Among his important Canadian novels are When Valmond came to Pontiac and The Seats of the Mighty. But apart from the setting there is little hint of the country as an integral force in the novelist's mind; rather the principle love is for England. Parker, the imperialist, desires that "Canada be ours"⁷² and lauds the "glory there was for British arms ahead."⁷³ The most distinctly Canadian sentiments are put in the mouths of French Canadians; in one place Montcalm fears "I shall see my beloved Canada no more."⁷⁴

The other important fiction produced during this period is summarized in Table II, following. Few of the novels are remembered to-day, but insofar as they deal with Canadian topics in a distinctly national way, and were thus inspired by a spirit then prevalent, they do indicate a vital Canadianism.

TABLE II

Canadian Fiction in the latter part of
the Nineteenth Century.

<u>Author.</u>	<u>Novel.</u>	<u>Date.</u>
Campbell, W.W.	... <u>A Beautiful Rebel</u>	...1909
Laut, Agnes	... <u>Lords of the North</u>	...1901
Lighthall, W.D.	... <u>The Young Seigneur</u>	...1888
Macdermott, A.	... <u>Prairie Evenings</u>	
Roberts, Sir C.G.D.	... <u>The Raid from Beausejour</u>	...1894
Saunders, Margaret M.	... <u>Rose a Charlitte</u>	...1898
.....

72. The Seats of the Mighty, New York, Appleton-Century, 1927, p. 217.

73. ibid., p. 282.

74. ibid., p. 238 (cf. also p. 359).

During the Nineteenth Century national feeling developed rapidly and strongly in Canada, based in the first place on antagonism to the United States but increased many times by various other factors during the Confederation period. In addition to fear of the United States, political instability, westward expansion, growing economic unity, and many other factors aroused strong Canadian sentiment in the people of the country. There is ample evidence of this development in the history of the period, and also in the literature then written. Among the poets of the late Nineteenth Century some wrote work that is strongly national in inspiration. This is particularly true of Charles Mair, whose association with the Canada First group and life in the new west created a vital Canadian awareness which appears frequently in his work. More representative of the people as a whole, probably, is the work of such members of the Roberts-Carman-Lampman group as Roberts, Carman, Lampman, and Pauline Johnson. These poets were on occasion distinctly national in sentiment, but more often they were only moderately conscious of their Canadian nationality. The novels of the period are similar in their degree of national awareness to the poetry of this latter group, but are also colonial in outlook. It seems evident, therefore, that poets and novelists were inspired--but in varying degrees--by the development of Canadianism in this period. But the fact that some feeling is quite widespread, and that at times a deep national inspiration is evident, suggests that much more work with a distinctly Canadian flavour will appear in the next period.

CHAPTER IV

CANADIANISM and CANADIAN LITERATURE

in the FIRST TWO DECADES of the
TWENTIETH CENTURY

The Conservative Party formed the majority of administrations in the Canadian government during the Nineteenth Century, and did much to further the cause of internal autonomy in the dominion, and to foster Canadian national awareness. For only one term of office did the Liberal Party gain power prior to 1896; but it too made worthy contributions to the development of Canadianism. During the ensuing years down to 1919 both parties held office for a considerable length of time, and both, under the masterful leadership of two statesmen of the first rank, supported the interests of autonomy in Canada. Sir Robert Borden and Sir Wilfred Laurier followed in the footsteps of their predecessors, Sir John A. Macdonald and Edward Blake in the prosecution of this policy; but at the end of their era, as in the case of the earlier one, Canada seemed dangerously divided in spite of the many significant advances towards independence which had occurred.

The Manitoba School question was the most vital issue in the election of 1896. The Roman Catholic hierarchy in Quebec were willing to make a political issue of the problem, and Protestants in Ontario were equally determined to secure a solution pleasing to themselves. The question seemed likely to split the nation into two bitterly hostile camps, with calam-

tous results to the splendid development of Canadianism which had followed Confederation. Fortunately for Canada such an outcome was avoided through the election to power of the Liberal Party under Sir Wilfred Laurier. English speaking Canada supported the Liberal Party because it advocated provincial rights--and hence a unified school system--for Manitoba. On the other hand French speaking Canada supported Sir Wilfred Laurier because it saw a splendid opportunity to make one of its sons prime minister. The election of 1896 was a victory for Canadian nationalism.¹

Reciprocity had been a major part of the Liberal Platform in several preceding elections, and had been rejected by national feeling. In the election of 1896 it was not an issue, and following the election the new prime minister revealed that his attitude towards a national economy did not differ significantly from that of the Conservative 'national policy'. In 1898, during a debate on the Joint High Commission with the United States, the prime minister declared,

'There was a time when Canadians...would have given many things to obtain the American market; there was a time not long ago when the markets of the great cities of the union was the only market we had for any of our products. But, thank Heaven! These days are past and over now.'²

Nor was this any temporary policy supported for political

1. cf. Burt, A short history of Canada for Americans, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1942, p. 245. Canadians resented the appeal to Rome against the Catholic hierarchy in Quebec; but Laurier felt the move to be necessary to maintain national harmony in Canada.

2. quoted in Creighton, D. G., Dominion of the North, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1944, p. 390.

reasons. Canada was entering a new era, and consequently needed a new economic program--new for the Liberal Party, at least.

The end of the Nineteenth Century and the beginning of the Twentieth saw the rapid change to industrialization in Europe and North America which has characterized the modern economic order. The areas affected ceased to be major grain growing regions, and became instead importers of foodstuffs. With general rapid increases in population even more food was necessary. The former grain belts of the earth could not supply the demand; more food had to be produced. Thus it was that the world looked to the Canadian West as a source for this food, and immigrants flocked in to develop the land and supply the grain demanded. This development of the west provided a significant stimulus to Canadian national feeling in various ways.

In 1896 only 16,800 immigrants had entered Canada--the lowest number since Confederation.³ But with the new demand for wheat the figure rose sharply. In 1901 over 55,700 immigrants entered Canada, and for 1906 the figure stood at 211,600.³ These new Canadians left behind them strong national sentiments in Europe, and transferred their loyalties to Canada. Thus immigrants often became the staunchest nationalists in Canada.⁴ The new Liberal regime saw the development of the

3. ibid., p. 387.

4. There are several significant examples of this tendency in the work of Canadian poets and novelists--Alexander M'Lachlan and Isabella Valancy Crawford in the Nineteenth Century, and Laura Goodman Salverson in the Twentieth Century (Ch. 5, p. 134).

west as one of the moves necessary to strengthen the dominion, and started a vigorous immigration campaign. Canada's population increased significantly during the period, rising from 4,800,000 in 1891 through 5,370,000 in 1901 and 7,200,000 in 1911 to 8,781,000 in 1921, with the major increases in the Prairie Provinces and British Columbia.^{5,6}

The expansion of the West was the great feature of the period. Nevertheless there were many other important economic developments. Prospectors found gold in the Yukon, and many people rushed to that area; mining became important in Ontario and British Columbia; and the new industrial age came to Canada. Old cities such as Montreal and Toronto increased rapidly in size, and new cities such as Vancouver became important, as a result of this economic activity. Canada was slowly becoming a unit in fact as well as in theory. Stimulated by the prospect of continuous prosperity, business interests commenced the construction of two new transcontinental railways, the Grand Trunk Pacific and the Canadian Northern. Eventually these schemes failed, and ~~eventually~~ the dominion government had to take over the various lines constructed and merge them into the Canadian National Railway. The movement was, however, a sign of national activity in Canada as well as a unifying force. Said Laurier in 1903, in support of new lines,⁷

5. see Appendix I, Table II.

6. Various national organizations, particularly the Churches, aided in the development of national sentiment in Canada. The creation of the United Church in 1925 was a manifestation of Canadian feeling in the Churches.

7. quoted in Creighton, op. cit., p. 391.

Heaven grant that it be not already too late; heaven grant that whilst we tarry and dispute, the trade of Canada is not deviated to other channels, and that an ever vigilant competitor does not take to himself the trade that properly belongs to those who acknowledge Canada as their native or adopted land.

Reciprocity was not an issue in the election of 1896, nor in those of 1900, 1904 or 1908. But in 1911 the question of a tariff agreement with the United States again developed. Sir Wilfred Laurier felt that farmers desired such a program, and thought perhaps such a policy would counteract the political disaster of the Navy Service Bill of 1910. In 1909 the British government ^{agreed to allow} ~~decided~~ that each dominion should develop its own navy, and the Canadian government proceeded to seek appropriate legislation. Opposition arose from two quarters. English colonialists, supported by the Conservative Party, opposed the move on the grounds that it would threaten imperial unity. On the other hand Quebec 'Nationalists', led by Henri Bourassa, wanted protection against the United States and against English Canada, so they too disliked the proposal. With these two issues combining against him, Laurier went down to defeat in 1911. It is uncertain, however, whether the decisive factor was national feeling rebelling against reciprocity, or colonialism and other anti-national forces combining to thwart the creation of a Canadian navy.

The significant development of autonomy in Canada

8. Said Laurier, on this issue, "I do not pretend to be an Imperialist, nor do I pretend to be an anti-Imperialist. I am a Canadian, first, last, and all the time. I am a British subject, by birth, by tradition, by conviction--by the conviction that under British institutions my native land has found a measure of security and freedom which it could not have found under any other régime." (Creighton, p. 425).

during this period was in the field of intra-Commonwealth relations. In the Colonial Conference of 1897 the British government stressed the need for imperial unity, particularly in the three fields of commercial, political and military relations. Commercial co-operation failed because of free trade in England; political co-operation developed no farther than the unofficial conferences until 1917; and military unity gradually became unacceptable. This independent action continued through the Conferences of 1902 and 1907, and in 1909 the British Admiralty advised separate navies for the dominions. But, as we have seen, this latter move towards autonomy was rejected in Canada.

Canada also developed her privilege of making separate commercial agreements during this period. In 1898 Canada set up a Joint High Commission with the United States to settle such questions as the Atlantic and Pacific fisheries problems and the Alaskan boundary dispute. The commission contained four Canadians and one Newfoundlander out of the six members in the British delegation. But when Canadians felt that Britain neglected their interests in the final settlement of the Alaskan boundary dispute they experienced a significant impulse of Canadianism, and desired even more say in matters affecting themselves. In 1907 Canada completed a commercial treaty with France, and in this case Canadian delegates carried on all the negotiations, although British officials signed the agreement. Again in 1909 Canada set up another Joint High Commission to negotiate with the United States, this time for a tariff agreement. As we have seen, the work of this body proved

ineffective, for it was defeated in the election of 1911.

Nevertheless in all these negotiations Canada was developing external autonomy in commercial relations.

The other pressing issue of the Laurier regime which affected Canadian national sentiment was the South African War. The war was waged at a time when imperial unity was being advocated. English Canadians felt they must support the war with all their resources, and Laurier insisted that French Canadians must accept the will of the majority and aid in the conflict also. Thus imperialism was a major force in Canada at this time, but Laurier believed it was also a precedent for independent Canadian action in time of war.

'What we have done,' said Laurier proudly in the debates of 1900, 'we have done...in the plenitude, in the majesty of our colonial legislative independence....I am free to say that whilst I cannot admit that Canada should take part in all the wars of Great Britain, neither am I prepared to say that she should not take part in any war at all. I am prepared to look upon each case upon its merits as it arises....I claim for Canada this, that in future, Canada shall be at liberty to act or not to act, to interfere or not to interfere, to do just as she pleases, and that she shall reserve to herself the right to judge whether or not there is cause for her to act.'

Sir Robert Borden came into power in 1911, and at first ^{did not seem} ~~seemed~~ to take ^{as much} ~~little~~ interest in the development of Canadian autonomy, ^{as Sir Wilfred Laurier had done.} Indeed the general attitude to Canada at this time was that it was merely a colony. In 1913 a British reviewer noted that, as regards the commercial treaty with France, "the action of Canada differs in kind hardly at all from that taken from time to time by Crown Colonies, under the

authority from the Imperial Government, in matters solely affecting themselves."¹⁰ But after the start of the Great War the new prime minister soon revealed himself to be as ardent a nationalist as was his predecessor. Canada and the other dominions made a worthy contribution to the war effort, and Borden felt they merited consultation in the determination of policy. After the formation of the Lloyd George ministry in 1916 prospects for more recognition of the Canadian war effort brightened. In 1917 Lloyd George called an Imperial Conference at which important developments took place. As a temporary measure for the prosecution of the war an Imperial War Cabinet was established. Lloyd George and his associates regarded this body as a meeting of the leaders of autonomous states on equal terms. "Ministers from six nations sit around the council board, all of them responsible to their respective parliaments and to the peoples of the countries which they represent,"¹¹ declared Borden. "We meet there as equals,"¹¹ he asserted. It was a recognition of the right of the dominions to a measure of external as well as to complete internal autonomy. The final constitutional adjustment was to be postponed, however, until after the end of the War.¹²

Sir Robert soon found another splendid opportunity to further the cause of external autonomy for Canada. Canada had

10. Dawson, R. M., The development of dominion status 1900 - 1936, London, Oxford University Press, 1937, p. 150. (from The Round Table (Macmillan, London), Sept., 1913, pp. 596-600.

11. ibid., pp. 172 - 3. (The Round Table, June 1917, pp. 441 - 6, from a speech Borden delivered to the Empire Parliamentary Association.).

12. ibid., pp. 173 - 4. (House of Commons debates, May 17, 1917)

played an important part in securing the Allied victory, and felt that she should have a part in creating the peace. Borden, with the whole of Canada behind him, demanded the same voice which small powers such as Belgium exerted. In a telegram to Lloyd George the Canadian prime minister declared,

There is need for serious consideration as to the representation of the Dominions in the peace negotiations. The press and people of this country take it for granted that Canada will be represented at the Peace Conference....I hope you will keep in mind that certainly a very unfortunate impression would be created and possibly a dangerous feeling might be aroused if these difficulties are not overcome by some solution which will meet the national spirit of the Canadian people.¹³

Canada indeed secured the desired representation at the Peace Conference. She also demanded and secured recognition as an independent member of the League of Nations,¹⁴ with the same privileges the other members enjoyed. Thus by the end of the second decade of the Twentieth Century Canada was, in practice, an independent nation.

National sentiments were also significant during this period, and had increased, as a result of Canada's role in the Great War. Canada entered the war a united nation,¹⁵ and prosecuted her war effort with considerable internal harmony until 1917. At home the federal government was assuming powers hitherto exercised only by the provinces, thus creating a

13. ibid., p. 178.

14. Canada and the other dominions had earlier secured separate representation at the Universal Postal Union Convention (1906), the Radiotelegraphic Union Convention (1912), and the International Convention for the Safety of Human Lives at Sea (1914).

15. The Imperial Government refrained from any interference in Canadian affairs at this time, treating her as an

national atmosphere; and overseas the Canadian army won several important victories--at Ypres, Passchendaele, Vimy Ridge and other places--which served to raise the nation's prestige abroad and pride at home. In 1917, however, the dominion government found it necessary to institute conscription. English Canada was in favour of the move, but French Canada opposed it. The veteran Liberal leader, Sir Wilfred Laurier, lead the Quebec members in their opposition, but many English Canadian Liberals broke with him and joined the Conservative government. In the ensuing elections Canada was divided on a purely racial basis, and national unity, apparently so strong at the start of the war, was severely broken. During 1917 a Canadian General Staff was set up in London, and a Canadian, Arthur Currie, succeeded a British officer in command of the Canadian corps.¹⁶ But any national feeling resulting from these moves was more than counterbalanced by the national disunity resulting from the alienation of the English and French races in Canada over the conscription issue.

Early in 1919, when this disunity was at its heighest peak, the ardent nationalist, Sir Wilfred Laurier, died. He had come into power in 1896, at a time when racial antagonism was threatening the unity of the nation. His election at that time had preserved the national harmony, but now, when a similar situation had developed, he died leaving no one to take

(note 15, cont.) independent nation instead. This policy increased Canada's national prestige. See Kennedy, W. P. M., The Constitution of Canada, Oxford University Press, 1937, p.363.

16. Canada also secured the right to full control over her shipping in 1917. cf. Kennedy, Statutes, p. 695.

his place. The period between the two crises had seen a considerable development of Canadian sentiment as the result both of amazing internal development, particularly in the west, and of rapid progress in the attainment of external autonomy. But it is probable that the beneficial effect on Canadian national awareness of these advances was largely offset by the racial disunity of the closing years of the war.

English Canadian poets and novelists were active in the first two decades of the century, and reflected in many cases the national sentiment resulting from the various factors we have mentioned in the history of the country. In some cases their work is quite as national as, if not more so than, the work of Mair and other nationally minded Nineteenth Century writers. In other cases it is moderately Canadian in feeling, as was the work of the Roberts-Carman group of poets. On the whole, however, their work suggests a slightly more intensive appreciation of the nation--a gradual development of such awareness--than appeared in parallel Nineteenth Century types.

Two poets of this period, Robert J. C. Stead and William Henry Drummond, produced work that is particularly Canadian in flavour. Robert J. C. Stead was born in Middleville, Ontario, in 1880, but moved with his parents to Manitoba two years later. From 1898 to 1910 he worked as a newspaper publisher in Manitoba, but in 1910 he moved to Alberta where he eventually became a publicity agent for the Canadian Pacific Railway. In 1919 he became Director of Publicity in the Department of Immigration and Colonization at Ottawa. Mr. Stead has published two volumes of poetry, The Empire Builders

in 1908 and Kitchener, and other poems in 1917. The latter volume contains most of the poems in the earlier collection. An analysis of the topics which the poems in the Kitchener¹⁷ volume deal with reveals the relative strength of various sentiments in his work.¹⁸ Of the 57 poems in the volume, 14 deal with themes such as love, life and eternity and contain no national, imperial or local feelings. The next group--15 in number--deal with war and peace. These suggest the influence of the Great War, during which the volume was published, but are, in general, not Canadian in sentiment.¹⁹ The third group contains 12 poems which are colonial or imperial in flavour; this number--over one-fifth of the total in the volume--suggests an imperial impulse unsurpassed in Canadian poetry. Opposed to these, however, are the remaining two groups--10 poems which are regional in scope, and thus suggest a Canadian atmosphere, and 6 which reflect national Canadian sentiments. This analysis suggests that Stead felt his Canadian nationality strongly, but at the same time retained strong imperial feelings, as did Canadian poets in the Nineteenth Century. He also reflects the influence of the Great War, but produced little poetry with a national flavour resulting from it. Particularly national in flavour is "The mixer",²⁰ which concludes,

17. Stead, R. J. C., Kitchener and other poems, Toronto, Musson, 1917.

18. See Appendix II, Table VII for an analysis of Kitchener.

19. cf. "We were men of the furrow", Kitchener, p. 12, which, in contrast, is Canadian in tone.

20. Kitchener, pp. 44 - 49.

In the city, on the prairie, in the forest, in the camp,
In the mountain-clouds of color, in the fog-white river-damp,
From Atlantic to Pacific, from the Great Lakes to the Pole,
I am mixing strange ingredients into a common whole;
Every hope shall build upon me; every heart shall be my own,
The ambitions of my people shall be mine, and mine alone;
Not a sacrifice so great but they will gladly lay it down²⁰
When I turn them out Canadians--all but the yellow and brown.
--ll. 57 - 64.

Another significant Canadian poem is "The squad of one",²¹ which deals with the Mounted Police. The poet takes a sincere pride in the ability of the Canadian government to maintain law and order on the prairies.

That night in the post sat Sergeant Blue, with paper and pen in hand,
And this is the word he wrote and signed, and mailed to a foreign land:
"To U. S. Marshall of County Blank, greetings I give to you;
My squad has just brought in your man, and the squad was
"Sergeant Blue."

There are things unguessed, there are tales untold, in the life of the great lone land,
But here is a fact that prairie-bred alone may understand,
That a thousand miles in the fastnesses, the fear of the law obtains,
And the pioneers of justice were the "Riders of the Plains."²¹
--ll. 53 - 60.

Mr. Stead has also been a novelist of some importance. In his best known novel, The Cow Puncher (1919), he presents a clear picture of the Canadian west, but is also interested in the prairies as a granary for the Empire. Nevertheless this sentiment was no more contradictory to Stead's Canadianism in his novels than it was in his poetry. As a Canadian novelist Mr. Stead presented a faithful picture of prairie-life. He concentrated on giving a true representation of one region, and did not try to be national; he was dealing with a locality and trying to illustrate life as it was actually lived therein.

21. ibid., pp. 105 - 109.

His novels are prairie through and through. As such they follow in the wake of earlier novels of this period which developed a new kind of fiction in Canada. This trend can best be discussed when we examine the works of Miss L. M. Montgomery and Charles W. Gordon. Stead, following in their path, writes fiction that approaches the spirit of the Canadian people through a close examination of the peoples of various parts of the country. The theory is that if all sections of the country are studied in this way a true picture of the land will result from a group of novels studied together. Most authors deal only with one community. Thus Stead's novels approach the Canadian scene through the prairie community. Taken by themselves they seem fairly provincial; but a provincial spirit actually has no place in them. They are part of the trend towards a truer picture of contemporary Canada in the Canadian novel. This trend gradually developed a feeling for Canada in fiction. Although The Cow Puncher is generally considered the best of Stead's novels, his other fiction, including Neighbours (1922), The smoking flax (1924), and Grain (1927), all presents a realistic picture of life on the Canadian prairies. Robert Stead was certainly a nationally minded Canadian, proud of his country's development in the West, proud of her independent status.

William Henry Drummond (1854 - 1907) was born in County Leitrim, Ireland, the son of an officer in the Royal Irish Constabulary. He came to Canada at an early age with his parents, where his father soon died. As soon as he could work young William learned telegraphy to ease the burden on his

mother, and it was as a telegraph operator at Bord-à-Plouffe that he first came into contact with French Canadian life. He studied medicine at university, and later became Professor of Medical Jurisprudence at McGill.

Drummond's poetical works appeared in four volumes between 1897 and 1908.²² The sentiments expressed in each group are fairly parallel, and for this reason it is possible to obtain a fair cross-section of the topics he deals with by analyzing one group only. Of the 34 poems in the Johnnie Courteau²³ collection almost half--15 in number--deal with poetic topics such as life, and love; but, in contrast with similar types in the works of most other poets, 6 of these are distinctly Canadian in flavour. Furthermore at least 7 other poems treat distinctly Canadian topics in a national way, and 3 in a regional way. Thus of the 34 poems in Johnnie Courteau and other poems at least 16--almost half--strike a distinctly Canadian note. Of the remaining poems 6 are local rather than regional or Canadian in tone, 2 are colonial (i.e. Irish), and 1 North American. The relative strength of these various influences is approximately the same in all of Drummond's volumes. It is apparent, therefore, that Drummond, who was not a native born Canadian, has written work quite as distinctly Canadian in flavour as that of any native Canadian poet.

22. The habitant and other French-Canadian poems, New York, Putnam, 1901 (first edition, 1895); Johnnie Courteau and other poems, New York, Putnam, 1905 (first edition, 1901); The voyageur and other poems, New York, Putnam, 1905; The great fight, poems and sketches, New York, Putnam, 1908. Collected poems, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1926.

23. See Appendix II, Table VIII, for an analysis.

The main feature of Drummond's work is his interpretation of French Canadian life. It is this, probably, that has given him his strong national consciousness. In many of the poems descriptive of French Canadian life and customs the attitude is distinctly national.

Don't seem so long we buil' dat road, Chemin de Pacifique,
Tak' honder dollar pass on dere, an' nearly two t'ree week,
Den look dat place it freeze so hard, on w'at you call Klon-dak,
Wall! if we have to fill dem up, we got some large contrac'!²⁴

--11. 21 - 24.

This poem suggests the influence of nationalism rising out of the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and the increased interest in the west. Another example of Drummond's national sentiments is "De nice leetle Canadienne".²⁵ In this case the feeling seems to be based on pride in Canada as opposed to other countries, such as England and the United States, stemming, perhaps, from the remarkable advances in external autonomy made during this period.

You can pass on de worl' w'erever you lak,
Tak' de steamboat for go Angleterre,
Tak' car on de State, an' den you come back
An' go all de place, I don't care---
Ma frien' dat's a fack, I know you will say,
W'en you come on dis contree again,
Dere's no girl can touch, w'at we see ev'ryday,
De nice leetle Canadienne.²⁵

--11. 1 - 8.

At times, however, Drummond's French Canadian poetry is regional or even local in flavour. The regional poems are often Canadian in flavour, but the local ones tend to be provin-

24. Johnnie Courteau, pp. 77 - 80; Collected poems, pp. 187 - 190.

25. The habitant, pp. 34 - 36; Collected poems, pp. 30 - 32; C.M., v. 29, p. 370, August 1907.

cial in matters of national interest. This attitude is, however, quite rare in Drummond. More common is the regionalism of such poems as "The corduroy road".²⁶

De corduroy road go bompety bomp,
De corduroy road go jompety jomp,
An' he's takin' beeg chances upset hees load
De horse dat'll trot on de corduroy road.²⁶ --11.1-4.

Drummond also strikes a distinctly national note in poems which do not suggest French Canadian attitudes. At times he even asserts a conscious and very proud awareness of the Canadian nation. A poem of this type is "Canadian forever",²⁷ which suggests the attitude of Canadians to the Empire during this period.

And should e'er the Empire need us,
She'll require no chains to lead us,
For we are Empire's children,
But Canadian over all.... --11. 33 - 36.

For we are Canadian, Canadian forever,²⁷
Canadian forever--Canadian over all. --chorus.

And, indeed, this assertion was proven to be true in 1914, when Canadians of all walks of life entered the war with loyal and willing hearts. Drummond reflected well the growing national consciousness of Canadians.

Less distinctly national on the whole than the work of Stead and Drummond, but at times distinctly Canadian, is the poetry of Marjorie L. C. Pickthall (1883 - 1922). Born in London, England, Miss Pickthall came to Canada with her parents when she was seven years old. She received her education in Toronto, and later became librarian at Victoria College in

26. Johnnie Courteau, pp. 7-12; Collected poems, pp. 125-31.

27. The voyageur, pp. 116-117; Collected poems, pp. 355-7.

Toronto. She was absent from Canada from 1914 to 1920, when she was engaged in war work in England. Most of her poetry first appeared in three volumes, The Drift of Pinions (1913), The Lamp of Poor Souls (1917) and The Woodcarver's Wife and other poems (1922). Her Complete poems appeared in 1927. She also wrote a novel, The Bridge (1921) and a collection of short stories, Angel's shoes (1923).

Miss Pickthall was primarily a poet of nature, and the majority of her work reflects only a local appreciation.²⁸ Nevertheless a considerable number of her poems do reflect a broader allegiance, at times colonial, at times regional, at times national. A group of nature poems including "Apples", "Wiltshire", "Kerry", "The old harper", "For all prisoners and captives", "Summer casualty list", and "When it is finished"²⁹ are definitely colonial in atmosphere. Other poems--nature poems again--are regional in scope. In this group are "The tree", "Forest-born", "Three island song", "The rover", and "November".³⁰ But some of her poems strike a distinctly Canadian or national note. Her treatment of nature in "Canada's Century"³¹ is sincerely national in outlook.

28. "The woodcarver's wife" is widely regarded as distinctly Canadian; but there seems to be no national feeling in it at all; it is also doubtful whether or not it represents Quebec.

29. cf. The complete poems of Marjorie Pickthall, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1927, pp. 66, 67, 74, 75, 192, 193, 195, respectively.

30. ibid., pp. 34, 39, 41, 68, 164, respectively.

31. ibid., pp. 27 - 28.

Out of the north, O Lord,
Out of the north we have come at Thy word;
The forests have heard,
Yea, the tall cedars have heard, and they bow;
The plains have rejoiced at the wound of the plow,
They have laughed, they have laughed at the kiss of the rain
In the bountiful beauty of grain;
The waters have sung of the ships to be.
We are come, a people new-risen, and free
As our wide deep rivers that run from the snows to the sea.³¹
--11. 1 - 10.

Also Canadian in outlook are historical treatments such as
"Two Souls", *Père Lalement*", and *Chanson de la Tour*".³² At
times, also, her poetry is expressive of hope in the national
destiny of Canada, as in "Star of the North".³³

Dark is the watch-fire, sheathed the ancient sword,
But sons must follow where their siress have led,
To the anointed end, O Lord,
Where march the mighty dead.
Firm stands the red flag battle-blown,
And we will guard our own,
Our Canada,
From snow to sea,
One hope, one home, one shining destiny.³³ --11. 19-27.

Thus although much of her poetry is quite local in character--
as nature poetry must be--and some of it expresses a colonial
sentiment, Miss Pickthall achieved at times a thoroughly
Canadian--even a national--note in her work.

Much less Canadian in atmosphere is the work of T. R.
E. MacInnes. The son of the Honorable T. R. McInnes, senator
for and later lieutenant-governor of British Columbia, Tom was
born at Dresden, Ontario in 1867. He was called to the bar in
Ontario in 1893, and after 1896 served on various government
commissions in Western Canada. He later lived for a while in
China, and then settled in Vancouver. He has published in all

32. ibid., pp. 19, 21, 23 respectively. 33. ibid., p. 14.

six volumes of poetry, of which the first, Lonesome Bar and other poems (1909), is the most distinctly national in flavour.³⁴ Of the 24 poems in this volume, 16 deal with poetic themes such as life and eternity, and are in no way Canadian.³⁵ Of the remainder, 2 are distinctly national in flavour, 2 are local, 2 imperial, and 2--including the long title poem, "Lonesome Bar"--³⁶ North American. Of these latter 6 poems 4 are in some way Canadian in outlook. Thus of the 24 poems in the collection only 6 are suggestive of Canada; and this is certainly the most Canadian in flavour of all his volumes.

"Lonesome Bar"³⁶ itself reflects primarily the spirit of the New World, but is in places distinctly Canadian in atmosphere. It suggests the national influence of the Yukon gold rush, part of the lure of the New West in Canada.

Out of the North there rang a cry of Gold!
And all the spacious regions of the West
From rugged Caribou to where the crest
Of Mexican Sierras mark the old
Franciscan frontiers, caught the regal sound;
And echo'd and re-echo'd it, till round
The eager World the rumor of it roll'd:
How Eldorado once again was found
Where stretch Canadian plains, forlorn and rude
Hard upon the iron-temper'd Arctic solitude.³⁶

--11. 1 - 10.

Although much of MacInnes' poetry indicates a Western attitude, some of it suggests a feeling for Ontario. Typical of such feeling is the delightful lyric "Idlewild",³⁷ which is definitely Canadian in tone.

34. His other volumes are In Amber Lands, 1910; The rhymes of a rounder, 1913; The fool of joy, 1918; Complete poems, 1923; and High Low Along, 1934.

35. See Appendix II, Table IX, for an analysis.

36. Complete poems, Toronto, Ryerson, 1923, pp. 81 - 99.

37. ibid., pp. 37 - 39.

Ah, now in the land of the Maple,
In this midmost Autumn time,
The mellow, waning, yellow,
Indian summer time,
Disconsolate I roam
Afar within the aisled,
Olden, silent, golden
Forest of Idlewild,--
Forest of lonely memories only,--
Silent and golden-aisled.³⁷

--11. 38 - 47.

Thus Tom MacInnes, like Miss Pickthall, reflects at times a Canadian attitude in his poetry, but does not, in general, produce work that is as national in tone as that of Stead and Drummond.

Even less Canadian is the work of Robert W. Service. Born in Lancashire, England, in 1876, and educated at the University of Glasgow, Service came to Canada in 1905. He worked for the Canadian Bank of Commerce at various branches in British Columbia and the Yukon until the outbreak of the Great War. After the war he ^{ceased to live in Canada.} ~~settled in the United States.~~ Among his several volumes of poetry two, The spell of the Yukon and Rhymes of a Rolling Stone, provide the basis for an interesting comparison. The first of these volumes appeared in 1907, two years after Service came to Canada. The predominant influence is that of the New World, which forms the basis for at least 7 of the 34 poems in the group.³⁸ Of the other poems 4 are local and 1 is colonial in sentiment, and the remainder deal with poetic themes such as love, life and eternity. None of the poems are distinctly Canadian in tone, but "The rhyme of the remittance man"³⁹ suggests the way in which the influence of

38. See Appendix II, Table X, for an analysis of The spell of the Yukon.

39. Complete poems, New York, Dodd, Mead and Co., 1940, p.46.

the New World slowly emerges in immigrants.

While the trout leaps in the river, and the blue grouse thrills
the cover,
And the frozen snow betrays the panther's track,
And the robin greets the dayspring with the rapture of a lover,
I am happy, and I'll nevermore go back,
For I know I'd just be longing for the little old log cabin,
With the morning-glory clinging to the door,
Till I loathed the city places, cursed the care on all the faces,
Turned my back on Lazar London evermore.³⁹ --ll. 25 - 32.

In the later and very representative volume, Rhymes of a Rolling Stone, Service's attitudes change somewhat.⁴⁰ In this volume only 9 poems out of 150 reflect the spirits of the New World, relatively a smaller number than the 7 out of 34 in the earlier collection. But in this volume 11 poems are regional in scope, and although they are never national in flavour, they do suggest Canada as the country in which they were written. Thus there is a gradual weakening of pioneer attitudes and a strengthening of Canadian ones in his work as the poet gradually becomes accustomed to the land of his adoption. Nevertheless this feeling never becomes national in Service.

In Muskrat Land dim streams divide
The tundras belted by the sky.
How sweet in slim canoe to glide,
And dream, and let the world go by!
Build gay camp-fires on greening strand!
In Muskrat Land, in Muskrat Land.⁴¹ --ll. 43 - 48.

But before these sentiments could develop further Service left for the war, never to return and make Canada his home again. His poetry is interesting from a national point of view, however,

40. See Appendix II, Table XI, for an analysis of Rhymes of a Rolling Stone.

41. "Sunshine", Complete poems, pp. 178 - 185.

in that it shows how the influence of the New West affected immigrants to Canada and awakened a Canadian spirit in them.

In addition to these poets, who are the most important ones to reflect a Canadian feeling in the first two decades of the Twentieth Century, it is interesting to examine the work of some poets who felt a Canadian awareness as the result of the nation's part in the Great War of 1914 - 1918. Most war poetry dealt with themes such as life, love, eternity and war--as such work usually does--but some of it reflects a national spirit. As we have seen, Canada played an important part in the war, and as a result many of her citizens felt a new national pride. A poet who well reflects such sentiments is Esther Kerry, whose other work is largely colonial; in particular "He is a Canadian"⁴² suggests a national inspiration.

He is a Canadian--I wonder has he stood
In some thick forest, on a mountain slope,
Silent beneath a pine.
And looking out across a valley seen
Nothing but bristling tree trunks far below
And storm-scarred grey mountains
Whose snow caps
Rise to a sun-swept blue.

He is a Canadian--I wonder has he stood
On some still morning by a tiny lake
And watched the water ripple on the beach,--
One little clearing
In the mighty woods--
And knows that he is first to breathe that air
Not weighted by a thousand lives and thoughts,
But rare and pure
A breathing straight from God.

Oh, Canada, of bigness, beauty, strength,
Whom we thy children know as ne'er before
In exile's retrospect of glorious hours,
We love thee with a love we never felt till now,

42. Lighthall, W. D., "Canadian poets of the Great War",
C.B., v. 1, April 1919, pp. 19 - 20.

As love not all our own, a heritage
From those who to thy shore no more return.
Their love of thee, unconscious, pent,
Which drove them forth, they knew not why
And urged them on
All glad for thee to die.
In this great love may we be consecrate
And made a nation new,
Strong as thy mountains,
Generous as thy plains,
Pure as thy winters,
And with depths unknown
As all thy forest lakes--
Still pools of peace.⁴²

As second poet who reveals at times a national impulse resulting from the Great War is Helena Coleman. In particular "Autumn--1917"⁴³ is significant for its national flavour.

Are there young hearts in France recalling
These dream-filled, blue Canadian days,
When gold and scarlet flames are falling
From beech and maple set ablaze?

Pluck they again the pale wild aster
The bending plume of golden-rod?
And do their exiled hearts beat faster
Roaming in thought their native sod?⁴³ --11. 1 - 8.

These two poems and a few others suggest a sincere Canadianism inspired by the Great War. They indicate, as does the history of the times, that one of the significant factors in the development of Canadianism in this period was the War.

Many minor poets published occasional verse in periodicals during this period. Most of their work indicates a superficial Canadian sentiment--a nationalism inspired only sporadically by momentary pride in the new nation. These poems were usually written for some occasion that arouses pride in Canada--often Dominion Day itself. One poem in this group which reveals a national sentiment much stronger than that

43. ibid., p. 19.

usually evident in this period is "A Canadian Olympionikos",⁴⁴ written early in the century. It reads in part,

"I am a brakeman on the Grand Trunk line,
And for a livelihood shunt cars upon
Inferior tracks to depots semi-proximate,
Cars filled with sardines and molasses, dry goods and
implements
Employed by agriculturalists in occidental parts."⁴⁴
--11. 37 - 41.

This is perhaps the best of a score of poems which indicate a Canadian spirit--most often in the superficial manner mentioned above. Table III, on page 116, summarizes activity in this work in the period from 1900 to 1920.

..... (see Table III)

English Canadian poetry does reflect, therefore, the amazing national progress and the gradual growth of Canadianism during this period. Some poets are more strongly national than others, and some are only slightly Canadian in attitude, but on the whole their work suggests a gradual development in national awareness from the weaker and less widespread sentiments evident in the poetry of their Nineteenth Century predecessors. This is true in almost every case. Stead and Drummond, who are the most national poets of the period, have written work which contains relatively more nationally inspired pieces than did Mair, M'Lachlan and Miss Crawford, who represented this attitude among the earlier poets. Similarly Miss Pickthall and Tom MacInnes have written relatively more poems reflective of Canadian awareness than did poets of the Roberts-Carman School, who were moderately national poets of the preceding period.

44. Mann, A. K., C.M., v. 27, pp. 203 - 205, July 1906.

TABLE III

NATIONAL FEELING in ENGLISH CANADIAN PERIODICAL POETRY, 1900 - 1920

<u>Author</u>	<u>Poem</u>	<u>Source</u>	<u>Sentiment</u>
Aikins, C.C.C.	... "Manitoba"	... <u>C.M.</u> , v. 37, p. 372, Aug. 1911	each one local,
	... "Alberta"	... <u>C.M.</u> , v. 37, p. 508, Oct. 1911	... but Canadian
	... "British Columbia"	... <u>C.M.</u> , v. 38, p. 41, Nov. 1911	as a whole.
Blake, R.	... "The Coronation"	... <u>C.M.</u> , v. 37, pp. 220-1, July 1911	... imperialism.
Bowman, L.M.	... "England"	... <u>C.M.</u> , v. 45, p. 8, May 1915	... imperialism.
Bray, H.	... "..... obscure poet" #5	.....	... imperialism.
Dale, J.A.	... "A trip to London"	... <u>CCB</u> , v. 1, Oct. 1919, p. 35	... Canadianism.
Gilzean-Reid	... "To the maple-leaf"	... <u>CCM</u> , v. 26, p. 32, Nov. 1905	... by a tourist.
Gordon, A.	... "Ode for Dominion Day, 1917"	... <u>CCM</u> , v. 49, pp. 237-8, July 1917	... colonialism.
Kerry, Esther	... "A Canadian spring song"	... <u>CCB</u> , v. 1, April 1919, p. 53	... colonialism.
McCready, J.E.B.	... "At the grave of Muir"	... <u>C.M.</u> , v. 28, p. 46, March 1907	... Canadianism.
Macdonald, E.R.	... "O Canada"	... <u>CCM</u> , v. 41, p. 233, July 1913	... surface nat.
Manks, H.L.	... "Canada"	... <u>C.M.</u> , v. 17, p. 177, June 1901	... Canadianism.
Mann, A.K.	... "A Canadian Olympionikos"	... <u>C.M.</u> , v. 27, pp. 203-5, July 1906	... Canadianism.
Morse, W.J.	... "The Can. abroad"	... <u>CCM</u> , v. 29, p. 509, Oct. 1907	... Canadianism.
Phelps, A.L.	... "Canadian winds"	... <u>CCM</u> , v. 50, p. 117, Dec. 1917	... surface nat.
Wharton-Stork, C.	... "What's a man?"	... <u>CCB</u> , v. 1, July 1919, p. 58	... Canadianism.
Wicher, E.A.	... "From Kobe to Canada"	... <u>C.M.</u> , v. 23, p. 171, June 1904	... Canadianism.
Yeoman, E.M.	... "To Canada"	... <u>C.M.</u> , v. 34, p. 514, April 1910	... surface nat.

45. cf. Blackburn, G., "The poems of Horace Bray, C.B., v. 1, July 1919, pp. 9 - 12.

But in spite of this gradual increase some poets, such as Service, reveal little or no national awareness in their work, and incidental verse remains superficial and sporadic. Nevertheless the poetry of the period reveals a gradual strengthening of pro-national feelings in Canada.

The English Canadian novel presents a similar situation in the first part of the Twentieth Century. The work was frequently regional rather than national in flavour, but suggests a sincere reflection of a slowly developing Canadianism. A new trend begins in Canadian fiction in the Twentieth Century. The only important fiction in the Nineteenth Century had been the historical romance, which had flourished spasmodically. This had revealed an interest in the history of Canada; but often the desire to paint this history as Canadian (or, as British) had marred the attempt. The novels--except for one or two--had offered only a momentary attraction. They did not picture the country as it was either in their own times or in the times described. Indeed Canadian fiction had hardly come into being before 1900. However a new trend developed immediately after the turn of the century--a trend which has lead to the creation of an important and bulky Canadian fiction. The new novelists dealt with the Canada which they knew, not with a romantic past. They tried to picture contemporary society as it really was. To do this they limited their field to some community which they knew intimately. Their novels did not reflect a national impulse as the historical romance had done; but the impulse behind them was not artificial. Most Canadianism evident in Nineteenth Century work was superficial;

the new localism was quite sincere. Furthermore some of these writers deal with more than one region of the country, and thus present a Canadian picture when their work is viewed as a whole. Thus although individual novels are quite local in character, a collection of them may be national in tone. As this movement in fiction became stronger and stronger a feeling for Canada as a nation gradually developed. The novelists now painted the Canada they knew, and if any vital national awareness were present in their work they should reflect it more faithfully than could a historical novel, which reads later feelings into earlier situations where they have no place.

The pioneer work in this field was Where the Sugar Maple Grows⁴⁶ by A. M. Teskey. Hardly a novel in the strictest sense of the term, it is rather a series of pictures of life in a Canadian community bound together by the central figure of the author and the central setting of the village. As the subtitle suggests, it actually presents "Idylls of a Canadian village." This book does not picture Canada as a whole, or a vital Canadian sentiment--it does not profess to do so. The author is interested only in the one locality, and the country as a whole is only considered once in the novel. However this incidental reference indicates an awareness of the nation that is healthier and more enduring than the superficial Canadian sentiment fostered by earlier writers. A novelist who tries to show how Canadian he is seldom convinces the reader, and he indicates little of the sentiment prevalent in the country at

46. Toronto, Musson, 1901, quotation pp. 9 - 10.

the time. A novel is primarily a work of art, and if it is to be of use as an indication of the extent to which Canadian feeling is prevalent at the time any national impulse evident in it should be unconscious. It seems to be in this novel, for the following passage contains the only reference to Canada present in it.

I always came back, after journeyings in other lands among strangers and foreigners, to my summer home in law-abiding Canada, where righteousness seemed to have the upper hand, as to a Sabbath rest. I returned with the regularity of the robin and the blue-bird, and with the same feeling of coming home which they manifest by building their nest and raising their fledglings in the bosom of "Our Lady of the Sunshine."

Mapleton, situated in the fairest part of the rich province of Ontario, was a typical Canadian village.

Walking through our quiet streets you might hear the rich Irish brogue, the broad Scotch burr, the deep German guttural, or the sharp nasal twang of the "American", as we call our neighbours of the United States. And while a beautifully kept lawn of mossy greenness and velvet smoothness environed our home, the next was in a setting of Canada thistles or burdocks--or mayhap a "pratle patch" if the owner was an Irishman.

Tall sugar-maples stood here and there on either side of the street, and during the short fervid Canadian summer threw their grateful shade alike over velvet lawn and "pratle patch", donning in autumn a dress of russet, crimson and gold of that indescribable splendour which makes our maples the wonder and admiration of the world. A canal ran through the heart of the village connecting two of the great lakes, and across one corner meandered the river, called by the less ambitious--much to the disgust of the rising generation--"the creek."⁴⁶

The year 1908 is a significant one for the Canadian novel. In it three important novels appeared, all following in the wake of Miss A. M. Teskey's book. The most important of these was L. M. Montgomery's Anne of Green Gables. All of Miss

Montgomery's work belongs to the same type of fiction, and can therefore best be discussed as a whole.⁴⁷ ~~Miss Montgomery was undoubtedly the most important English Canadian novelist in this period.~~ Instead of dealing with historical topics she drew a picture of contemporary life. She sets her novels in Prince Edward Island or Ontario communities, and indicates no wider feelings. Her work is neither sincerely nor artificially national, but does present a localism that is not narrowly provincial. Thus her work represents an important advance on the road towards the appearance of Canadianism in fiction. Sincerity is the prime requirement necessary for the development of a Canadian literature. "The interest of reality in the new Canadian novel is mainly character interest, heightened by concentrated regional setting; and not far behind is the interest of incident."⁴⁸ Thus Miss Montgomery presents a mirror of Canadian country life--she presents good nature studies of Prince Edward Island and Ontario⁴⁹--but her work remains regional and local rather than Canadian.

The second important novelist is the 1908 trio was Marian Keith, who published her Duncan Polite in that year. Like Miss Montgomery she also has written many novels with a strictly local flavour, dealing with the local feeling in a thoroughly sincere manner. But her novels do have a broader

47. Among her many other novels Chronicles of Avonlea, Anne of the Island, and Anne's House of Dreams are well-known. The 'Emily' series began in 1923 with Emily of New House.

48. Weber, E., "L. M. Montgomery's "Anne"", D.R., v. 24, p. 65, April 1944.

49. cf. Logan and French, p. 298.

scope than do Miss Montgomery's; instead of dealing with only one small locality they present a cross-section of Ontario rural life. Thus her work⁵⁰ is "a faithful picture of the social and religious life of a certain type of rural Canadian settlement, and Canadian town."⁵¹

The third novelist in the 1908 group was Nellie L. McClung, who published Sowing Seeds in Danny in that year. Mrs. McClung has written many Canadian novels⁵² and short stories of the local or provincial type. Her work presents a carefully drawn picture of various communities in Eastern Canada, ^{and on the Canadian prairies.} Her work is similar to that of Miss Montgomery and Marian Keith, with much local colour but no feeling for Canada as a country--no national consciousness or spirit of the land.

Charles William Gordon (Ralph Conner) ranks second only to L. M. Montgomery as the major novelist of this period. His work also reflects regional rather than national sentiment, although he deals with several different regions. His novels cover all walks of Canadian life, and even go abroad for their topics. But none of them are national--they are all regional or local. Some--particularly those set in Western Canada--are obviously designed to catch the glamorous aspects of Canadian life to please a foreign market. Such novels do not reflect any national flavour, for they could easily have been written

50. Among her many other books Silver Maple, Treasure Valley and Lizbeth of the Dale are well-known.

51. Logan and French, p. 303.

52. Among her other novels are The second chance and Purple springs.

by Americans or Englishmen who have never seen the country. Of one such work a reviewer notes, "Its sole claim to Canadianism had been due to its efforts to present, by American technique, a superficial "local colour" supposed to be characteristic of some small section of the vast territory of the Dominion."⁵³ Mr. Gordon has probably done his best work in the 'Glengarry' group,⁵⁴ although his earlier novel Black Rock; a tale of the Selkirks is widely praised. In these novels he approximates the excellent representation of certain aspects of Canadian life found in Miss Montgomery's work.

One of the more promising novelists of this period was Arthur Stringer (b. 1874). A native Canadian, he captured the spirit of the Canadian prairies in his famous prairie trilogy. In 1916 he wrote The Prairie Wife; three years later he published The Prairie Mother; and two years later--in 1921--The Prairie Child appeared. These three novels present an excellent realistic study of the prairies and suggest a Canadian awareness. It was generally expected that Stringer would soon produce the great Canadian novel which critics were looking for. However Mr. Stringer found that his work was not widely appreciated in Canada, and soon ~~was~~ forced to move to the United States. He continued to set his work in Canada, but only in such a way as would please the American public. In a frank statement concerning one such book he remarked that he

53. "Polly Masson" and our polyglot politics", C.B., v. 1, Oct. 1919, pp. 43 - 44.

54. His more important novels are Glengarry school days (1902), The man from Glengarry (1906), The girl from Glengarry (1933), and The foreigner (1909).

could write about Alaska or the Yukon, or any romantic aspect of Canadian life, although he knew no more about his topic than a Fiji Islander knows about the New York stock exchange.⁵⁵

Arthur Stringer was also a minor poet of some importance, and in his early work reflects some Canadian feeling. The poem "The colonial"⁵⁶ reflects a strong Canadian sentiment, but one that is rather superficial. However there is a strong Irish sentiment in all his work, and after he left the country this tended to predominate in his work.⁵⁷ In Arthur Stringer Canada lost a writer who was capable of capturing a vital Canadianism.

Another novelist and poet who found the same difficulty as Mr. Stringer was John Murray Gibbon. Mr. Gibbon was born in Ceylon in 1875 of Scottish parents, and did not come to Canada until 1913. Since then he has taken an active part in Canadian literature, writing novels, poetry, and short stories, and becoming president of the Canadian Authors' Association. Mr. Gibbon has written five novels, of which Drums Afar (1918), The Conquering Hero (1920) and Pagan Love (1922) are probably the most significant from a Canadian point of view.⁵⁸ Nevertheless in all his novels Mr. Gibbon presents the attitude of the tourist rather than that of the national Canadian. Indeed he found that the Canadian public does not appreciate the native novelist, but drives him "across the boundary line, where he

55. cf. "The man who couldn't sleep", C.B., v. 1, Jan., 1920, pp. 61 - 64.

56. cf. C.M., v. 15, pp. 361 - 362, Aug. 1900.

57. cf. King who loved old clothes, and other Irish poems, Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1941, etc.

58. also Hearts and Faces, 1916; Eyes of a Gypsy, 1926.

may still stir a little Canadian flavour into his literary soup; but by residence in the United States and cultivation of American taste he writes afterwards primarily for another clientele than ours."⁵⁹ Gradually, however, his novels tended to lose their tourist qualities and became distinctly Canadian, though regional, in character, and his poetry does suggest a national impulse, particularly "A Canadian Calendar".⁶⁰

OCTOBER

Falling, falling leaves!
And indoors
Cellars sweet-smelling with apples,
Fair hands busy with canning and stores for the winter.⁶⁰

It seems likely, too, that if Mr. Gibbon had continued to write novels he would have become more and more nationally minded in them. In those he has written he is at times regional in outlook, and some of his poetry is distinctly Canadian.

These are only the most important novelists in this period. Many other writers followed these writers in dealing with local settings. Together they deal with all aspects of Canadian life from coast to coast. Table IV presents a summary of the other important novelists of this period. Although they are nowhere Canadian in sentiment, these novels as a whole do give the impression of an awakening national consciousness. And that is probably just what was to be expected. The first Confederation enthusiasm--which was superficial and momentary--was over, and the Canadian people all across the country were beginning to acquire a sincere feeling

59. Douglas, R. W., "Present literary activity in British Columbia", C.B., v. 1, July 1919, p. 44.

60. C.B., v. 2, Jan. 1920, pp. 12 - 13.

for their part of Canada. As yet all was regional, but as time went on this sincere regionalism could very possibly grow into a sincere national sentiment. In summary of the novelists in this period it has well been said that

While the men, following the lead of Ralph Connor, are endeavouring to achieve Canadianism by specializing on the different kinds of fist-fights which occur in different parts of the Dominion, the women are devoting their attention to securing the corresponding national colouring by a depiction of the scenery and the domestic manners of various sections of rural Canada....Neither class of novel goes very deep into the essential qualities of Canadian life.⁶¹

TABLE IV

Canadian novelists, 1900 -- 1925

<u>Author.</u>	<u>Title.</u>	<u>setting, subject, etc.</u>
Amy, W.L.	... <u>Blue Pete: Half Breed</u> , etc.	....prairies.
Cody, H.C.	... <u>The Frontiersman</u> (1910)	
	... <u>Rod of the Lone Patrol</u> (1912)	....mounties.
Cooney, P.J.	... <u>Kinsmen</u>	.....(historical romance.)
Day, F.P.	... <u>Rockbound</u> (1928)	....N.S. sea life
Duncan, N.	... <u>The way of the sea</u> (1904)	....Newfoundland
	... <u>Dr. Luke of Labrador</u>	
Durkin, D.	... <u>The Lobstick Trail</u>	....Manitoba.
Hood, R.H.	... <u>The chivalry of Keith Leicester</u> (1918)	....Pacific coast.
King, W.B.	... <u>In the garden of charity</u> (1903)	....N. S.
Knowles, R.E.	... <u>St. Cuthbert's</u>	....Ontario.
Le Rossignol, J.	... <u>Little stories of Quebec</u>	....Quebec.
McKishnie, A.P.	... <u>Willow, the wisp, and the way of the world.</u>	....Ontario.
Packard, F.L.	... <u>On the iron at Big Cloud.</u>	....B.C., Yukon.
Roberts, T.G.	... <u>Jess of the River.</u>	....N.B.
Sinclair, B.W.	... <u>Roor Man's Rock</u> (1920)	
Snider, C.H.J.	... <u>In the wake of the Eighteen- Twelvvers.</u>	....(historical romance).
Sullivan, A.	... <u>The inner door</u>	....Toronto.
Wallace, F.W.	... <u>The Viking Blood</u> (1921).	....N. S.
Watanna, O.	... <u>Cattle.</u>	....prairies.
Watson, R.	... <u>My Brave and Gallant Gentleman</u> (1918).	....Pacific coast.
Wilson, M.	... <u>The forging of the pikes.</u>	....(historical)

63. "Four Canadian women novelists", C.B., v. 1, Oct. 1919, p. 59.

During the first two decades of the Twentieth Century Canada grew in size and importance. The New West attracted thousands of immigrants yearly, and mining and industrial developments became important. As these tendencies became significant at home the Canadian government was pressing with notable success for a fuller measure of external autonomy, and Canadians were establishing a proud record in the Great War. All these developments toward nationhood combined to evoke a spirit of nationalism in the citizenry of the country--a spirit which the poets and novelists of the period reflect. The work of English Canadian writers both in poetry and in fiction indicates the actual presence of Canadianism in the country, and suggests that this force was slowly becoming stronger and stronger. Poets of the period vary in the degree to which they suggest a Canadian flavour in verse, and some reflect very little at all, but all seem to strike a stronger national note than did their respective predecessors in the Nineteenth Century. Novelists also suggest a gradual progress towards a national awareness, but in this case the development is from local to regional rather than from superficial and sporadic to spontaneously Canadian work. In all cases, however, it is evident from a study of English Canadian poetry and fiction that national awareness increased significantly during this period.

CHAPTER V

CANADIANISM and CANADIAN LITERATURE

SINCE the END of the FIRST WORLD WAR

Sir Wilfred Laurier died in 1919, and Sir Robert Borden retired from political life the following year. Through the efforts of these two men Canada had secured virtual independence in external as well as in internal affairs, and now needed only legal recognition of her position to ensure full constitutional autonomy. In the following quarter of a century she obtained the desired legislation, and developed her independent status so far that no foreign country could retain any doubt of her freedom of action. Her national status has done much to arouse a national consciousness in Canadians, but certain conditions at home have marred the effect of this development. Canada's internal history during this period presents a mixed record in which provincialism and factional strife developed to hamper the federal system, whereas certain new centralizing tendencies served to counteract in part this decentralizing influence. But twenty-five years later, as Canada emerged from the Second World War, there was some doubt as to the real unity of the country.

It was Canada's new role as a member of the League of Nations which finally proved her independence to be real, although many Canadians of the time were doubtful about the

wisdom of joining the new body. During the parliamentary debate on the League Covenant several Canadian nationalists objected to any international limitations of Canadian sovereignty. "'In military matters', said Rodolphe Lemieux, 'we are governed...by and from Ottawa, and not by and from London; and we do not want to be governed by and from Geneva.'"¹ Indeed so strong was this feeling that Canadian delegates to the League brought up the question of ~~national limitations~~ ^{restrictions on national sovereignty}, and even pressed for a revision of Article X, which provided for armed support by member nations.² With such active national sentiments alive in her citizenry, Canada was certain to secure complete autonomy when opportunity offered. In 1922 the need for legal readjustment became evident. When the Chanak incident threatened Anglo-Turkish war, the British government formulated its policy without consulting the dominions, but asked for their military aid if it proved necessary. Canada resented this action, and replied,

'It is the view of the Dominion Government that public opinion in Canada would demand the authorization of Parliament as the necessary preliminary to the dispatching of a contingent to participate in the conflict in the Near East. We would welcome the fullest information possible, in order to decide upon the advisability of summoning Parliament.'^{3, 4}

In 1923, when negotiating for a Halibut Treaty with the United States, the Canadian government insisted on negotiating the

1. Creighton, D. G., Dominion of the North, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1944, p. 456.

2. cf. Dawson, R. M., The development of dominion status 1900 - 1936, Oxford University Press, 1937, pp. 251 - 254, and also p. 354, which describes the significance of Canada's election to the League Council in 1927.

3. *ibid.*, pp. 235 - 236.

4. Canada also refused to be involved in the Lausanne

agreement and signing the document itself, without the legal limitation implied by the use of British diplomatic channels.⁵

And in 1925 Canada insisted that she be excluded from the Locarno Pact, for commitments undertaken by the British government did not involve her. Thus Canada secured complete recognition of her right to conclude treaties by herself, and to abstain from British foreign agreements. In these ways Canada prepared herself for the Balfour Declaration of 1926.

It was at this time, just before the Imperial Conference of 1926, when Canada seemed to have complete external autonomy, that an internal crisis arose to threaten her sovereignty. In the general elections of 1925 the Liberal government secured only 101 seats, as opposed to the total of 116 gained by the Conservative opposition. With the aid of the Progressives, Mr. King, the prime minister, hoped to maintain his government. This plan failed, however, when the customs scandal broke in 1926. Mr. King then asked the governor-general to dissolve parliament, but the latter refused, choosing instead to ask the Conservative opposition to form a government. Three days later he granted to that faction the dissolution he had refused to Mr. King. This interference in parliamentary government on the part of the king's representative challenged Canadian autonomy. Mr. King fought the ensuing campaign on the constitutional issue, and won.

(note 4, cont.) Treaty with Turkey (1924) when not invited to the Conference; cf. ibid., pp. 258 - 272.

5. cf. Dawson, op. cit., pp. 254 - 257.

With these issues still of recent interest, Canada was determined to secure complete constitutional autonomy as soon as possible. At the Imperial Conference of 1926 Mr. King, with valuable support from Irish and South African delegates, secured the famous Balfour Declaration, which foreshadowed complete constitutional autonomy. The dominions are, declared the report,

autonomous Communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations.⁶

Five years later, in 1931, the Statute of Westminster provided constitutional recognition of the autonomous status of the British dominions as enunciated in the Balfour Declaration. Since that date Canada, along with the other dominions, has been a completely independent nation, and has slowly developed her autonomy in various ways, particularly by enlarging her diplomatic service. In 1939, furthermore, Canada declared war for herself, one week after the British declaration was made; this action, a sharp contrast to the situation in 1914, conclusively illustrated Canada's independence.

Nevertheless, while she was becoming an autonomous nation in external relations, Canada was suffering national disunity in internal affairs. After the First World War there was considerable ill feeling because of the conscription crisis. The Liberal Party reformed its ranks, but Canadians of all

6. Canada Parliamentary Papers, no. 10, 1926 - 1927, cited in Kennedy, W. P. M., Statutes, Oxford University Press, 1930, p. 703.

racers still resented the quarrel. In the decade following the war a new sectionalism developed in Western Canada. The Progressive Party was primarily a western protest movement, and never secured a national basis. Early in the 1920's the Progressives won important numbers of seats, but later the movement slowly collapsed, and many of its followers returned to the support of the Liberal Party, although others joined new protest movements. In all, however, the career of the Progressive movement suggests sectionalism rather than nationalism in Canada.

Since the decline of the Progressive Party other sectional groups--the C. C. F., the Social Credit, the Union Nationale, and the Bloc Populaire--have arisen. Some of these groups have a national platform and support national election campaigns, but their support is almost entirely sectional or provincial and has, therefore, fostered sectionalism rather than nationalism. In 1933 a group of Canadian politicians met and proclaimed the Regina Manifesto. The resultant C. C. F. Party, a socialist group, has gained remarkable strength since then, but its support has been confined almost entirely to Western Canada, and in Western Canada largely to the Province of Saskatchewan. In 1935 the Social Credit Party won the provincial elections in Alberta, and since then has carried most Alberta seats in general elections. It has a national platform but only a provincial basis. The Union Nationale and Bloc Populaire are both Quebec parties which have received considerable support from French Canadians. These various groups and the divergent economic and social interests they

represent indicate the real strength of provincialism in Canada.⁷

Furthermore Canada's population has ceased to increase as rapidly in the two decades since 1921 as it did in the preceding period. Immigration figures, which showed such numbers as 184,000 migrants in 1906 and 331,000 in 1911, fell to 91,700 in 1921 and 16,900 in 1939.⁸ The ratio of foreign to Anglo-Saxon immigrants has, however, increased.⁹ This fact suggests that those immigrants who are most helpful to the development of nationalism in Canada are beginning to form the major portion of Canada's new citizenry. But the fact that immigration has declined suggests that what provincialisms were in the country after the First World War would continue undiminished, for the lack of new blood to weaken them.

There have been, however, certain unifying forces which have helped to offset provincialism. The development of the North and the resultant use of air power has been a very important factor. The North has played the same part in recent years in fostering Canadianism that the West did in earlier times, and air power has helped to give all Canadians a national outlook. This role of air power has become even more important since the establishment of the government operated Trans Canada Air Lines, which has been as helpful to Canada as a nation as the Canadian National Railway. More important still has been the national communication system provided since 1932 through

7. This provincialism has been fostered by several Privy Council decisions which have stressed provincial rights. cf. Creighton, op. cit., p. 467 (the Canada Temperance Act), pp. 476 - 477 (various licenses), pp. 495-6 (Bennett's social bills)

8. cf. Canada Year Book, 1941, pp. xiv-xv; Appendix I, T. 2

9. The figures are; in 1891, 7,600 from other countries,

the facilities of the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission (later the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation). Since this network was established it has been used to combat sectionalism and promote a national outlook in Canadians. News and commentary, sports, music, drama, political speeches--all have had transcontinental audiences, and have been well used to create unity within the country. In particular the network has fostered Canadianism through the presentation of Canadian plays with a national outlook, written by such well-known nationalists as Merrill Denison. The national radio coverage has, indeed, been responsible for the creation of a school of Canadian drama in recent years. Others of the fine arts have also developed into media for the spreading of national outlooks. The School of Seven, a group of Canadian artists, has contributed much to Canadianism. One of their number, J. E. H. MacDonald, has also written poetry with a national flavour. In all there have been a considerable number of unifying forces in Canada in recent years. These have combined to offset sectional and provincial influences, and are becoming increasingly important.

With these various unifying and disuniting forces at work among her citizens, Canada entered the Second World War in 1939. The war of 1914 had fostered national unity until 1917, when the conscription question arose; but in this second war that question developed at an early period. In 1942, during a plebiscite on the issue, French Canada opposed the conscription program, whereas English Canada supported it. The disunity thus

(note 9, cont). 22,000 from Great Britain, 52,500 from the United States; in 1926, 66,000 from other countries, 48,800 from Great Britain, 20,900 from the U. S. A. See Appendix I, T. III.

suggested dragged on throughout the war years until 1945, when overseas service was added to the conscription plan. Bitter feelings on both sides continued through all these years, with French Canadians particularly resentful. Nevertheless the fine war record of Canadian soldiers has aroused a measure of national pride in all Canadians. English Canadians have been particularly proud of their war record both in the actual fighting and in the production of the tools of war. Indeed current trends in English Canadian literature suggest that the recent war has had a much more profound effect in creating a Canadian national sentiment than did the war of 1914.

The war has created much national literature in English Canada, but from the earliest years of this period poets and novelists--novelists in particular--have revealed a national awareness in their work. Two important novels which introduced a vital spirit of Canadianism are The Viking Heart (1923) by Laura Goodman Salverson and Hansen (1924) by Augustus Bridle.¹⁰ Both deal with the way in which immigrants come to accept Canada as their country. Miss Salverson was born in Winnipeg in 1890 of Icelandic ancestry. She was educated in the United States, but later returned to Winnipeg. The Viking Heart expresses a vital national consciousness; it is the story of an immigrant who eventually realizes that Canada has become his country. The following passage is distinctly national.¹¹

10. Miss Salverson's other novels--When Sparrows Fall (1929), Lord of the Silver Dragon (1927), etc., reveal no Canadian feeling. Mr. Bridle has written no other novels.

11. Macklem, J., "Laura Goodman Salverson", C.B., v. 9, p. 100, April 1927, quotes this passage.

This Canada which had demanded much of them-- it was her country. This peace which was hers, she had paid for, just as she had paid a heavy price that she might live. The old saying of her father's flashed back into her mind: "All things with blood and toil are bought, all joys are cleansed in tears."¹¹

Augustus Bridle was born in Dover, England, in 1869 of Irish extraction. He attended the University of Toronto, and has lived in various parts of Ontario and Alberta. He later became musical and dramatic critic for the Toronto Daily Star. His novel, Hansen, is also a story of Canadianization with a national outlook. Indeed the expression of Canadianism in it is remarkable. In a truly extraordinary wedding speech the immigrant, Hansen, declares,

'When in a bilingual parliament we have bilingual M. P.'s who understand as much as they can of the life that lies behind each language, we shall begin to evolve a nation as thoroughly Canadian as the people to the South are American...But so long as each race in the country thinks its own ideas and customs and language greater than those of the great country of its adoption, so long as most of Canada thinks itself only a vast juvenile imitation of the United States, we shall never be anything but a vast juvenile imitation of the United States, we shall never be anything but a national kindergarten, unworthy of those two great national leaders, John A. Macdonald and Wilfred Laurier; still more unworthy to remember the great French, English, and Scottish men who first tracked our mighty rivers and built railways through the mountains.'^{12, 13}

Both The Viking Heart and Hansen suggest a new attitude to Canada as a nation in the fiction of the country. They are essentially community novels, but are written from the point of

12. D. G. French, "Canadian fiction", C.B., v. 7, pp. 26-27, Feb. 1925, cites this passage (cf. p. 27).

13. This passage indicates a realization of the fact that Anglo-French antagonism in Canada is a major factor in current Canadian life. Indeed this has been one of the most important forces in contemporary Canadian history.

view of the stranger who has to overcome his European national feelings before he can feel at home in his new setting. As he does this he tends to substitute Canada for his native country in his national allegiance. The result is the emergence of a keen Canadianism stronger than that evident in the more complacent native born citizenry. But these two novels stand apart from the work of their authors as a whole. Neither novelist has written another book displaying a similar Canadian awareness. The feeling evident in these novels is important, but is hardly representative of a widespread or permanent feeling.

The first Canadian novelist to display a vital Canadian feeling throughout the whole of his work is Frederick Philip Grove (b. 1872). Born in Sweden and educated in Europe, Mr. Grove settled in America quite by accident in 1892. After that date he lived alternately in Canada and the United States, but he gradually came to regard Canada as his home. From 1893 he was constantly writing fiction, but he was unable to find a publisher for his work for almost thirty years. Undaunted by this adverse reception, he wrote novels reflecting a vital Canadian awareness in the face of the severest personal hardships and with no prospect of ever publishing his work. When he finally did find a publisher he found that his novels were not a financial success. Perhaps because he was writing for no ulterior motive, perhaps because his hardships made him realize the essential qualities of Canadian life, he has displayed a national feeling that has not been surpassed by any other Canadian novelist.

A Search for America (published 1927) was written in

1893 and 1894. It is largely autobiographical, being the story of an immigrant to North America whose experiences were very similar to those of Grove's own life in his first years in the New World. The dominant feeling is the spirit of the New World; as the hero puts aside his European feelings and acquires an American outlook he comes to feel quite North American in spirit.

"My first impression (of America)...was that of a floating tide, changing quickly, unthinkingly, continually--like the winds which blow over the continent. But it is the surface only to which I belonged....Underneath this frantic action, this ever-changing surface-agitation, I have in the course of years, learned to discern an ever-growing, solid foundation which is as firm as the rocks, moving only in quiet, steady, unvarying motion--a motion headed towards clearer insight and a firmer resolve to assert itself. In order to catch the real trend of American thought you have to get your ear down to the soil to listen. Then you will hear the sanity, the good sense and the good will which are truly American."¹⁴

Settlers of the Marsh (published 1925) was written in 1917 and 1918, but abridged for publication. It is the story of a Swedish immigrant who settled in Northern Manitoba. It is a community novel, but the community becomes a symbol of the Canadian nation; it is the record of the "creating of a civilization in the Canadian West."¹⁵ The Yoke of Life (published 1930) was written from 1913 to 1920. It is his last pioneer novel, and is similar to Settlers of the Marsh.

Our Daily Bread (1928) and Fruits of the Earth (1933) deal with the efforts of second and third generation Canadians

14. Rimmer, T. D., "The soul of an immigrant", C.B., v. 10, p. 17, Jan. 1928, quotes this passage.

15. Pacey, D., Frederick Philip Grove, Toronto, Ryerson, 1945, p. 47.

to build a stable community in the Southern prairies. In contrast to the immigrant subjects of his early novels these deal with Canadian born people who are not so openly aware of their Canadianism, but nevertheless reveal a pervading national feeling. Our Daily Bread is the story of the Elliot family; the father and mother build a respectable homestead in the Western prairies, but the children rebel at the hardships involved and choose other walks of life. The national feeling is evident in the discussion of other parts of Canada (particularly B. C.¹⁶) and in such incidental references as the following:

As the morning wore on, his excitement had steadily increased. At noon he went up the hill behind his house. From there he could see the whole north road and part of the east-west road south of town. That was the ¹⁷Trans-Canada Highway along which they must come.

There is also much vivid description of prairie scenery.¹⁷

Fruits of the Earth is a similar novel in which the Spalding family grows up and disperses in the same way as the Elliot family had done in Our Daily Bread, although the tone here is much less pessimistic. Here also the Canadian sentiment is incidental and pervading rather than overt; but references to the country as a whole¹⁸ indicate a thoroughly Canadian outlook. The change in attitude between Grove and earlier novelists is best seen in such statements as the following expression of Canadianism:

16. cf. Our Daily Bread, Toronto, Macmillan, 1928, pp. 155-157, 263, etc.

17. ibid., p. 389.

18. cf. Fruits of the Earth, Toronto, Dent, 1933, pp. 4, 25, 197, 199, 263, 267, 280, etc.

Kingston stood, to Abe, for all that was provincial in the spirit of Ontario; it seemed strangely eastern; it represented all that Abe had abandoned in coming west.

Fruits of the Earth was Grove's last prairie novel; since it appeared Grove has written two more novels, both set in Southern Ontario, Two Generations (1939) and The Master of the Mill (1944). Both display a Canadian outlook, and indicate moods similar to those evident in his earlier books. Expressions of national awareness are very parallel to the examples cited from his earlier works. Indeed Frederick Philip Grove has shown more national feeling in his novels than has any other Canadian novelist until very recent times. His record of six novels all thoroughly national in feeling is unique. From an early interest in the spirit of the New World present in his first novel (A Search for America) Grove quickly came to advocate a strong Canadian feeling in his next two novels (Settlers of the Marsh and The Yoke of Life) by his presentation of the assimilation of immigrants into the life of the new nation. In his later novels his Canadian attitude has continued to be vital and pervading. Throughout his works Grove reflects the importance of immigration and of the pioneering West in creating a national awareness in Canadians.

Miss Mazo de la Roche, a contemporary of Mr. Grove's, has failed to suggest the same national awareness in her novels that Grove and others have done in theirs. Born in 1885, Miss de la Roche lived for many years on her father's farm near the Niagara Peninsula, where she came to love Canadian nature. She

began writing novels early in the 1920's, but is best known for the Jalna series of novels.²⁰ Beginning with Jalna in 1927, she has written novel after novel set in the same Ontario locality and using one or more of the same characters. The setting for these stories is the farm of a family of wealthy English immigrants living in Ontario; but the setting plays little part in her novels.

With two young children in a cold drafty house; with Adeline's beauty a source of anxiety; with far too many French about Quebec to be congenial to an English gentleman; with a winter temperature that played coyly about twenty dazzling degrees below zero; the Whiteoaks felt driven to find a more suitable habitation. Captain Whiteoak had a friend, a retired Anglo-Indian colonel who had already settled on the fertile shore of Ontario. "Here," he wrote, "the winters are mild. We have little snow, and in the long, fruitful summer the land yields grain and fruit in abundance. An agreeable little settlement of respectable families is being formed. You and your talented lady, my dear Whiteoak, would receive the welcome here that people of your consequence merit."²¹

The descriptive passages, though well written, reveal only a local interest, and apart from these the Canadian setting is of little or no use.

It is true that the Jalna material is set in Canada and that this affords the author an opportunity to use her descriptive powers, but otherwise the setting might almost as well be Kamchatka or Zanzibar, for it does not affect the story in any noticeable way. Moreover, the characters behave neither like human beings in general nor like English people in particular.²²

Thus Mazo de la Roche does not present a national--or even a

20. Jalna, 1927; Whiteoaks of Jalna, 1929; Young Renny, 1935; Whiteoak harvest, 1936; Growth of a Man, 1938; Whiteoak chronicles, 1940; Whiteoak heritage, 1940; Wakefield's course, 1941; Two Saplings, 1942; The building of Jalna, 1944; etc.

21. Jalna, Montreal, Rocket Books of Canada, 1945, pp. 18-9.

22. Rhodenizer, pp. 106 - 107.

Canadian--outlook in her novels.²³

While novelists such as Frederick Philip Grove and Mazo de la Roche were writing novels that were or were not Canadian outlook, Canadian poets were suggesting a vital national awareness in their work. Two significant nature poets who have written work that is Canadian in spirit are Isabel Ecclestone Mackay and Annie Charlotte Dalton. Isabel Ecclestone Mackay (1875 - 1928) was born in Woodstock, Ontario, of Scottish and English parents. After 1909 she lived in Vancouver, and took an active part in the work of the Canadian Authors' Association. Her most significant volume from a national point of view was *Fires of Driftwood* (1922).²⁴ Of the 98 poems in this collection some 74 deal with poetic topics such as life, love or eternity, which do not lend themselves to national treatment. Of the other poems at least 13 are thoroughly Canadian in atmosphere. Her poems usually deal with subjects of local character, but the treatment is permeated with a Canadian feeling. More conscious than usual, and very Canadian in outlook, is "*The Gatekeeper*"²⁵ which is a reflection on the

23. The work of Frederick Niven, like that of Miss de la Roche, is not generally Canadian in outlook. Born in Valparaiso in 1878 of Scottish parents, Mr. Niven spent most of his life prior to 1920 in Scotland. For this reason most of his novels are Scottish rather than Canadian in sentiment. In his later novels, however, he has presented a significant Canadian spirit. (cf. *The Flying Years*, 1935; *My Inheritance*, 1940, *The Transplanted*, 1944). He died in 1944.

24. Her other important volume was *The Shining Ship and other verse*, 1918. In 1930 McClelland and Stewart (Toronto) published *The complete poems of Isabel Ecclestone Mackay*. For an analysis of *Fires of Driftwood*, see Appendix II, Table XIII.

25. "*Fires of Driftwood*", *Complete Poems*, pp. 41 - 42.

glory of Quebec City. In part the poem reads,

The sunlight falls on old Quebec,
A city framed of rose and gold,
An ancient gem more beautiful
In that its beauty waxes old.
O Pearl of Cities! I would set
You higher in our diadem,
And higher yet and higher yet,
That generations still to be
May kindle at your history!.... --ll. 1 - 9.

Montcalm met Wolfe! The bitter strife
Of flag and flag was ended here--
And every man who gave his life
Gave it that now one flag may wave,
One nation rise upon his grave.²⁵ --ll. 32 - 36.

Another interesting example of her work is the poem "From the trenches".²⁶ This pictures the longing of a Canadian who is absent from his native land. The poem is similar to Browning's "Oh, to be in England" and just as sincere in feeling.

Oh, to be in Canada now that Spring is merry,
Happy apple blossoms gay against the smiling green;
Here the lilac's purple plume and here the pink of cherry,
Hillsides just a drift of bloom with clover in between!

Oh, to be in Canada! there's a road that rambles
Through a leafing maple-wood and up a windy hill,
Velvet pussy-willows press soft hands amid the brambles
Fringing round a sky-filled pool where cattle drink their
fill.²⁶ --ll. 1 - 8.

But most of her work deals with nature, and cannot display such an overt feeling as do pieces such as those quoted above.

These also reveal a significant Canadianism which is inherent in the method of dealing with the subject in question. The poet does not deal with nature in a provincial or strictly local fashion, but reveals a broader inspiration. Furthermore she does not deal with only one locality, but treats many parts

26. ibid., pp. 125 - 126.

of Canada.²⁷ A typical example of this nature poetry is
"Indian summer".²⁸

I will breathe a mist about me
Lest you see my face too clearly,
Lest you follow me too boldly
I will silence every song.
Through the haze and through the silence
You will know that I am passing;
When you break the spell that holds you
I am gone!²⁸ --11. 9 - 16,

Another important poet in this group who was writing before the new period is Annie Charlotte Dalton (1865 - 1938). Mrs. Dalton was born in England, and did not come to Canada until 1904. Six years later she published her first volume of poetry, The Marriage of Music. As is to be expected, this volume does not indicate much national inspiration; instead the poet is preoccupied with religious subjects. Her later volumes of poetry reveal a gradual assimilation into Canadian society until in her later work she becomes thoroughly Canadian in spirit. In a little chap-book, The Ear Trumpet, written in 1926, she displays no national sentiment, probably because she is writing in reply to the English poet Edith Sitwell. But during this period the change in attitude becomes apparent. The Amber-Riders (1929), though mainly religious in tone, contains many signs of a Canadian sentiment. Particularly significant is the poem "The motorist"²⁹ which indicates well

27. cf. "The sleeping beauty" ("Fires of driftwood", p. 37), "Lake Louise" ("Fires of driftwood", p. 40), "The gatekeeper" ("Fires of driftwood", pp. 41 - 42), "The prairie school" ("Fires of driftwood", pp. 45 - 46), "A very exceptional Eskimo" ("The shining ship", pp. 25 - 26), etc., in her Complete Poems.

28. "Fires of driftwood", Complete Poems, p. 101.

29. The Amber-Riders, Toronto, Ryerson, 1929, pp. 86 - 87.

this new national awareness. Her next volume, The neighing north, appeared two years later and is her most important volume. It reveals a pervading feeling for the country that is very strong and permeates each poem, and indicates the poet's final acceptance of Canada as her country. "The Neighing North" itself is a fantasy dealing with imaginary and legendary activities of the Vikings and others in the Canadian north centuries ago. The following lines from "The skraelings"³⁰ (a section of the poem) indicates the spirit of the whole poem.

Time keeps no tally, Kanadiens, of those years in your
Northlands,
Thousands of years whose days were uneventful and barren,
Gods immortal and myth-men sitting no longer together,
Sitting no longer together and sopping in crimson communion,³⁰
Whilst in the warm South empires were buried and builded.
--11. 31 - 35.

"I know a White Kingdom"³¹ also suggests Canada, although it is primarily a religious poem; the following lines are typical.

"I know a White Kingdom--"
Never to go there,
Gladly to dream of it all day long,
Gladly to plunge through its glory and silence--
Ah! what a kingdom for song!
But, fiercely to enter its pleasures,
Fiercely to battle its pain,
Making a friend of a noble foe--
Ah! what a kingdom for men!
This is no country for weaklings
Who husband their breath,
Content to await in aimless existence,
Their dignity in death.³¹ --11. 1 - 13.

Perhaps the best indication of a thorough Canadianism contained in this volume is the short ballad "The sounding portage".

30. "The skraelings", "The neighing north", The Neighing North, Toronto, Ryerson, 1931, pp. 8 - 13.

31. "I know a white kingdom", "A white kingdom", The Neighing North, Toronto, Ryerson, 1931, pp. 31 - 32.

This piece evokes a stronger emotion than either of the other poems quoted, and is therefore a more powerful and impressive piece. The whole atmosphere of the poem is strongly Canadian in sentiment; the suggestion of open spaces and loneliness; of adventure and travel; of brooding nature and the occupations suggested--all limit the poem to Canada.³²

The wind roars and the river roars;
Strange footsteps hurrying by,
To the roaring wind and the roaring stream
Tumultuously reply.

The wind sinks and the river sinks;
And the footsteps dwindling by,
With the fainting wind and the falling stream
Pause, hesitate, and die.

This is the Sounding Portage where
A month of years ago,
Fur-trappers bound for the hunting-ground
Came trampling to and fro.

The red men first with birch canoes,
The white men next prevail;
Together, they in hardship tread
An immemorial trail.

Here, by the camp-fire, tales are told,
And stranger things are said,
How the highway then is a by-way now
And portage for the dead.

The hurrying sounds make a man's flesh creep;
Though he strive to laugh and joke,
When the steps draw nigh, none make reply,
And the scarlet embers smoke.

The steps draw nigh and the rapid roars,
The listeners breathe a prayer,
They think they hear faint words of cheer
From struggling mortals there.

When the stars come out with rapturous shout,
The nodding campers peer
Through the fringe of trees to the ghostly stream,
And lose in sleep their fear.

32. "The sounding portage", "Ballads of the sub-Arctic",
The Neighing North, Toronto, Ryerson, 1931, pp. 51 - 53.

But the wind roars and the river roars;
And the footsteps hurrying by,
To the roaring wind and the roaring stream
Tumultuously reply.

Then the wind sinks and the river sinks
With the footsteps dwindling by,
But the fainting wind and the falling stream
Like them can never die.

It is dawn and the deer are drinking,
For the hasty camp is gone;
And the wind roars and the stream roars;
And the tramping dead move on.³²

A younger contemporary of these poets is Arthur S. Bourinot³³ (b. Ottawa, 1893). Mr. Bourinot was a soldier in the Great War of 1914 - 1918, but his work does not often reflect this. In one or two pieces so inspired he deals with France and England; but most of his work is limited in setting to Canada. He is primarily a nature poet, choosing Southern Ontario and the Ottawa River for his area. But his work, though localized in subject, is Canadian in spirit. Only rarely does a conscious nationalism assert itself, and when it does the result is not always significant; but a rather satisfactory poem of this type is "The Canadian Confederation",³⁴ which in places is sincerely Canadian in expression.

Remember that thy people
Live not by bread alone,
And that the dreamer's spirit
Outlasts the strongest stone.

Forget not that the ages
Have touched the false with rust
And that the Godless nations
Lie prostrate in the dust.³⁴

--11. 21 - 28.

33. His earlier work is well represented in the volume Selected poems (1915 - 1935), Toronto, Macmillan, 1935. Later volumes include Rhymes of the French Regime (1937) and Canada at Dieppe (1942).

34. Selected poems, Toronto, Macmillan, 1935, pp. 62 - 63.

The majority of Mr. Bourinot's poetry is devoted to nature study based on a national inspiration. Among the more satisfactory of these poems are "The Indian"³⁵ and "Trek Song".³⁶ "Trek Song" deals with the migratory habits of birds in Canada, and suggests the pleasure of their nomadic life.

When the snow has left the hollows
And the birds are flying North,
When the winds are warm with April and the rain,
Oh, it's then the footsteps falter and the weary eyesight follows
The ways that to the wilderness lead forth.³⁶ --ll. 1 - 5.

F. R. Scott (b. 1899) is perhaps the most remarkable national poet Canada has produced. Born in Quebec City, Mr. Scott is the son of the Canadian poet Frederick George Scott. He is now a professor at McGill University in Montreal, and an active supporter of the C. C. F. Party. This party, as we have said, has a national platform in spite of the fact that the nature of the support it has received indicates sectional attitudes in Canada. As a member of this party Mr. Scott has taken an active interest in Canadian government, and has found much to criticize in certain policies which he feels have been detrimental to national unity. A mild satirist, he attacks all aspects of Canadian society from a national point of view.³⁷ A

35. cf. Smith, pp. 302 - 305.

36. Selected poems, pp. 17 - 18.

37. Other Canadian poets contemporary to Scott have attacked various aspects of modern society. In sharp contrast to his work, however, their poetry is not national or Canadian in outlook. Most of it deals with human problems, some with nature in a purely local manner. But since their works are not Canadian in spirit it is not useful to consider them here. Included in this group are such important poets as Dorothy Livesay (b. Winnipeg, 1909) and Leo Kennedy (b. England 1907, educated in Montreal).

remarkable example of his work is the poem "An anthology of up-to-date Canadian poetry",³⁸ which attacks all aspects of Canada's cherished democratic life in very biting terms. The following quotations are typical of the whole poem.

I

NATURAL RESOURCES

Come and see the vast natural wealth of this mine.
In the short space of ten years
It has produced six American millionaires
And two thousand pauperized Canadian families. --ll. 1-4.

VIII

OUR INSTITUTIONS

Meet Senator Haymond D. Belgan McLocourt
Whom the Canadian people have chosen as lawmaker.
He was unsparing of his private means (or his shareholders')
In helping his party--sheer public spirit
Justly rewarded by the lease of a power site.
Later he was given a constituency in the Maritimes
And was famous for the staunch way he got jobs for his friends.
After a few years of this training in statecraft
The death of Senator Wishwash, aged 97,
(You know, the one connected with the Custom's scandal)
Created a vacancy in the Upper Chamber,
So H. D. B. McLocourt was accorded the 'honour!' --ll. 39-52.

XIV

LAND OF OPPORTUNITY

This young Polish peasant
Enticed to Canada by a C.P.N.R. advertisement
Of a glorified western homestead,
Spent the best years of his life
And every cent of his savings
Trying to make a living from Canadian soil.
Finally broken by the slump of wheat
He drifted to the city, spent six months in a lousy
refuge,
Got involved in a Communist demonstration,
And is now being deported by the Canadian government.
This will teach these foreign reds
The sort of country they've come to. --ll. 81-92.

38. C.F., v. 12, pp. 290 - 291, May 1932.

EPILOGUE

I believe in Canada.
I love her as my home.
I honour her institutions.
I rejoice in the abundance of her resources.
-- -- -- -- --
To her products I pledge my patronage,
And to the cause of her producers
I pledge my devotion.³⁸ --11. 102 - 108.

Similar in theme to this poem is "Social notes",³⁹ a short piece which reveals a complete awareness of the Canadian nation.

CREDIT

This delegation of unemployed Canadians
Has just been informed
That if the Government spent any more on relief
So that their children might be decently clothed and fed
The credit of the country would suffer. --11. 36 - 40.

GENERAL ELECTION

There is nothing like hard times
For teaching the people to think.
By a decisive vote
After discussing all the issues
They have turned out the Conservatives
And put back the Liberals.³⁹ -- 11. 86 - 91.

Somewhat different in theme but also quite Canadian is the poem "The Canadian authors meet".⁴⁰ It is a biting criticism of the best known poets of the country, and is hardly fair to the country's literary efforts.

The air is heavy with "Canadian" topics,
And Carman, Lampman, Roberts, Campbell, Scott.
Are measured for their faith and philanthropics;
Their zeal for God and King, their earnest thought.

39. C.F., v. 15, p. 220, March 1935. Lines 86 - 91 clearly reflect the General Election of 1935. This is one of the most direct reflections of Canadian history in creative literature.

40. C.F., v. 15, p. 338, Dec., 1935; Smith, p. 361.

The cakes are sweet, but sweeter the feeling
That one is mixing with the literati;
It warms the old and melts the most congealing.
Really, it is a most delightful party.

Shall we go round the mulberry bush, or shall
We gather at the river, or shall we
Appoint a poet laureate this Fall,
Or shall we have another cup of tea?

O Canada, O Canada, Oh can
A day go by without new authors springing
To paint the native maple, and to plan
More ways to set the selfsame welkin ringing?⁴⁰ --11.9-24.

Primarily nature poetry, but almost as national in feeling as that of F. R. Scott, is the poetry of Wilson MacDonald.⁴¹ Born in Cheapside, Ontario, of Scottish and Canadian parents, Wilson MacDonald has lived in every province except Prince Edward Island. In this way he has been able to appreciate nature in various localities but retain a national perspective. A significant volume was his Out of the Wilderness (1926).⁴² Of the 21 poems⁴³ in the first part of this volume ("The book of the wilderness") 10--almost half--are distinctly Canadian in outlook, and at least 4 are thoroughly national. One of his most significant national pieces is "Out of the wilderness"⁴⁴ itself.

My song is a roseate rug, yet not of the Orient.
Here is the weave of it: seaweed, curled black with salt,
Under the cold, high cliffs of Gaspé;
Pine-shadowed snow, at the dome of the Selkirks,
Burning with suns and flaming with moons and remaining forever;
Sands from the restless and changeable dunes of Wasaga;
Slim, hardy reeds in the broad, lonely marshes.

41. Song of the prairie land and other poems, 1918; Out of the wilderness, 1926; A flagon of beauty, 1931; The song of the undertow and other poems, 1935; Comber Cove, 1944, etc.

42. Ottawa, Graphic, 1926. 43. See Appendix II, TableXIV.

44. Out of the Wilderness, Ottawa, Graphic, 1926, pp. 3 - 6.

Where James Bay falters between her allegiance
To land and the gray, green water;
Gold suns that slip from the world at Alberni,
Warming the seas with their fires;
Threads of blue mist from the indolent valleys
Of the low, lovely, lounging Laurentians;
Sighs of the hemlock and snow-loving tamarack,
Where the trees march to the south in Saskatchewan;
Firs that leap up from dark Capilano
Where music glides down a long stair to the sea;
Orange and purple and crimson and bronze
From the gay palette of gorgeous October
In the lake-lyric land of Algonquin;
Shadows from deep, frosty fissures whose waters
Slip from their turbulent life to the hill-cradled Shuswap;
Leaves of the red-limbed arbutus and roses of red,
Leaning low to the sea in Victoria,
The all-lovely lyric of cities.
And, through all these colorful threads of my song,
Tolerance, truth, and the kiss of full brotherhood.⁴⁴ --11.44-70.

All these major English Canadian poets have written verse that is distinctly national in flavour during the period since 1920. The fact that there are so many with so widely divergent interests suggests the real strength of Canadianism in this period in spite of the various provincial and sectional attitudes apparent in the history of the period. There were, however, certain poets contemporary with them who reveal almost no, or only a moderate, Canadian spirit in their work. Significant in this group of poets is a Montreal quartette. Of these, Abraham M. Klein (b. 1909)⁴⁵ suggests no Canadianism in his poetry. Says one critic, "It is a somewhat paradoxical fact that the greatest living poet in Canada whose work is a conscious and inspired expression of nationalism is not concerned with Canadian nationalism, but with an alien, proud, and ancient nationalism--that of Judea."⁴⁶ Leo Kennedy^{47, 48}

45. Hath not a Jew..., 1940; The Hitleriad, 1944; Poems, 1944.

46. Smith, p. 390.

47. The Shrouding, 1935.

48. cf. page 147, note 37.

(b. 1907) has not written many poems, but those which he has written have been well received by the critics. His work reveals no Canadian feeling, but is similar to the work of the American poet T. S. Eliot. A third poet in the Montreal group is Leo Cox⁴⁹ (b. 1898). Born in London and educated in England, Mr. Cox served with the Canadian army during the First World War. He also has not published much poetry as yet, but what has appeared has at times a national flavour. Much of his work is local in character, but the localism is not a narrow provincialism, but a broader appreciation that suggests a blend of local and national sentiments. Significant are his poems "Father Point in August"⁵⁰ and "Labrador Night",⁵¹ both of which reveal a Canadian sentiment. "Labrador Night" reads,

To-night our ship is anchored where
Sand-silvered is the shore,
To find at Havre St. Pierre
Black gold of Labrador.

The pioneer's first night on land,
Unsteady from the seas,
Was not more still than this, the sand
And stars the same as these.....

This cycle of the selfsame wind,
Cooled in far hills of snow,
And charged with balsam, makes the mind
At one with his of long ago.

So little travelled is the street
With grasses overgrown,
There may be traces of his feet
By weed and flower and stone.

And all the houses face the sea--
Mother of gain and loss--
And every heart in piety
Is turned toward a cross.⁵²

49. Sheepfold, 1926; The wind in the field, 1932; River without end, 1937; North Star, 1941.

50. cf. Bennett, p. 26.

51. Smith, p. 311.

The fourth poet in the Montreal group is A. J. M. Smith⁵² (b. 1902). Born in Montreal and educated at McGill and Edinburgh, Mr. Smith has contributed much to national literature in Canada by publishing an anthology of English Canadian poetry which stresses national verse,⁵³ but his poetry is not national in sentiment. Of the 39 poems in his News of the Phoenix^{52, 54} only 1, "The lonely land",⁵⁵ suggests a Canadian inspiration, and that hardly a national one.

Cedar and jagged fir
uplift sharp barbs
against the gray
and cloud-piled sky;
and in the bay
blown spume and windrift
and thin, bitter spray
snap
at the whirling sky;
and the pine trees
lean one way.

--11. 1 - 11.

These, then, are the important poets and novelists in the period from 1920 to the beginning of the Second World War who have suggested a vital national awareness in their work. On the whole they have not reflected many of the vital influences which have tended to arouse a Canadian national spirit in this period; but they have, nevertheless, reflected a vital nationalism. The same attitude which is evident in their poetry appears also in incidental verse during this period. It is convenient to summarize the national trend in such work in tabular form; but a few individual examples can first be cited.

52. News of the phoenix and other poems, Toronto, Ryerson, 1943

53. The Book of Canadian poetry, University of Chicago Press, 1943.

54. See Appendix II, Table XV.

55. News of the phoenix, p. 19; C.F., v. 7, p. 309, July 1927.

Many of the poems listed in Table V are sincerely and spontaneously Canadian in sentiment, but only a few need be examined in detail. Nevertheless it is necessary to remember that the examples cited only broach--they do not exhaust--the sincerely Canadian sentiments found in these poems.

In a semi-humorous poem appearing in The Canadian Forum, S. H. Hooke reveals a Canadian feeling that seems to be more than superficial in flavour. The piece never seems to rise above verse, and the tone is superficially comic; but behind these obvious features lies a sincere pride in contemporary art. One portion of the poem reads,

'I guess you're the only person in Heaven
Who hasn't heard of the School of Seven.'
St. Peter, he dipped his pen in the ink,
And scratched his head, then, 'Strike me pink,'
Said he, 'I've heard of the Pleiades,
The seven that shine on Northern Seas,
And the seven torches around the throne,
And the seven seals, but I'm free to own
I never heard of these guys before.'⁵⁶ --ll. 25 - 33.

A poet who has published several significant pieces in periodicals writes under the signature of 'L. A. M.' This poet achieves a Canadian sentiment that sounds vital in several pieces, as indicated in Table V. The following selections are from the poem "Fidelis Vulnera Amici", which is a criticism of various aspects of Canadian life.

What's our ambition? Why we aim to be
The Empire's, nay the whole world's granary.....--ll. 19-20.

Slowly grows the oak; the lank and sappy weed
Shoots limply up with true Canadian speed.... --ll. 49-50.

Say, what remains when mines and forests go
The way of beaver, and the buffalo?.... --ll. 57-58.

56. "The Beatification of the Blessed James", C.F., v. 9, p. 172, Feb. 1929.

We have our faults; but one we ne'er display
--Too tender justice to the U. S. A.
Poor wildered cousins! Whom we fear and hate,
And envy, and insult, and imitate.
And yet, towards England, our affection mocks
The wit with more ingenious paradox.
Fondly we cherish her in filial pride
So long as all the profit's on our side.⁵⁷ --ll. 143-50.

And in another piece this poet makes some bitter comments on
Canadian poetry.

The one thing that our poets need is--guts.
One half their work is bilge; the rest is rot,
The limp expression of a flabby thought.... --ll. 99-101.

'Here lies Canadian poetry;
Dead, in a Hospital of Paralytics,
Smother'd in kindness by complacent critics.'⁵⁸ --ll. 130-2.

Grace Tomkinson in a poem entitled "Snow for
Christmas"⁵⁹ succeeds quite well in presenting a picture of one
aspect of Canadian life from a national point of view. Her
sentiment is fairly rare because many writers who deal with
nature or aspects of everyday life fail to reveal any national
sentiment. Because some is present here, we must assume that
the poet felt an unconscious Canadian sentiment that was very
real and vital. The poem reads in part,

Christmas.
Squaws in the market, selling wreaths;
Fat faces, ancient hats and leg o' mutton sleeves,
Eyes sullen and heavy at the sight
Of red berries roasted deftly in the club moss.
A farmer sidling past in a worn 'coon coat,
A sheaf of silky fox pelts over his arm,
Anxious lines deepened by cold in his dark-tanned face;
'Want to buy a nice silver fox for the Missus for Christmas?'
--ll. 29 - 37.⁵⁹

57. C.F., v. 12, pp. 90 - 91, Dec. 1931.

58. "And spoil the child", C.F., v. 11, pp. 221 - 222,
March 1931.

59. C.F., v. 13, p. 101, Dec. 1932.

One other poem listed in Table V that merits examination is "Pins for Canadian Wings" by Paul Severin. It is written in the free verse manner popular in contemporary English and American poetry, but is quite Canadian in tone. It contains short and saucy summaries of trends in certain Canadian poets--criticisms that are in part justified.

Charles G. D. Roberts

Nature
in beribboned
spectacles.

Wilson MacDonald

Wistful rebellion
in the wilderness.

E. J. Pratt

Codfish
in a Witches' Brew.

Lloyd Roberts

Hot-blooded
anaemia.

A. M. Stephen

Pan
saying his rosary
at a stampede.

Arthur S. Bourinot

Rhetoric
oneskies.

H. T. J. Coleman

Verses for
dear ladies.

Audrey Alexandra Brown

A Tennysonian dryad
singing Greek tragedy
by a coal mine.⁶⁰

With these specimens in mind as typical of the feelings expressed in many of the poems listed in Table V, it is appropriate to review the various expressions of national feeling evident in the poetry together with some of the more significant examples of other trends in periodical verse. It is unnecessary to consider the trends indicated by this table now; they are similar to those suggested by the work of the major poets we have considered, and merely indicate that these feelings are widespread and not concentrated in the work of a few writers. General conclusions can, therefore, be drawn later.

60. C.F., v. 17, p. 211, Sept. 1937.

TABLE V

CANADIANISM in PERIODICAL POETRY SINCE 1920

<u>Author</u>	<u>Poem</u>	<u>Source</u>	<u>Sentiment</u>
Ainslie, M.	... "Interlude"	... <u>C.F.</u> , v. 17, p. 423, March 1938	... Canadianism.
Aquarius	... "To a generation unemployed"	... <u>C.F.</u> , v. 16, Oct. 1936, p. 10	... anti-imperial.
Bailey, A.C.	... "Hochelaga"	... <u>C.F.</u> , v. 12, p. 330, June 1932	... Canadianism.
Ballantyne, L.	... "Canadian trails"	... <u>C.B.</u> , v. 6, p. 63, March 1924	... Canadianism.
Benson, N.A.	... "Ode for Dominion Day"	... <u>D.R.</u> , v. 10, pp. 145-6, July 1930	... surface nat.
Bethune, N.	... "Red moon"	... <u>C.F.</u> , v. 17, p. 118, July 1937	... Canadianism.
Boehmer, F. von.	... "Our Mister King"	... <u>C.F.</u> , v. 22, p. 49, May 1942	... Canadianism.
Brander, A.U.	... "Indian summer"	... <u>CCM.</u> , v. 60, p. 46, Nov. 1922	... Canadianism.
CLLEF.	... "God's absolutely against it"	... <u>C.F.</u> , v. 10, p. 52, Nov. 1929	... Canadianism.
Creighton, A.B.	... "Maple trees"	... <u>CCF.</u> , v. 14, p. 61, Nov. 1933	... Canadianism.
Crossman, F.E.	... "O Canada"	... <u>C.B.</u> , v. 9, p. 248, Aug. 1927	... surface nat.
Cynic	... "Lampoon"	... <u>C.F.</u> , v. 18, p. 70, June 1938	... Canadianism.
Davies-Woodrow	... "Canada"	... <u>CCB.</u> , v. 9, p. 167, June 1927	... Canadianism.
Earle, K.J.	... "Canada"	... <u>C.B.</u> , v. 9, p. 176, June 1927	... surface nat.
Fancott, E.	... "Heigh ho"	... <u>CCF.</u> , v. 12, p. 250, April 1932	... localism (vs. nat.).
Grant, W.E.	... "To a Canadian Immigrant"	... <u>C.B.</u> , v. 3, Sept. 1921, p. 9	... colonialism.
Gordon, A.K.	... "Bone-dry"	... <u>C.F.</u> , v. 1, pp. 239-40, May 1921	... colonialism.
Gordon, H.K.	... "In the night"	... <u>CCF.</u> , v. 2, pp. 263-4, Dec. 1921	... Canadianism.
Havelock, E.A.	... "From Canada"	... <u>C.F.</u> , v. 10, p. 16, Oct. 1929	... colonialism.
Hensley, S.M.	... "Repatriated"	... <u>D.R.</u> , v. 13, p. 434, Jan. 1934	... surface nat.
Hilgate, H.C.	... "The Dominion of Canada"	... <u>CCB.</u> , v. 16, p. 125, Oct. 1934	... surface nat.
Hooke, S.H.	... "The beatification of the Blessed James"	... <u>C.F.</u> , v. 9, p. 172, Feb. 1929	... Canadianism.
Hopper, C.	... "The emigrant's stone"	... <u>C.F.</u> , v. 9, p. 87, Dec. 1928	... Canadianism.
	... "True drama on False Creek"	... <u>C.F.</u> , v. 13, p. 205, March 1933	... localism.

Ingraham, M.K.	"Canadian poetry"	...C.F.	v. 11, p. 407, Aug. 1931	...Canadianism.
Key, A.F.	"Rockyford, Alberta"	...CCF	v. 10, p. 249, Apr. 1930	...surface nat.
L.	"A real united front"	...C.F.	v. 17, p. 118, July 1937	...Canadianism.
L.A.M.	"And spoil the child"	...C.F.	v. 11, pp. 221-2, March 1931	...Canadianism.
	"Fidelis Vulnera Amici"	...C.F.	v. 12, pp. 90-1, Dec. 1931	...Canadianism.
	"Lines on a P.M."	...C.F.	v. 17, p. 100, June 1937	...Canadianism.
	"1938 dialogue of the dead"	...CCF	v. 18, p. 71, June 1938	...colonialism.
	"Traffic"	...C.F.	v. 13, p. 451, Sept. 1933	...Canadianism.
Lapointe, C.C.M.	"I sought freedom"	...C.F.	v. 12, pp. 15-6, Oct. 1931	...Canadianism.
MacDonald, J.	"March moment"	...C.F.	v. 7, Oct. 1926, p. 407(19)	...Canadianism.
McMaster, B.	"Canada"	...CCF	v. 5, p. 51, Nov. 1924	...Canadianism.
Martin, A.	"Our fatherland"	...CCB	v. 8, p. 223, July 1926	...surface nat.
Mercutio	"Two-party system"	...C.F.	v. 14, p. 221, March 1934	...Canadianism.
Nicol, R.	"The festival"	...C.F.	v. 13, p. 339, June 1933	...Canadianism.
O'Brien, M.N.	"Lines on T.S. Eliot"	...C.F.	v. 13, p. 62, May 1932	...Canadianism.
Osborn, M.	"Autumn"	...C.F.	v. 19, p. 157, Aug. 1939	...internationalism.
	"Spring"	...C.F.	v. 18, p. 112, July 1938	...Canadianism.
Rabson, T.	"The Ayr-shire muse"	...CCF	v. 15, p. 173, Feb. 1935	...Canadianism.
Ratz, B.	"The melting pot"	...CCF	v. 15, pp. 326-7, Aug. 1935	...Canadianism.
Rhodenizer, V.E.	"Canada for man"	...CCB	v. 7, pp. 111-2, July 1925	...Canadianism.
Ridley, L.A.	"Late spring in Can."	...C.B.	v. 12, p. 135, July 1930	...Canadianism.
Ritchie, H.A.	"There is a land"	...C.B.	v. 5, p. 277, Oct. 1923	...Canadianism.
Rose, A.C.	"A Canadian in Eng."	...C.B.	v. 6, p. 216, Oct. 1924	...Canadianism.
Ross, M.K.	"Nationale"	...CCF	v. 15, p. 372, Nov. 1935	...surface nat.
Ryan, B.A.	"April 1917"	...CCB	v. 9, p. 103, April 1927	...Canadianism.
Sleeman, W.T.	"O Canada"	...C.B.	v. 7, p. 5, Jan. 1925	...surface nat.
Severin, P.	"Pins"	...C.F.	v. 17, p. 211, Sept. 1937	...Canadianism.
Smith, N.E.	"The Alaska Highway"	...D.F.	v. 24, pp. 164-5, July 1944	...Americanism.
Smythe, A.E.S.	"For the Varsity Monument"	...CCB	v. 6, p. 135, June 1924	...Canadianism.
Tomkinson, G.	"Snow for Christmas"	...C.F.	v. 13, p. 101, Dec. 1932	...Canadianism.
Wetherall, J.E.	"Azure wings"	...C.B.	v. 6, p. 109, May 1924	...Canadianism.

It is much too early yet to ascertain the full effect of the Second World War on the development of Canadianism in literature. There are, however, certain indications that it has added much strength to that growth of nationalism which has been so widespread since the end of the First World War. Already several outstanding poets and novelists have written work with a national flavour since the recent war began, and often under the direct impulse of it. Novelists have responded to the impulse with most success, at least as far as the reflection of it is concerned, but certain important poets have also suggested this inspiration in their work. Among such poets three--E. J. Pratt, Earle Birney and Anne Marriott--are particularly significant.

E. J. Pratt (b. 1883) has published many volumes of poetry since 1923,⁶¹ but until recently very little of it has been Canadian in sentiment, although he has associated himself with the literary life of the country. Mr. Pratt was born in Newfoundland, and that country--the land in which he grew up--has usually claimed his first allegiance. Indeed he has admitted himself, "at heart I shall always be a Newfoundlander!"⁶² The 1932 volume Many Moods,⁶³ which contains 31 poems, illus-

61. Newfoundland Verse, 1923; The Witches' Brew, 1925; Titans, 1926; The Iron Door, 1928; The Roosevelt and the Antinoe, 1930; Verses of the Sea, 1930; Many Moods, 1932; The Titanic, 1935; The Fable of the Goats and other poems, 1937; Brébeuf and his Brethren, 1940; Dunkirk, 1941; Still Life and other verse, 1943; Collected poems, 1944.

62. Benson, N. A., "Edwin J. Pratt", C.B., v. 9, p. 323, Nov., 1927.

63. See Appendix II, Table XII.

trates this spirit well. Only 4 poems in the group are Canadian in any way, whereas some 20--those which deal with local nature or life in general--suggest a Newfoundland flavour. Some 7 poems deal with problems of human interest in a non-national manner. This spirit is also evident in his 1937 poem on fascism, The Fable of the Goats.⁶⁴ But in recent years Mr. Pratt has acquired a significant Canadian outlook. This is most apparent in the long poem Brebeuf and his Brethren,⁶⁵ published in 1940. This poem is some eight pages longer than the Many Moods collection, and in contrast to that volume is thoroughly Canadian in inspiration.

Three hundred years have passed, and the winds of God
Which blew over France are blowing once more through the pines
That bulwark the shores of the great Fresh Water Sea.
Over the wastes abandoned by human tread,
Where only the bittern's cry was heard at dusk;
Over the lakes where the wild ducks built their nests,
The skies that had banked their fires are shining again
With the stars that guided the feet of Jogues and Brébeuf.⁶⁵

Earle Birney (b. 1904) has also written several significant poems reflecting a Canadian inspiration. Born in Calgary, Mr. Birney has studied ~~extensively~~ at the Universities of British Columbia and Toronto, and served in the overseas army during the Second World War. His volume David and other poems (1942) suggested a Canadian attitude in places, but his second volume--Now is time (1945)--reflects directly the influence of the Second World War. Of the 27 poems in Now is⁶⁶

64. Toronto, Macmillan, 1937; Collected poems, Toronto, Macmillan, 1944, pp. 289 - 302.

65. Toronto, Macmillan, 1940; Collected poems, pp. 36-94; the quotation is from "The martyr's shrine" [conclusion] ll. 1-8.

66. See Appendix II, Table XIV. (xvi)

time at least 5 are distinctly national in flavour. Particularly so is the war poem "Joe Harris, 1913 - 1942",⁶⁷ which suggests the effect of the war on a young Canadian soldier.

In the midst of life

I have grown used to dwell with a gun as with a child
to be petted, and to be absent from children. And I
have grown used to cherish darkness and ditches and
steel eaves as they were women, and to be absent from
women. It is not hard to leave these ways, could I
stride from them back beside Canadian creeks in air
unhaunted.⁶⁷ --section 7.

This quotation suggests the national influence of the Second World War in Canadian literature.

A third poet who has written national Canadian verse in recent years is Anne Marriott. Born in 1913 at Victoria, B. C., Miss Marriott was privately educated there. She has published three important chap-books, all revealing a spontaneous and pervading Canadianism.⁶⁸ In these she has treated various aspects of Canadian life in a vigorous and enthusiastic fashion inspired by broad national sentiments. One of her more attractive pieces is "Calling adventurers",⁶⁹ which presents a series of pictures of life in Northern Canada--the new north which has played the part in recent years in awakening Canadian feeling that the west did in preceding periods.

Here are papers,
Medicine, longed-for parcels,
Heavy freight no dragging portage
Could have brought across the far plains.
Lightning-fast they come, like lightning
Slantt flashing from the sky's roads,
Pushing farther, onward, northward,

67. Now is time, Toronto, Ryerson, 1945, pp. 23 - 27.

68. The wind our enemy, 1939; Calling adventurers, 1941; Salt marsh and other poems, 1941.

69. Calling adventurers, Toronto, Ryerson, 1941, pp. 3-4.

Where Eskimos stand, sloped eye-slits
Widened as the noisy bird comes,
White man run out--surprised--hopeful--
Sure! As hard metal flashings
Crack the silence of the tundra,
Bringing hope, laughter and courage,
Bringing life on their strong steel wings.⁶⁹

Novelists as well as poets have published national work in Canada in recent years. Their novels suggest the real strength of Canadianism in recent years. One novelist of importance is, however, more regional than national in outlook. This is Sinclair Ross, who was born on a Saskatchewan farm, of Scottish descent. His work reveals the influence of the west, which was very important in earlier periods in moulding a Canadian sentiment. His important novel, As for me and my house, appeared in 1941. It is a very realistic study of the misery of prairie life during lean years. The novelist captures a sense of the prairies extremely well; he depicts one aspect of the Canadian scene most convincingly. In this way he is in line with the community novelists of the first quarter of the century, although the locality depicted is much broader than it was in earlier novels. There is, however, little to indicate a Canadian rather than an American setting; the novel is regional rather than national.

The wind keeps on. When you step outside its strong hot push is like something solid pressed against the face. The sun through the dust looks big and red and close. Bigger, redder, closer every day. You begin to glance at it with a doomed feeling, that there's no escape.

The dust is so thick that sky and earth are just a blur. You can scarcely see the elevators at the end of town. One step beyond, you think, and you'd go plunging into space.

The days are blurred too. It's wind in the

morning, wind at bedtime. Wind all through the night--we toss and lie listening....

The sand and dust drifts everywhere. It's in the food, the bedclothes, a film on the book you're reading before you can turn the page. In the morning it's half an inch deep on the window sills. Half an inch again by noon. Half an inch again by evening. It begins to make an important place for itself in the routine of the day. I watch the little drifts form. If at dusting time they're not quite high enough I'm disappointed, put off dusting sometimes half an hour to let them grow. But if the wind has been high and they have outdrifted themselves, then I look at them incredulous, and feel a strange kind of satisfaction, as if such height were an achievement for which credit was coming to me.

The wind and the sawing eaves and the rattle of windows have made the house a cell. Sometimes it's as if we had taken shelter here, sometimes as if we were at the bottom of a deep moaning lake. We are quiet and tense and wary. Our muscles and lungs seem pitted to keep the walls from caving in.

In contrast to As for me and my house, The Hollow Men, by Bruce Hutchison, is distinctly national in flavour. Born in Prescott, Ontario, in 1901, Mr. Hutchison has been engaged in newspaper work since 1925. This occupation has taken him to all parts of Canada, and to England and the United States, thus providing an excellent background for his novel. The Hollow Men is the story of a newspaper correspondent who lives a restless life in a remote British Columbia valley, in Ottawa, and in Washington, until he finally goes off to war himself. It is Canadian throughout, and seems to suggest a national impulse inspired by Canada's attainment of complete autonomy. The following passage is distinctly national in spirit.

70. As for me and my house, New York, Reynal and Hitchcock, 1941, pp. 128 - 129.

71. The Hollow Men, Toronto, Longmans, Green and Co., 1944, p. 42.

The size of Canada was in the tower, the cleanliness, the fertility of the soil, the loneliness and the cruelty of the empty land. The mountains were in it also, the hard, blue mountains beside his father's ranch, the riven cliffs and canyons of Mile Thirty-One, and the baked range, the trickle of water in the ditches. All the substance of Canada was grasped and held in the image of this mighty tower.

It was an old fancy with him. He had always thought of the tower as an image and symbol. Thus to him, though he would not have tried to tell it to anyone, the tower contained more than the substance, more than the physical proportions of Canada. The very essence, the heartbeat and breath of Canada, the unutterable yearnings of Canadians in their empty land, the feelings of lonely men on little farms, and the agony of squalid cities, the secret lusts, the courage, the mountainous confusion of these people, all were somehow held in the tower, and conveyed here more clearly than in words, pictures, or songs.⁷¹

Hugh MacLennan (b. 1907) was born in the colliery district of Cape Breton, and spent his early years in Nova Scotia. He later travelled abroad to England and the United States, and has taught in Montreal. He has published two important novels each containing a significant Canadian feeling. Barometer Rising (1941) is a story of the Halifax explosion of 1917 and its aftermath, and of a returned soldier who appreciates Canada as his country now that he has lived abroad. However although the national feeling is constantly apparent throughout the book, it is not particularly significant. It is too overt and conscious to sound sincere. From the various expressions of Canadianism present it seems apparent that the author was determined to be national in outlook, although he actually believes that "there is as yet no tradition of Canadian literature."⁷² Thus throughout the book the author speculates on Canada as a whole, but nowhere does he accept the fact that

⁷². Barometer Rising, New York, Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1941, p. vii ("Foreword").

Canada really is a nation--his country.⁷³ Indeed he writes,

Why was he glad to be back? It was so much more than a man could ever put into words. It was more than the idea that he was young enough to see a great country move into its destiny. It was what he felt inside himself, as a Canadian who had lived both in the United States and England. Canada at present was called a nation only because a few laws had been passed and a railway line sent from one coast to the other. In returning home he knew that he was doing more than coming back to familiar surroundings. For better or worse he was entering the future; he was identifying himself with the still-hidden forces which were doomed to shape humanity as certainly as the tiny states of Europe had shaped the past. Canada was still hesitant, was still ham-strung by men with the mentality of Geoffrey Wain. But if there were enough Canadians like himself, half American and half-English, then the day was inevitable when the halves would join and his country would become the central arch which united the new order.⁷⁴

On the other hand, Two Solitudes (1945) is an important novel in which the expression of Canadian feeling is both pervading and sincere. It is a story of the clash of races (English and French) in Canada during the period between the First and Second World Wars. Unlike Barometer Rising it does not contain long dissertations on Canada as a nation and the importance of Canada; but rather it displays a strong and pervading Canadian feeling similar to that evident in the work of Frederick Philip Grove, and other national Canadian novelists. It is one of the most significant examples of Canadian feeling yet to appear.

In Canada, a girl with background could seriously consider only one of three or four professions. She could nurse, teach school, work in a library, or be a dietician; she might even work in a hospital laboratory if she had the technical training. But whatever a girl chose to do in Canada, she was badly paid for it. All

73. ibid., pp. 66, 70, 181, 193, 300, 310, etc.

74. ibid., pp. 324 - 325.

the careers American girls were making for themselves--advertising, designing, screen-writing, editing, decorating, selling, even executive posts in business organizations, law, medicine, architecture--were practically barred to women in Canada. Plenty of girls tried to make their way into some of them, but^{75, 76} they were never able to get even halfway to the top.

Gwethalyn Graham Erichsen-Brown, another important novelist, was born in Toronto in 1913 and lived there until she was 16; since then she has travelled abroad over many parts of Europe. Her recent novel, Earth and High Heaven, is a study of race conflict in Montreal. Primarily a study of anti-Jewish prejudice, the novel also stresses anti-French feeling, based primarily on religious antagonism. Important in the resolution of the conflict is an election campaign in which national policies are important, and the advent of the War in which racial conflict tends to subside. The heroine, the daughter of the wealthy Drake family of Montreal, and her lover, Marc Reiser, a prominent Jewish lawyer, debate the question of how and where in Canada they could live peacefully if they were married. The discussion involves the attitude of various social circles in Montreal and Ontario; and is only resolved when David Reiser injects a tolerant attitude from a backwoods community where all three races are in harmony. Throughout the book awareness of the country as a whole is pervading and sincere.

The Happy Time (1945) by Robert Fontane is also a study of races in Canada. But unlike Earth and High Heaven and

75. Two Solitudes, Toronto, Collins, 1945, p. 240.

76. It is, perhaps, significant that Hugh MacLennan is the first Nova Scotian who has written either poems or novels which are distinctly national in flavour. Some parts of the country are probably more nationally minded than are others.

Two Solitudes it is not a record of conflict between the various races, but the story of a successful and happy marriage between a French and Catholic man and a Scottish and Presbyterian woman. The story is set in Ottawa and displays a complete awareness of national life. Various aspects of parliamentary, cultural, and social life are discussed in a distinctly Canadian manner. Besides revealing an inherent Canadianism, it also satirizes various phases of Ottawa and Canadian life which are particularly anti-national; thus at one point the Presbyterian minister, the Catholic priest, and the Hebrew rabbi are brought together in one scene. In all, the outlook is definitely Canadian.

There have been, then, a considerable number of English Canadian poets and novelists who have written nationally inspired work in the last quarter of a century. Their work does not, however, reflect the various factors in the history of the period which have tended to create a vital national feeling. Perhaps this is because there is usually a time lag between the event and its reflection in literature. The one major exception to this condition in this period has been the Second World War, which has already inspired some significant national feeling in English Canadian literature. Perhaps the most inspired nationalism has appeared in the work of various novelists. Beginning early in the period with such immigration novels as The Viking Heart and Hansen and developing through the thoroughly national works of Frederick Philip Grove to such important national novels as Two Solitudes and Earth and High Heaven, the Canadian novel has become the most vital medium for the expression of Canadianism in English Canadian creative

literature. Poets also have written much nationally inspired work. The poetry of writers such as Isabel Ecclestone Mackay, Annie Charlotte Dalton, and Wilson MacDonald reveals a Canadian feeling inspired by nature, and that of writers such as Frank Scott, E. J. Pratt, and Earle Birney a national awareness inspired by a more overt interest in Canada as a nation. In all, English Canadian literature has produced a very significant number of nationally inspired poems and novels in the last quarter of a century.

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Christ Received

"For God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth [trusts] in Him [as personal Saviour] should not perish, but have everlasting life" (John 3:16).

"In my Father's house are many mansions: if it were not so, I would have told you. I go to prepare a place for you. And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again, and receive you unto myself, that where I am, there ye may be also" (John 14:2, 3).

Christ Rejected

"He that believeth [trusts] not the Son [as personal Saviour] shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him" (John 3:36b).

"But the fearful, and unbelieving, and the abominable, and murderers, and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone: which is the second death" (Revelation 21:8).

"And whosoever was not found written in the book of life was cast into the lake of fire" [hell] (Revelation 20:15).

*What will **YOU** do with Jesus which is called Christ?*

CHAPTER VI

The EMERGENCE of a CANADIAN SPIRIT;

CONCLUDING REMARKS

A considerable national feeling has arisen in Canada during the last century. One hundred years ago there was little or no such feeling in the country as a whole; to-day there undoubtedly is. An examination of English Canadian poetry and fiction suggests that Canadianism has emerged gradually and spread to all parts of the country, although it offers no basis for an analysis of feeling in French Canada. There has, however, been in most cases a considerable time lag between the various historical factors responsible for Canadianism and their reflection in literature, and in some cases there has been no direct reflection at all. Furthermore the strength of such sentiment varies considerably from one part of the dominion to another. Indeed nationalism in Canada is primarily the result of the broadening or narrowing of certain earlier pioneering influences, which have lasted longer and with more strength in some sections of Canada than in others. But in general there is to-day a vital national awareness in Canada.

Three major factors which tended to create a Canadian spirit in the period prior to Confederation were the attitude of the pioneer, a strong anti-Americanism, and a love of the Canadian countryside, all of which were vital in the inhabitants of the land. As the pioneer gradually triumphed over natural obstacles and built a stable community in the New

World he slowly acquired a strong feeling of attachment for his new land. This feeling is often vague, and common to countries other than Canada; but it has played a part in developing a Canadian attitude. In the period before Confederation the Nova Scotian poet Oliver Goldsmith suggests this attitude well in his poem of 1825, The Rising Village. More important in arousing national feeling in Canada--particularly in Upper and Lower Canada--during this period was the widespread animosity to the United States. This was largely the result of the two American wars--the American Revolution and the War of 1812--but was increased by border trouble during the Rebellion of 1837 and the American Civil War. The most significant Canadian novel from a national point of view which dates from this period--John Richardson's Wacousta--is based on this feeling. The novelist himself fought in the War of 1812, and was a prisoner of war for some time. Also significant in this novel is an appreciation of Canadian nature, a ^{force} ~~factor~~ which has always been a most important factor in arousing Canadian sentiments. The poet Charles Sangster reflects a Canadianism inspired by this attitude in the pre-Confederation period. These, then, are the major examples of national literature in Canada in that period. The two most important ones, it will be noted, emanated from Upper Canada, Oliver Goldsmith being the only writer from the Maritime Provinces to suggest a Canadian appreciation. When it is remembered that most writers of those times came from the Maritime Provinces, the significance of the attitude becomes apparent. That region remained isolated and largely unaware of any possible Canadian connection. It is also significant to

note, in the case of Richardson, that a time lag of almost two centuries intervened between his participation in the War of 1812 and the publication of Wacousta in 1832.

It was in that part of the Nineteenth Century which followed Confederation that Canadianism first developed into a major and widespread force in Canada. The spirit of the earlier period had resulted in Confederation, now Confederation increased that spirit significantly. A direct reflection of the new nationalism appears in the work of Charles G. D. Roberts, whose poems on "Canada" and the "Canadian Confederacy" are well-known and inspiring examples of national fervour. In this period also the development of the New West played an important part in awakening national consciousness. It took the full resources of the new nation to open up the country and build the Canadian Pacific Railway. The poetry of Charles Mair--Tecumseh and Canadian Poems--is Canadian to the core and reflects this development. More particularly, Pauline Johnson in her poem "Prairie Greyhounds" suggests the national inspiration resulting from the building of the C. P. R. All these and many other new factors tended to increase Canadianism in this period.

The three factors of pioneering, appreciation of Canadian nature, and antagonism to the United States, which were basic in Canadianism prior to Confederation, also continued to be important in this period. The poems of Alexander M'Lachlan--particularly "The Emigrant"--and Isabella Valancy Crawford--particularly "Malcolm's Katie"--reveal the gradual awakening of Canadian feelings in the pioneer. The Canadian appreciation evident in the work of such poets as Bliss Carman

and Archibald Lampman is based on the influence of Canadian nature. And the national sentiments in Kirby's The Golden Dog is based primarily on anti-Americanism. There was, then, considerable widening and deepening of national sentiment in Canada in the period following Confederation. In this period, too, many more sections of the country produced national literature, although some sectionalism was still apparent. Both Nova Scotia and British Columbia failed to produce any national literature of importance at this time. It is also interesting to note that the time lag so apparent in the case of Richardson is evident in this period too. Charles Roberts' poems on Confederation did not appear until 1887--two decades after Confederation was achieved. Charles Mair had lived on the prairies some fifteen years before he wrote Tecumseh, and Canadian Ballads did not appear for another fifteen years. And Kirby in his historical novel chose the period of the French regime for his Canadian treatment. Canadian national awareness developed gradually in this period, and slowly made its way into Canadian creative literature.

In the first two decades of the Twentieth Century Canada made considerable progress in her efforts to secure complete autonomy, but late in the period some disunity arose from Anglo-French antagonism resulting from the conscription issue. Early in the period, however, the two races seemed to be drawing closer together. Confederation itself had united them politically, and the election of the Liberal Party under Sir Wilfred Laurier in 1896 as the new dominion government seemed to ensure complete unanimity in the near future. This

feeling is well presented in the poems of William Henry Drummond, which are definitely Canadian in outlook. In this period, also, the development of the New West played an important part in arousing Canadian feeling. The poetry and novels of R. J. C. Stead in particular, and also some of the poems of T. R. E. MacInnes, suggest the influence of this inspiration in English Canadian literature. The poetry of Robert W. Service, when it is Canadian, suggests a parallel impulse--the development of the New North in the Yukon. On the other hand, the poetry of Marjorie Pickthall suggests the continuing influence of nature in Canadian poetry. And more particularly, the Great War of 1914 - 1918, in which Canada played a most inspiring role, aroused in some writers a national attitude. Poems by Esther Kerry and Helena Coleman, in particular, suggest a Canadian feeling thus inspired.

In contrast to the poetry, the English Canadian novel of this period is regional rather than national in scope. The important novels of both this and the next period are not historical romances. Instead the novelist now centres his attention on some community, locality, or region in Canada and attempts to present a true picture of it as he knows it; he deals with the place and time he lives in rather than with subjects romantic in place or time. This type of novel does not profess to be national or even Canadian, for that is not a prime concern of the creative artist. Most of this work is, then, regional in character, and sometimes it is strictly provincial. The first important novelist to concentrate on one community was Miss A. M. Teskey, whose Where the Sugar Maple

Grows is considered the antecedant of the community novel. The important novelists of this period are Miss L. M. Montgomery with her 'Anne' and 'Emily' series and Charles W. Gordon with his 'Glengarry' and Western stories.

During this period it is significant to note that sectionalism weakened generally in all parts of Canada, although Nova Scotia produced little or no creative literature that was distinctly Canadian in tone. More parts of Canada are represented in the distinctly Canadian writing of this period than were in former ones, and the representation is fairly even and no longer concentrated largely in Ontario poets and novelists. In this period, too, the time lag between historical events and their reflection in literature is less marked. Canadians seem to have become gradually more and more conscious of their nationality during the first two decades of the Twentieth Century.

In the quarter of a century since 1920 Canadianism has become even more significant and widespread in English Canadian literature, but, with the major exception of the Second World War, new national forces fail to exert much influence on it. The pioneering attitude, which had been the basis of national sentiment in many cases in the Nineteenth Century, is again a most important factor. It was responsible for the group of national novels based on the assimilation of immigrants which began with Laura Goodman Salverson's The Viking Heart and Augustus Bridle's Hansen and became most important in the works of Frederick Philip Grove. Similarly, Canadian nature continues to exert a major unifying force in

Canada in this period. The poetry of writers such as Isabel Ecclestone Mackay, Annie Charlotte Dalton and Wilson MacDonald, which is based on this impulse, is Canadian--even national--in spirit. It was in the decade culminating in the Statute of Westminster (1931) that Canada finally secured complete autonomy. This influence, combined with various aspects of Canadian government, has aroused much unity in the country, and in poetry has provided the inspiration for F. R. Scott. Canadians have also come to appreciate the full national spirit of Canadian history, and much progress has been made in research in this field. In poetry, E. J. Pratt's Brebeuf and his Brethren is a notable ^{example} of national feeling aroused by pride in Canadian history. And finally the impact of the Second World War has aroused a most significant feeling of unity in Canada. Canadians feel proud of their war record both at home and abroad, and feel sure of a national future. The poetry of writers such as Earle Birney is based on this important feeling, and the novels of writers such as Hugh MacLennan, Bruce Hutchison and Gwethalyn Graham reflect it most significantly.

In the last quarter of a century, also, national literature has appeared in significant quantity in all parts of the country. Each province has its own distinctly Canadian writers, and, in general, as many as any other. Thus sectionalism has begun to disappear in Canada. It is significant, also, to note that the time lag has in some cases--particularly following the Second World War--become negligible. This is important, for it suggests that national awareness is now so

prominent in Canada that it is spontaneous and intrinsic even in the fine arts of the country.

Canadianism in Canadian literature--as elsewhere--has resulted from the broadening or narrowing of certain earlier tendencies. Local feelings have ceased to be provincial and have become regional, then Canadian, and finally distinctly national in scope. The pioneering spirit of the New World has passed as the country has become civilized, and narrowed into a distinctly Canadian attitude. And sentiments that were formerly colonial, imperial or American have gradually become limited to Canada itself. Thus very gradually during the last century Canadianism has emerged and spread throughout all sections of the country. Canada is now completely independent, and is developing her national life more and more. To-day there remains much anti-national feeling in many sections of the land. But it seems likely that if Canadianism continues to grow at the rate^{at which} it has grown in recent years anti-national feelings will soon be negligible. Indeed the prospects for Canada as a nation seem quite bright. If the spirit of The Happy Time becomes more general, national^{Feelings} will eventually come naturally to every Canadian.

APPENDIX I

POPULATION of CANADA, 1806 - 1931

TABLE I

POPULATION by PROVINCES PRIOR to CONFEDERATION

(Burpee, L. J., An historical atlas of Canada, Toronto, Nelson, 1928, p. 33.)

Date:	Assiniboia:	Upper Canada:	Lower Canada:	New Brunswick:	Prince Edward Island:	Nova Scotia:
1806:	---	70,718:	250,000:	35,000:	9,676:	65,000:
1814:	---	95,000:	335,000:			(estt):
1817:	---	-----	-----	-----	---	81,351:
1822:	---	-----	427,465:			
1824:	---	150,066:	-----	74,176:		
1825:	---	-----	479,288:			
1827:	---	-----	-----	-----	---	123,630:
						(with C. B.):
1831:	2,390:	236,702:	553,131:			
1834:	3,356:	321,145:	-----	119,547:		
1838:	---	339,422:	-----	-----	---	202,575:
1841:	---	455,688:	-----	-----	47,042:	
1844:	---	-----	697,084:			
1849:	5,391:					
1851:	---	952,004:	890,261:	193,800:	---	276,854:
1856:	6,691:					
1861:	---	1,396,091:	1,111,566:	252,047:	80,857:	330,857:

TABLE II

POPULATION by PROVINCES, 1871 - 1931

(Burpee, L. J., An historical atlas of Canada, Toronto, Nelson, 1928, p. 33; figures for 1931 from The Canada Year Book, 1941, p. xv, where the other figures also appear.)

Province or Territory	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
Prince Edward Island	94,021	108,891	109,078	103,259	93,728	88,615	88,038
Nova Scotia - - - -	387,800	440,572	450,396	459,574	492,338	523,837	512,846
New Brunswick - - -	285,594	321,233	321,263	331,120	351,889	387,876	408,219
Quebec - - - - -	1,191,516	1,359,027	1,488,535	1,648,898	2,005,776	2,361,199	2,587,255
Ontario - - - - -	1,620,851	1,926,922	2,114,321	2,182,947	2,527,292	2,933,662	3,431,683
Manitoba - - - - -	25,288	62,260	152,506	255,211	461,394	610,118	700,139
Saskatchewan - - -	-----	-----	-----	91,279	492,432	757,510	921,785
Alberta - - - - -	-----	-----	-----	73,022	374,295	588,454	731,605
British Columbia -	36,247	49,459	98,173	178,657	392,480	524,582	694,263
Yukon Territory - -	-----	-----	-----	27,219	8,512	4,157	4,230
N.-W. Territories -	48,000	56,446	98,967	20,129	6,507	7,988	9,723
Total - - - - -	3,689,257	4,324,810	4,833,239	5,371,315	7,206,643	8,787,498	10,376,786

TABLE III

RACIAL STATISTICS--CENSUS of 1921

(Burpee, p. 33)

Race	Prince Edward Island	Nova Scotia	New Brun- swick	Quebec	Ontario
English - - - -	23,313	202,106	131,604	196,982	1,211,660
Irish - - - -	18,743	55,712	68,670	94,947	590,493
Scottish - - - -	33,473	148,000	51,308	63,915	465,400
French - - - -	11,971	56,619	121,111	1,889,277	248,275
German - - - -	260	27,046	1,698	4,668	130,545
Austrian - - - -	2	682	80	1,901	11,790
Dutch - - - -	239	11,506	3,698	1,413	50,512
Scandinavian - -	-----	1,333	2,142	2,219	12,716
Russian - - - -	1	520	185	2,802	8,605
Ukranian - - - -	-----	389	3	1,176	8,307
Totals - - - -	87,966	503,913	380,499	2,259,300	2,738,303
Other races - -	649	19,924	7,377	101,899	195,359
Total population of provinces.	88,615	523,837	387,876	2,361,199	2,933,662

Race	Mani- toba	Sask- atch- ewan	Alberta	British Columbia	Total of Race in Nine Provinces
English - - - -	170,286	206,272	180,478	221,145	2,544,106
Irish - - - -	71,414	84,786	68,246	54,298	1,107,309
Scottish - - - -	105,034	104,678	96,062	104,965	1,172,799
French - - - -	40,638	42,152	30,913	11,246	2,452,202
German - - - -	19,444	68,202	35,333	7,237	294,469
Austrian - - - -	31,035	39,738	19,430	2,993	107,651
Dutch - - - -	20,728	16,638	9,490	3,306	117,471
Scandinavian - -	26,698	58,382	44,545	19,002	167,037
Russian - - - -	14,009	45,343	21,212	7,373	100,050
Ukranian - - - -	44,129	28,097	23,827	793	106,721
Totals - - - -	543,415	694,489	529,536	432,394	8,169,815
Other races - -	66,703	63,021	58,918	92,188	606,038
Total population of provinces	610,118	757,510	588,445	524,582	8,755,855

Yukon, 4,157; N.-W. Territories, 7,988; Navy, 485--12,630:

Total population of Canada (census of 1921) - 8,788,483:

APPENDIX II

ANALYSIS of THEMES CHOSEN by ENGLISH

CANADIAN POETS

The following tables illustrate the various themes emphasized in certain significant volumes of poetry in Canada. All classifications are vague and indefinite, but these do show the various fields that have interested the poets in question. Each volume has been discussed in its appropriate in the thesis. Numbers following each poem indicate pagination.

The following symbols are used:

-- to indicate a thoroughly national poem.

x -- to indicate a poem that is Canadian in flavour, but does not suggest a national awareness.

TABLE I

CHARLES SANGSTER

Hesperus and other poems and lyrics, Montreal, Lovell, Kingston, Creighton, 1860. -- 49 poems.

love - 14.

life - 7

"Crowned" - 29
x "Mariline" - 30
"Eva" - 76
"Lost and found" - 96
"The star" - 104
"Love and truth" - 109
"Rose" - 116
x "Gertrude" - 121
"Within thine eyes" - 120
"True love" - 126
"Song, Clara and I" - 130
"Good night" - 134
"Hopeless" - 135
"Into the silent land" - 139

pastoral - 2

"Colin" - 68
"I'd be a fairy king" - 89

colonial - 2

"Song, Love while you may" - 91
"Young again" - 99
"Glimpses" - 100
"The mystery" - 107
"Ingratitude" - 125
"An evening thought" - 127
"The swallows" - 129

life, religion and
eternity - 7

"Hesperus" - 11
"Malcolm" - 61
"The comet, October, 1858" - 63
"Margery" - 70
"My prayer" - 102
"Grandpere" - 113
"Yearnings" - 124

the poet - 2

"A royal welcome" - 59

"England's hope and England's heir" - 114.

"The wine of song" - 78

"The poet's recompense" - 77

Canadian nature - 7	localism - 4
#"The happy harvesters" - 40	x"The wren" - 111
#"The falls of the Chaudiere"-53	"Night and morning" - 119
x"Autumn ode" - 41	"Flowers" - 122
x"Autumn" - 65	"A thought for spring" - 128
x"The snows" - 92	
x"The rapid" - 94	Canadian - 4
x"The April snowstorm, 1852"-132	#"The Plains of Abraham" - 80
	#"Death of Wolfe" - 83
number of poems....49.	#"Brock" - 84
distinctly national....8.	#"Song of Canada" - 86
regional Canadianism....8.	

TABLE II

CHARLES MAIR

Dreamland and other poems, Montreal, Dawson, London, Low, 1868; reprinted in Garvin, J. W., ed., Master-Works of Canadian Authors, Toronto, Radisson Society, 1926, pp. lxix - 74. -- 33 poems.

description, not Canadian - 7.	life and death - 16.
"The morning-land" - 9	"Dreamland" - 1
"Innocence" - 20	"The beautiful land by the sea" - 23
"To a morning cloud" - 26	"The little wren" - 24
"Summer" - 37	"My love" - 43
"The fireflies" - 55	"To my photograph" - 47
2 sonnets, pp. 71 - 74	"Stanzas from the heart" - 49
description, Canadian - 6.	"Werter" - 54
x"The pines" - 6	"Frowns and smiles" - 58
x"The North Wind's tale" - 10	"To memory" - 62
x"Address to a maid" - 32	"The lament of Andromache" - 66
x"Winter" - 35	#"In memory of Thomas D'Arcy McGee" - 67
x"Alice" - 46	5 sonnets, pp. 71 - 74
x"Prologue to Tecumseh" - 51	local - 3.
the Indian - 1.	
#"Night and morn" - 18	"Lines to Mount St. Patrick" - 30
	"August" - 59
number of poems....33.	"Wood-notes" - 63
distinctly national....2.	
regional Canadianism....6.	

TABLE III

CHARLES MAIR

"Canadian poems", Tecumseh, a drama, and Canadian poems,
Toronto, Briggs, 1901; reprinted in Garvin, J. W., ed.,
Master-Works of Canadian Authors, Toronto, Radisson
Society, 1926, 221 - 268. -- 21 poems.

Canadian, description - 2. description, not Canadian - 11.

x"The last bison" - 237

x"Open the bay" - 255

"Vain regrets" - 253

"Absence" - 259

"The river of pain" - 260

Canadian, the Indian - 4. 8 poems, pp. 264 - 268.

#"The legend of Chileeli" - 222

religion - 1.

#"Missipowistic" - 242

#"The Iroquois at the stake" - 247 "Demos Tyrannus" - 262

#"Kanata" - 251

Canadian - 3.

number of poems....21

distinctly national....7

regional Canadianism....2

#"A ballad for brave women" - 233

#"In memory of William A.

Foster" - 257

#"Cabot" - 261

TABLE IV

ALEXANDER M'LACHLAN

The poetical works of Alexander M'Lachlan, Toronto,
Briggs, 1900. -- 158 poems.

life and eternity - 30

life - 26

"A dream" - 43

"On the death of" - 45

"Who knows" - 48

"Fate" - 50

"A vision" - 57

"Gaun hame" - 66

x"To an Indian skull" - 69

"The old ruin grey" - 79

"The seer" - 80

"The ruined temple" - 84

"Change" - 86

"David, King of Israel" - 90

"The Halls of Holyrood" - 101

"We're a' John Tamson's Bairns" - 143

x"The hall of shadows" - 157

"Infinite" - 160

"Life's contradictions" - 37

"To a beautiful child" - 38

"A wreck" - 55

"The stamp of manhood" - 77

"Mammon's in the way" - 78

"The spirit of the press" - 98

"The life of man" - 120

"My mother" - 132

"Curling song" - 139

x"Sparkling" - 195

x"The picnic" - 196

"Auld Hawkie" - 304

"My old Schoolmaster" - 314

"Poverty's child" - 364

"A portrait of Auld Hawkie" - 342

"A lang-headit laddie" - 347

- "Ah, me!" - 167
 "Mystery" - 168
 "Stars" - 169
 "Autumn" - 171
 "The early bluebird" - 179
 "The spirit of devotion" - 189
 x"Neighbour John" - 202
 "The backwoods philosopher" - 264
 "Past and present" - 295
 "Thomas Carlyle" - 308
 "Daft Jamie" - 333
 "Ahead of his time" - 349
 "We're all afloat" - 380
 "Old skinflint's dream" - 389
- love - 16.
- "Women" - 74
 "Martha" - 75
 "Cartha again" - 102
 "Wee Mary" - 102
 "Love" - 138
 "Mary White" - 140
 "Sing me that song again" - 141
 "The flower of the speed" - 144
 "Jeannie's locks" - 146
 "Johnny keeps the key o't" - 147
 "Charloch ban" - 147
 "Lovely Alice" - 148
 "Woman" - 149
 "Lady Jane" - 150
 "My love is like the lily" - 142
 "Clamina" - 384
- freedom - 13.
- "Garibaldi" - 73
 "Up and be a hero" - 93
 "Far in the forest shade" - 153
 x"The pines" - 166
 "May" - 170
 "Sighs in the city" - 191
 "The gipsy blood" - 200
 "Acres of his own" - 201
 x"The man who rose from nothing" - 204
 x"A backwoods hero" - 278
 "The knight of Ellerslie" - 306
 x"Wilson's grave" - 368
 "The passing of jollity" - 382
- Canadian - 8.
- #"Indian summer" - 180
 # "October" - 185
 # "The genius of Canada" - 194
- "The cringer rebuked" - 362
 "Go into debt" - 372
 "We learn on one another" - 375
 "What poor little fellows" - 376
 "Worth" - 378
 "If you would be master" - 379
 "The hero" - 381
 "Lang syne" - 383
 "I long not for riches" - 385
 "Run Auld Adam in" - 386
- religious - 20.
- "Cowardice" - 35
 "Man" - 41
 "Old Hannah" - 54
 "Poverty's compensations" - 88
 "Gladstone" - 96
 "Watchers are weary" - 124
 "Paisley Abbey" - 129
 "Prologue" - 152
 "God" - 153
 "Awful spirit" - 163
 "Settler's first Sabbath Day" - 259
 "Dr. Burns" - 266
 x"The settler's prayer" - 270
 "The fisherman's wife" - 291
 "Auld Hawkie's Dream" - 324
 "My grandfather's Bible" - 336
 "The radical" - 359
 "Traditions" - 367
 "A song of charity" - 377
 "John Tamson's Address" - 393
- Scottish - 24.
- "Where'er we may wander" - 36
 "Sir Colin" - 71
 "Robert Burns" - 94
 "Memories of a Scottish literature" - 99
 "I winnae gae hame" - 104
 "Scotland revisited" - 107
 "Recollections of Clydesdale" - 109
 "The Scot" - 122
 "Awakened memories" - 113
 "A vision of boyhood" - 135
 x"Hallowe'en" - 284
 "The wee laddie's summer day" - 288
 "When we were boys together" - 290
 "The death of Evan Dhu" - 293
 "Provost John M'Rae" - 300
 "To Hugh M'Donald" - 311
 "Auld Granny Boon" - 318
 "The Warlock o' Gryffe" - 328

# "The men of the dominion" - 205	"Daft Maggie" - 339
# "Young Canada" - 207	"The Semphill Lords" - 346
# "Hurrah for the new dom." - 208	"Ode on the death of Robert Tannahill" - 369
# "The Emigrant" - 209-256	"Scotland" - 3373
# "Fire in the woods" - 274	"John Fraser's farewell" - 388
nature - 9.	"Old Adam" - 321
"Day" - 172	the fine arts - 6
"Sunset" - 173	"Heroes" - 311
"Morning" - 174	"The poet to the painter" - 62
"Dawn" - 175	"Music" - 67
"The song of the sun" - 176	"Poesy" - 126
"Bobolink" - 182	"Companionship in books" - 257
"To a humming-bird" - 183	"Burns" - 397
"May morning" - 187	love of animals - 4.
"Whip-poor-will" - 188	"Auld Towser" - 116
imperial - 2.	"The old warhorse" - 118
"Britannia" - 32	"Old Hoss" - 282
"The Anglo-Saxon" - 33	"Poor donkey" - 370
number of poems....158.	
distinctly.....8.	
regional Canadianism....11.	

TABLE V

ISABELLA VALANCY CRAWFORD

Garvin, J. W., ed., The collected poems of Isabella Valancy Crawford, Toronto, Briggs, 1905. -- 86 poems.

love - 33.	life and eternity - 27.
"Love's forget-me-not" - 33	"Said the daisy" - 34
"A perfect strain" - 38	x "The camp of souls" - 52
"Where, love, art hid?" - 40	"The mother's soul" - 55
x "La blanchisseuse" - 41	"The inspiration of song" - 58
"The king's kiss" - 43	"Baby's dreams" - 60
"Fairy toil" - 50	"Said the wind" - 64
"Sylvius to Chloris" - 51	"Who sees a vision" - 74
"Said the skylark" - 62	"Erin's warning" - 80
"Said the canoe" - 67	"Beside the sea" - 82
"The sailor and his bride" - 84	"Wealth" - 85
"True and false" - 88	"The hidden room" - 86
"Love and reason" - 90	"Faith, hope and charity" - 107
"Love amongst the roses" - 92	"Life" - 123
"Mary's tryst" - 95	"He arose" - 143
"Late loved--well loved" - 100	"His clay" - 145
"Bouche-mignonne" - 104	"The king's garments" - 147

"The burger-meister's well" - 108	"The legend of the mistletoe" - 152
"Said the thistle-down" - 110	"In exchange for his soul" - 161
"Love me, love my dog" - 113	"The earth waxeth old" - 163
"The shell" - 114	"The king is dead!" - 166
"Love in a diary" - 117	x"The ghosts of the trees" - 172
"The Helot" - 129	x"Canada to England" - 236
x"The lily bed" - 169	x"Toronto" - 239
"Gisli, the chieftan" - 177	"Egypt, I die!" - 250
#"Malcolm's Katie" - 193	"Old Spense" - 279
"Between the wind and the rain" - 243	"The deacon and his daughter" - 290
"The wishing star" - 248	x"Farmer Stebbin's opinions" - 294
"Vashti, the queen" - 251	
"Curtius" - 256	
"My Irish love" - 260	life - 16.
"The Rowan tree" - 301	
"My ain bonnie lass" - 305	x"A harvest song" - 36
"Caesar's wife" - 246	"The rose" - 39
nature - 8.	"Good-bye's the word" - 47
	"Laughter" - 49
"Mavourneen" - 76	"Songs for the soldiers" - 70
"The stag" - 78	"The city tree" - 97
"Rosess in Madrid" - 93	"Joy's city" - 103
"The poet of the spring" - 108	"The Christmas baby" - 118
"Said the west wind" - 240	"War" - 154
"The vesper star" - 253	"The sword" - 157
"An interregnum" - 253	"Peace" - 159
"A battle" - 255	x"September in Toronto" - 149
Canadian - 2.	"Esther" - 241
	"The farmer's daughter" - 298
#"The rose of a nation's thanks" - 45	"I'll lauch to see the year in" - 303
#"Old spookses! pass" - 265	"A hungry day" - 306
	number of poems....86.
	distinctly national....3.
	regional Canadianism....9.

TABLE VI

CHARLES G. D. ROBERTS

Poems, Boston, Page, 1907. -- 182 poems.

local - 34.	life, nature and eternity - 29.
"To G. B. R." - 15	"Autocathon" - 15
"The frosted pane" - 39	"Kinship" - 17
"The furrow" - 46	"Origins" - 18
"The sower" - 46	"O Thou who bidd'st" - 19
"The waking earth" - 47	"An April adoration" - 20
"To Fredericton in May-time" - 47	"An oblation" - 20
"The cow pasture" - 48	"The quest of the arbutus" - 24
"Frogs" - 49	#"In the orchard" - 27
"The herring weir" - 49	"The heal-all" - 27

- "The salt flats" - 50
 "The fir woods" - 50
 "The pea-fields" - 51
 "The mowing" - 51
 "When the cattle come to drink" - 52
 "Burnt lands" - 52
 "The clearing" - 53
 "The summer pool" - 53
 "Buckwheat" - 54
 "The cicada in the firs" - 54
 "In September" - 55
 "The potato harvest" - 56
 "The oat-threshing" - 56
 "The autumn thistles" - 57
 "Indian summer" - 57
 "The pumpkins in the corn" - 58
 "The winter fields" - 58
 "In an old barn" - 59
 "Midwinter thaw" - 60
 "The flight of the geese" - 60
 "The wood frolic" - 83
 "The tide on Tantramar" - 85
 "Whitewaters" - 90
 "The forest fire" - 95
 "Ave!" - 3
 imperial - 4.
 "Khartoum" - 67
 "The Laughing Sally" - 73
 "Kinsmen strong" - 123
 "Johnathan and John" - 124
 Canadian - 9.
 x "When milking-time is done" - 48
 # "Collect for Dominion Day" - 63
 x "The succour of Gluskap" - 75
 x "The vengeance of Gluskap" - 77
 x "How the Mohawks set out
 for Medotie" - 79
 # "The keepers of the pass" - 98
 # "Canada" - 125
 # "An ode for the Canadian
 Confederacy" - 127
 # "Canadian streams" - 128
 American - 22 poems, pp. 105-119
 ("New York Nocturnes")
 number of poems....182.
 written in United States....86.
 remainder....96.
 distinctly national....6.
 regional Canadianism....4.
- "Butterflies" - 29
 "An epitaph for a husbandman" - 30
 "Epitaph for a sailor" - 31
 "The little field of peace" - 31
 "At tide water" - 32
 "The unsleeping" - 34
 "Recessional" - 35
 "Earth complies" - 36
 "Two spheres" - 40
 "Immanence" - 41
 "Ascription" - 41
 "A child's prayer at evening" - 42
 "Across the fog" - 45
 "A vesper sonnet" - 55
 "The stillness of the frost" - 59
 "The train among the hills" - 64
 "Blomidon" - 68
 "The night sky" - 68
 "In the wide awe" - 69
 "O Solitary" - 69
 missing - 4 poems, pp. 65 - 66.
 (probable theme - eternity)
 "Mist" - 65
 "Tides" - 65
 "Dark" - 66
 "Moonlight" - 66
 life - 16.
 "The Jonquil" - 22
 "Resurrection" - 22
 "Affot" - 23
 "The pipes of Pan" - 25
 "A song of growth" - 28
 "Recompense" - 29
 "Renewal" - 33
 "A breathing time" - 33
 "The solitary woodsman" - 37
 "The skater" - 39
 "The slave woman" - 63
 "Rain" - 64
 "The deserted city" - 67
 "The ballad of crossing the
 brook" - 81
 "Marjory" - 97
 "A ballad of Manila Bay" - 100
 American - 64 poems, pp. 130-190
 ("Miscellaneous")

TABLE VII

ROBERT J. C. STEAD

Kitchener and other poems, Toronto, Musson, 1917. -57 poems.

wart and peace - 15.	love, life and eternity - 14.
x "We were men of the furrow" - 12	"Prodigal still" - 36
"The warlord" - 15	"Clarence and John" - 75
x "June, 1915" - 16	x "The healer" - 96
"To France" - 18	x "A prairie heroine" - 115
"Why don't they cheer?" - 20	x "Going home" - 122
"The veterans" - 23	"God's signalman" - 127
"The visitor" - 25	"Just be glad" - 132
"He sleeps in Flanders" - 27	"Retrospect" - 134
"The dragon" - 28	"The sufferers" - 139
"The soldier's wife" - 30	"The plough" - 138
x "The man of the house" - 53	"Thou shalt not steal" - 155
"Daddy's helper" - 80	"The early days" - 157
"The attached" - 31	"The homesteader to his dog" - 160
"The unattached" - 33	"My beloved" - 162
"The submarine" - 34	
	regional description - 10
colonial and imperial - 12.	
"Kitchener" - 3	x "In the wheat" - 22
"The awakening" - 4	x "The seer" - 58
"England" - 6	x "Prairie-born" - 62
"The call" - 8	x "The mothering" - 68
"Heroes of peace" - 38	x "Little Tim Trotter" - 83
"The empire builders" - 39	x "Kid McCann" - 85
"East and west" - 40	x "Hustlin' in my Jeans" - 91
"Mother and son" - 50	x "The prairie" - 136
"The charity ward" - 55	x "The homesteader" - 142
"The old guard" - 66	x "The terror" - 152
"The silent ships" - 71	
x "The gramophone" - 145	Canadian - 6
.....	
number of poems....57.	# "Manhood's estate" - 42
distinctly national....6.	# "The mixer" - 44
regional Canadianism....17.	# "The school-ma'am" - 73
	# "Alkali Hall" - 100
	# "The squad of one" - 105
	# "The son of Marquis Needle" - 110

TABLE VIII

WILLIAM HENRY DRUMMOND

Johnnie Courteau and other poems, New York, Putnam, 1901. (pagination from Collected poems, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1926). -- 34 poems.

local - 6.

life - 9

"Little Lac Grenier" - 175
 "Autumn days" - 190
 "The old pine tree" - 218
 "Phil-o-Rum's canoe" - 242
 "The log jam" - 246
 "The red canoe" - 255

x"The oyster schooner" - 137
 x"Bateese the lucky man" - 144
 x"The "Rose Delima" - 199
 "Little mouse" - 210
 x"Little Bateese" - 220
 "Dreame" - 229
 "Bateese and his little decoys" - 237
 "Johnnie's first moose" - 214
 "Donald Campbell" - 222

regional - 3.

x"My little cabane" - 140
 x"The windigo" - 177
 x"The Canadian magpie" - 252

life and love - 6.

Canadian - 7.

x"The cure of calumette" - 131
 # "The Canadian country doctor" - 158
 # "The habitant's summer" - 169
 # "National policy" - 187
 # "Madeleine Vercheres" - 192
 # "Strathcona's horse" - 212
 # "Two hundred years ago" - 256

x"Johnnie Courteau" - 122
 x"The corduroy road" - 125
 "The hill of St. Sebastien" - 145
 "Marie Louise" - 149
 "The old house and the new" - 153
 "The old sexton" - 231

Irish - 2

number of poems....34.
 distinctly national....6.
 regional Canadianism.....10.

"The Dublin fusilier" - 225
 "Child thoughts" - 235

the spirit of the New World - 1.

"Mon frere Camille" - 163

TABLE IX

THE RE. MCINNIS

"Lonesome Bar and other poems" (1909), Complete poems of Tom McInnes, Toronto, Ryerson, 1923, pp. 79 - 167.
 -- 24 poems.

life and eternity - 11.

life - 5.

"That other one" - 129
 "Too Walt Whitman" - 131
 "Mother" - 151
 "Hard times no more" - 152
 "The dream of the deep" - 154
 "The seer" - 156
 "The butterfly" - 156
 "God's kaleidoscope" - 159
 "Nirvana" - 161
 "Content" - 162
 "Illumined" - 163

"The way off beauty" - 79
 "The veteran" - 128
 "The clue" - 162
 "The tomb" - 167
 "The last song" - 167
 local - 2.
 x"The Chilcoat Pass" - 105
 "Coquitlam" - 127

Canadian - 2.

imperial - 2.

#"The rhyme of Jaques Valbeau" 134 "For the crowning of the king"
"October" - 128 - 112

x "On Beacon Hill" - 119

number of poems....24.

the New World - 2.

distinctly national....2.

regional Canadianism....4.

x "Cactus" - 99

x "Lonesome Bar" - 81

TABLE X

ROBERT T. W. SERVICE

"The spell of the Yukon and other Verse" (originally
called "Songs of a Sourdough", 1907), Complete poems
of Robert Service, New York, Dodd, Mead and Co.,
1940, pp. xviii - 73. -- 34 poems.

love - 6.

religion, death and eternity - 12.

"The shooting of Dan McGrew" 29

"The three voices" - 8

"Unforgotten" - 38

"The call of the wild" - 17

"New Year's Eve" - 64

"The lone trail" - 19

"The harpy" - 68

"The song of the wage-slave" - 25

"Premonition" - 70

"The cremation of Sam McGee" - 33

"The tramps" - 71

"The reckoning" - 39

life - 4.

"Quatrains" - 40

"The little old log cabin" - 50

"The parson's son" - 14

"The march of the dead" - 54

"Grin" - 27

"Fighting Mac" - 57

"My Madonna" - 37

"The woman and the angel" - 60

"L'Envoi" - 72

"Comfort" - 67

localism - 4.

the New World - 7.

"The land God forgot" - xviii

"The heart of the sourdough" 6

"The spell of the Yukon" - 3

"The law of the Yukon" - 10

"The pines" - 21

"The lure of little voices" 23

"Music in the bush" - 44

"The men that don't fall in" - 42

"The low down white" - 48

colonialism - 1.

"The rhyme of the remittance man" - 46

"The rhyme of the restless one" - 62

"The younger son" - 52

number of poems....34.

distinctly Canadian....1.

TABLE XI

ROBERT W. SERVICE

"Rhymes of a rolling stone" (1912), Complete poems of Robert Service, New York, Dodd, Mead and Co., 1940, pp. 168 - 286. -- 50 poems

love - 12.

religion, death and eternity - 11.

x "Sunshine" - 178
 "Cheer" - 191
 "The return" - 192
 "Barb-wire Bill" - 208
 "?" - 212
 "The lunger" - 214
 "The mountain and the lake" - 217
 "Little moccasins" - 237
 x "The squaw man" - 258
 "Home and love" - 261
 "Her letter" - 270
 "A song of success" - 265

"The soldier of fortune" - 171
 "The junior god" - 193
 x "Death in the Arctic" - 219
 "The lost master" - 236
 "The World's all right" - 244
 x "The logger" - 272
 "The ghosts" - 276
 "Heart of the north" - 284
 "The scribe's prayer" - 285
 "Just think!" - 213
 x "The atavist" - 202

life - 16.

the New World - 9.

"A rolling stone" - 168
 x "The land of beyond" - 177
 "Athabaska Dick" - 187
 "The rover" - 206
 "The quitter" - 228
 "The wanderlust" - 239
 x "I'm scared of it all" - 262
 # "The song of the campfire" - 266
 x "Good-bye, little cabin" - 282

"The gramophone at Fond-du-lac" - 174
 "The idealist" - 186
 # "Ambition" - 198
 "To Sunnydale" - 199
 "The blind and the dead" - 200
 "The sceptic" - 205
 "Dreams are best" - 226
 "The headliner and the bread-liner" - 218
 "The cow-juice cure" - 229
 "The trapper's Christmas Eve" - 242
 "The baldness of chewed ear" - 247
 "The mother" - 251
 "The dreamer" - 252
 "At thirty-five" - 256
 "The man who knew" - 271
 "The passing of the year" - 274

Canadian - 1.

"The nostomaniac" - 195

number of poems....50.
 distinctly national....3.
 regional Canadianism....8.

local - 1.

"While the bannock bakes" - 232

TABLE XII

EDWIN J. PRATT

Many Moods, Toronto, Macmillan, 1932.

-- 31 poems.

local - 13.

life - 7.

"Sea-gulls" - 9
 "The way of Cape Race" - 9
 "The sea-cathedral" - 10
 "Cherries" - 33
 "The child and the wren" - 34
 "Frost" - 35
 "A November landscape" - 36
 "Magic" - 36
 "One hour of life" - 38
 "Dreams" - 40
 "To Angelina, an old nurse" - 41
 "Jock o' the links" - 44
 "The fugitive" - 48

"A reverie on a dog" - 1
 "Blind" - 24
 "The decision" - 25
 "Tatterhead" - 45
 "The drag-irons" - 47
 "A lee-shore" - 47
 "The ritual" - 48

modern life - 7.

Canadian - 4.

x "A prairie sunset" - 11
 x "Putting winter to bed" - 28
 x "Horizons" - 38
 x "The Armistice silence" - 39

"The depression ends" - 12
 "The man and the machine" - 20
 "The parables of Puffsky" - 21
 "From stone to steel" - 23
 "Whither" - 27
 "The highway" - 27
 "The 6000" - 49

number of poems....31.
 distinctly Canadian....4.

(but cf. Brebeuf and his brethren, published only 8 years later (1940), and is several pages longer than Many Moods. That volume is Canadian through and through, in every way.)

TABLE XXII

ISABEL ECCLESTONE MACKAY

Fires of driftwood, McClelland and Stewart, Toronto, 1922. -- 98 poems.

love - 24

religion, death and eternity - 29

"In an autumn garden" - 16
 "Rose Dolores" - 17
 "The secret" - 23
 "The lost name" - 27
 "The way to wait" - 52
 "First love" - 54
 "Sad one, must you weep?" - 55
 "A Christmas child" - 58
 "Give me a day" - 71
 "To Arcady" - 76
 "I love my love" - 78
 "The coming of love" - 86
 "The sea's withholding" - 91
 "Love unkind" - 93
 "I whispered to the bobolink" - 95
 "You" - 96
 "The mother" - 97

"Laureate" - 11
 "Out of Babylon" - 12
 "Presence" - 15
 "A pilgrim" - 19
 "Cosmos" - 22
 "Fear" - 25
 "Resurrection" - 26
 "The dead bride" - 29
 "The vision" - 31
 x "Vale" - 51
 "Joseph" - 56
 "Spring in Nazareth" - 59
 "Song of the sleeper" - 62
 "The tyrant" - 64
 "The gifts" - 66
 "On the mountain" - 69
 "The prophet" - 70

"The unchanged" - 102	"The doom of ys" - 82
"Callous Cupid" - 105	"Premonition" - 87
"The meeting" - 106	"Time's garden" - 84
"The enchantress" - 116	"The child" - 88
"Fairy song" - 121	"Christmas in Heaven" - 94
"Perhaps" - 133	"Last things" - 104
"Glamour" - 135	"The piper" - 107
nature - 19	"The materialist" - 111
"Fires off driftwood" - 9	"Tom Nan Og" - 112
"Last spring" - 14	"Killed in action" - 123
"Spring will come" - 20	"Epitaph" - 138
"The crocus bed" - 30	"For one who went in the spring" - 139
"The minae" - 32	life - 21
"Wet weather" - 36	"When as a lad" - 10
"The sleeping beauty" - 37	"I watch swift pictures" - 24
"Lake Louise" - 40	x "The happy traveller" - 28
x "The bridge builder" - 43	"Down at the docks" - 38
"Little brown bird" - 72	x "The prairie school" - 45
"The fields of even" - 77	"The passer-by" - 53
"Spring awakes to-day" - 79	"Inheritance" - 61
x "In town" - 80	"The town between" - 67
"Summer's passing" - 81	"The watcher" - 73
# "Indian summer" - 101	x "Possession" - 74
"Indifference" - 103	"Intrusion" - 89
"Gold" - 110	"The troubadour" - 99
"The little man in green" - 114	x "Wanderlust" - 109
"Spring came in" - 124	"The banshee" - 118
Canadian - 5.	"The witch" - 119
x "The homesteader" - 33	"The reasons" - 127
# "The gatekeeper" - 41	"To-day" - 130
# "Calgary station" - 47	"Memory" - 131
x "The vassal" - 98	"Dream" - 132
# "From the trenches" - 125	"Friendship" - 136
number of poems....98.	"The returned man" - 137
	distinctly national....4.
	regional Canadianism....9.

TABLE XIV

WILSON MacDONALD

"The book of the wilderness", Out of the wilderness,
Ottawa, Graphic, 1926, pp. 3 - 58. -- 21 poems.

life and love - 5.

nature - 12.

"A song of the unreturning" - 7	"A song to the valiant" - 8
"These friends of mine" - 16	x "The call" - 11
x "The song of the ski" - 17	"The loon" - 13
x "Laranowa" - 23	x "M'sieu" - 20

"The berry pickers" - 37	x"Muskoka" - 25
Canadian - 4.	"November" - 33
	"The war in the gorse"-39
#"Out of the wilderness"13	"The song of the winding road"40
#"I heard the woodman grieve"31	"Oaks" - 45
#"An adventurer's song" - 32	"Birches" - 48
#"A song of lonesomeness" - 57	"In a wood clearing" - 51
	x"February the first on the prairie" - 54

number of poems...21.
distinctly national....4.
regional Canadianism....6.

TABLE XV

A. J. M. SMITH

News of the Phoenix and other poems, Toronto, Ryerson, New York, Coward-McCann, 1943: -- 39 poems.

life - 18.

nature - 11.

"Like an old proud king" - 2	"A hyacinth for Edith" - 5
"The faithful heart" - 7	"The fountain" - 8
"In the wilderness" - 11	"I shall remember" - 9
"Hellenica" - 14	"The creek" - 16
"To the Christian doctors"-24	"Swift current" - 17
"Chorus" - 25	"Sea cliff" - 18
"The plot against Proteus"-26	x"The lonely land" - 19
"To a young poet" - 22	"Ode" - 21.
"Poor innocent" - 28	"Noctambule" - 27
"A portrait, and a prophecy"29	"Far west" - 32
"Son and heir" - 30	"The shrouding" - 41
"On reading an anthology" - 33	
"News of the phoenix" - 34	death and eternity - 10.
"The face" - 35	
"Ode: the Eumenides" - 36	"Shadows there are" - 1
"Calvary" - 39	"The two sides of a drum" - 3
"Good Friday" - 40	"Prothalmium" - 4
"For healing" - 10	"Journey" - 12
	"The archer" - 13
	"Epitaph" - 15
	"A soldier's ghost" - 23
	"The cry" - 37
	"The offices" - 38
	"Beside one dead" - 42

number of poems....39.
distinctly Canadian....1.

TABLE XVI

EARLE BIRNEY

Now is time, Toronto, Ryerson, 1945. -- 27 poems.

nature - 7.

war and peace - 9.

"Hands" - 13
 x"Vancouver lights" - 15
 "Dusk on the bay" - 17
 "War winter" - 22
 "Poem" - 28
 x"and the earth grow young again" - 34
 "D-day" - 37
 "Status quo" - 3
 "Time-bomb" - 6
 x"Man on a tractor" - 7
 x"For Steve" - 29
 "Introvert" - 39
 "VE night" - 44
 "On a diary" - 45
 "Death of a war" - 53
 "World conference" - 56
 life and death - 6.

"Remarks" - 4

war - 4.

"Lines for a peace" - 5

"Cadet hospital" - 21

#"Joe Harris, 1913 - 1942" - 23

"Within these caverened days" - 40

"Invasion spring" - 36

"Skeleton in the grass" - 41

"This page my pigeon" - 38

"Young veterans" - 55

"The road to Nijmegen" - 42

number of poems....27.

colonial - 1.

distinctly national....1.

regional Canadianism....4.

"Anglosaxon street" - 19

Summary of Canadian sentiment revealed
 in the above analysis

	No. of poems	nat. sent.	% of poems	Can. poems	% of poems	% of poems Can. in any way.
MacDonald.....	21	4	19%	6	30%	49%
Drummond.....	34	16	18%	10	30%	47%
Mair (Table 3) 21.....	7	33%	2	10%	43%	
Stead.....	57	6	11%	17	30%	40%
Sangster.....	49	8	17%	8	17%	33%
McInnes.....	24	2	8%	4	16%	25%
Mair (Table 2) 33.....	2	6%	6	18%	23%	
Service (T. 11) 50.....	3	6%	8	16%	22%	
Birney.....	27	1	4%	4	15%	19%
Crawford.....	86	3	3%	9	10%	14%
Mackay.....	98	4	4%	9	10%	14%
Pratt.....	31			4	13%	13%
M'Lachlan... 158.....	8	5%	11	7%	13%	
Roberts.....	96	6	6%	4	4%	10%
Service (T. 10) 34.....			1	3%	3%	
Smith.....	39		1	2.5%	2.5%	

BIBLIOGRAPHY

NOTE: This bibliography lists only the most valuable books for the topic of this thesis. Thus several important books on English Canadian literature which show little interest in national feeling are not included. No comments are made on primary sources, for these have been discussed in the thesis; or on articles in periodical magazines, except where the title of the article in question is misleading. See introduction, p. vii for abbreviations used in the bibliography.

PART -- A: HISTORY

I PRIMARY SOURCES.

Dawson, R. M., The development of dominion status, 1900 - 1936, London, Oxford University Press, 1937.

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Burt, A. L., A short history of Canada for Americans, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1942.

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Cobban, A., National self-determination, Oxford University Press, 1945.

Mr. Cobban presents a useful study of nationalism, and makes some interesting points on the nature of the forces in the British Commonwealth, and in Canada.

Creighton, D. G., The commercial empire of the St. Lawrence 1760 - 1850, Toronto, Ryerson, 1937.

This book discusses the importance of the St. Lawrence in Canadian history, and stresses the trade of Western Canada which it carried.

Creighton, D. G., Dominion of the North, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1944.

Mr. Creighton has written a short but very useful interpretation of Canadian history in which he has included a large number of quotations from various important statesmen showing their attitudes to different vital issues.

Dawson, R. M., The development of dominion status, 1900 - 1936, London, Oxford University Press, 1937.

There are valuable discussions of various aspects of dominion autonomy in this book as well as the valuable primary sources which form the major part of the book.

Gooch, G. P., Nationalism, London, Swarthmore, 1920.

Mr. Gooch presents an excellent study of the topic in this little book, and suggests a useful definition of the term in the introductory section.

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This is a valuable study of the development of the present system of government in Canada, and contains useful sections on the advancement of nationalism in the country.

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This is, essentially, a text book, but it contains all the necessary facts, and is a handy reference book for Canadian history.

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PART -- BE LITERATURE

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D. BOOK REVIEWS.

Many useful book reviews appear in Queen's Quarterly, The Canadian Magazine, The Canadian Bookman, The Canadian Forum, Dalhousie Review, University of Toronto Quarterly and The Canadian Poetry Magazine. Most reviewers in these publications are interested in the reflection of Canadian life in the books they are reviewing. *Particularly valuable is the series "Letters in Canada", which contains reviews and lists of books published annually. This has appeared yearly since 1935 in the University of Toronto Quarterly under the direction of Dr. A.S. P. Woodhouse.*