

**FROM THERE TO HERE: WRITING, EXPLORATION AND THE
COLONIZING OF THE CANADIAN LANDSCAPE**

By

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FROM THERE TO HERE

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ABSTRACT

My thesis traces the historical and theoretical formation of a "Canadian" writing. Traditionally, Canadian literature and the "Canadian identity" have been studied thematically. For instance, our relationships to wilderness, animals and geography (the inhospitable land), and the sense of community that develops in reaction to these circumstances are themes which have been examined exhaustively. In contrast, I am theorizing how writing was practiced in seventeenth-, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Canadian exploration narratives. The main chapters of this thesis are separated by shorter, more detailed, analyses of visual works, including maps, engravings from exploration books, and Frances Anne Hopkins's voyageur paintings. My explication of these pictures works dialectically with the longer chapters on prose narratives to reveal different aspects of exploration's expansive colonial discourse.

In chapter two I identify four distinct forms of writing, including "writing as inscription," the physical act of inscribing on surfaces. These surfaces include the North American landscape where territory is claimed in the name of a sovereign and as an act of imperial expansion. I also discuss writing's role as an agent of capitalism: it structures systems of exchange and records the European's interventions into indigenous cultures. Writing is a portable technology which the explorers use to transmit and store information on the peoples and geographies of the newly found lands.

Chapter four discusses the early sea voyages of Thomas James (The Strange and Dangerous Voyage of Captain Thomas James and Luke Foxe (North-West Fox, or, Fox from the North-west Passage). Both men found an inhospitable land barren of resources which would not yield a North West Passage. In chapter six Samuel Hearne's A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay . . . to the Northern Ocean provides an exemplary model for the role of commerce in the eighteenth century. Hearne's nar-

rative is the most important and influential of the many first-person narratives written by traders in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and his geography is much more detailed and economically productive than those of James and Foxe because he explores for trade and mining purposes.

The thesis ends with a reading of the three Franklin expeditions. Although the published texts only detail the first two (Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea and Narrative of a Second Expedition to the Shores of the Polar Sea), the loss of Franklin and his men with the third expedition, and the enormous media interest in the subsequent searches for their various "traces," demonstrates the entry of explorers into the "modern" world of communications technologies. The contemporary image of Franklin which has been recuperated through forensic technology mirrors the technology of writing discussed throughout the thesis. My analysis of exploration narratives and the extensive role of writing throughout the colonizing of Canada offers a valuable insight into our literary and cultural history.

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From There to Here: Writing, Exploration
and the Colonizing of the Canadian Landscape

Table of Contents

1.	The Canadian Landscape of Frances Anne Hopkins	1
	I. <u>Canoe Manned By Voyageurs Passing a Waterfall</u>	1
	II. <u>Shooting the Rapids</u>	8
2.	Exploring Landscapes	15
	I. Many Narratives, Many Theories	15
	II. "Who Can Write? What Can Writing Do?"	19
	III. The Technology of <u>Écriture</u>	49
	IV. Writing as Intervention and Mask	57
3.	Frobisher's Map	85
4.	Some Sea Voyages	93
	I. Conditions of the Landscape	93
	II. The Sea of James and Foxe	106
	III. Their Most Dangerous Styles	119
	IV. James: Alterity and Rime	135
5.	"The Esquimaux Pillaging the Boats" and "The Boats Getting Afloat"	145
6.	Exploring and Trading: Samuel Hearne in the Eighteenth Century	151
	I. From Sea to Land	151
	II. Who is Samuel Hearne?	161
	III. Getting Started: Hearne as Don Quixote	171
	IV. Getting Started II: Hearne and the Economic Landscape	177
	V. Getting Started III: The Traveller Departs	188
	VI. Hearne on the "Trail"	197
	VII. Hearne's <u>Écriture</u> of Gender	213
7.	The Cairn Record: "All Well"	221
8.	Expeditions Under the Name of Franklin	227
	I. The "Modern" Approach to Exploration	227
	II. Technology and Texts in the Three Expeditions	249
	III. The Changing Landscape	264
	IV. Territoriality and the Limit of <u>Écriture</u>	276
	V. "O death, where is thy sting": The Texts of the Third Expedition	292
9.	Conclusion	301
	Works Cited or Consulted	307

List of Figures

Fig. 1 Canoe Manned By Voyageurs Passing a Waterfall

Fig. 2 Shooting the Rapids

Fig. 3 Frobisher Expedition Map from The Discovery of North America

Fig. 4 "The Esquimaux Pillaging the Boats" from Narrative of a Second Expedition

Fig. 5 "The Boats Getting Afloat" from Narrative of a Second Expedition

Fig. 6 Hieroglyphic illustration from Narrative of a Second Expedition

Fig. 7 Record from Cairn found on King William Island from Frozen in Time



Fig. 1 Canoe Manned by Voyageurs





Chapter 1

The Canadian Landscape of Frances Anne Hopkins

I Canoe Manned By Voyageurs Passing a Waterfall

The painting is called Canoe Manned by Voyageurs Passing a Waterfall and it is painted by Frances Anne Hopkins (1838-1919). In Hopkins's art the mythology of the voyageur is produced through a combination of aesthetic and economic structures. Many of her paintings articulate colonial and mercantile relationships between England and Canada and they display some of the themes I will be discussing throughout this thesis. Hopkins lived in Canada for 12 years, from 1858 to 1870, during which time her husband, Edward Hopkins, was employed by the Hudson's Bay Company, first as secretary to George Simpson, Governor of Rupert's Land. When Governor Simpson died in 1860, and the administrative offices of the Hudson's Bay Company in Lachine were moved to Montreal, Edward was made Chief Factor in control of this vast territory. In these 12 years Frances raised a family, accompanied her husband on some of his business trips, and filled several books with sketches and watercolours, many of which she would later develop into large scale oil paintings. Frances Anne Hopkins, then, lived and painted at the very centre of colonial power, under the corporate protection of the Hudson's Bay Company: the land's economy is therefore essential to her artistic production.

The uniqueness of Hopkins's position can be appreciated by comparing her with a contemporary painter like Paul Kane who, in 1859, published his Wanderings of an Artist Among the Indians of North America...through the Hudson's Bay Company's Territory and Back Again.

Kane was more consciously a commercial painter, who produced a book (although his role as the book's author is questionable),¹ and so he travelled specifically with publication in mind. Kane painted for the purpose of selling and making a living at it, with the marketplace always a concern which explains why he painted so many portraits: they sold well.² Furthermore, as a man, he was free to be a "wandering artist" and, as his title states, travel in and out of the realm of the Hudson's Bay Company. The works of Frances Anne Hopkins, on the other hand, depict landscapes within the economic sphere of the "Company," hence the predominance of voyageurs and the voyageur life within her paintings: these employees were her primary means of travel on the trips she took away from Lachine and Montreal. We can see, then, that her paintings and sketches depicting the vast "Canadian panorama" are in fact a highly selective view of the country and are structured by a set of more or less linear fur trade routes. Her subject position as a woman is certainly confining, yet she had a unique access to geographic sites within the structure of the fur trade.

As Canoe Manned by Voyageurs Passing a Waterfall demonstrates, while the Canadian landscape gives Hopkins's paintings a unique background, her primary subject matter is the activities of the people who travel through the geography. The canoe is almost completely centered in the frame and that centrality, combined with the allure of the colour which contrasts with the grayness of the background, dominates the picture. In a sense, the painting is not a landscape because its primary subjects are the people who travel through this scene, and by so doing articulate their own culture over top of "nature."³ The painting's central theme is articulated by the

¹ "What is certain is that Kane could not have mastered enough style to produce even the second-stage (journal) or the third-stage (draft manuscript for a book) text, let alone author the book himself." (MacLaren, "Evolution of the Author" 58).

² These facts are culled from I.S. MacLaren's paper, "The Metamorphosis of Travellers into Published Authors: the Case of Paul Kane."

³ Janet Clark makes a similar point when she writes, referring to the painting Timber Raft, "The painting is not quite 'pure' landscape: the human

canoe as it transports a microcosm of society through the wilderness thus reforming the landscape itself into a passive canvas and demonstrating several effects of culture on nature.

One may first notice the painting's background as being gray and somewhat indistinct. The background colour also ranges from a light brown/gray to a dark, almost black shading. This change of illumination metaphorizes the canoe's journey, from the light of civilization to the darkness of the new world, but the possibility of discovery exists in this darkness. Therefore, the idea of discovery is presented as a process of forcing the light into what is dark and blank; knowledge always comes from behind, from where culture predominates, and this perspective diminishes the expectation that knowledge can emanate from the new lands themselves. The canoe's direction (from left to right) is also the direction of writing and reading (in European cultures); therefore, it echoes the literal readerly and writerly process of inscribing and interpreting the landscape as text.

Over time, the river has cut its way through the indeterminately-coloured rock of the Canadian shield, representing a "natural" articulation of the space of landscape. By travelling from light into darkness, the canoe duplicates the journey of the river, but because of its technology it is faster and separate from "nature" over which it travels. The canoe is both in and out of nature: in nature, because the birch bark of its construction grows from the ground and is a natural part of the forest. This is important because the native inventors of the technology often built canoes for convenience when a particular river or lake needed to be traversed. Afterwards, the canoe could be abandoned on the other side, either to be reused on the return trip or to decompose into the ground of its origin.⁴ It is out of nature because, as a

element is consistently interjected into Hopkins' work, whether it be men working on a timber raft, a figure contemplating the landscape, or simply a winding road" ("Hopkins," 19).

⁴ In Hearne's Journey . . . to the Northern Ocean many canoes are built and then abandoned with seeming indifference on the part of his native guides. In Franklin's Journey to the Polar Sea the expedition is almost completely lost because canoes are destroyed (the starving voyageurs tire of

technology, it is the product of an overt purpose and knowledge and possesses a teleology; whether paddled or portaged, it articulates a necessary cultural distance between its human cargo and the wilderness which is now seen as anarchic and dangerous. The canoe's speed and, to a certain extent, direction, is also variable and dependent on the wishes and abilities of the people within; this is quite different from the river which flows, naturally, from the force of gravity, its path determined by the resistance of the ground; it also flows metaphorically, from the beginning of time, circulating the moisture which sustains all forms of life and many forms of travel.

The voyageurs are the genetic and demographic result of the grafting of European and North American cultures. They are also the result of the economic system of the fur trade, existing first as middlemen who gradually becoming integrated into the indigenous cultures. But they are separated from those cultures, first by their economy, which makes them employees and subject to a timetable, and second, by their improvements on the canoe so that it becomes larger and sturdier, capable of surviving multiple trips. The voyageurs adapted the technology of canoe travel for the rapid commercial transit of capitalism. The canoe is therefore less "natural" than one might assume, its structure altered and revised by those who paddle it. The main light falls on the canoe, giving it a sort of translucent, eidetic quality, emphasizing its role as both boundary and mediator between nature and culture.⁵

carrying them over tundra) without the technology available to construct more.

⁵ Of course, since the canoe was a central element of the fur trade, it is also central to Hopkins' art. Of the thirteen colour plates in Frances Anne Hopkins 1838-1919, only three do not contain a canoe. Robert Stacey: "All Hopkin's major canvases, and many of her watercolours and drawings, feature canoes and canoe travel, and none of these works could have been conceived, much less completed, without the aid of the mode of transportation she so faithfully delineated" ("Canoe—Eye—View," 45). And one of these, "Parliament Buildings, Ottawa 1867," has a gentleman rowing a lady in a boat which appears to be the "civilized" equivalent of a canoe; it is wider bottomed and has a frilly canopy overhead to protect the occupants from the elements. Significantly, it is chained to the shore so that they may

The title itself, Canoe Manned by Voyageurs Passing a Waterfall, foregrounds the canoe while creating a sense of motion with the word "passing," and places the subject within a context by making reference to the landscape. Elizabeth Waterston's annotated bibliography, The Travellers reproduces this picture in full colour on its dust jacket and the title, on both this cover and the inside flap, is inexplicably shortened to "Canoe Manned by Voyageurs." This abbreviation erases the longer title's sense of motion, an erasure which seems odd for a book entitled The Travellers, a name emphasizing movement across land. The shorter title also creates a simple opposition between the canoe and those who are "manning" it, while the longer title provides slightly more context by making reference to the landscape. Canoe Manned by Voyageurs Passing a Waterfall creates an environment with its fuller narrative account. The longer title also contains ambiguity because of its lack of punctuation. The title could be read: Canoe, Manned by Voyageurs, Passing a Waterfall. In this case the main clause is "Canoe Passing a Waterfall," and the fact that it is "Manned by Voyageurs" is secondary, parenthetical and easily erased. In fact, because the title is long and elides its "natural" punctuation, the reader is forced to articulate it quickly, thus repeating the forward motion of the canoe on the water.

The description of Canoe Manned by Voyageurs Passing a Waterfall in The Travellers reads as follows:

In Canoe manned by voyageurs, the lady tourist examines a botanical specimen while her top-hatted husband enjoys the strange sensation of being propelled in an Indian canoe by voyageurs from Quebec. The painting catches the colour and charm of the traveller's reports on Canada cited in this book.

enjoy both the view of the parliament buildings and the sensation of being on water, without actually travelling down the river that was for many years a major part of the fur trade. In another painting, Timber Raft (1868), the bundled floating timbers replace the canoe, just as the lumber industry has started to supplant the fur trade.

Central to the picture, then, are the Europeans who sit comfortably while being propelled effortlessly over the foreign terrain. It is interesting how the above description uses a gendered opposition (male/female, husband/wife) to express a cultural one, that of active scientific versus passive aesthetic pursuit (the picture also reverses the standard roles of the time).⁶ The science of botany is a subject practiced by all explorers but, in particular, Captain Cook and Charles Darwin symbolize this kind of precise and categorical acquisition of knowledge. This scientific practice repeats, in a formal manner, the journey from light to dark described above. The "lady tourist," dressed in an incandescent white and pale blue, is literally writing over the water and ground with an imported system of classification. One of the voyageurs, significantly also dressed in white, is reaching over the edge of the canoe in order to provide her with another specimen. Of course, this "lady tourist" is Frances Hopkins herself, seated beside her husband; her figure therefore combines the powers of science and art and marries them both to commerce.

It is also significant that as the "lady tourist examines [the] botanical specimen," she ignores the waterfall. In fact, the canoe appears to be moving so that she is just coming upon the best view of the waterfall, but at this crucial point she seems to have deliberately turned her head away: instead of looking up and to the left at the scenery, she is looking down and to the right at the flower. One explanation might be that she is merely examining one part of the natural surroundings in lieu of another, but recalling the above discussion of science and classification, we can see she is ignoring the landscape and concentrating on the "specimen."

Her gaze is important here as well for two reasons. First, the white of the flower matches her frock, and both objects illuminate the middle of the picture and establish a focal point for the viewer. Second, the position of the

⁶ I thank Lorraine York for pointing out that botany was thought of as a more "genteel" science, and that Catherine Parr Traill is an example of a Canadian woman writer who makes many botanical observations in her work.

flower makes it seem as if she were reading a book and, indeed, she is reading (to borrow Foucault's term) the "prose of the world."⁷ In a sense, Hopkins is reading her own writing. To push the hypothesis one step further, I will say that the figure of Hopkins as artist/tourist has created this scene, placed herself in its centre, and "illuminated" her own reading. She does not need to look at the waterfall because she has already painted it and named the picture after it. Therefore, she is quietly, and self-effacingly, studying the very landscape into which she has inscribed herself.

Rather than inhabiting some neutral or amorphous space belonging to "Europeans" and "North Americans," the picture is coded nationally by the Hudson's Bay Company flag (containing the British Union Jack). This flag flies at the back of the canoe, as if it were being carried across the landscape in order to establish Britain's claim to territory through the actions of a commercial enterprise. The positioning of the flag here echoes the gesture of the explorers who planted flags, crosses and various texts on the desolate ground to claim land before sailing back to England, often never to return. The flag is also interesting because as a national symbol it establishes an English identity for a native technology "manned by voyageurs," who are certainly not of English origin. And lastly, the flag symbolizes the conjuncture of British imperialism and capitalism, both hovering over the trade routes of the new-found lands. All of these issues of imperialism, economics and the ideology of exploration will be discussed throughout this thesis, most often with reference to explorers' narratives, but the fact that they are found buried within a nineteenth-century landscape painting, a pastoral vision seemingly

⁷ Foucault uses this phrase as the title of chapter two of The Order of Things. It refers to a medieval conception of the world where "resemblance . . . guided exegesis and the interpretation of texts" and "The universe was folded in upon itself: the earth echoing the sky, faces seeing themselves reflected in the stars, and plants holding within their stems the secrets that were of use to man" (17). The classical world introduces "representation" with its separation of word and thing, and by Hopkins's time the "secrets" the plant reveals have become part of its scientific classification according to genus, type, geographical distribution, nutritional content and suitability for cultivation.

innocent of ideological force, only demonstrates the pervasiveness of imperialist discourse.

II Shooting the Rapids

Many of Frances Hopkins's paintings have become Canadian cultural icons, and this is evidence of how central the Hudson's Bay Company has been to Canadian society and economy. When I refer to "economy" I mean that word in its general sense of a system of circulation which permits or structures sets of exchanges. What gets circulated and exchanged can be commodities (such as furs and guns), or energies (such as desire and triumph), or ideologies (such as colonial representations and constructions of knowledge). Imperialism's commodities, desires and ideologies have traveled along "The Company's" canoe routes and circulated throughout the "wilderness." Hopkins herself was permitted to "circulate" along Canada's trading routes, because, to the Hudson's Bay Company, she inhabited or exhibited a form of surplus value. That is, Edward Hopkins's "husbanding" of the economy made it possible for his wife to be carried along. She is an "excess" or "supplement" which could easily be supported by the profitability of the enterprise. But this arrangement also means that, as excess, she was free to construct her own simulations (or artifices) of the "Company" experience. As "supplement" she was not necessary for the Company's survival and therefore her paintings were not consciously produced as propaganda or advertising even though they were entirely sustained through capitalist profit and inevitably promoted Company interests. Her art exists alongside the routes of commerce established to collect beaver pelts, commodities that fed and clothed European desire.

Shooting the Rapids was completed in 1879, ten years after Canoe Manned by Voyageurs Passing a Waterfall. There are many elements in Shooting the Rapids which repeat themes presented in the earlier canvas, the most obvious being the subject matter: another canoe trip with Europeans

who are again seated comfortably in the middle of a canoe while being paddled by voyageurs. Again, Hopkins places herself in the picture with her husband, replacing a blue scarf over her bonnet with a much smaller red ribbon, but in this painting includes two other men, one of whom "can possibly be identified as Alexander Grant Dallas, the Governor of Rupert's Land until 1864" (Clark, "Frances Anne Hopkins" 27).⁸ While the overall structures of the pictures are similar, and I will argue that the theme of European dominance is sustained, Shooting the Rapids contains many important differences.

The most striking deviation is in the point of view: the later painting features a spectacularly foreshortened view of the canoe and this, combined with the detail of the men and the rapids, creates a highly effective illusion of motion. In this sense, Shooting the Rapids anticipates the medium of film; furthering this analogy we could say that while Canoe Manned by Voyageurs Passing a Waterfall resembles a documentary, Shooting the Rapids is like an action feature. The titles of the paintings also demonstrate their differences. In the earlier painting the canoe is merely "passing" the waterfall, a passive action conducive to quiet meditation. The waterfall itself is diminutive, consisting of a few streams of water flowing over the enormous mass of rock: despite being surrounded by water, it is the rock which dominates the landscape. There, the travellers who carry imperialism, exploration, and science across the continent, travellers are, in J.B. Tyrrell's words, representative of the "westward progress of the white races." They are spread before us to be examined at our leisure, much as the "lady tourist" examines her specimen. But in Shooting the Rapids the calm "passing" is replaced by the active "shooting" and the violence of this word is reproduced by the water

⁸ Apparently this conjecture is substantiated by a Postscript to Alice Johnson's article "Edward and Frances Hopkins of Montreal":

Since going to press a note from Governor Dallas's daughter Cecilia has come to light in which she speaks of going to children's parties in Mrs. Hopkins' beautiful studio in Berkeley Street and her father sitting for Mrs. Hopkins "to put in a large picture of canoes going down the rapids" where he is in a canoe. Ed. (17)

with its dense and furious swirls.⁹ The corporate passengers are almost hidden as they sit low in the canoe for greater stability. As in the earlier painting, the water is mixed with land, but in Canoe Manned by Voyageurs Passing a Waterfall the water literally drips over the rocks which act as a "natural" canvas, and the water below reflects the travellers' images, reinforcing the notion that they are "impressing" their images on this new country. In Shooting the Rapids the water forces its way through the protruding rocks which threaten to damage the canoe and the site of reflection is distorted and disturbed.

Moving away from the dramatic visual aspects of the painting, the ride can be explained in terms of official business, under the wing of patriarchy. The history of the painting tells us that this was a business trip, one of many where Edward Hopkins would accompany the governor on inspections of various posts. Although the voyageurs are controlling the canoe on its descent through the rapids—they are therefore structuring the central diegesis in the painting—it is the businessmen who ultimately control the lives and directions of the voyageurs.

Hopkins's paintings, the product of a uniquely situated Victorian woman artist, depict a complex intersection of political, economic, and theoretical issues. Hopkins's paintings can be read as Imperial texts which present a nostalgic vision of Canadian landscapes; however, this vision is disturbed by a country undergoing radical economic change. Although in the late nineteenth-century the fur trade was still a profitable enterprise,¹⁰ it was gradually being eclipsed by lumber and other industries. During the his-

⁹ According to the OED, the earliest occurrence of "shoot," in the sense of "a discharge of arrows, bullets, etc." was in 1534. The term quickly took on the more general meaning of "a motion or movement (of a thing) as though shooting or being shot in a particular direction," because the first reference for this sense is 1596.

¹⁰ In fact, in his book The Canadian fur Trade in the Industrial Age, Arthur Ray argues that despite the Hudson's Bay Company losing its monopoly, and the advent of fierce competition, the fur trade was still profitable for many up until the Second World War.

torical period depicted in this picture, the fur trade was drastically changing the structure of its operations. In 1870 the Hudson's Bay Company sold its land to the new Dominion of Canada and "the western trade ended as a flood of settlers moved onto the prairies" (Junior Encyclopedia of Canada, Vol. II, 219) and the fur industry was supplanted by farming. While voyageurs were still employed to transport goods in remoter areas, by 1861 Hudson's Bay Company officials did much of their travel by train and steamboat rather than by canoe. As Alice Johnson states in her article, "Edward and Francis Hopkins of Montreal," "the aging Governor [Simpson], always with [Edward] Hopkins in attendance, still travelled fast, but with a difference, for he had discontinued using the ancient and arduous canoe route via the Ottawa River and now went as far west as possible by linking railways and continued to Fort Garry 'overland via St. Paul Minnesota" (9). The Governor is "aging" and the routes themselves are "ancient and arduous," and these descriptions contrast with the "newer" generation of Edward Hopkins and the technology of rail travel.

The historical change in modes of travel, and the advent of industrialization means that while Frances Hopkins's paintings are accurate, more accurate in fact than many of her contemporary's, they are also a stylized form of nostalgia. Their pastoral nature recalls a past which never happened in the manner she pictures it, yet through their clarity and accuracy they insist on their verisimilitude. Hopkins's nostalgia is partially caused by delay and geographic distance; while she painted some of her full scale oil paintings in Montreal, the majority were completed after her return to England. Like so many of the explorers and fur-traders, she does not stay living in the country and so her paintings are, in a sense, a "remembrance of things past." Ironically, Hopkins herself has been "forgotten"; Janet Clark tells us that "while her historical images have become quite well known, Frances Anne Hopkins, the artist, has been rendered virtually anonymous" (13). I have several times gone through a ritual of uttering Hopkins's proper name—which usually elicits little response—and then showing her paintings which then evokes a

startled recognition (which is also self-recognition, an iconic mnemonic of national identity). She represents the voyageurs just before they disappear out of the Canadian "scene," and then disappears herself.

Hopkins's paintings re-inscribe the history of the fur trade into the "Victorian narrative tradition," and Janet Clark writes that this style of painting "was still predominant in Academy exhibitions, and . . . called for clarity and a high degree of realism, in order for the viewer to be able to 'read the picture.'"

Not to be confused with photographic realism, it was a very constructed and detailed version of reality that the artists depicted. These were studio paintings, composed carefully and executed slowly, built up, using models, props, and preliminary drawings and sketches. . . [They] approximated theatre sets with a drama being enacted for the entertainment (and often for the moral edification) of the viewer. ("Canadian Scenery" 27).

While Hopkins followed the generic style, her paintings were "simply narratives, without the moral or literary content that was characteristic of so many Victorian paintings" (27). Although Clark credits Hopkins with these stylistic innovations which probably made her "an anomaly among her peers," they may also have been caused by a geography which itself lacked "literary content." England's Victorian narrative tradition was developed in a country with a long history of landscape cultivation, while during the same period Canada was still largely unexplored. The landscapes had little textual history out of which to weave any tales.¹¹ And while Hopkins's paintings may lack a Victorian "moral edification," they do manifest an imperial ideology which is a similar phenomenon. Her style combined her conventional training, Canada's unique geography and the commerce of the fur trade which transported industrialism into a "pastoral" setting.

The precise boundary of patriarchy's control is put in question by the fact that Hopkins both "authors" the painting and inserts herself into its

¹¹ My argument here somewhat parallels what MacLaren has written concerning explorers taking European concepts of the Sublime and Picturesque, and attempting to apply them to the radically Other Canadian landscape.

centre. While the businessmen control the voyageurs, it is she who structures the work of art. However, looking at Alice Johnson's article, we can see how even though it is Frances's paintings which have survived, and which illustrate the article, she is sequestered behind the man who is the Hudson's Bay Company official. To begin with, the title of the article, "Edward and Frances Hopkins of Montreal," places Edward firmly at the head of the family and anchors them in a metropolis even though the [corporate] wilderness was the main subject of Frances's paintings. Of course Frances came to Canada because of Edward Hopkins's position with the Hudson's Bay Company, yet it is because of her paintings that Johnson has published an article in The Beaver (formerly the "official magazine of the Hudson's Bay Company"). In documenting the historical and geographical context of Frances's paintings, much of Johnson's article is filled with descriptions of where Edward went and upon what business, followed by conjectures as to whether or not Frances would have accompanied him. This dichotomy of business and art, each sustaining the other in creating the Hopkinses' historical legacy, is clearly presented when Johnson asks questions that could easily sum up the purpose of her article:

When and under what circumstances did Frances make journeys by canoe? Where did she go, and who were the fellow-passengers depicted in some of her oil paintings? These are questions which cannot be answered with certainty because of lack of direct evidence. Edward's movements can almost always be followed from his many surviving business letters. (10)

This is the paradox of these differing types of representation. By Edward Hopkins's time the explorer was increasingly being replaced by the businessman, but both recorded their movements for posterity in journals which would become the history of the country. Frances Anne Hopkins's paintings record this history in a visual fashion, mixing romantic nostalgia with historical accuracy, mirroring a capitalist linearity, yet also reflecting her own marginal position. Inserting herself into the centre of her frame does not disrupt patriarchal control, but it does introduce questions of gender and

representation which help begin a critical reading of imperialism and empire.¹²

¹² For a discussion of issues of gender see N.N. Feltes's article "Voy(ag)euse: Gender and Gaze in the Canoe Paintings of Frances Anne Hopkins."

Chapter 2

Exploring Landscapes

... writing as the possibility of the road and of difference, the history of writing and the history of the road, of the rupture, of the via rupta, of the path that is broken, beaten, fracta, of the space of reversibility and of repetition traced by the opening, the divergence from, and the violent spacing, of nature, of the natural, savage, salvage, forest. . . it is difficult to imagine that access to the possibility of a road-map is not at the same time access to writing. (Jacques Derrida, Of Grammatology 107-8)

I Many Narratives, Many Theories

In recent years, from the 1980's and into the 1990's, there has been a rapid growth of interest in what is termed "colonial" and "discovery" or "exploration" literatures. And during this era critical theory in literary studies has also grown to become, if not universally accepted, then at least acknowledged as both inevitable and always already present. With the interest in both "post-colonial" literatures and the history of colonialism comes increased critical attention to minority literatures, "marginalized" social groups, previously uncatalogued women writers, and other excluded, forgotten or repressed writings. An almost overwhelming number of texts are being produced, or discovered, and we are now exploring the gaps that the canon had veiled. In English departments "periodized" categories of time and place (e.g. "Eighteenth-century British") have been both revised and enlarged to reflect a myriad of genres, theoretical issues and increasingly diverse ethnic backgrounds. The replacement of "English Literature" with "Literature in English" is a change in phrasing which expresses this movement

away from a centrality that was for a long time unchallenged. The sheer number of texts has risen exponentially along with the approaches to their teaching. The blurring of genres, the addition of discursive categories and the increase in the number and type of texts we call "literature" promise to continue into the next century. The addition of heretofore marginalized texts to arenas of study generally seems to be taken as positive, although there are always ongoing and sharply contested debates. These debates over interpretive strategies, canon formation, intellectual property rights and curriculum revision can be seen as a predictable result of so many additional works becoming the objects of critical attention—therefore raising many more questions about critical understanding and cultural interpretation.

The increased interest in marginalized, or non-canonical, texts combined with post-colonial and New Historical discussions of imperialism, power and "cultural negotiations" have provided impetus and a critical context from within which to study early English writings on Canada. What strategies are employed in these texts to describe this land about which so little was known? How did these writers "see" our landscape—which must have appeared so barren and unproductive to those whose literature fetishized the trimming of their own hedges—and how did they account for it? How do these exploration narratives pre-figure fictional accounts of the land and its growing population? How do they help carry imperialist power across the continent, past a hostile environment and suspicious natives? And how is the circulation of this power allied with the historical and economic structures academics like Harold Innis have already studied? There exists a large body of early writings on the landscape that has become Canada which have only recently been anthologized and theorized by scholars, yet it is ironic that within the wider field of post-colonial studies, Canada has had a relatively small share of criticism directed toward this textual history. As a recent call for papers states, "major post-colonial theorists tend either to ignore Canada entirely or to discuss it unceremoniously as part of an unproblematicized

imperialist West."¹³ While I will argue for the uniqueness of Canada's colonial history and governance, the present study seeks to examine issues of empire and identity similar to those which post-colonial critics have examined in connection with the literatures of formerly colonized areas such as Africa and India. However, the intention of this thesis is always to theorize how a specifically Canadian "discourse of exploration" has used writing to inscribe our cultural landscape.

The majority of the texts in my thesis are examples of exploration literature, and I mean "literature" in the sense that these works have become objects of literary inquiry and have been anthologized in collections such as Germaine Warkentin's important Canadian Exploration Literature.¹⁴ The earliest books, Thomas James's Strange and Dangerous Voyage (1633) and Luke Foxe's North-West Fox (1635) depict Renaissance England's early search for the Northwest Passage. The starkness of expression and bleakness of their landscapes provides an important perspective for the later and more familiar works which were written during the development of the fur trade. Foxe and James, and Frobisher before them, are important figures because they remind us that the written history of the land that becomes Canada begins in the Renaissance; these explorer's most immediate predecessors are medieval pilgrims and crusaders travelling overland to the East. The next major text I include is Samuel Hearne's A Journey From Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772 (1795). Hearne is an employee of the Hudson's Bay Company and although the landscape he presents is still relatively barren, the political economy of the fur trade has begun mapping much of the land and organizing the indigenous peoples into distinct sets of trading partners. Although Journey . . . to the

¹³ This call for papers was for a special issue of Essays on Canadian Writing titled Postcolonial Theory and Canadian Literature advertised in Chimo no. 26 (Spring 1993).

¹⁴ For a more detailed discussion of this work's importance, see my review of it in the 1994 "Letters in Canada" issue of the University of Toronto Quarterly.

Northern Ocean is the major text in that chapter. I discuss several other works published in the latter half of the eighteenth century because it is during this period that a political debate emerges over the economic viability of the northern portion of North America and the Hudson's Bay Company's monopoly over this area. Foxe and James travel under the name of the sovereign and while the King is still important in Hearne's time, mercantile practices are producing a more diverse set of imperialist discourses. The last explorer in this thesis is John Franklin and I will discuss how his three expeditions represent the culmination of a "classic" period in exploration. The disappearance of Franklin's third expedition leads to an extended search for the causes of its failure and unceasing debate and discussion which continues to this day. The nineteenth century's interest in Franklin himself, rather than the territory he was exploring, anticipates twentieth-century "exploration" which has been turned into a sport: the territory has already been mapped and all that is left for the "explorers" is to set individual endurance records such as "first to ski alone and unsupported to the South Pole."

The title of this thesis, From There to Here: Exploration, Writing and the Colonizing of the Canadian Landscape, is intended to describe historically how the country has been constructed through writing. "From there to here" implies a spatial difference from the colonizing countries of Europe to the relatively "blank slate" of North America, a gap which is physically represented by the Atlantic ocean, but which can only be understood from the position of the reader who has worked through many of the texts which seek to elide or overwrite that gap. The works I have chosen span more than 300 years and while I provide some necessary historical context, the main focus of my project is to develop a reading of how Canada has been written. While I am not proposing a synchronic theory of representation, I contend that over those 300 years "writing" has been practiced consistently to advance Europeans' territorial control. The term "writing" has many generalized meanings so I will begin by detailing how I use the term in this thesis in quite specific contexts. Then I will discuss some characteristics and implications of

exploration literature which demonstrate its importance in the construction of Canada. After I have defined what I mean by "writing," and how it helps produce the "discourse of exploration," I will end this chapter by discussing some general theoretical implications of my project.

"Though the words Canada East on the map stretch over many rivers and lakes and unexplored wildernesses, the actual Canada, which might be the colored portion of the map, is but a little clearing on the banks of the river, which one of those syllables would more than cover. (Henry David Thoreau, A Yankee in Canada)

II "Who Can Write? What Can Writing Do?"

There are four basic functions of "writing" which structure my argument throughout this thesis. The first two I will discuss are more general meanings of the term, while the latter two are more specifically my own formulations, derived partially from Jacques Derrida's theorizing of écriture. The first function of writing will refer to the individual and discrete activity implied when we state that someone is "writing a book." I mean that phrase in a general sense of researching and drafting a manuscript for the purpose of publication. We would have little evidence of the explorer's journeys and their historical importance if they had not published books: the earliest ones searching for the Northwest Passage, such as John Cabot and Henry Hudson, left no written records and remain figures shrouded in mystery. By the middle of the seventeenth century most explorers kept records and published them, although they were of variable quality. While for some this private period of "writing a book" was short (Thomas James published his Strange and Dangerous Voyage within a year of his returning to England), for others it was a lengthy and arduous process (Samuel Hearne took over twenty years to produce his Journey . . . to the Northern Ocean).

The distinction I wish to maintain is between the "private" act of writing a book, and the ultimate goal of presenting it to a public audience. The function of writing as constructing a book is important for my study because it provides a necessary perspective on the role of the explorer as writer. As a contemporary critic, I am interested in the explorer's role as a writer and representer of the expedition, yet most explorers attempt to elide or minimize this role since it contradicts the image of exploration as adventure. In a sense, exploration is an extended research activity where materials are recorded and collated for future reference. Most texts of exploration are narrated from the point of view of a single observer who represents himself and country and sovereign: each voyage is a pretext for a text so that a book is almost an inevitable outcome. Of course, the notion of the "individual" and "private" author is partially fictional since, as Germaine Warkentin points out, "the exploration document could often be a corporate production" which had been rewritten by "hack writers" and editors. Warkentin concludes that "exploration writings sometimes present us with unstable texts, and we have to approach them free of traditional ideas about authorial identity" ("Introduction" xviii-xix). As scientific and capitalist practices became more specialized, it is less likely that an individual author could effectively collate all the material and in the final chapter I discuss how, by Franklin's time, a group of military men explored and gathered information which was published "under the name of" Franklin. Nevertheless, the time and space of pre-publication is an important aspect of writing because it reveals the explorer to be a researcher and writer, and not just a "solitary adventurer."

The second function of writing occurs when the published books enter commercial circulation.¹⁵ Once published, these books, or writings, help construct the history of what I metaphorically refer to as the "book of exploration." This textual history begins with pilgrimages to the East, where authors wrote "guide books" describing the holy territory and the books in

¹⁵ We can even include holograph and manuscript editions as examples of publication, albeit with limited distribution.

this rather wide-ranging genre were important for a number of reasons. The earliest ones sold well because they offered religious and moral instruction in "holy geography" (sacred sites, shrines, and plants). Towards the end of the middle ages their attraction became more exotic as they offered rare, spectacular, and often fictional depictions of the "East," and Mandeville's Travels is the most radical example of the medieval travel book. Eventually, the "territory" described expanded beyond religious sites and the genre expanded to include exploration and travel literature. As I will discuss further on, Percy Adams has described how travel writing was also the most identifiable and important stylistic precursor to the novel. These texts were commercially successful and articulated the distance between the domestic and the foreign; they reinforced the imperial fantasy that England knew and controlled a large portion of the world, a goal which the crusades had failed to achieve. Travel and exploration books made believable the notion that you really could "get there from here," even if most readers never travelled out of their studies (in fact, many of the authors had never left their studies either). The largest share of critical attention has been directed towards the genre of exploration writing as an historical and literary discourse leading towards the development of the novel, but my metaphor of the "book of exploration" includes the political aspects of exploration. I will be analyzing how writing this "book of exploration" necessarily involves representing various other lands and peoples through the writing practices of the dominant culture.

The third function of writing is writing as inscription: the physical act of inscribing on surfaces. There are obviously numerous ways this description can be applied, many of which will have little to do specifically with exploration. For instance, the printing of books is necessarily a physical process and a form of inscription which has been commercialized so that reproduction is automated and cost-effective. In a sense, each commercial printing duplicates and reproduces an originary inscription produced by the author. As capitalism has progressed, various laws of copyright have been devised to maintain the stability of this system. Capitalism, copyright, and

the notion of private property have cooperated to produce a highly unified notion of "the author" as creator and controller of the text. The mechanical functioning of inscription has changed somewhat over the centuries because today the "originary inscription" may now be only the relatively anonymous depression of a keyboard. The publishing industry's increasing technological sophistication, combined with the development of electronic publishing and "hypertext" environments, overtly threaten materialist conceptions of "inscription" because it is difficult, and in many cases impossible, to trace the progress from a holograph version to a final published book. Furthermore, George P. Landow describes in his book Hypertext: the Convergence of Contemporary Critical Theory and Technology, that working within hypertext and intermedia encourages forms of collaboration which further complicate the act of assigning an "author" to various aspects of the production. Despite these theoretical concerns, which technology has heightened rather than created, writing as an act of inscription has an important and definable theoretical history and I will show its importance within the *écriture* of exploration.

Inscription is particularly important to representing the various actions of exploring because it mediates between the landscape and the book, between the geographic space of exploration and the graphic space of publication. I will use the notion of inscription in a wide range of contexts including the planting of flags, crosses and texts on landscapes, actions which are central to almost all exploration and have enormous symbolic, legal and empirical implications. One of the first, and perhaps most archetypal, examples of writing-as-inscription occurs in the first voyage of Jacques Cartier (1534):

On the twenty-fourth of the said month [of July], we had a cross made thirty feet high, which was put together in the presence of a number of the Indians on the point at the entrance to the harbour [Gaspé], under the cross-bar of which we fixed a shield with three *fleurs-de-lys* in relief, and above it a wooden board, engraved in large Gothic characters, where was written, LONG LIVE THE KING OF FRANCE. We erected this cross

on the point in their presence and they watched it being put together and set up. And when it had been raised in the air, we all knelt down with out hands joined, worshipping it before them; and made signs to them, looking up and pointing towards heaven, that by means of this we had our redemption, at which they showed many marks of admiration, at the same time turning and looking at the cross. (Quinn, Discovery 96-97).

There is possibly no more elaborate act of inscription detailed in all of exploration literature; the enormous cross is raised in the air to increase the visibility of the message "LONG LIVE THE KING OF FRANCE." The cross combines iconic and textual elements illustrating the de facto and de jure aspects of nationhood. The cross refers to the de facto power of god and, as an icon, the cross symbolizes the power of Christianity, even though the symbol is incomplete without the written text proclaiming the message of longevity and imperial rule; therefore Cartier needs a text to articulate France's de jure control over the new lands. The king's name placed here proclaims the beginning of law and the administration of that law over the lands and peoples already there. After the monument is erected Cartier's men engage in a ritual of worship, and "make signs" to the Huron in an effort to explain their religious and textual practices.¹⁶

Cartier's articulation of his king and religion into the landscape of North America provides us with an exemplary scene of possession where the issues of sovereignty and rule are disguised behind the more benevolent notion of "redemption." It is also worthwhile noting that at this point Cartier had been exploring North America for approximately two and a half months, having sighted Cape Bonavista, Newfoundland on the 10th of May. Only in July were a large number of natives sighted and throughout that month trading relations were established and solidified. It is as though the cross could only be erected after an "audience" had been assembled and instructed in some rudiments of French customs such as economic exchange, private

¹⁶ The Atlas of the North American Indian states that Cartier "encountered Beothuks, Micmacs, Montagnais, Algonkins, and visited Huron villages of Stadacona (Quebec City) and Hochelaga (Montreal)" (80). North American Indians: A Comprehensive Account clarifies that is the Huron whom Cartier meets in this instance (228-29).

property and the potential for military force. The process of inscription is also dramatic, and involves a ritualized acting out of possession (and I will discuss later other scenes of exploration which depend on similar acts of drama).

While the above paragraph presents Cartier's inscription of sovereignty in flowing and congenial terms, the event is soon problematized:

When we had returned to our ships, the chief, dressed in an old black bear-skin, arrived in a canoe with three of his sons and his brother; but they did not come so close to the ships as they had usually done. And pointing to the cross he [the chief] made us a long harangue, making the sign of the cross with two of his fingers; and then he pointed to the land all around about, as if he wished to say that all this region belonged to him, and that we ought not to have set up this cross without his permission. (97)

The chief obviously recognizes that Cartier and his men setting up their "mark" implies some form of ownership and possession which conflicts with the natives' own control over their land. Cartier eventually placates the chief by giving him some hatchets and knives and "explain[s] to him by signs that the cross had been set up to serve as a land-mark and guide-post on coming into the harbour, and that we would soon come back and would bring them iron wares and other goods" (97). Cartier's "land-mark" is much more than a "guide-post"; it marks the beginning of a circulation of goods, an economy of exchange which depends on writing and inscription for its administration over the landscape and peoples. Cartier even convinces the chief to let them take back to France his two sons ("We dressed up his two sons in shirts and ribbons and in red caps, and put a little brass chain round the neck of each, at which they were greatly pleased"). When Cartier and his men finally leave the natives "made signs to us that they would not pull down the cross, delivering at the same time several harangues which we did not understand" (97). The cross stays, implanted in the soil, spelling out the king's name and signalling the site where commerce begins, while the natives' own position is

muted, reduced to "harangues," and simply "not understood."¹⁷

Cartier's cross demonstrates that inscription is central to how imperialists "write over" the lands and peoples occupying the newly discovered territory. To push the metaphor of writing even further, we could say that the geography is claimed as a sort of "leaf or page" in the imperialist text. Therefore, the "book of exploration" is always double, containing both the domestically published artifact and the foreign landscape inscribed in the name of the sovereign (or other representative of imperial authority). That these textual actions are important and necessary is proven by the fact that every explorer carries out some form of inscription as part of the actions of exploring. In a sense these marks are a proof of passage and they resemble Charles Saunders Pierce's notion of "index." In his essay, "Logic as Semiotic: the Theory of Signs," Peirce describes three categories of signs and he names them icons, indexes, and symbols:

[An index is] a sign, or representation, which refers to its object not so much because of any similarity or analogy with it, nor because it is associated with general characters which that object happens to possess, as because it is in dynamical (including spatial) connection both with the individual object, on the one hand, and with the senses or memory of the person for whom it serves as a sign, on the other hand. . . . A low barometer with a moist air is an index of rain; that is we suppose that the forces of nature establish a probable connection between the low barometer with moist air and coming rain. . . . Icons and indices assert nothing. If an [index] could be interpreted by a sentence the mood must be imperative, or exclamatory, as "See here! or "Look out!" (109-111)

¹⁷ In North American Indians Alice Kehoe identifies the Huron chief as Donnaconna and his two sons as Domagaya and Taignoaguy. Cartier returns the sons the next year (1535), and that winter Domagaya saves Cartier and his men from scurvy

by urging them to drink a decoction of arborvitae (northern cedar) bark. . . . Next spring, when the weather permitted, Cartier resumed his voyage home, with Donnaconna and his sons, plus seven other Iroquois, who were surprised to find themselves unwilling guests on the French vessels. None of the Indians were to see their home again. (229)

Inscriptions, then, are indexes of the explorers' route, where the exclamation "See here!" draws attention to the inscription as proof of passage.¹⁸ Peirce's notion of index is a grounding principle in theorizing the importance of these inscriptions, but they are also immediately more than indexes because they do not simply mark the change in temperature. Cartier's "mark" is also a text which exclaims not just "see here!" but "see the name of the King of France inscribed here!" The planting of a cross or flag, therefore, makes the sovereign a writer, scripter, and inscriber and the explorer is writing in the name of the king or queen, or whatever governmental structure gives him the "right" to write over the "blank" colonial surface.

In his essay, "Concepts of native Peoples and Property Rights," David Bentley also mentions Cartier's raising of the cross within a larger discussion of Henry Kelsey's setting up a "Certain Cross" at "deerings point" in 1690:

At deerings point after the frost
I set up their a Certain Cross
In token of my being there,
Cut out on it the date of year
And Likewise for to veryfie the same
Added to it my master sir Edward deerings name
("Property Rights" 32)

For Bentley, Kelsey's action "recalls" Cartier's act and gives "clear notice to the relevant community—the traders of the Compagnie du Nord and their superiors on both sides of the Atlantic—that the Hudson's Bay Company was operating in the region surrounding the Saskatchewan River" (32). Bentley's analysis demonstrates how these acts of inscription, which I have discussed in relation to Cartier, Foxe and Hearne, are integral parts of the commercial activity of the fur trade, and in many respects have been used to prove ownership of territory. Bentley quotes Stephen Greenblatt, who describes Columbus's "proclamation. . . with the royal standard unfurled" in 1492 as a "ritual of possession" (Greenblatt, in Bentley 32). Therefore, the inscriptions I will be discussing have been examined previously, and have been recognized as integral textual components of the process of Europe's gaining com-

¹⁸ One might say the inscription is a "write of passage."

mercial and symbolic control of the "New World." But rather than characterize them as a "rituals of possession," a phrase that stresses the formulaic and repetitive aspects of control, I will call them "acts of inscription" and link them to an imperial practice of writing and representation.

These various acts of inscription also demonstrate the material nature of writing.¹⁹ Because Canada's geography is so variable, and explorers have travelled a variety of routes under different circumstances and they possess different equipment, the form of inscription varies a great deal as different implements are used to inscribe different surfaces. For instance, in August of 1632 Luke Foxe finds a sign left in Hudson Bay years earlier by Thomas Button. Throughout his own book Foxe has referred frequently to Button's earlier exploration and narrative; Foxe has named geography after him, and now after taking the pinnacle to the mainland his men

found a board broken in two, the one halfe quite gone, whereon had beene the Kings Armes, and inscription of the time of Sir Thomas Button his own name, when and why he took Harbour with other expressions.

This piece of board I brought away, for I was undersaile, when the Pinnacle came on board, so as I could not goe on shore againe, otherwise I would have endeavoured to have renewed, the same as the act of my noble predecessors. (217-18)

The broken text betrays its materiality, but it is still legible and Foxe's reading of it, and writing about that reading within his own book, validates the place of writing within the imperial project of exploration. Foxe obviously regrets taking it away from the landscape into which it had fallen, and wishes he could add his own text, "the same as" his "noble predecessors."²⁰ When he finally reaches the Coppermine River, Samuel

¹⁹ Cartier's cross actually fits all three of Pierce's categories, but extending my discussion in that direction would unnecessarily complicate this argument.

²⁰ In fact, later in the voyage Foxe does get a chance to combine his text with that of Button. On August 17 Foxe finds "a Crosse which had beene set up but was puld or fallen downe, with the inscription rased out" (North-West Foxe 215). Foxe deduces that it had been left there many years earlier by Sir Thomas Button and, ignoring the probability that he is the only one to have "read" it and understood its significance, he "caused the Crosse which we found to be newly railed, and this inscription of lead nailed thereon"

Hearne almost petulantly writes that he was "not provided with the instruments for cutting on stone" and must scrounge for materials with which to carry it out, finally using a board "that had been one of the Indian's targets" (lxvii).²¹ Hearne demonstrates two things here: first, that the cultural inscription of exploration is foreign to the landscape and difficult to carry out with just the local resources. The Europeans must carry their technology of writing with them wherever they travel and this technology includes tools necessary for inscription. Secondly, despite lacking implements, Hearne realizes the importance of leaving some mark or index of his presence there if only, as he puts it, for "form-sake." No matter how remote the location, the formality of possession is important.

The third Franklin expedition (1845-48) published no book (in the standard sense of that word) because all those on the voyage perished. However, the voyage did inscribe the landscape with the indexes of European passage, and subsequent interpretations of these signs have revealed much about the limits of textual control. Some marks, such as the record in the cairn detailing the expedition's course and geographical positions were left deliberately, but others, such as the "Papers in Possession of Harry Peglar" are almost accidental representations of what occurred during the time the officers and crew were trapped on King William Island. Inscription, then, occurs within a number of circumstances, and reveals a great deal about the relationship between the explorer in his role as imperial emissary and his "discovered" environment.

(217). Of course the act of "claiming" is important, but so is his "writerly" action of interpreting and re-inscribing, of contributing to the palimpsest of exploration. His inscription includes his and Button's names and ends with the proclamation that "This land is called New Wales."

²¹ All page references are to Richard Glover's edition of Journey . . . to the Northern Ocean. I use this edition because it is more easily accessible than the original edition and it contains valuable historical and contextual material upon which I frequently comment.

The final category of writing which is central to this thesis is writing within writing, a textual mise en abyme. Like inscriptions, these texts can occur in a variety of circumstances, but here the notion of writing as a system becomes much more important. Inscription demonstrates the difference between Europe and North America because it imports a foreign technology to inscribe a message which is usually indecipherable to those who have been living within its proximity; but writing's mise en abyme reveals writing as a system that constructs identity within this "different," or "foreign," or "other" space. The example above, where Foxe finds Button's inscription left on shore, becomes an example of writing within writing when Foxe inserts it into his own text by reading it (and writing about that reading). Similarly, James inserts the text he leaves on Charleton Island into his Strange and Dangerous Voyage, perhaps realizing the text he leaves on the shore may never be read. Both these examples show how when one act of writing is included, or quoted, within another, the overall coherence of the system is reinforced.

A more elaborate example of writing within writing is the appearance of what I call the "postal system" in the narratives of Hearne and Franklin. As I discuss in chapter six, it is remarkable that although Hearne is the first European to travel north to the Arctic Ocean, and is completely removed from the Hudson's Bay Company, he is still able to send mail back to Prince of Wales's Fort to advise the Governor of his progress. Similarly, during both the first and second Franklin expeditions, the officers are able to send and receive mail not only from other nearby fur-trading posts, but even from England. In both cases the postal system is allied with the economic structure of the fur trade, and contributes towards constructing the identity of the explorers as a) separate from the country in which they are travelling, yet b) part of a system which controls and manages information over that country. The Chipewyans are, in a sense, "employees" of Hearne's while he is, for all practical purposes, at their mercy. For Franklin, the mail delivery even separates the literate officers—to whom it is addressed—from the British seamen and North American voyageurs who paddle boats and carry supplies.

Exploration narratives have also been called "discovery" and "travel" writing and since the nomenclature plays an important role in constructing the critique of these discourses, I will describe why I chose not to use either of these two latter terms. I avoid using the word "discovery" because of its Eurocentric connotations; that is, it implies the "new world" had no meaningful existence before it was "discovered" by Europeans. But that word will continue to be a small part of my discussion because it is still used by critics, most productively as a way of understanding the explorer's desire as a "quest for knowledge," although it is ultimately the explorer himself who produces this knowledge. The OED defines "discovery" as the "action of uncovering or fact of becoming uncovered; opening (of a bud, etc.)," and the "action of unclosing or divulging (anything secret or unknown); revelation, disclosure, setting forth, explanation." The idea presented here is that something exists which you do not know, and by finding it and describing it you uncover "new" knowledge. But I will show that as archaeologists are "uncovering" history, often by digging up the ground, they are simultaneously covering it over again with their own taxonomies, their own systems of meaning.

The term "travel literature" is slightly more complex because it is often treated as indistinguishable from the literature of exploration; for instance, Elizabeth Waterston's invaluable annotated bibliography is titled The Travellers: Canada to 1900, yet its first several pages document only exploration narratives. Distinguishing between the literatures of travel and exploration is important for the theoretical basis of this thesis and so I will sketch out some differences. Exploration writers attempt to map the geography, to capture and control the landscape through mechanisms such as formal description, astronomical measurement and taxonomies of plants and animals, but in travel writing it is the individual author's "style" which is more important. Chronologically, travel writing almost always comes after

exploration and, as Mary Campbell points out, it "consists largely in the collision between inherited and experienced knowledge" (Witness 165). Since the territory has already been described—it is always already "inherited"—interest must be generated by a particular author's ability to construct out of their "experiences" a new and intriguing social perspective, whether this is Alexander Henry's description of the massacre at Fort Michilimackinac (Travels and Adventures in Canada, 1760-1776), or the Countess of Aberdeen's friendship with Canadian aristocracy and use of one of the early portable cameras (Through Canada with a Kodak).²²

Travel writing is arguably more stylistically diverse than exploration writing, partially because travelling is a much less specialized activity than is exploring. That is, the majority of exploration writers possessed a military background which enabled them to pilot ships and command an expedition which would be isolated from "home" for months or even years.²³ This background certainly influenced their style because military training encourages a regulated view of the world, a readily identifiable command hierarchy and class structure, and a certain decorum—or enforced socialization—on the part of officers. The discourse was further regulated because the officers and crew were routinely required to hand over their journals to British authorities so they could not produce their own "unofficial" versions of the expedition (although many still did) and in the case of Cook's Voyage to the Pacific Ocean . . . In the Years 1776-80 the "official" version was not published until 1784. As Victor Hopwood writes in the Literary History of Canada, it was only 200 years later that Cook's "unedited manuscripts" were "published by

²² Campbell makes a similar point when she comments that "as it becomes a self-contained literary genre, travel writing becomes more and more impressionistic. its interest has come to lie largely in the sensibility of the particular writer, less and less in its capacity or obligation to inform" (Witness 167).

²³ For example, of the exploration authors discussed in this thesis, Foxe, James and Franklin were Captains with commands at the time of their explorations, and Hearne had been trained in the navy before working for the Hudson's Bay Company.

the Hakluyt Society under the editorship of J.C. Beaglehole" (45). Authors of travel narratives had far fewer dealings with the government and the types of trips they undertook were quite varied; they often had only to be wealthy enough to pay for transportation that already existed.

In addition to the military training many explorers possessed, they were also trained in cartography, and this further differentiates them from travelers. Many of the map and chart makers were trained by the Hudson's Bay Company and Richard Ruggles writes that doctors were particularly suited to making accurate maps: "Being well-educated, they became skilled in the use of surveying instruments and in making astronomical observations without much difficulty" (Country 12). In some sense, explorers could be said to be a part of an emerging professional class, relatively literate and trained in a number of necessary skills. Dr. Richardson, who was an indispensable member of the first and second Franklin expeditions, is an exemplary character who typifies both the inquisitive scientist and the skilled professional.

In later chapters I will theorize the notion of "author," as it pertains to those who explore and write, but it is helpful at this point to outline some general considerations because they will help to clarify the differences between exploration and travel. The explorer is almost always an official representative of government and is therefore responsible for collecting a variety of information and for mapping the territory. The explorer travels with the flag of empire; metaphorically he is wrapped in this flag and always ready to plant it as a symbol of possession, and he is not therefore reducible to any one "individual" operating at a specific time or in a specific place. The explorer's function is to apply management techniques to navigating ships and supervising crews, and to use myriad forms of western logos—including the sciences of astronomy and biology articulated through écriture—to expand the empire.

Travellers may encounter similarly rough terrain, and their discourse is structured by many of the same imperial mechanisms of power, but they

are not responsible for representing the government in the same manner as the explorer. Referring to the texts I have discussed above, Alexander Henry represents himself as a trader so he depends on a capitalist structure maintained through British mercantile desire, but he escapes being killed at Fort Michillimackinac partially because he does not officially represent any government.²⁴ In the case of the Countess of Aberdeen, even her name announces her royal status and identification with empire, but in her "Prefatory Note" she claims that her account does not "aspire to deal with the deeper questions of Canadian life or politics" and is written only "for the amusement of the Members and Associates of the Onward and Upward Association." Obviously she cannot renounce the implications of her title—which has given her a privileged access to technology, travel, and the Canadian establishment elite—but she is much less directly responsible for her imperial identity.

Exploration narratives unfold in a centripetal direction, towards the potential "discovery"—often with the real threat of death—and turning back is a difficult decision sometimes requiring elaborate justification. Not only is personal "honour" at stake, but the explorer is also accountable to officials and financial backers in the country of origin. Of course, all explorers must "turn back" if their narratives are ever to reach a public, but this decision is delayed until the last possible moment and, as we will see in the case of James, the justification is itself often textual and incorporated as a kind of "trope of return." Exploration writing, therefore, often exposes its own hesitations and inadequacies in describing its objects and it must pretend to be a "first" writing, even though the "book of exploration" has a long and involved history. Conversely, travel literature is under no obligation to

²⁴ During the initial massacre, he was able to hide in the "garret" of a French-Canadian and although he was eventually found and taken prisoner, he was rescued by his Chipewyan friend Wawatam who had previously adopted him. After several days passed Henry's native friends convinced him to "assume the Indian costume" so that he could travel with them in more safety. None of these subterfuges were open to the soldiers, most of whom died in the fort.

reveal any such lack and it is always already a writing over, and is recognized as such. For example, the "tour" is the most conservative form of travel writing and its direction is inward, looping centrifugally around its own cultural origins; travellers move through the landscape of the Other, always contained by their own culture and economy, and always concerned with returning, with catching the train or boarding the boat headed back home. Elizabeth Waterston writes that "hundreds of travel books on Canada [were] published between 1880 and 1920" and many "holiday travellers' . . . assumed they could 'do' Canada and the United States in one holiday trip" ("Travel Books" 349). The profusion of publishing and travelling indicates how fashionable the touring of Canada had become towards the end of the nineteenth century and this newfound popularity resulted in the development of a tourist industry.²⁵ This new source of commerce highlights another difference between exploration and travel literature because the former often depended upon the co-operation of aboriginal peoples to procure food, guide expeditions, and mediate encounters with other tribes: the Algonkin, Cree, Chipewyan and dozens of other tribes were integral parts of both the expedition and the subsequent narratives.²⁶ However, the new "tourists" relied on an established network of roads and rail which distanced them from the aboriginal population and reinforced their own social class. Another important difference is that while virtually all Canadian exploration narratives are written by men, travel writing is marked by a large number of

²⁵ Waterston also provides evidence of upon which attractions this industry was built: "All travellers to Canada in the eighties felt impelled to 'do' certain set scenes. There were Montmorency Falls, the Ice Palace in Montreal, the Parliamentary Library in Ottawa . . . the University of Toronto . . . Niagara Falls . . . Winnipeg . . . the prairies, the Rockies, and Vancouver and Victoria" (352). For the tourist, Canada is constructed out of the opposition of small cities, and "picturesque" natural scenes.

²⁶ Waldman's *Atlas of the North American Indian* (pp. 79-81) details aboriginal contacts with explorers from Eric the Red in 984 to Vilhjalmur Stefansson in 1906-12.

female authors.²⁷

In addition to distinguishing between exploration and travel writing, it is important to place all these marginalized forms of narrative in relation to more canonical forms of literature. Writing in 1991, Dennis Porter contextualizes travel literature as genre:

A decade or so ago, for ideological as well as aesthetic reasons, it would have been harder to justify a book-length critical study of travel literature. There was a firmer sense then of what in the literary canon was central and what was marginal, and a general agreement on what came under the category of the "literary" and what was relegated to the domain of "nonliterary" writings. . . . One of the positive results of the poststructuralist critique, however, has been that we no longer fetishize so-called creative writing as something essentially separate from and superior to writing of other kinds. (19)

This "poststructuralist critique" which has broken down the division between margin and centre, and between primary and secondary, has engendered an increase in taxonomies in order to describe the plethora of "new" literary artifacts. But the same period that has seen the rise of "theory" in all its forms has also experienced an increased suspicion towards the very notion that "true" knowledge can be codified and disseminated in anything but an arbitrary and provisional manner. Various critical strategies (some of which have been termed "deconstruction," "post-structuralism," etc.) seek to undermine belief in many aspects of critical practice which had heretofore gone unquestioned. So while the range of texts considered "acceptable" for literary consideration has expanded, so too have the critical discourses surrounding them, the latter in an effort to articulate just how these narratives show their differences. Recent critical practices, whether they are called deconstructive, post-structural, or new historical, challenge assumptions about what is literary and what is nonliterary, while also using formerly marginalized texts to encourage a more interdisciplinary discussion of the history of cultural representations.

²⁷ These distinctions come largely from my entry "Travel Literature (Canada)," in the Encyclopedia of Post-Colonial Literatures in English (Routledge: 1994).

Exploration and travel narratives have therefore existed at the margins of academic and literary discourse because it was assumed they were merely historical documents exhibiting little self-conscious artifice. However, in many ways their positioning is an advantage because they occupy a strategic site for investigating issues related to the interaction of literature and culture. For example, because these narratives were written from the time of first contact, and through the fur trade period, they provide a unique understanding of how aboriginal peoples have been constituted and how their identity has been constructed.

While the subject matter of this thesis is not primarily the representation of aboriginal peoples, they are central to many of my discussions of representation. It is their oral cultures which are being "written over," and their traditional lands which Cartier, Franklin and others inscribe "in the name of the sovereign." An increased awareness of history's ideological biases is evidenced by the many recent controversies in Canada (and other countries) over natives insisting on telling their own stories and rejecting non-native narratives. Books such as Kinsella's Born Indian²⁸ and even Anne Cameron's seemingly more "authentic" Daughters of Copper Woman have been used as examples of cultural theft or even racism. In these cases, the argument is that non-natives cannot tell the story of the natives "authentically," cannot presume to speak for the Other which has been silenced for such a long time. Therefore, writing is a political act and texts are seen to stand for communities, to represent marginalized or forgotten cultures in their own words. This argument comes from an oral culture where the voice of the storyteller is authentic because it has a specific lived experience behind

²⁸ On October 19, 1993 I listened to part of CBC's "Radio Noon" program in which Christopher Thomas interviewed a member of a native "anti-racism" group which had just lost its bid to get the Orillia Library Board to remove four of Kinsella's books from its shelves. Born Indian was one of the books and they were called racist because they contained the words "squaw" and "wagon-burner." In this case, the conflict went beyond the desire to "tell one's own story" and extended to wanting almost complete control over one's image. The man being interviewed vowed to continue the fight.

it.²⁹ Texts are not just "books": they are cultural practices which, paradoxically, may include oral narratives.³⁰ A long history of appropriation and silence is being challenged by communities who are "finding their voices." Exploration narratives reveal the most radical disjuncture to occur at the time of "first contact," where explorers like Cartier wield the economic power, and carry the implements of writing which will disseminate this power over and into the landscape. The native voice is represented only as a "harangue" which is "not understood."

Despite the obvious justice in aboriginal peoples claiming the right to represent themselves, their notion of authenticity depends upon a unified and originary "voice" and deconstruction has demonstrated the dangers of making this kind of assumption. The native voice is assumed to represent its culture truthfully and immanently merely by virtue of its own being, and while this is certainly relevant from a perspective within a community, where the voice functions as oral communication between subjects, it becomes problematic when it is translated, and thus transported, into writing and history. The

²⁹ Walter Ong calls this aspect of orality being "Close to the Human Lifeworld": "In the absence of elaborate analytic categories that depend on writing to structure knowledge at a distance from lived experience, oral cultures must conceptualize and verbalize all their knowledge with more or less close reference to the human lifeworld, assimilating the alien, objective world to the more immediate, familiar interaction of human beings" (Orality and Literacy 42). Writers such as Kinsella are viewed suspiciously for two reasons: they are outside the "immediate, familiar" community which they use as subject matter, and they write and therefore contribute to an inherently distancing or alienating medium.

³⁰ An example of this uneasy alliance is Harry Robinson's story, "An Okanagan Indian Becomes a Captive Circus Showpiece in England" from the anthology All My Relations. The story is "Transcribed by Wendy Wickwire" and begins:

This is about George Jim.
He belongs to Ashnola Band those days.
I had it written down, 1886.
No, I mean 1887.
That's supposed to be in the 1880s.
(Relations 1)

problem with authenticity was made particularly evident in the controversy over Daughters of Copper Woman which involved the transcription of a native oral tradition into a non-native written one. Anne Cameron writes in her "Preface":

For years I have been hearing stories from the native people of Vancouver Island, stories preserved for generations through an oral tradition that is now threatened. Among the stories were special ones shared with me by a few loving women who are members of a secret society whose roots go back beyond recorded history to the dawn of Time itself. . . .

Their reasons for sharing the truth, finally, after so many years of protective silence, are explained in the stories. They wish nothing added to the explanation. (7)

Cameron raises several issues here which have a bearing on the present study. The notion that the native people's oral tradition "is now threatened" points out the fragility of this medium. Stories are passed on through voice and memory, and once forgotten are simply not capable of being revived. If they have already been "preserved for generations" then the community itself has been strong, but Cameron hints that now there might be some dissolution of that community. Interestingly, Cameron fails to realize that by preserving the stories in her book she is also threatening this tradition. In fact, her writing effectively erases a tradition, sealing it off in the past. Furthermore, her statement that the society's roots "go back beyond recorded history to the dawn of Time itself" further mystifies the nature of this oral community. Obviously these stories were a basis of solidarity for the "Copper Women," but Cameron combines the organic and material metaphor of "roots" with a clichéd reference to "long ago and far away." We can see, from Cameron's own well-intentioned language, the difficulty of writing sincerely about orality.

In an "Afterword," added after several printings, Cameron discusses the status of the written text, using its oral history to protect it from adaptation:

It is the tradition of the native peoples of North America, particularly all people of the west coast of Canada, that a story

belongs to the one telling it, not to the one hearing or receiving it. A story can be passed on, re-told, or shared by a listener Only if the person who Owns the story gives specific and personal permission.

In the time between the first printing of Daughters of Copper Woman and now, innumerable requests have been received asking permission to adapt the book, or stories in the book, to song, dance, theatre, film, video, or other forms. Each of these requests had been denied; any future requests will be denied. Copyright remains with me and no adaptations will be allowed. (151)

I am not able to critique Cameron's attributing to native storytellers principles analogous to legal copyright because I lack a detailed knowledge about the practices of oral cultures in North America, although the reading I have done indicates more flexibility than is here described.³¹ But by refusing requests to adapt the stories, she reifies the power writing has to seal itself off from history, to constitute itself as a synchronic structure answering only to itself. Cameron not only refuses adaptation, she claims her text also refuses interpretation: the reasons for telling the stories are told within them and, as she states in her "Preface," their authors "wish nothing added to the explanation." One of the main contradictions in these arguments is that while demonstrating the power of the stories by an appeal to their past, their origins before "the dawn of Time itself," Cameron locks them in the present. She demonstrates that "the time between the first printing . . . and now" is the same time because the story remains the same, as it always will in its published form. The printing of Daughters of Copper Woman demonstrates many of the differences between oral and written narratives, and the theoretical and political problems these differences engender.

However, it is not my purpose to critique the notion of native authenticity or the "truth" of oral narratives. I merely wish to point out how "telling stories" or "discovering narratives" is increasingly being recognized as a way to uncover identity, to reveal truths about other cultures, and that the

³¹ Christine St. Peter documents numerous opinions on the issues of copyright in her article "'Woman's Truth' and the Native Tradition" (see below).

process of "telling" or "discovering" is itself politically charged.³² One cannot deny that whoever is allowed to speak for specific groups, the uncovering of narratives tells us something more than we already knew. The production of discourse has some link to the production of knowledge and I will explore this relationship. Debates over appropriation of voice and construction of community demonstrate the importance of these early texts depicting the peoples and geography, and the fact that a great deal of work still remains to be done in criticizing the emerging corpus.³³

My strategy in this thesis is to analyze how writing, in its various colloquial and theoretical forms, has been used to structure and govern the representation of the country. While it is inevitable that I address issues such as authenticity of discourse, oral and literate cultures, and the erasure of the native voice, my intention is, in a sense, more preliminary and generalized. That is, while this thesis is about "the political," I am not attempting to

³² Because I have only a few specific points to make I have not documented the public debate over Cameron's use of these stories. A helpful essay is Christine St. Peter's "'Woman's Truth' and the Native Tradition"; it provides a good overview of how Daughters of Copper Woman is situated in the context of feminist, ethnographic and cultural copyright issues. St. Peter admits that she is "forced to report oral communication of a somewhat impressionistic sort, because so much of the discussion of and controversy around Cameron's book has been local and undocumented" (520).

³³ Of course, the debate over authenticity has been central to much feminist criticism for many years. Janine Marchessault and Susan Morrison point out what is currently at stake in their introduction ("Feminist Culture and the New Order") to Cineaction 24/25:

... there is a new urgency to situate feminist culture squarely in the realm of a politics of difference; one that is continually extending and transforming the meanings, sites and histories of feminist praxis. ... On the one hand, difference can all too easily play into the soothing liberal pluralism of consumer culture where every need is accounted for. On the other hand, it seeks to intervene in a highly rationalized system of global exchange which homogenizes and contains feminist culture. The precarious dilemma inherent in a politics of identity caught between discourses of authenticity and the "technologies of self," is the (contradictory) cornerstone of the feminist movement, at once united and fragmented by difference. (2)

present a political argument, or to argue for "native rights," although these issues certainly infiltrate my discussion. However, it must be made clear that the theoretical issues of writing, and their effect on native oral cultures, have measurable and important implications for current cultural issues. Although it is the purpose of this thesis to analyse the discourse of exploration, rather than the socio-historical effects of colonialism on native peoples (which are already being intelligently documented in books like Miller's Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens), the contradictions, misrepresentations, and exclusions produced by this discourse have negatively influenced aboriginal/"Euro-American" relationships since settlement began.³⁴

Now that I have discussed, in a general sense, what I mean by "writing" and "exploration literature," the general direction of the thesis, and some of the issues regarding the representation of aboriginal peoples, I will finish this section of the chapter by discussing my project's indirect relationship with the work of Jacques Derrida, with whom the word écriture is most readily identified. Derrida's intentions and methods differ from my own, but because the texts on which he has written include anthropology (Lévi-Strauss), linguistics (Saussure) and diverse philosophers and theorists, his work is highly suggestive in a number of areas he would not himself pursue. Despite his using écriture differently than I wish to deploy it in the present project, I have found many of his statements about writing's various effects to be most helpful. For instance, the epigraph which begins this chapter—and is placed there in the hope it might provide some impetus for us on our textual journey—is taken from a section in Of Grammatology where Derrida discusses Lévi-Strauss's encounter with the Nambikwara in which he claims to have introduced writing into their community. In Lévi-Strauss's story,

³⁴ For example, the difficulty aboriginal peoples have articulating issues such as "self-government," both to the Euro-American public, and among themselves, can be traced partially to their long exclusion from the processes of representation.

appropriately titled "A Writing Lesson," writing operates as a fall from grace: the chief who "pretends" to learn to write uses it as a way of prying more gifts from the visiting anthropologists, and doling them out to his subjects.

Derrida paraphrases Lévi-Strauss's story of writing's invasion:

The Nambikwara—the subject of "A Writing Lesson"—would therefore be one of these peoples without writing. They do not make use of what we commonly call writing. At least that is what Lévi-Strauss tells us: "That the Nambikwara could not write goes without saying" [p. 288]. This incapacity will be presently thought, within the ethico-political order, as an innocence and a non-violence interrupted by the forced entry of the West and the "Writing Lesson." (110)

After describing various problems with a number of Lévi-Strauss's claims regarding writing, Derrida works towards revealing the metaphysical, sociological and historical errors behind the claim that the Nambikwara were without writing. Derrida's argument has two main themes, the first of which is to question just what the word "writing" is supposed to signify.

It is quite evident that a literal translation of the words that mean "to write" in the languages of peoples with writing would also reduce that word to a rather poor gestural signification. It is as if one said that such a language has no word designating writing—and that therefore those who practice it do not know how to write—just because they use a word meaning "to scratch," "to engrave," "to scribble," "to scrape," "to incise," "to trace," "to imprint," etc. As if "to write" in its metaphoric kernel, meant something else. Is not ethnocentrism always betrayed by the haste with which it is satisfied by certain translations or certain domestic equivalents? To say that a people do not know how to write because one can translate the word which they use to designate the act of inscribing as "drawing lines," is that not as if one should refuse them "speech" by translating the equivalent word by "to cry," "to sing," "to sigh"? (123)

Derrida's criticism here is related to issues of translation, a subject he will theorize extensively later in his career. The various concepts expressed in our (western) word "writing" force a gap between cultures which is not recuperable through translation. Translation is an interpretive action used to bridge languages and cultures and involves choice and it is here that Lévi-Strauss falls into the trap of ethnocentric thought. A concept like "writing" is

clearly culturally relative, depending on the manner in which a culture reproduces its myths and history, and any translation of it is far from transparent. For example, Lévi-Strauss's use of it reflects an entire metaphysic going back to Plato. Furthermore, the problem may lie not in the gap between Lévi-Strauss and the Nambikwara, but in his belief that he is "bringing" them something called "writing." No matter how sympathetically he studies other cultures (or, the "culture of the Other"), Lévi-Strauss is a trained anthropologist who constantly works with knowledge, and who must assume he always "brings" knowledge to those whom he studies. From his perspective, as someone who will eventually leave and write up papers and books based on his experiences, the peoples whom he meets are always necessarily intellectually impoverished.

Derrida's second theme is a more general philosophical question of how writing is related to a culture's infrastructure and, of course, Plato, Rousseau and many other philosopher-writers have theories about this relationship. There is then the further question of how the *écriture* of one society affects another, and Derrida's section title, "Writing and Man's Exploitation by Man," is meant to paraphrase Lévi-Strauss's characterization of the West's interaction with primitive cultures. Derrida explains the origin of this soon after the section begins:

Writing, the exploitation of man by man; I do not impose these words upon Lévi-Strauss. Let us recall . . . [Rousseau's] Conversations by way of precaution: ". . . writing itself, in that first instance, seemed to be associated in any permanent way only with societies which were based on the exploitation of man by man." (119)

The problem with this formulation, and others which exclude "writing" from "primitive" cultures, is that there is proof that these cultures contain exploitation, hierarchies, and even history, without (before?) what Lévi-Strauss calls writing. Although in "The Writing Lesson," Lévi-Strauss explains how his own "writing" has corrupted the culture, there is no proof that writing is the culprit for, as Derrida writes, if "the 'Lesson' is to be believed, the Nambikwara did not know violence before writing; nor hierarchization, since that

is quickly assimilated into exploitation" (135). There are, therefore, two main problems with the logic of writing, problems which are inextricably bound into western metaphysics so that their appearance within Lévi-Strauss's texts is inevitable. The first is: just what is "writing," and does it change from culture to culture? and the second is: how does writing affect the structures of culture? Is it responsible for exploitation? For the centralization of power? These issues bear directly on my own study because I discuss various forms of writing within the discourse of exploration and how these forms are used to achieve imperialist goals. For example, writing aids capitalist production because it enables both the keeping of ledgers and official Company communications: it provides a system of control. Similarly, the Jesuit's Relations were an account of the cleric's time and performance of duties, a sensitive anthropological report of the natives, and a description of strategies for controlling their spiritual lives.

While Derrida's discussion of Lévi-Strauss and "The Writing Lesson" closely parallels my own subject, it is important to understand that the purpose of his overall argument is to "deconstruct" the philosophical opposition of speech and writing, where speech has been privileged as being closer to the heart, sentiment and truth.³⁵ In Lévi-Strauss's text the Nambikwara live in a "purer" (though limited) world of speech until the anthropologists bring in writing and western logos and destroy this idyllic life. Just as he had done earlier with Saussure ("Linguistics and Grammatology" 27 ff), Derrida shows how neither speech nor writing excludes the other so that the Nambikwara always already "practiced writing" and therefore the "violence of the letter" was not introduced by Lévi-Strauss. It is not my purpose to paraphrase Derrida's arguments regarding speech and writing since this has already been done intelligently by a number of critics; instead, I will return to describing the function of writing/écriture in my own work.

Derrida gains critical leverage by expanding the concept of writing from its "colloquial" usage to his own coinage of "arche-writing" which fits in

³⁵ Derrida calls this history of privileging speech "phonologism" or "phonocentrism."

with the larger project of a "grammatology." Derrida introduces this term in his chapter on Saussure referred to above as "Linguistics and Grammatology":

Phonologism does not brook any objections as long as one conserves the colloquial concepts of speech and writing which form the solid fabric of its argumentation. . . . I would wish rather to suggest that the alleged derivativeness of writing, however real and massive, was possible only on one condition: that the "original," "natural," etc. language had never existed, never been intact and untouched by writing, that it had itself always been a writing. And arche-writing whose necessity and new concept I wish to indicate and outline here; and which I continue to call writing only because it essentially communicates with the vulgar concept of writing. (*Of Grammatology* 56)

Derrida switches between different ontological categories of writing, at different times calling the more familiar concept "colloquial," "general" and "vulgar," all of which are separated from his concept of arche-writing by différance. Arche-writing expands the idea of writing metaphysically beyond the code and the inscription, thus undermining the opposition between speech and writing previously maintained through ontological a priorisms.³⁶

My own discussion of writing within this thesis has been made possible by Derrida's sustained theorizing of écriture, and his detailed expositions of important writers and philosophers who depend on writing for their discursive power, and also make important and revealing statements about it. Additionally, the differences between oral and literate cultures are crucial to understanding the forms of knowledge the explorers employ, including the effectiveness of their "writing over" of the country, and Derrida's deconstruction of Western philosophy's speech/writing opposition is also helpful.

However, my analyses differ from Derrida's in the uses I wish to make of texts; I am not analyzing (or deconstructing) "philosophical" texts, and the narratives I discuss have different objectives than either Plato or Lévi-

³⁶ For example, binary oppositions like "speech/writing," "nature/culture," and "centre/margin" achieve their credibility through their a prior status.

Strauss, even though they all use the history and structure of writing to sustain their various discourses.³⁷ In order to explain how my own interests are different from those of Derrida, I will discuss a passage of his which comes just after he has quoted Lévi-Strauss describing how the Nambikwara chief has used "writing" to take from the anthropologists their various "objects." Lévi-Strauss writes, "With a show of hesitation he looked up and down his 'list' for the objects to be given in exchange for his people's presents," and Derrida responds:

The story is very beautiful. It is in fact tempting to read it as a parable in which each element, each *semaneme*, refers to a recognized function of writing: hierarchization, the economic function of mediation and of capitalization, participation in a quasi-religious secret; all this, verified in any phenomenon of writing, is here assembled, concentrated, organized in the structure of an exemplary event or very brief sequence of fact and gestures. All the organic complexity of writing is here collected within the simple focus of a parable. (126)

In a sense, my thesis willfully falls into the "temptation" of reading moments like this as "parables" of how writing operates when one culture modifies another, when European culture infiltrates the Other. For Derrida, writing is an entry point into philosophy, while for this thesis it is a formal and material mechanism of imperialism which aids in constructing colonial identity. In the case of exploration literature, there has been little theorizing of how writing has been used as a tool to advance so many aspects of imperial control, despite its being central to the economic activity of the fur trade. In addition to its administrative functions, the "book of exploration" contains a large

³⁷ In an early and still useful essay on Derrida, D.C. Wood writes: The subject matter of deconstruction on any particular occasion is a text, either a philosophical text in the traditional sense, or a theoretical text with critical pretensions such as Saussure's Cours. The local aim is to display the latent metaphysical structure of the text, according to a theory of what constitutes metaphysics (the privileging of some "presence" or other) and then to transform it. ("Introduction" 23)

Simply put, I am not attempting to "display the latent metaphysical structures" of the texts I analyze, though it is impossible to avoid the implications of these structures.

volume of material which has worked towards convincing the public that the "new found lands" were an important and valuable object of acquisition. Writing created a public desire for exploration, and explorers then wrote over the geography in the image of this desire.

A problem one might see with my methodology is that it appears I am attempting to theorize the entry and effects of writing into the North American continent, while Derrida has shown that, in his sense, arche-writing was there all along. I would not disagree with this since throughout this thesis, particularly in the chapters on Hearne and Franklin, I discuss aspects of the natives' own techniques of representation which Derrida might argue are examples of writing. However, for the purposes of my argument it is not important whether "writing" did or did not exist in North America prior to the European's colonization; rather, as my analysis of Cartier's landing demonstrates, I will examine very specific effects of European writing's intervention. In order to critique these effects it will be necessary to distinguish between the "colloquial" and the "arche" concepts of writing, and to define how they help define what I mean by the "écriture of exploration literature."

I use the word "écriture" to invoke some of the recent [French] critical history of that word which has helped produce a theoretical discourse on textuality. The critical work of Jacques Derrida, Roland Barthes, and many other critics,³⁸ has made writing and textuality dominant subjects of criticism to the point where they have often supplanted more traditional discussions of "literature," "plot," and "characterization." Just as écriture occupies a wide theoretical landscape, the word "writing" has become quite generalized to the point where its meaning is spread thinly over many subjects, several of which are outside the areas of theory. For instance, there are "departments of

³⁸ Julia Kristeva, Paul De Man, Jonathan Culler and Tzvetan Todorov are names of some other major critics to utilize theories of "écriture/writing," and there are numerous others whose work shows varying degrees of direct or indirect influence. As well, the psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan has used formal aspects of language as a central part of his work and his seminars have inspired a great deal of theorizing which has mixed writing and psychoanalysis.

writing," which may teach specialized composition skills for social workers and office managers, and phrases appear like "writing across disciplines," which attempt to universalize writing into a rubric of interdisciplinary studies. The generalization of "writing" is similar to that of "literacy," coming from the Latin littera [letter] and meaning "acquainted with letters and literature; educated, instructed, learned," which has been yoked with a variety of convenient terms so that now teachers are instructing children in "television literacy," "moral literacy" and other areas quite removed from the realm of letters and literature. As I have previously explained, my use of the word "writing" has four specific connotations, and when I refer to "écriture," I mean to imply the theoretical work which has been completed over the past twenty years and which has described the importance of textuality. For instance, Derrida's interpretation of Lévi-Strauss and the Nambikwara demonstrates the force écriture possesses, not only because of how the chief appropriates it, but because of its importance in articulating the gap, or aporia, between the European and African cultures. Derrida's title "Writing and the Violence of the Letter" describes how northern North America has been so effectively colonized by Britain.

Throughout the thesis I choose examples of what Derrida would term "colloquial" or "literal" writing to show how they disseminate the colonizer's power, technology and economics over the territory. In most cases I will be analyzing the practice of writing, where the mixing of art and technique carry forth actions over the environment. At points my discussion involves what Derrida terms "arche-writing" as I look at different aspects of écriture, of how texts infiltrate other texts and how a literate and literary culture writes what I have [metaphorically] called the "book of exploration." The narratives I discuss demonstrate the evolution of imperial writing and representation, from the exaggerated rhetoric of Thomas James, to the "corporate" descriptions of the Franklin expeditions. But in all cases the structure of power and empire is revealed through writing, through both the exploration narratives and the texts within them that transmit and communicate authority within a

circular economy, from Europe to North America and back. William Carey discuss this process in his book Communication as Culture:

Communication is at once a structure of human action—activity, process, practice—an ensemble of expressive forms, and a structured and structuring set of social relations. To describe communication is not merely to describe a constellation of enshrined ideas; it is also to describe a constellation of practices that enshrine and determine those ideas in a set of technical and social forms. (86)

My discussion of writing will analyze many textual practices which communicate European forms of knowledge and culture over a vast geographical area. Relatively speaking, the explorer's marks were minute and discrete, yet they were extremely efficient in implementing an economic and political structure which, in many respects, still exists.

III The Technology of Écriture

In Technologies of the Self Michel Foucault describes four types of technologies which, in a very general manner, articulate the different areas my research covers:

(1) technologies of production, which permit us to produce, transform, or manipulate things; (2) technologies of sign systems, which permit us to use signs, meanings, symbols, or signification; (3) technologies of power, which determine the conduct of individuals and submit them to certain ends or domination, an objectivizing of the subject; (4) technologies of the self, which permit individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their own bodies, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality.

These four types of technologies hardly ever function separately, although each one of them is associated with a certain type of domination. Each implies certain modes of training and modification of individuals, not only in the obvious sense of acquiring certain skills but also in the sense of acquiring certain attitudes. (18)

In my analysis of exploration narratives I am treating writing as an example of Foucault's second type of technology because it is a "sign system," which signifies imperial messages. However, when I discuss the literal and metaphorical "book of exploration," writing operates as the first type of technology because of its ability to "produce." As I have described above, the "book of exploration" is double: there is the published artifact, and there is also the foreign landscape, inscribed with the imperial texts. The sign systems aid in the transformation of the foreign terrain into colonial property, and the processes of this transformation operate in the domain of Foucault's third type of technology—that of power. For example, the economy of the fur trade, sustained by scrupulous record keeping and the mapping of the territory for the most efficient expansion, "determines the conduct" of those native tribes engaged in trading. Members of the tribes become objectified into roles such as "consumer" and "employee." Foucault's fourth type of technology is also relevant to my discussion, but it is less central to my concerns.³⁹

Despite Foucault's work in expanding the concept of "technology," we are inclined to think of it as related to machines. As Derrida has shown in analyzing Plato's *Phaedrus*, writing has been seen historically as a sort of "memory machine." The metaphorical relationship of writing and machine is examined in his essay, "Freud and the Scene of Writing" where Plato's tablet is replaced by the "Mystic Pad".⁴⁰

³⁹ I discuss Foucault's "technologies of the self" in my final chapter on Franklin, specifically in relation to science, mapping, and the professionalizing of the various disciplines involved in carrying out the tasks of the explorer. While I do not use the phrase "technologies of the self," it is the main "technology" behind the construction of the various "docile bodies" which are disciplined by Franklin and his fellow officers.

⁴⁰ Derrida's essay makes great use of Freud's "Note on the Mystic Writing Pad"; the "pad" is a writing toy first marketed around the turn of the century and which can still be found today. It is a clipboard consisting of 3 parts: the bottom is a resin surface over top of which lies a piece of wax paper, over top of which lies a plastic piece (the top two layers are held together). When one makes an imprint on the top, the markings appear on the middle layer, but can be erased by lifting the middle layer off the waxy base. Freud uses this as a model of the psychic apparatus and speculates that

Here the question of technology (a new name must perhaps be found in order to remove it from its traditional problematic) may not be derived from an assumed opposition between the psychical and the nonpsychical, life and death. Writing, here, is techné as the relation between life and death, between present and representation, between the two apparatuses. It opens up the question of technics: of the apparatus in general and of the analogy between the psychical apparatus and the nonpsychical apparatus. In this sense writing is the stage of history and the play of the world. (Writing and Difference 228)

I do not agree that a "new name must perhaps be found" because I will view the texts of writing the "new world" precisely as a technology. Rather than investigating the theme of "life and death," I will be concerned with writing as the "stage of history and the play of the [new] world" for it is on this stage that exploration writing shows the extent of its radical nature, opening westward over a continent that refuses to yield a Northwest Passage, and then cathecting its economic energy into developing the lands and their resources. Just as with écriture, Derrida helpfully opens the issue of technology for my present study, enabling it to be developed in another direction.

Walter Ong, in his book Orality and Literacy, delineates many other aspects of écriture's range of definitions and provides a complementary explanation of its relationship to technology. Ong contrasts writing not to "speech" (as Derrida usually does), but to "orality." Rather than discussing the philosophical treatment of writing, Ong uses it as a paradigm to show different structurings of meaning:

Because we have by today so deeply interiorized writing, made it so much a part of ourselves . . . we find it difficult to consider

the waxy base is the unconscious, so that perhaps all the "erased" marks still reside there. This model does not seem far from our present-day computers, where all our "marks" reside invisibly on the hard drive, and are placed there through the physical interface of the monitor and keyboard. The "RAM" (Random Access Memory), which disappears when the computer is shut off, acts as the middle layer of the pad, receiving the impressions and temporarily storing them. Plato, Freud, Derrida and present day computer technology all demonstrate how writing has a long history of being bound to memory and technology.

writing to be a technology as we commonly assume printing and the computer to be. Yet writing (and especially alphabetic writing) is a technology, calling for the use of tools and other equipment: styli or brushes or pens, carefully prepared surfaces such as paper, animal skins, strips of wood, as well as inks or paints, and much more. . . . Writing is in a way the most drastic of the three technologies. It initiated what print and computers only continue, the reduction of dynamic sound to quiescent space, the separation of the words from the living present, where alone spoken words can exist. (81-82)

The discoverers and explorers of Canada have used the technology of writing as a tool of appropriation. Europeans approached the new continent with ships, guns and a will to dominate, but also with new technologies that affected the environment and indigenous populations. Writing is a most subtle technology because it is so often taken for granted, or, even if acknowledged for its formal techniques—both in terms of an individual writer's style and for its activities of storing and retrieving information—its political force is seldom recognized. Writing's technological imposition is invisible because of its being regarded as sheer instrumentality, that is, writing is a tool whose very use causes it to vanish.⁴¹ Europe has a history of warfare, where land is claimed, lost, negotiated and reclaimed by different governments, and within this history of territoriality it has been essential to dominate the environment and its peoples physically. However, in the history of North America (and particularly of Canada where open conflict was much less prevalent than in the United States), the structure of domination was termed "assimilation," and used a strategy of writing and representing those peoples within one's own image. Representing imperialism to the natives in a manner that encourages them to accept it is much more cost-effective than waging possibly lengthy wars which would disrupt production.⁴²

⁴¹ I thank David L. Clark for this description.

⁴² This is precisely the case in Wacousta where the "Pontiac uprising" has suspended economic and social activity. And my discussion of "The Boats Getting Afloat" in chapter seven describes how Franklin's dramatic representing of force is more successful in restoring imperial order than an actual battle would have been.

The more obvious technologies of manufacturing produced the copper pots and steel knives traded with the natives, and set up new systems of exchange. As Harold Innis points out, the consequences of this technological intrusion (or revolution) are quite profound:

... iron utensils were constantly wearing out because of the intense work to which they were put; they were traded to other peoples or they were destroyed at burial feasts. Once they had secured access to a source of iron supplies, more primitive implements disappeared and the methods of making them were forgotten. Guns displaced bows and arrows. They required periodic mending and ammunition was in constant demand. As old cultural traits fell gradually into disuse and old ways of getting a livelihood were forgotten, the Indian became increasingly dependent on the products of the specialized equipment of Europe and increasingly dependent upon his supply of furs. (Fur Trade 17-18)

In Innis's description technologies are used gradually to envelope the natives within a system of European capitalist exchange. This is an ingenious use of what we now call "planned obsolescence" as a tool of mercantilism, where a need for more objects is produced by the very objects themselves. The objects wear down and wear out, thus revealing their material nature and their alien, manufactured artificiality (i.e. they cannot be produced from the materials or technologies available to the native population). A comparison with modern consumer culture is valuable because we can see how we would now simply purchase another knife, gun or dishwasher. Consumption has now become naturalized as printed currency has become an intermediary between labour and commodities.⁴³ In the late sixteenth century and the seventeenth century furs were the medium of exchange, and elaborate

⁴³ Raymond Williams provides an intriguing study of the word consumer in his book Keywords. He shows how "in almost all its early English uses, consume had an unfavourable sense; it meant to destroy, to use up, to waste, to exhaust." But now the word has been semiotically re-written by manufacturers who, in order to sell their specific products, create "needs and wants and . . . particular ways of satisfying them. . . . It implies, ironically . . . the using up of what is going to be produced." The natives are turned into consumers by the introduction of foreign materials.

systems of value were set up to mediate this exchange.⁴⁴ As time passed, and as natives produced fewer of their own implements and relied more on European technology, they became labourers who worked for a living, a radically different existence from the one they had previously enjoyed. Part of the tension in Hearne's Voyage to the Northern Ocean is derived from the different barter and exchanges he makes with the various natives who help him and hinder him in his objectives. As we will see, relationships among various tribes were radically changing with the advent of increasing economic activity.

There is another aspect of Innis's observation on technology which relates to Derrida's discussion about writing and memory. Innis states that once the natives had "secured access to a source of iron supplies, more primitive implements disappeared and the methods of making them were forgotten." Here the "primitive implements" have acted as memory aids, just as writing has done for "Western" culture. The natives' own techné, or crafts of production, have sustained their hunting and other aspects of culture throughout time. But when European technology interrupts this process, and

⁴⁴ In Give Us Good Measure, Ray and Freeman present a thorough analysis of this system in Part Three, "The Economic Structure of the Fur Trade System: A Quantitative Analysis." Previous to this they discuss the basis of the trade:

Goods and furs were purchased and sold in the European sphere of the fur trade under a market system based on monetary exchange Therefore, the Hudson's Bay Company was faced with the task of setting up an institutional framework that permitted it to carry on a barter trade on an accountable basis. To accomplish this end, the company invented a system of value measurement which could be applied to both the furs and foods bartered with the Indians. This accounting system was based on a unit called the made beaver (MB). The MB established an equivalence between volumes of goods traded and furs taken in return in terms of the number of prime, whole beaver pelts which they represented. (54)

The Hudson's Bay Company, then, sets up an economy through which they encounter both the natives and the land. They even have their own Official Standard of Trade. Furthermore, their monopoly over geography, indigenous populations, economics, value and meaning, is guaranteed by a Royal Charter.

manufactured goods induce in them a state of forgetfulness, the link with the past is gradually erased. The disruption of culture through forgetting is precisely what Plato warns against in the Phaedrus: Theuth attempts to introduce writing into Egypt by claiming that it is a "recipe for both memory and wisdom," but King Thamus resists, saying that it is a recipe for forgetting.⁴⁵ The main difference, induced by culture and circumstance, is that in North America the drama of forgetting is written with pots and pans rather than styli and tablets.

From within the context of this economic structure, writing can be seen as another technology—in addition to rifles and ammunition—which has had a radical effect on the lands and indigenous peoples of early Canada. (Of course, the "real and empirical" extent of this effect can never be known because I am writing from "within the system" which has always already represented the various effects, but portions of it can at least be documented.) David B. Quinn has written extensively on the topic of discovery and has edited several editions of exploration narratives (including, with W.P. Cumming and R.A. Skelton, the elaborately produced volume, The Discovery of North America). He has stated, "there could be no real discovery of North America unless, and until, there was a written record of that discovery" (qtd. in Greenfield, "The Idea of Discovery" 189). And while this statement refers to the notion of "discovery," it is also an example of the power perceived to exist within writing. Continents literally do not exist unless they are represented in a written discourse and disseminated to a readership. The author/reader paradigm controls not only subsequent fictional re-interpretations, but the very constitution of what it seeks to objectify.

⁴⁵ In "Plato's Pharmacy" Derrida produces an extended interpretation of pharmakon's dual meaning of recipe and poison. The metaphor is interesting in that it almost survives intact the journey over to North America in that the natives' cooking baskets were literally a place where recipes were mixed, and metaphorically, a recipe for remembering how to live.

While writing may have been necessary for North America's discovery, Walter Ong contrasts it to oral speech, and describes it as "completely artificial":

There is no way to write "naturally". . . . Writing or script differs as such from speech in that it does not inevitably well up out of the unconscious. The process of putting spoken language into writing is governed by consciously contrived, articulable rules: for example, a certain pictogram will stand for a certain specific word, or a will represent a certain phoneme, b another, and so on. (82)

As Ong describes it, writing involves an overt process of learning and, therefore, of mastery: it constitutes itself as an objective practice.⁴⁶ Ong is careful to point out that saying "writing is artificial is not to condemn it but to praise it. . . . More than any other [artificial creation], it is utterly invaluable and indeed essential for the realization of fuller, interior, human potentials" (82). In a neutral space (wherever that could exist) writing might achieve the perfectly positive state Ong ascribes to it. Indeed, who can seriously deny that writing is important and necessary for the continued existence of humanity? However, writing is never a neutral medium (or technology); just as learning to write involves mastering a discipline, it carries within itself this master, this governance over everything it represents with its impressive systems of organization. Ong is unable to explain just what these "fuller,

⁴⁶ I will put aside the question of whether speech is more "natural" than writing since it could require a thesis in its own right (and has had several already) and does not directly bear on my own discussion. Linguistic studies have shown that speech does not "inevitably well up out of the unconscious" unless it is invited to do so by a linguistic community. Certainly one could argue that we learn spoken language from, as Augustine says, "our elders":

Thus, as I heard words repeatedly used in their proper places in various sentences, I gradually learnt to understand what objects they signified; and after I had trained my mouth to form these signs, I used them to express my own desires. (Philosophical Investigations, 2e)

Although Augustine claims that he learns through "bodily movements . . . the natural languages of all peoples," he has to train his mouth in order to speak this "natural" language. Suffice to say that in writing the training is more systematized, codified, and transportable.

interior, human potentials" are, just as we cannot know our own futures. But by looking at our past we can see that the introduction of European writing, with its governing rules and practices, is responsible for the very existence, as such, of what we now call "North America."

The OED defines the etymology of "Technology" as a combination of "technic," (a "systematic treatment of grammar, art, craft"), and "logy" (meaning a variety of things, but primarily "to speak," or logos). It generally denotes "the character, action or department of knowledge proper to the person who is described . . . meaning either '(one) who speaks (in a certain way),' or '(one) who treats of (a certain subject).'" The latter meaning has come to designate "names of sciences or departments of study." The meaning of "technology" itself is "A discourse or treatise on an art or arts; the scientific study of the practical or industrial arts." Therefore, techne-writing is a practical art, "governed by . . . contrived, articulable rules." Keeping in mind the etymology of "technology," we can see how it implies the notion of the speaking subject, the discourser, within itself. It yokes the doing of the craft, the technical system, with the discoursing on that system. The doubleness of technology, of system and of speaking, mirrors the double function of exploration writing: 1) writing is used to record the expedition's story for export and possible sale back home and 2) writing infiltrates the landscape, first with marks, inscriptions and proclamations of ownership, and then with forts and trading posts establishing a network of communication. Writing, then, is both "here" and "there," systematically representing and communicating the message of the dominant culture.

IV Writing as Intervention and Mask

The main plot of the recent Canadian/Australian film Black Robe centres on a young Jesuit priest Father Laforgue, who is travelling with Algonkin guides to the Ihonatiria mission in Huron country. There is a scene

where he sits by a shore reading and writing while the Indians make camp. One of the leaders, Chimena, approaches him and says, "Black Robe, what you do?" to which Laforgue replies, "Making words." "Words?" asks Chimena, puzzled, "You no speak." Laforgue replies with the quiet confidence of an old schoolmaster, "I will show you. Tell me something." "Tell what?" "Tell me something I don't know." Chimena thinks for a moment and then says, "My woman's mother die in snow last winter." By now a few other Indians have gathered and they appear skeptical and puzzled when Laforgue silently writes this information down in his black book. They all walk towards the camp and call the others to see what this strange "black robe" is going to show them. When they reach the camp Laforgue hands the book to Daniel, a French Canadian youth accompanying him on the journey. Daniel reads, "Last winter Chimena's wife's mother died in the snow." The Indians are surprised and Chimena grabs the book and stares at it, bewildered, and utters an exclamation of astonishment. Laforgue is clearly pleased at the stir he has caused and says to them, "I have still other greater things I can teach you" before he again returns to his writerly solitude. The Algonkin stare after him, and when he is out of hearing range they say in their own language, "he is a demon."⁴⁷ The Indians are astounded that this information can be transmitted silently and therefore invisibly right in front of them; they attribute it to sorcery, giving them even more reason to shun the "black robe."

Many of the themes examined in my thesis are present in this short scene which effectively dramatizes the force of writing's intervention on the continent, and on the inter-subjectivity of its inhabitants, as well as the natives' justified suspicion. Laforgue's statement, "I will show you," is particularly important because it presents him as dramatist, another activity related to writing, literature, and the realm of the visual. It is explicitly a drama because it is a scene from a film, but in a wider sense it is a scene from exploration where Europeans are dramatizing their superiority over the natives. Chimena's personal lived history of a cold and snowy winter has

⁴⁷ It is somewhat ironic that their words are, once again, translated for us as written subtitles on the screen.

been silently taken from him and made available to a wide range of people he will never know. Furthermore, most natives will never know how they appear in the explorer's accounts because no one will read to them.

Before I continue discussing Black Robe, it is important that I define my critical position regarding the introduction of "writing" to North America. As I have discussed earlier in this chapter, Derrida shows how it is a dangerous ethnocentrism to assume so "hastily" that a people do not possess "writing," and in Lévi-Strauss's case, that assumption may be based on inadequate translation. Certainly the Algonkin inscribed clothing, wampum belts were used to keep tribal records, and, in a most general sense, the paths in forests and the underlying structures of kinship could be said to be forms of writing. Aboriginal peoples certainly "wrote" in a variety of creative ways, but it is my contention that the writing practiced by the explorers (and demonstrated by Laforgue) was radically different from anything existing in indigenous cultures. The "book of exploration" is transportable (unlike forest paths, or kinship structures) and it is produced by an industrial and capitalist base. The success of the Hudson's Bay Company demonstrates its power to communicate and control the space of the North American landscape.

Returning to Black Robe, an equally important point is the fact that this scene, which is so effective in the film, is not present in the original novel. A plausible explanation for this difference can be developed by explaining the scene in terms of the nature of writing and its representation in other media. In his "Author's Note," Brian Moore discusses how he came to write this novel, later made into a film. He was reading Graham Greene's Collected Essays wherein Greene discusses "The Jesuits of North America, the celebrated work by the American historian Francis Parkman," and then, "from Parkman," Moore "moved on to the Relations themselves" (vii-viii). In tracing the passage from one book to another, we see how crucial is the world of writing, including autobiographical and historical works, in providing an intertextual background to the novel. And throughout the novel Black Robe there are quotations from the Relations which provide a context for

Laforge's personal struggle. While the novel—as written text—frequently reveals this intertextuality through quotations and historical references, the film version is forced to dramatize textuality in order to show its effectiveness in communicating and also its radical alterity. This is a necessary scene because it explains part of the Jesuits' force and power in these "new lands" in which they are so alienated from the native populations.⁴⁸ In this scene the film reveals the alterity of writing in relation to speech and everyday communication: it is silent and mysterious in its différance. The novel Black Robe, by carrying intertextuality within its own structure, masks its own manipulation of references and its power over all events within its diegesis, including those of historical origins. Similarly, the discourse of exploration tends to use scientific "objectivity" and literary mimesis to normalize the events depicted and thus mask the extreme nature of writing's intervention. In other words, the production of exploration and discovery narratives are processes of interpretation where the unfamiliar is 1) made understandable for the reading public, and 2) assimilated into the European culture.

I am using the work of contemporary theorists to analyze the effect of écriture on structuring the discourse of exploration, and ultimately to understand how "Canada" has been constructed through the practices of writing. The influential body of criticism produced by the scholar I.S. MacLaren has made much of my own study possible. In a sense, MacLaren's

⁴⁸ Since my thesis addresses works in English I have not mentioned the Jesuits or their Relations. However, the whole issue of their specific textual space is fascinating because, while the traders offer the natives immediate material rewards, the priests use goods to barter, but their ultimate product is spiritual. The priests inhabit a space charted by the economics of the fur trade (which also often pays for their transportation), mixed with metaphysics (which is the basis of their ultimate reason for being in North America). The Jesuit Relations (1632-1673) are remarkable records of European intervention on the continent, framing the native culture with their own writing and power of observation, and also providing advertising for their activities ("The main purposes of the Relations was to arouse interest in France so that people there would support the mission and the fledgling colony in Canada" Junior Encyclopedia of Canada vol. 3, p. 9).

work has approached some of these same texts from the opposite direction: beginning with his ambitious PhD thesis, The Influence of Eighteenth-century British Landscape Aesthetics on Narrative and Pictorial Responses to the British North American North and West 1769-1872 (1983), MacLaren has read many of these exploration narratives through the aesthetics of the sublime and the beautiful. This approach uses the aesthetic sensibilities of those explorers and artists seeking to understand the foreign landscapes they encountered to open this body of work to a variety of interpretations. In theorizing these works aesthetically, MacLaren has moved the interpretation of exploration literature away from conservative and historical readings. MacLaren introduced an aesthetic discourse into discussions of these works as is evidenced in his essay, "Retaining Captaincy of the Soul: Response to Nature in the First Franklin Expedition." This essay shows Franklin's (and Back's and Richardson's) landscapes to be constructed by artistic conventions, and this critique extends the discourse of exploration outside the purely literary and historical:

This study of the published writing and painting which record the first and dramatic overland trek from Hudson Bay to the Arctic (Hyperborean) Ocean (1819-22) will investigate the extent to which the great nineteenth-century Arctic explorer and his colleagues depended on British conventions of landscape appreciation for their comprehension and representation of arctic terrain. (57)

The illusion that the explorers controlled the nature they encountered continued to remain of paramount psychological importance as the expedition's problems mounted. "Remained captains of their souls"—a phrase coined by Robert Arnold Aubin to describe the eighteenth-century British topographical poets' resolve not to be overwhelmed by the power of nature, but to order and compose it by means of the picturesque—becomes the primary aesthetic strategy for survival among the British officers on the tundra crossings and ocean coastings undertaken in 1821. (60)

The fact that artistic conventions were an important part of verbal and pictorial descriptions of the new found lands reveals another strategy to write over the Other in the image of the dominant culture where the explorers

literally see the foreign landscape through these prescribed conventions. MacLaren's critique differs both from standard historical readings which have evaluated exploration narratives according to their "truthful" and accurate rendering of events, and from previous literary readings which have discussed the author's mastery of style, and the narrative balancing of "exciting scenes" with descriptions of the peoples and country. One of MacLaren's most important critical points is that the conventional notions of the picturesque simply do not fit much of the Canadian landscape, particularly areas of the Canadian shield and the Arctic which offer few "scenic prospects." MacLaren's analysis of the disjuncture between the aesthetic and the geographic opens up the issue of representation and provides an important background to my own work.

Barbara Belyea, in her article, "Captain Franklin in Search of the Picturesque," provides an example of a critic responding to MacLaren's reading. Belyea disagrees slightly with MacLaren's interpretation, arguing that he does not recognize how standard artistic conventions are sometimes subverted by both artists and the landscape.⁴⁹ It is informative to understand just how Belyea represents this subversion since it is related to the question of whether or not it is possible for the "culture of the Other" to be articulated within an imperial discourse. Addressing the manner in which explorers translated "foreign, alien, exotic impressions and experiences into familiar European terms" she writes:

Most of the time the explorer aided and abetted this process; after all, it was his job to do so. But occasionally, in the face of knowledge and attitudes that seemed reasonable enough in his new situation, he questioned his own Eurocentrism. Sometimes European ways of seeing would be denied, as in King's and Richardson's descriptions; sometimes they were subtly altered

⁴⁹ Much of Belyea's argument consists of reinterpreting several engravings by various artists in Franklin's and Cook's expeditions in terms of their perspectives, points of view and subject matter. She argues that in many pictures nature and geography are not "subdued" by the conventions and in describing Back's "Manner of Making a Resting Place on a Winter's Night," she claims, "Back's scene is more evocative of Emily Carr's rain forest than of a "well arranged" English park" (14).

and subverted, as in the drawings of Hood and Back; sometimes, as in Franklin's negotiations with natives, they were set beside native ways, juxtaposed and not wholly rationalized or subsumed into the Narrative's dominant discourse. (23)

Belyea's optimistic pronouncement that "native ways" can somehow be retained intact contradicts her earlier statement that "the explorer translated his own experience of a foreign country into the small space of a map, a drawing, or a journal" so "All of the explorer's graphic media were means to this spatial, territorial possession" (22). It is difficult to imagine how and in what form any "native ways" survive after they are translated into European discourses and Belyea's discussion of this possibility fails to theorize just how "the Narrative's dominant discourse" is constructed. In fact, what survives at all are not "native ways," but the representation and incorporation of those ways within the discourse of exploration and discovery. In order to explain more precisely, Belyea gives the example of Back who

"accompanied one of the Indians to the summit of a hill," and looked where the man pointed out a cloud in the distance (Franklin, 272). Instead of appreciating the picturesqueness of the prospect . . . Back listened to the native, who told him that the cloud "was occasioned by the Great Slave Lake, and was considered as a good guide to all the hunters in the vicinity" (Franklin, 272). The dominant discourse remains one of European superiority, but at the same time it is inconsistent, as though it were a fabric torn and repaired with foreign patches—indications of other knowledge, other values, other discourses. (22)

While it is true that Back overlooks an opportunity to represent the scene in picturesque terms, it is unclear exactly how the native's story of the cloud "tears" at the fabric of European discourse. To begin with, the myth is a product of an oral culture (if the scene or the myth even existed), which has been decontextualized and relayed to us through the published account of an English naval officer. The whole notion of a "cloud" is embedded in a scientific and rationalistic discourse associated with the measurement and description of the weather. Similarly, Back's turning his sight from the ground to the heavens only repeats a motion which all explorers complete

when they take sightings for longitude and latitude. The native's story is concerned with where one might go, while the European conception of the sky is related to where one is. Finally, while the native may be reproducing an example from his own folklore, it is here placed within the context of the Indians hunting for the Franklin expedition (i.e. a context of "labour relations").⁵⁰ In summary, while I find Belyea's argument about the subversion of European conventions unconvincing, her re-reading of specific engravings is informed and helpful to the overall project of questioning the limits of colonial representation.

MacLaren's large body of work has been very important in developing this area of criticism, particularly in analyzing those narratives which may otherwise be devoid of critical attention, but it is important to clarify the direction of my own work. MacLaren's method of analysis stresses the aesthetic framework of the narratives and their images, and tends to leave open the question of their political and economic "conventions." Belyea attempts to question some of MacLaren's assumptions, but she fails to outline any theory of discourse which could help develop an ideological critique. MacLaren analyzes both pictures and texts, using the visual examples of the picturesque to enhance his discussion of the explorer's verbal descriptions of landscape.⁵¹ In a sense I have extended this strategy throughout my thesis when I analyze several exploration "images" in shorter chapters; these analyses help to structure my arguments in the longer chapters on verbal

⁵⁰ This is particularly true given that so much of the Journey to the Polar Sea concerns provisions, including trading for them, their being withheld by the Hudson's Bay and Northwest Companies, and the difficulty of hunting in the barren lands.

⁵¹ MacLaren offers a fascinating example of the conflation of these two modes of representation when he discusses Alexander Mackenzie's "single-paragraph description of the prospect looking west, down the valley of the Clearwater River, as seen from the precipice, or The Cockscomb, on the Methye Portage. . . . The single paragraph structure acts as a narrative equivalent of the picture frame, controlling the view being described" ("Landscapes of Commerce" 144-45). In fact, the image of paragraph-as-picture is quite striking and serves to demonstrate how closely related verbal and pictorial depictions of landscape can be.

texts. However, my strategy differs from MacLaren's because I have overtly attempted to construct a dialectic by alternating chapters on pictures and words, and in each case I discuss the ideology of imperial power governing their construction. Whether it is the economic propaganda motivating "Frobisher's Map," or the simulacrum of imperial order presented in "The Boats Getting Afloat," each image is a specific form of power which shows the putative rightness of the whole colonial project of exploration.

While the aesthetics of the "sublime and the picturesque" are applicable to a large number of exploration texts, their historical time period limits their range of influence. In his doctoral thesis, MacLaren devotes three sub-sections to the theory of the Sublime, tracing its origins and development from 1680 to 1712, and the first exploration narrative analyzed is Hearne's Journey . . . to the Northern Ocean (1769-1772). In MacLaren's outline the background to the sublime begins in the late seventeenth century, and is not fully developed until the eighteenth. The period when it enters popular consciousness, to the extent that John Barrell can claim "it became impossible for anyone with an aesthetic interest in landscape to look at the countryside without applying [principles of landscape composition], whether he knew he was doing so or not," is not until the "later eighteenth century."⁵² Therefore, while aesthetic criticism using the sublime and the picturesque is relevant to the majority of early Canadian exploration narratives, it cannot be seen as an important influence on those undertaken before the eighteenth century.

My own study begins with early sea voyages precisely because it is in these narratives that the landscape and geography of the country is first described, and these early descriptions are important to understanding the development of Canada's image. For instance, the alienating and terrifying encounters with the cold and desolate Other presented in James's Strange and Dangerous Voyage have become archetypal descriptions of Canada's

⁵² John Barrell, The Idea of Landscape and the Sense of Place 1730-1840: An Approach to the Poetry of John Clare. Quoted in MacLaren, "Samuel Hearne and the Landscapes of Discovery" (27).

north. And although James and Foxe do not use the same "language of production" employed by later explorers, they do articulate similar notions of empire and sovereignty.

These early narratives provide a perspective for the later works which is particularly important given how much the discourse changes from the seventeenth to the eighteenth centuries. For instance, in "Samuel Hearne and the Landscapes of Discovery," MacLaren points out Hearne's use of the "sublime" when he walks over the Barrens:

The sublime prospects engage the reader at this juncture: the view looking on to the Barrens to the north—Hearne's intended direction—offers only, to reverse Coleridge's definition of the Sublime, a boundless or endless nothingness; to the south lie the woods permeated with the threat of the Indians' "diabolical villany," and, beyond, the Fort whose symbol as a sanctuary is undermined both by Hearne's remarks on Governor Norton's incompetence and by his personal animosity towards him, as well as by its location, though further south, on the edge of the Barrens. (29)

MacLaren argues that Hearne's experience of the Barrens was a "boundless or endless nothingness," and while this description is largely based on experiences from his first two unsuccessful trips (the first of which nearly resulted in the starvation of Hearne and his European companions), this basic impression holds true for the duration of his narrative. At first glance Hearne's description matches that of Thomas James who expressed his sentiments about wintering on Charleton Island in an elegy for his men who died there:

The Winters cold, that lately froze our bloud,
Now were it so extreme, might doe this good,
As make these teares, bright pearles: which I would lay,
Tomb'd safely with you, till Doomes fatall day.
That in this Solitary place, where none
Will ever come to breathe a sigh or grone,
Some remnant might be extant, of the true
And faithfull love, I ever tenderd you.
(*Strange and Dangerous Voyage* 88-89)

The two authors write almost 150 years apart, but articulate a similar impression of the land: for Hearne it is an "endless nothingness," and James doubts if anyone will ever come to this "solitary place."

However, one of the important and original aspects of my analysis is in how it shows that the construction of exploration discourse changes a great deal over that time period, due to advances in science, the increasing sophistication of capitalist economies and the resignation that the Northwest Passage would never be a viable route for trade. Despite Hearne's negative experience of the Barrens and the isolation of Prince of Wales's Fort, he makes a multitude of detailed economic and cultural observations which Foxe and James were simply not able to undertake. And all the time Hearne is exploring, he is employed by the Hudson's Bay Company, an agent of capitalism wandering over the Barrens, protected by indigenous peoples who have become employees of that company. The relativity of the "barrenness" becomes clear when we compare this developing structure of the fur trade and its far reaching effects with James's reliance on his "Honored friends the Merchants of Bristol" who are completely removed from the expedition and anxiously await his return.

Economics contributed substantially to the discourse of exploration and this is apparent in the earliest voyages of Frobisher as well as in Foxe and James. As I discuss in chapter three, economics confused the whole structure of Frobisher's exploration and turned the third voyage into a mining expedition. Therefore, just as the economic system develops via the discovery of more products and new methods of manufacturing, so does the discourse of its "field agents" like Samuel Hearne and Henry Kelsey, the latter sent to travel west to "tell his masters precisely what they wanted to know: what direction to take, how much effort will be involved, what the land successively reveals as you travel, and, in particular, what constitute its resources of wood, water, food, and furs" (Warkentin, "The Boy Henry Kelsey," 105). The technology of writing, and the economic circulation of the fur trade

served to establish a network of communication across the country, and the historical development of this network differentiates periods of exploration.

Each work I have chosen to study is representative of an overall discourse of exploration constructed between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, yet is also a unique product of a time and place. Foxe and Franklin were both explorers, but the way they described the country is radically different. Furthermore, each work has been chosen as a unique example of exploration writing and how it constructs an identity through the imperialist gaze. As Derrida asks in "Scribble (Writing Power)," "Who Can Write? What Can Writing Do? Writing does not come to power. It is there beforehand, it partakes of and is made of it" ("Scribble" 117). All of the following texts employ writing as a "technology of power," in Foucault's sense of power "which determine[s] the conduct of individuals and submit[s] them to certain ends or domination, an objectivizing of the subject" (Technologies 18). And this power influences the historical relationships between the empire and its colonies by operating on the "local" level of explorers, native leaders, and Hudson's Bay Company bureaucrats. There are obviously many technological and economic differences between Foxe and James, and Franklin, but explorers in both periods are involved in imperial enterprises. In the case of the earlier sailors, it is fascinating to see a landscape devoid of production and lacking even "savages" with whom to talk. The early narratives, with their extended descriptions of the hostile environment, provide an important foil for the later works which are articulated within a much more complex and developed economy/discourse. In all cases, writing maintains the coherence of the system, despite the changing terrain.

Another important aspect of my study is its analysis of the space of exploration as it is articulated in paintings, engravings and maps as well as textually. My above allusion to the "imperialist gaze" reminds us that writing too is visual and therefore something that can be observed and reflected upon. These elements are important because the continent is literally carried back to Europe in the form of texts which are read by both the public at

large, and the politicians who make decisions about colonization and the expansion of trade. A good way to characterize the legislator's actions of sifting through visual representations and thinking about economic development is to call it speculation. To speculate is "to observe or view mentally, to consider, examine, or reflect upon with close attention; to contemplate; to theorize upon" and "to engage in the buying or selling of commodities or effects in order to profit by a rise or fall in their market value." "Speculation" concisely describes so many of the textual operations which circulate between Europe and North America because it combines the notion of a visual image (speculárus, speculum: "obtained by reflection only; not direct or immediate"), with profit.

To speculate on a country literally means to form an image of the country, and to then to re-write profitably that image (otherwise, you would simply "write it off"). One of the clearest examples of this form of speculation is the various representations of the Northwest Passage which I discuss in subsequent chapters. The geography of the passage—the image created by the early "spin-doctors" of exploration—turned out to be the product of inflation or over-speculation, particularly in the early days of the age of discovery when merchants and Captains said they believed it was possible to sail directly to China if one could only find the correct piece in the geographical puzzle. The map from the Frobisher expedition (chapter three) clearly demonstrates visual speculation and in my chapter on Hearne, we see that politicians like Arthur Dobbs (An Account of the Countries Adjoining to Hudson's Bay, 1744) engage in rhetorical speculation. His arguments against the Hudson's Bay Company in the house of parliament demonstrate that speculation on Canada can take on many forms, appearing in both bestselling exploration books and parliamentary debate. Speculation on North America can also be philosophical in nature. For example, George Manhart calls Humphrey Gilbert's A Discourse of a Discoverie for a new Passage to Cataia "the classic among discussions of the Northwest Passage" (16). Manhart des-

cribes how the theoretical basis of Gilbert's argument reached back to an image created by the earliest thinkers (and writers):

For authority Gilbert went back to Plato, Aristotle and other ancients, who declared the whole world to be an island. As the world to them meant Europe, Asia and Africa, the recently discovered America could not be a part of that island and must therefore be an island also. (16)

In addition to verbal description, the discourse of exploration uses a variety of means, including charts, maps and engravings to convey its images of the land; all of these visual supplements synchronically freeze specific moments of exploration, in contrast to the verbal narrative which is regularly articulating its time and place, and is more a process of working through the landscape. Because of the importance of these supplements, the main chapters of this thesis are separated by shorter, more detailed, analyses of visual works. Each of these images represents a specific Canadian "site" which I use as an entry point for a discussion of imperial ideology. My analyses of these pictures works dialectically with the longer chapters on prose narratives to reveal different aspects of exploration's expansive colonial discourse. The power of images has been exploited by New Historicist critics, and Alan Liu provides a helpful and revealing critique of their role:

Following such precedents as Foucault's meditation upon Las Meninas at the opening of The Order of Things, the New Historicism characteristically looks to pictures for initiatory emblems of argument. Pictures function in the method as the quintessence of paradigmaticism. Their seeming concreteness and relative muteness (from the perspective of the verbal realm) emblemize the otherness of history that the obsessively textual imagination of the New Historicism seeks to interview. ("Power" 759)

Following Liu's formulation I will give two examples of how my own argument benefits from this "emblematicizing." The Hopkins paintings "emblemize the otherness" of her vision of the fur trade because while the voyageurs and their canoes are portrayed accurately, they are, historically speaking, nostalgic reveries. She is othered by a system of capitalist pro-

duction which employs her husband, and by the voyageur culture which traveled "on business" and without women, yet by inserting herself at the centre of the picture she haunts the very disappearance of this culture. In the case of the Franklin plates (chapter seven), the "otherness" occurs in the contradiction between picture and caption, and between the severe formalism of the engraving and the extraordinary cultural rupture described in the accompanying narrative. These pictures, then, "speculate" on the Canadian landscape and I use them as strategic enactments of an "other" écriture.

An essential, yet difficult, critical task is examining the interventionist effects of writing on the constitutions of such a wide range of texts. There is no single discourse of "exploration" which is sustained from 1600 to 1850 because the terrain changes, even as it is written, mapped and reproduced. The institutions of imperialism also change; for example, exploration begins in the Renaissance, when the economy is shifting from feudal to capitalist, and ends in the midst of the nineteenth century's industrial revolution. Colonial trade practices and the understanding of capitalism were radically altered throughout the time frame covered by the texts in this thesis (for example, the Hudson's Bay Company's charter was granted in 1670, and Adam Smith published Wealth of Nations in 1776). Yet the practice of writing is as central to Foxe and James's narratives as it is to those of Franklin: both Foxe and Franklin practice writing as a form of imperial power and "in the name of" their sovereigns.⁵³ By dividing "writing" into four basic functions, I am attempting to explain how it is practiced and how it retains its efficacy over such a lengthy period. What is even more remarkable is how this efficacy has largely gone unnoticed for such a long time.

It is not easy to write a culture: it requires funding (usually a combination of government and private industry), stamina (though many of the explorers, including Foxe, James, Franklin, Hearne and George Vancouver perish either during their explorations or around the time of publication), a

⁵³ In the case of Franklin, I even show how he and his fellow officers employ the teaching of the practice of writing as a form of discipline during the sedentary winter months.

great deal of time, and a surface—be it geographic or ethnographic—pliable enough to be written upon. Yet, as the following example shows, writing is itself often taken for granted, even by those who practice it.

J.B. Tyrrell, born in Weston in 1858 and educated at the University of Toronto, joined the Geological Survey of Canada in 1881. He explored northwestern Canada several times and wrote articles on his experiences for the Geological Survey's Report. He also edited three volumes for the Champlain Society, including the Journals of Samuel Hearne and Philip Turnor (1934). It is in the introduction to this volume that he presents a rather uncritical view of how history is constructed and written:

No attempt is here made to write a history of the earliest approach of European civilization to the Saskatchewan and Athabaska districts, or of the fur-trade in these districts; but the journals here published are primary and unimpeachable authorities for such a history, and it is a pleasure to be able to present them to students of the progress of civilization across the continent. (xi)

Curiously, Tyrrell denies that the journals are "history," as if they somehow came before history which is "written" afterward (perhaps by a professional class of which he is a part). Of course he fails to say just where and when history is written, but we are to assume it is by editors (or "students of the progress of civilization") who decide what is important enough to include. Tyrrell's description tells us a number of things about how these narratives have been viewed by a professional class which has inscribed and edited them. First, it places Journals somehow in a position between the oral and the written, not really history and yet not forgotten either. Furthermore, the Journals are said to be "primary and unimpeachable authorities," an impressive designation that still (somehow) falls short of being history. Calling them "primary" sources implies they delineate a beginning, a starting place of the actions they depict—even though we know those actions (fur-trading, exploration, the collection of botanical specimens, etc.) had gone on for years before. This "beginning" is then developed into a canonical history by other members of Tyrrell's professional class. The word "unimpeachable"

gives these journals—and their authors—a degree of truth that is above the machinations of ordinary argument and determinations of efficacy and authenticity.⁵⁴ We may also wonder just how Hearne and Turnor, two isolated white travelers in the care of the natives, come to symbolize the unimpeachable progress of European civilization across the continent. It is a testimony to the imperialist power of *écriture* that these fragmented journals were apparently capable of representing the absent and foreign culture.

By declining to name the writers of history, and by calling the journals "unimpeachable," Tyrrell is using a strategy of self-effacement which is a common theme throughout many books written by explorers. Another example of this long tradition is Alexander Mackenzie in the "Preface" to his Voyages from Montreal: "Before I conclude, I must beg leave to inform my readers, that they are not to expect the charms of embellished narrative, or animated description; the approbation due to simplicity and to truth, is all I presume to claim" (xii). Many of the explorers resemble Chaucer's Franklin who, before telling one of the most complex of the Canterbury Tales, declares

I lerned nevere rethorik, certeyn;
Thyng that I speke, it moot be bare and pleyn....
Colours ne knowe I none, withouten drede,
But swiche colours as growen in the mede,
Or elles swiche as men dye or peynte.
Colours of rethoryk been to me queynte;
(ll. 719-26)

The Franklin refers to the "naturalness" of some kinds of language ("swiche colours as growen in the mede"), compared with the "colours of rethoryk" which are learned and manipulative. In medieval times this was called a

⁵⁴ "Impeachi" comes from the Latin meaning "to entangle" (the word is a combination of "fetter" and "foot"). The first definition in the OED is "to impede, hinder, prevent" (obsolete) and the third is "To hinder the action, progress, or well-being of: to affect detrimentally or prejudicially; to hurt, harm, injure, damage, impair." We can see how its meaning has evolved from the physical to the more abstract, including its present legal meaning. Perhaps it is not too fanciful to imagine how this evolution parallels the "life" of the journals, which begin with the physical journey and travel to the written page.

"modesty topos," or occupatio, and was itself a standard rhetorical "colour" "in which the traveler claims only a humble style and an incapacity for the task ahead" (Campbell, Witness 142). Although I do not mean Tyrrell and other explorers/writers were intending deceit, they certainly invite their readers to believe in a natural verisimilitude which simply represents the truth of what it observes. The Franklin's preface is particularly relevant because he indicates an interest in landscape which parallels that of the explorers. The explorer's "self-effacement" is an important ideological strategy which I will examine in the following chapters. As an appeal to "natural" language and verisimilitude it effaces the capitalist and imperial project of exploration and asks us to consider the writer as an individual who is merely an innocent observer. This illusion is more easily sustained by Foxe and James, who were unsuccessful in finding either a Northwest Passage or some other productive aspect of the country, but Frobisher, Hearne and Franklin all show themselves to be representing different forms of imperial desire for wealth and domination when their expeditions discover the possibility of profit.

While I will not discuss the process of editing exploration narratives in this thesis, it is another stage of publishing which further complicates the naive notion of "simplicity and truth" which many authors claim.⁵⁵ In fact, Mackenzie's Voyages to the Arctic are a model example of how the editorial process affects content because, as I.S. MacLaren demonstrates in "Alexander Mackenzie and the Landscapes of Commerce," William Combe radically altered the explorer's journals to make them less "commercial" and more aesthetically appealing for the "landscape viewer who requires 'enlivened' scenes full of 'variety'" (144). For example, Mackenzie's "simple" statement that "The River appeared quite shut up with high perpendicular White Rocks, this did not at all please us," is changed to, ". . . the river appeared to be enclosed, as it were, with lofty, perpendicular, white rocks, which did not afford us a very agreeable prospect" (143). Ideologically

⁵⁵ As I discussed at the beginning of this chapter, Germaine Warkentin has pointed out that "the exploration document could often be a corporate production."

speaking, Combe's alterations disguise the commercial and imperial intentions of Mackenzie's explorations; in his journal Mackenzie is looking at the river as a source of transportation but in his published account he is disappointed with the view.

Returning to Tyrrell, his descriptions become quite profound when we consider how they naïvely express the ideology of writing as a neutral medium. Here is his description of the relationships between Europeans and the native population:

the country had a large Indian population who subsisted entirely on the flesh of animals, birds and fishes that they killed . . . During much of the year, these Indians were not obliged to spend all their time in hunting for food and clothing, and consequently they had plenty of leisure in which to kill or trap more fur-bearing animals, if sufficient inducement were offered them to pay for their exertion. The Europeans wanted furs, and in order to get them, were determined to gain access to this favoured country, where the climate was pleasant and invigorating, furs were plentiful, and food and friendship could be easily obtained. (xiii)

Tyrrell's account attributes an excess to the Indians; they have more time than they need to produce a basic living and are therefore available to procure furs for Europe. In a sense, the introduction of capitalism into their lives fills a gap or lack they never knew they had. In fact, it is capitalism itself which creates this gap by dividing the native's world into periods of "hunting" (\equiv "work") and leisure. Consequently, according to the morality of this subtly imposed regime, it is wrong for the Indians to spend their time in leisure when they can turn it to profit.⁵⁶ The economic process of exchange is represented as completely natural, as integrating easily and effortlessly into the pre-existent order of natives and nature.

The historical documents present a much different picture. Many explorers, particularly Thomas James, will call the climate anything but "pleasant and invigorating," and often "food and friendship" were scarce

⁵⁶ Extending the logic of the morality implied here we could say that the natives never knew how leisurely (or "lazy") they were until the Europeans set out to put them to work.

when deer were lacking and tribes were potentially hostile. But it is not simply the cold and hard facts to which I wish to draw attention, but the process through which one culture writes over the other, enveloping it immediately within its own systems, its own sets of values and meanings because, in fact, aboriginal peoples still exist but are frozen in a discourse within the many texts said to describe them. Their references and relationships with each other and the land were lost the moment they were mapped into the production machine which was continually offering them "sufficient inducement" to alter their lives forever. Perhaps the natives had some word for the [in]activity Tyrrell calls leisure. Nevertheless, once the word leisure is written, it cannot help but adhere to a set of economic and social constraints which lean over onto the natives and their lands, forcing or "inducing" them to transform themselves into producers, into productive signifying entities. Furthermore, as Tyrrell's narrative points out, these economic and social practices are carried into the new lands with various technologies, one of which is writing.

Tyrrell continues his description of the contact between this land and the European culture which advances across it.

Another tributary of lake Winnipeg is the Winnipeg river which joins the waters of the Saskatchewan in lake Winnipeg. Thus these streams occupied a unique position in favour of the westward progress of the white races, for they constituted a great continuous waterway, or line of water transportation, half way across the continent either from Hudson Bay, or from the confines of lake Superior, into the Rocky Mountains; and whichever branch of this route might be followed . . . the traveller was all the time among Algonkian or Cree Indians who spoke the same language, dialectically different in different places it is true, but mutually intelligible. . . . and most of the members of any of the tribes encountered knew enough of the related languages of the others to communicate freely and easily with them. (xiii)

These sentences are fascinating in how they join the images of geography and language. The remarkable statement that "these streams occupied a unique position in favour of the westward progress of the white races" places the

land in direct abeyance to the natural progress of civilization across it. And this ease of travel, with the land practically inviting its own discovery—its own representation within culture—is paralleled by the ease of communication where contiguous tribes "communicate freely and easily" with each other. The image of communication that Tyrrell presents effectively erases any native role since the guides that any traveller would need for their own sustenance are mysteriously lacking from this description, replaced by generic tribes who all speak more or less the same language. Translation, then, is eliminated as a problem both for the Europeans and the indigenous peoples; all cultures participate freely in this new system of production and exchange.⁵⁷ One of the paradoxes of this image is that its whole system of progress is motivated by history itself, precisely that thing which Tyrrell insists comes later. The progress of "white races" seems so easy only because they have written themselves over the surface to such an extent that any other possibility is unthinkable. The écriture that the journals produce annihilates all "others"; land—or whatever it was previously called—becomes mapped as geography and with that spatializing or spacing, produced by the compass and the grapheme, comes the shaping of what we call "Canada."

My discussion here and elsewhere of how écriture carries out the project of imperialism leads me to provide a further clarification. The OED defines "imperial" as "Of or pertaining to an empire, or to the empire in question; orig. belonging to the ancient Roman imperium or empire; hence, to the Holy Roman (or German) Empire, or to any so-called empire of

⁵⁷ Stephen Greenblatt makes very general use of a similar argument: Arrogant, blindly obstinate, and destructive as was the belief that the Indians had no language at all, the opposite convictions—that there was no significant language barrier between Europeans and savages—may have had consequences as bad or worse. Superficially, this latter view is more sympathetic and seductive, in that it never needs to be stated. . . . The principle in both cases is the same: whatever the natives may have actually thought and said has been altered out of recognition by being cast in European diction and syntax. (Learning 26-27)

My point is that it is very important, in exploration narratives about Canada, how the "European diction and syntax" is specifically capitalist.

modern times." This definition is rather generic, and "imperialism" is merely the form of an imperial government's administration and rule. However, an advantage of the OED is its use of quotations to explain how words are used within historical contexts, and the citation from Edmund Burke (Speech on American Taxation, 1774) is particularly appropriate: "The parliament of Great Britain sits at the head of her extensive empire in two capacities: one as the local legislature of this island . . . The other, and . . . nobler capacity, is what I call her imperial character: in which . . . she superintends all the inferior legislatures." Burke represents imperialism as a process of governing and imposing control over domestic and foreign territories so that the Other is produced (or legislated) as a simulacrum of the local. The various actions involved in legislating require an elaborate bureaucracy and system of communication; therefore, the explorer's ships as well as their journals, the ledgers of the Hudson's Bay Company, the roads and canoe routes in "British North America," are all part of the imperial project that is engaged in "superintending" the "inferior legislatures." Of course Burke was speaking most explicitly about America and perhaps also implying India and the East India Company. After the American revolution, India became the largest model of British rule over a foreign territory, where bureaucrats could build a career administrating the Other, but where few British actually settled and lived. Yet while America, India and Africa offer the most explicit examples of British imperial administration, the same principles of governance and assumed superiority are apparent in both the settlement of "Upper Canada," and in the exploration texts which prefigure that settlement.

Despite the help of Edmund Burke and the OED, "imperialism" remains a rather general term for a large number of discrete activities; the definition of such an expansive concept is not an easy task and has been surprisingly absent from much "post-colonial" criticism. For instance, in The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-colonial Literatures, there are many references to "imperialism," and it is used to define the term "post-colonial" as

all the culture affected by the imperial process from the moment of colonization to the present day. This is because there is a continuity of preoccupations throughout the historical process initiated by European imperial aggression. (2)

Yet there is no explicit description of this "imperial process," despite the fact it is frequently referred to throughout the book. All too often in contemporary criticism the word "imperial" is used to conjure up a vaguely negative notion of colonial power that implies a history of wrongs committed (e.g. "imperial aggression") without an explanation of how that power operates in specific situations. In his book Keywords Raymond Williams points out that "imperialist" is the older form of the word, dating from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, and meant "the adherent of an emperor or of an imperial form of government."

Imperialism, and **imperialist** in its modern sense, developed primarily in English, especially after 1870. Its meaning was always in some dispute, as different justifications and glosses were given to a system of organized colonial trade and organized colonial rule. There were arguments for and against the military control of colonies to keep them within a single economic, usually protectionist system. There was also a sustained political campaign to equate imperialism with modern civilization and a 'civilizing mission.' (159)

Williams's exegesis points out "imperialism's" changing meaning, due in large part to the historical development of colonial rule which changed the way imperialism was practiced. Imperialism, as we now know it, developed most substantially in the nineteenth century when industrialized methods of production combined with a market-economy capitalism to augment more effectively Britain's economic influence in colonial areas. The Empire Writes Back also claims that the "nineteenth-century colonial form of imperialism" was also "the historical moment which saw the emergence of 'English' as an academic discipline" (3), and this convergence of politics and the academy serves to valorize both the "English" state and its language.

Despite imperialism achieving much of its contemporary meaning in the nineteenth century, the OED's citation of Edmund Burke in 1744 demonstrates that its sense was being established many years before. In the

most general sense of the word, the projects of Frobisher, Foxe and James are just as "imperialist" as those of Hearne and Franklin, but by Franklin's time the technology and modes of production had increased to the point where the British and French virtually dominated the landscape. More tribes were being drawn into the structure of the fur trade and the territory was being more effectively mapped. As a technology, writing is present in all the voyages, and it helps reveal how imperialism's other techniques of "organized colonial trade and organized colonial rule" affect the explorer's discursive strategies. When Foxe and James claim the land early in the history of England's exploration of North America, their "acts of inscription" are empty imperialist gestures and almost entirely theoretical and textual. The explorers who follow reinforce these gestures and link them to other inscriptions of mapping, trading, and exchanging information. Therefore, my notion of imperialism is linked to governance and writing, where the "aggression" is that of an established politico-textual system.

As I have indicated above in my discussion of authenticity and oral traditions, it is not the purpose of this thesis to deal specifically with the representation of natives; however their presence is obviously crucial to the majority of the works studied. Even where no natives are written into the text they are still important in the sense that it is their lands which are being "written over."⁵⁸ Their absence is a gap produced by a history which inscribes European names upon the land and which maps this land so that the owners of the Hudson's Bay Company, or other British businessmen, may

⁵⁸ Even to say "their lands" implies a formulation of ownership and private property structured by European feudal and capitalist history. D.M.R. Bentley discusses the political and literary history of this "writing over" in his helpful article "Concepts of Native Peoples and Property Rights." In a private conversation (May 12, 1994) Professor Bentley stated that he believes that since native peoples cultivated their land, hunted in it and fought over it, they obviously had some sense of ownership, though it was far more communal than the sense explicit in European models.

"know" it.⁵⁹ Natives travel in and out of these narratives' *écriture*, supporting exploration through hunting and guiding, yet often stubbornly refusing assimilation, and always providing a slippery semiotic canvas of the "other" which successive authors attempt to interpret. The interactions include negotiations for their labour, discussions about the landscape and geography, and reproductions of their oral myths and other aspects of their culture. In discussing and naming these various tribes I will partially adopt a strategy articulated by Terry Goldie who, in *Fear and Temptation*, deals much more closely with their fictional representation:

Because this study is about the image rather than the people the image claims to represent, I use that synchronic designation of conquest, "Indian," throughout in reference to Canadian native peoples. The historical error which the term represents becomes a comment . . . on all aspects of this study. It is also an unavoidable comment that no appropriate alternatives are available. The word "Amerindian," itself a rather superficial disguise, has too many resonances of the United States. "Inuit," "Aborigine," and "Maori" create problems but, unlike "Indian," all are accepted by at least a large part of the groups which they represent. "Native peoples," the generic term usually preferred, is used sometimes when no distinction is required between

⁵⁹ An interesting example of the natives' absence is described in the *Strange and Dangerous Voyage*. James sees no "salvages" throughout his entire voyage, and virtually the only mention he makes of them occurs when he is preparing to leave Charleton bay:

About 10. a clocke, when it was something darke, I tooke a Lance in my hand; and one with me with a Musket and some fire, and went to our watch-tree; to make a fire on the eminentest place of the Island: to see if it would be answered: Such fires I had formerly made, to have knowledge if there were any Salvages on the maine or the Ilands about us. Had there been any, my purpose was to have gone to them, to get some intelligence of some *Christians*, or some Ocean Sea thereabouts. (84)

It seems strange that now, near the end of his voyage, James would suddenly turn to the "Salvages" (an obsolete form of "savage," meaning "uncivilized; existing in the lowest form of culture") for geo- and demographic knowledge, as if obtaining "intelligence" from them would be a simple matter (here he parallels Tyrrell's logic concerning the ease of communication with the Other). James's narrative presents the indigenous peoples entirely as objects of his desire and, significantly, these objects fail to appear.

Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, but "indigene" is employed most often. (Fear 6)

There are few places where I refer to "the people" rather than the "image" because I will concentrate on the literary and stylistic aspects of these narratives rather than their historical status. But I will sometimes use the terms "native" or "aborigine" as leverage into questioning the assumptions behind the use of the generic "Indian," and as a contrast to exploration discourse. Both "native" and "aborigine" imply a historical relationship with the land not present in "Indian," and this difference is helpful in questioning the explorer's knowledge of, and power over, the landscape. In more specific situations, I will also use the names that different native peoples have chosen to call themselves.⁶⁰ While the explorers often represent different tribes and nations accurately, the distinctions are sometimes trivialized and made generic as in Hearne's differentiation between "Northern" and "Southern" Indians.

To end this chapter, and to suggest some directions in which criticism of these early texts might lead, I will turn to Stanley Cavell's reading of Emerson. Cavell is interpreting the essay "Experience" where Emerson writes, "I am ready to die out of nature and be born again into this new yet unapproachable America I have found in the West." Cavell asks a question which is central to my own discussion of the grounds of exploration: "Why is this new America said to be yet unapproachable?" and answers it thus:

There are many possibilities, three obvious ones. First, it is unapproachable if he (or whoever belongs there) is already there (always already), but unable to experience it, hence to know or tell it; or unable to tell it, hence to experience it. Second, finding a nation is not managed by a landfall; a country must be peopled, and nation speaks of birth. There is no nation if it has only one inhabitant. Emerson's sentence speaks of being born again, out of nature and into his discovery; and "born again" implies that there is (or was) another, one from which to be born. Are two enough? Third, this new America is unapproachable by a process of continuity, if to find it is indeed (to be ready) to be born again, that is to say, suffer conversion;

⁶⁰ I would like to thank Sylvia Bowerbank for suggesting this strategy and Rick Monture for his help in locating bibliographical materials.

conversion is to be turned around, reversed, and that seems to be a matter of discontinuity. "Aversion" is the name Emerson gives to his writing in "Self-Reliance"—or the name he gives to self-reliance in relation to conformity. (This New Yet Unapproachable America 91-92)

Of course Emerson writes from the position of inhabiting America, of always having lived within its boundaries, yet so much about his land is still open to questioning. Philosophically, he must define his place in relation to a long and documented history of European thought, but coupled with that issue is the problem of finding yourself, of knowing where you are. So many of these exploration narratives grapple with the issues of approaching the land, of trying to inscribe it within a continuity, and try to avoid being turned around or converted to the Other which inhabits its shores. Certainly écriture was the primary mechanism through which the explorers averted assimilation, developed self-reliance and returned, narratively speaking, to their own lands. I quote Cavell and Emerson not for their help in explaining my own approach to these dangerous shores, but in order to show the possibilities of exploration, to show what is at stake when we begin to consider a country's geographical and political constitution, and to hint at the direction in which further work might journey.

Some of the most interesting aspects of the "thinking" or "writing" of Canada have yet to be examined in any sort of detail. Adopting Stanley Cavell's terminology, we have had difficulty in approaching our country, in establishing a continuity among its texts. Part of the difficulty has been in differentiating ourselves from the behemoth to the south and, even by adopting Cavell's reading of Emerson, we risk falling once again into being defined in relation to "them." Yet Cavell, who is assuredly the antithesis of the "ugly" American, can show us that, as Canadians, we share a sense of "newness" and discomfort over our identity whenever we look back through our colonial history. Just how is it that this country develops from the blankness of water, into a nuisance which keeps growing larger, keeps interfering with the commerciality of a Northwest Passage, until it finally pushes

this passage into a virtually unnavigable space? How then does this "found" space come to be articulated? The story of Canada is, more than any other portion of North or South America, the story of space, of a geographically impenetrable myth gradually taking shape under the skeptical scrutiny of its European inhabitants. In contrast, the United States began with a series of colonies established by different countries. There were wars, both between European powers and between the Europeans and the natives. But because of the method of colonizing, the fact that life could be quickly sustained through an agricultural basis (particularly with the help of the natives and a more hospitable climate), the history of the United States was immediately more overtly political and confrontational. And to a larger extent the economic development coerced—rather than confronted—the indigenous population. The narratives of Canada begin much more tenuously since there were fewer settlements and the whole notion of "wilderness" was and is much more prevalent. While Margaret Atwood oversimplifies and overstates her case, she makes a worthwhile point when she says that, "The central symbol for Canada—and this is based on numerous instances of its occurrence in both English and French Canadian literature—is undoubtedly Survival, la Survivance" (*Survival* 32). Certainly, the fact of survival cannot be assumed, particularly with the large expanses of arctic wilderness and we will see this in James's Strange and Dangerous Voyage.

Another important aspect of Canadian exploration narratives is that they extended well into the nineteenth century. After the United States had suffered a long and bloody civil war, and had produced intellectuals like Emerson, Hawthorne and Melville, the precise geographical constitution of Canada was still far from being established. In a general sense these historical facts are obvious, yet they have also had a profound, and largely undocumented, effect on our thinking.

Chapter 3

Frobisher's Map

This map illustrates a certain "crisis" in the representation of Canada since most of the country is missing. It is a simulation of a world into which the earliest English explorers of Canada sailed, a world they were literally and metaphorically writing as they travelled through it. The writing of Canada is the coming-into-being of a geographical site through mappings, journals, surveys, conjectures, second and third hand reports and myriad other textual spaces. But above all other forms of representation, maps carry a power of verisimilitude due to our positivist belief in science and their great ability to contextualize geographical and political spaces. They let us see ourselves in the context of the world, and who would want to give up that illusion? Yet, as J.B. Harley points out, much of their power clearly is an illusion:

Maps are never value-free images; except in the narrowest Euclidean sense they are not in themselves either true or false. Both in the selectivity of their content and in their signs and styles of representation maps are a way of conceiving, articulating, and structuring the human world which is biased towards, promoted by, and exerts influence upon particular sets of social relations. ("Maps" 278)

Maps are politically motivated signifiers which use empiricism as an alibi to mask their ideological construction. For an explanation of what I mean by "alibi," I refer here to Barthes's argument in "Myth Today," about myth being a "double system":

To keep a spatial metaphor . . . I shall say that the signification of the myth is constituted by a sort of constantly moving turnstile which presents alternately the meaning of the signifier and its form, a language-object and a metalanguage, a purely signifying and a purely imagining consciousness. (*Mythologies* 123)

Barthes has given the helpful example of a cover of Paris-Match showing a "Negro-French-soldier-saluting-the-tricolour." The gesture or form or

language-object of the salute denotes patriotism and this is the myth it wishes to convey. But behind that interpretation is the "meaning," or "metalan-guage," the history of imperialism which has erased the soldier's own history by dressing him in the clothes of the emperor. At the same time that "he appears as a rich, fully experienced, spontaneous, innocent, indisputable image" his presence is "tamed, put at a distance . . . it becomes the accomplice of a concept which comes fully armed, French imperialism" (118). Barthes then takes mythology's signifying "doubleness" into a moral realm by linking it to the concept of alibi:

The ubiquity of the signifier in myth exactly reproduces the physique of the alibi (which is, as one realizes, a spatial term): in the alibi too, there is a place which is full and one which is empty, lined by a relation of negative identity ("I am not where you think I am; I am where you think I am not"). But the ordinary alibi (for the police, for instance) has an end; reality stops the turnstile revolving at a certain point. Myth is a value, truth is no guarantee for it; nothing prevents it from being a perpetual alibi: it is enough that its signifier has two sides for it always to have an "elsewhere" at its disposal. (123)

The mythology of maps is always consistent in that they all empirically claim verisimilitude (in the case of Frobisher's map, it claims "you can get there from here"). Mythically, then, every map represents the same thing: the idea that it represents the real world. But at the same time we know they each have their own perspective on this world, and so represent only a certain aspect of it. Some maps use colours to show different countries' production of grain or population, yet colour is an obvious artifice, just as the whole concept of countries is artificial. Even perspective itself is an artificial construct which has changed throughout history. The simple assertion that maps represent the "world," or, the idea of the world, breaks down, but can be replaced by a more general assertion that maps represent relationships among different political and geographical elements of the world. But regardless of just what they represent, they retain their empirical alibis, and it is this belief in empiricism which also underlies exploration writing. The careful observation of geographical detail and the consistent delineation of

chronological units work to reinforce the discourse empirically. And of course, all good explorations produce maps, as if this were their overriding purpose. These maps are generally located either at the front of the book, thus indicating their preeminent status over verbal discourse, or, more commonly, at the back, thus signifying they are the teleological goal of the work of exploration.

In "On Rigor in Science" in the "Museum" section of Dreamtigers, Borges addresses the issue of humankind's obsession with empiricism, particularly at the service of imperialism:

... In that Empire, the Art of Cartography reached such Perfection that the map of one Province alone took up the whole of a City, and the map of the empire, the whole of a Province. In time, those Unconscionable Maps did not satisfy and the Colleges of Cartographers set up a Map of the Empire which had the size of the Empire itself and coincided with it point by point. Less Addicted to the Study of Cartography, Succeeding Generations understood that this Widespread Map was Useless and not without Impiety they abandoned it to the Inclemencies of the Sun and of the Winters. In the deserts of the West some mangled Ruins of the Map lasted on, inhabited by Animals and Beggars; in the whole Country there are no other relics of the Disciplines of Geography. (90)

This allegory of empire can be read as a moral warning against putting too much faith in the "art" of science because you may lose all perspective (a moral echoing The Tempest's Prospero who loses his dukedom because he loses himself in his studies). Although the image of the 1:1 correspondence between signifier and signified is absurd, Borges plays on our sense that empirical truths are knowable and that the desire for absolute correspondence underlies all maps. Borges also demonstrates that when the Empire fails to represent itself adequately, when it loses its mimetic power to create that image of verisimilitude which is its central ideology of power, then it, and all its institutions, are bound to fall. Therefore, empires depend upon their maps, and their cartographer/explorers, to write their images over

the world.⁶¹ Returning to Frobisher's Map, we see that the "cartographers of the [British] Empire" have constructed it so as to extend the economic influence of their empire over the globe. The passage to the west promises practically unimpeded trade with "Cathaia," and England is in the best position from which to monopolize. Formally, there is no tension in the map as it calmly articulates divisions of land and sea. The tension is revealed at Barthes's level of meaning or metalanguage, the history of the individual narratives of exploration which must detail their processes of inscription.

Jean Baudrillard uses Borges's myth to articulate his own views on the construction of "reality" and "territory." Although he is writing from the edge of post-modernity—quite a different critical perspective than Martin Frobisher, who does not write at all, but still presides over the texts and maps articulated in his name—the issues Baudrillard raises are directly applicable to this sixteenth-century map:

If we were able to take as the finest allegory of simulation the Borges tale where the cartographers of the Empire draw up a map so detailed that it ends up exactly covering the territory (but where the decline of the Empire sees this map become frayed and finally ruined, a few shreds still discernible in the deserts—the metaphysical beauty of this ruined abstraction, bearing witness to an Imperial pride and rotting like a carcass, returning to the substance of the soil, rather as an aging double ends up being confused with the real thing)—then this fable has come full circle for us, and now has nothing but the discrete charm of second-order simulacra.

Abstraction today is no longer that of the map, the double, the mirror or the concept. Simulation is no longer that of a territory, a referential being or a substance. It is the generation by models

⁶¹ It is significant that for Borges nothing, or no one, escapes this mimetic trap. In the "Epilogue" to Dreamtigers he writes:

A man sets himself the task of portraying the world. Through the years he peoples a space with images of provinces, kingdoms, mountains, bays, ships, islands, fishes, rooms, instruments, stars, horses, and people. Shortly before his death, he discovers that that patient labyrinth of lines traces the image of his face. (93)

Even authors risk self-absorption into a "point by point" correspondence with their works. Or perhaps this is merely another Borgesian joke directed towards those critics who are too devoted to biographical readings of texts, as if Borges were saying, "Yes, you were right all along and I only realize it now that I am about to die."

of a real without origin or reality: a hyperreal. The territory no longer precedes the map, nor survives it. Henceforth, it is the map that precedes the territory . . . it is the map that engenders the territory. . . (Simulations 1-2)

As I stated above, the Borges tale is an allegory of verisimilitude, where the sign is alleged to represent precisely the thing itself, even extending to the realm of morality in that the fraying of the fabric mirrors the Empire's inevitable moral and physical decline. Baudrillard reverses back on the object of mapping by making Borges's allegorical tale itself an allegory representing simulation. Baudrillard differentiates simulation from "counterfeit" and "reproduction" which he feels are more technical/mechanical operations of mirroring and doubling, although they can be infused with "black magic."⁶² For him, "simulation (that we describe here as the operation of the code) is still and always the place of a gigantic enterprise of manipulation" (153). This is important, for to "simulate" something one must work through it, know its codes, understand its operations. This is the process used in contacting the "new world" because the explorers travel there, and come back with narratives which simulate their experiences of "working through" the territory. It is, after all, Frobisher's Map, and his name connotes an authority to the image which raises it above any simple picture of the world. Baudrillard uses his notion to reveal that in our post-modern age there is "no longer" a territory to represent; instead, we now have maps and models as the basis of our "reality" and any so-called territory comes after them and in their likeness.⁶³ Baudrillard's distinction between model and

⁶² Baudrillard relates this "black magic" to imitative structures which are examples of "narcissism," just like "being seduced by one's own image in the water." But when he states that the imitative object can be a "primitive statuette" he reveals that he is talking about a form of fetish.

⁶³ This apocalyptic tone runs through much of Baudrillard's writing. For instance, "The Ecstasy of Communication" begins with the sentence, "There is no longer any system of objects" and the second sentence of "The Anorexic Ruins" states "We are no longer in a state of growth; we are in a state of excess." Although I do not entirely agree with Baudrillard, this sense of catastrophe is partially what I mean to imply when I say that Canada is or was involved in a crisis of representation.

territory is helpful because it reverses the way we tend to think of maps. Instead of providing us with a verisimilitude of the "thing itself," maps are the ideological model of the Empire they represent, and they are, therefore, at the same risk of aging and withering just as they serve to enhance and enforce imperial power as well.

A problem with Baudrillard's formulation, and one which throws light on Frobisher and his map, is summed up in the sentence, "The territory no longer precedes the map, nor survives it." This is spoken as if it once did, which is only a reiteration of the myth of empiricism and truth which Baudrillard himself wishes to critique. He is saying, "once we had objects and truth and science" (because the only way we could know we had objects was through science), "but now we just have models." But Frobisher's map clearly shows us how this state of "reality" never existed, because his map "precedes" and "engenders" the territory as well. In fact, in The Discovery of North America, the caption for this map reads in part:

A continuous navigable passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific is represented by "Frobushers Straights" and the Strait of Anian. The map, as graphic propaganda for the North-west Passage, is intended to demonstrate that this offered a shorter route to Cathay, Japan and the Spice Islands than the North-east Passage (also shown as open) or than the Spanish and Portuguese seaways by the south of America and Africa. (223)

Maps, therefore, invent and regulate the territory as much as they reveal it, and for those who searched for the Northwest Passage, it was necessary that the map precede it as well because it provided them with a teleology. In Barthes's sense of "purely signifying" a "language object," Frobisher's Map is a brochure to lure investors into funding another expedition and it is easy to see how close the mythology of advertising approximates that of imperialism.

Since Frobisher's Map displays all the existing and imagined trade routes to the east, and demonstrates the superiority of the Northwest Passage, the mythological form of the map, in Barthes's sense, is dictated by its economic concerns. But beneath this clearly signifying form lies the history of the expedition which creates a tension by contradicting the map's

focus. Martin Frobisher's three expeditions predate Foxe and James by about sixty years. In Arctic Argonauts, Walter Kenyon discusses how Frobisher set out to find the Northwest Passage and in addition to discovering a straight which he told his backers, "almost certainly continued through to the Pacific Ocean . . . 'He returned with a peece of black stone, much lyke to a sea cole in coloure, whiche by the waight seemed to be some kinde of mettall or mynerall.'" The rock was sent to "a golfiner—or an assayer, as we would call him today" and he "reported that the rock contained gold, and in appreciable quantities" (27). Getting financing for the second voyage was an easy matter and "although a more thorough exploration of the straight might be undertaken, the primary purpose . . . was to be gold-mining" (27). And by the time of the third voyage, "the search for a northwest passage was virtually forgotten" (35).

The preceding history demonstrates what I will call the "economy of exploration narratives," and this economy determines their shape and plot. I mean "economy" in the sense that I will describe in chapter five, Shooting the Rapids, namely, as a system of exchanges which could involve capital, commodities, energy, desire or even knowledge. In this sense of "economy" the discovery of the Northwest Passage is not important in a scientific or geographic sense, but in the sense that its opening up another trade route would promote the circulation of money and goods. However, if a return on investment can be found in the land itself, then further exploration is unnecessary. Ultimately, the failure to extract any gold from the rocks bankrupted the "Company of Cathay" which was formed to finance Frobisher's excursions, and the search for the Northwest Passage resumed with Davis in 1585. But this interlude of "gold fever" demonstrates how exploration is generated by an economic agenda. Perhaps Martin Frobisher was the first capitalist to attempt setting up a resource-based economy in Canada, but in any event, he prefigures the overall pattern of exploration and writing which will follow. As Harold Innis points out in his book The Fur Trade and in essays such as "Transportation as a Factor in Canadian Eco-

conomic History," the development of the Canadian economy has always been shaped by the country's geographical features. Therefore, the "economy of exploration narratives" will be concerned with how various discourses are produced as the explorers simulate the geography they encounter.

The map's "signifying object," its mythology of passage, is contradicted by the history of capitalist entrepreneurship. The drawing of the passage is an ideological construction which the history of the three expeditions shows to be a false image of imperialism's expansionist fantasy. The landscape can be re-drawn and re-written to suit the project of each successive explorer. The history of Canadian écriture is the history of the re-writing of Frobisher's map. This writing is therefore an insertion of text and knowledge into the blank space which is the ideology of pure commerce. The country is not written benevolently, or by explorers searching for some "pure" truth of science, but by commercial agents positioned among a variety of competing discourses. It is also inevitable that, as the country gains definition, the role of the individual explorer is diminished: Frobisher's Strait, a name which shows the explorer in possession of an entrance to a new world of opportunities, has now become only Frobisher bay. The graphic mark of possession has itself been erased, and the limitless world is now confined to a bay.

Chapter 4

Some Sea Voyages

I Conditions of the Landscape

In the previous chapter I discussed general issues of exploration literature as a genre, and the role different types of writing play in its articulation. Now I turn to a more detailed examination of how the physical geography affects the structure of these discourses. Canada is uniquely situated for the consideration of a geographical écriture, an analysis of writing in relation to its physical grounding in the terrain it represents. Geographically, Canada presents a large and fragmented landscape over which many explorers, settlers, novelists and politicians have attempted to practice rhetorical control. The St. Lawrence river area was settled by the French for about 100 years before the English began exploring the Hudson Bay area.

Representing the central and eastern portion of the country in an extremely simplified outline we can see how it was divided between north and south, with the St. Lawrence area "civilized" by settlement and engaged in a mild economic activity with the voyageurs and various native tribes in fur trading. On the other hand, the northern portion, with its lure of the Northwest Passage offering trade with the east, remained only vaguely charted until into the nineteenth century, gaining its definition most dramatically with the various Franklin expeditions and the subsequent searches for Franklin and his men. In fact, while the south was being "civilized," it would have best suited the desires of the sailors—and financiers—of the northerly expeditions if the country had not existed at all. This schema of the country's development stresses the political fragmentation instigated by geography and history: in the south a tentative cultivation and in the north mainly an uncharted space. There are problems with how my geo-political sketch

enormously simplifies the history of specific regions; it ignores, among other things, the influence of the United States, the various indigenous peoples, and the political machinations in England and France. But from the point of view of how the country comes to be defined and articulated, this sketch is helpful in providing an initial, provisional, schematic.⁶⁴

Harold Innis has divided North America along similar lines and James W. Carey efficiently summarizes this division in his essay, "Space, Time, and Communications: A Tribute to Harold Innis":

The discovery of the path of the fur trade led him [Innis] to examine the competition of New France and New England for control of the North American Continent. Subsequently, in his greatest work, The Fur Trade in Canada (1930), he argued against looking at history in terms of the prevailing paradigms of the time: the formal stages of German history of the American "frontier hypothesis." He contended, in particular opposition to the "Turner School," that the settlement and development of Canada and the United States largely constituted an extension into the New World of the power and politics of Europe, particu-

⁶⁴ Canada's uniqueness can also be shown by comparing its early explorers to some which Greenblatt mentions in Marvelous Possessions: in contrast to Marco Polo, who is constantly weighing the possibilities for trade, and to Columbus, who imagines that he is acquiring for his sovereigns an outlying corner of the Great Khan's empire, Mandeville takes possession of nothing. This abstinence is not only a matter of insufficient power but also of self-definition, a way of aligning himself not with merchants and adventurers but with the great Franciscan voyagers like William of Rubruck and Odoric of Pordenone. William, for example, recounts the awkwardness of appearing empty-handed before a Mongol lord: "We stood before Sartach and he sat in all his glory, having the lute played and the people dance before him. . . . [I] offered my excuses explaining that as I was a monk, neither possessing nor receiving nor handling gold or silver or any precious thing, with the sole exception of the books and sacred objects with which we served God, we were therefore bringing no gift to him or his lord. . ." (26-27)

With Europeans travelling overland to the east there exists a possibility of exploration not connected to trade, though these voyages occurred in the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. But from the first fishermen to the early explorers, the sole reason for sailing into waters now claimed as part of Canada was for purely commercial reasons. Even the Jesuits, who are the North American equivalent of the "great Franciscan voyagers," depended on the economy of the French fur trade to sustain them.

larly Spain, England, and France. He described North America by three broad bands: the Canadian North, defined by the Laurentian shield and the routes of the fur trade connecting New France and Europe by the coin of commerce; the American South, tied by staples, such as tobacco and cotton, to England; and between the two the mixed economy of the American North. (157)

A large portion of this thesis concerns those lands Innis calls the "Canadian North" because this is the route that economic and political expediencies forced the English to explore. The northern territory which is the site of these "books of exploration" is a very different cultural space compared to the more settled regions of Upper Canada and the northern United States. The "mixed economy" necessitates an elaborate communications and transportation infrastructure of which the Hudson's Bay Company's canoe routes are but a faint echo. These lands' relative barrenness, in terms of communication and European social norms, makes the technology of writing especially powerful and important. Most of these narratives are driven by an economic desire for more resources, be they beaver, copper, or timber.

The above quotation relies on Innis's division of culture into the categories of time and space for its theoretical framework. Although this division is theoretically problematic, it has been enormously influential and is still useful. As Carey describes it, Innis's framework has a familiar applicability to Canada:

... Innis believed that the search for intellectual universals could proceed only through the analysis of radical particularities of history and geography. This relationship between imperial powers and client states, whether in the sphere of economics, politics, or communications, was expressed in his work by a series of polarities with which he described political and cultural relations: relations between metropole and hinterland, center and margin, capital and periphery, or, in the more abstract terms he preferred, time and space. (150)

Innis' divisions of time and space are similar to Ong's distinctions between oral and literate cultures. Essentially, cultures that control time are ritualistic and local; they rely on immediacy of contact. In oral cultures sound does not survive transmission so one cannot wander away from one's culture and

survive. On the other hand, cultures that control space face the danger of being forgotten, like yesterday's newspaper which is read across the country and then discarded, because they give up localized rituals.⁶⁵ Innis valorized time over space and wrote that culture was threatened by technologies like newspaper monopolies which disseminated one "truth" over vast spaces and tended to homogenize local opinion. One of Carey's theses throughout Communication as Culture, and in the Innis essay in particular, is how North America presented a problem to the European colonizers because of its immense space. They had to rely on elaborate systems of communication in order to control the space; the first major innovation was the telegraph and it was followed by the dissemination of newspapers and other print media. But even before the telegraph, the history of North America can be seen as an elaborate communications project, where the absent centre tries to sustain control over the vast periphery.

Innis's perspective is most helpful in how it depicts the land, not as simply a barren ground impeding the search for the Northwest Passage and producing a few pelts for the European market, but as a dynamic geographic site over which imperial economies attempt to assert control through their

⁶⁵ The categories of time/space and oral/literate are related to Bakhtin's notion of the chronotope, which is "the intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships that are artistically expressed in literature" ("Forms of Time" 84). For instance, there is the "bucolic-pastoral-idyllic chronotope" where,

A specific and cycled (but not, strictly speaking, cyclical) idyllic time functions here, a blend of natural time (cyclic) and the everyday time of the more or less pastoral (at times even agricultural) life. This time possesses its own definite semi-cyclical rhythm, but it has fused bodily with a specific insular idyllic landscape, one worked out in meticulous detail. This is . . . a time saturated with its own strictly limited, sealed-off segment of nature's space, stylized through and through. (103)

The "time" of this chronotope corresponds to ritualistic (= cyclical) cultures that control time. Bakhtin helps explain Innis's concept when he shows us that this "control" is a result of being "strictly limited" and sealed off from the wider "space." In the "bucolic-pastoral-idyllic chronotope" no one explores, no one breaks out of the geographic boundaries imposed by the time/space continuum in which they live.

technologies of communication. Innis provided a framework for reassessing the importance of economic activity for the historical and geographical development of cultures. The main difficulty with Innis's analyses for the present study is that he wrote from the point of view of an economic historian, taking examples from antiquity as well as from modern Europe to support his wide ranging arguments. My thesis examines a very specific set of narratives in order to explain how they articulate a "Canadian" image and identity, and how they used forms of imperial power to carry out this process. In a general sense, Innis has produced some crucially important ideas about Canada's historical and economic development, but his analysis does not describe the ideological processes of writing and representation which are central to my own argument.

While Canada's geography is unique, the explorers who wrote about it were writing from within a long tradition of travel writing. Of course much early travel literature deals with Europe, a highly civilized and densely populated area. In Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel, Percy Adams discusses how travel literature begins with "itineraries for pilgrims headed for holy shrines" and leads to "routes for the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Grand Tour" (38). This is travel literature as "guidebook," where the reader may be interested in the practical aspects of the text. But whether or not the reader eventually participates in the travel itself, the stories of these pilgrimages and tours are rituals which take place in a highly cultured environment. These types of travels are eminently social in nature: the pilgrimage is a religious ritual, and the Grand Tour is a ritual at the nadir of culture, where (ideally) the (typically, male) individual makes a survey of all existent cultures in an effort to examine his place within humanity. As Dennis Porter explains,

Thus, the grand tour may stand as a paradigm of travel undertaken to the center of a self-confident cultural tradition for the purposes of self-cultivation and the reaffirmation of a common civilized heritage. As a result, it stands in a relationship of complementarity to the eighteenth-century voyages of global circumnavigation that mapped and described unknown lands

and peoples, and in the process produced them as objects of an essentially European knowledge. (19)

The ground over which most of these works were written was continental Europe; therefore, there was little sea travel involved, or if it was, it was from one familiar port to another.⁶⁶ There was a knowledge about the land, the place names, the cities, and increasingly, a real possibility that readers might venture out along the routes themselves. Even when pilgrimages were a thing of the past, Adams explains how the journeys contributed to the cultural and highly intellectualized climate of Europe:

The continent that attracted most attention from authors of land travels was of course Europe; and after the invention of printing, such accounts appeared by the hundreds. For example, there was Roger Ascham, who in the early 1550's stopped at every large city on the Continent to hear lectures and write home about them; or Montaigne, who visited Italy for his health in 1580-81 Albert Jouvin de Rochefort (1672) . . . his first volume dealing with his own country, from Brittany to Provence, describing fêtes and towns, distinguishing among wines, and recounting escapes from highwaymen. And, finally, there were any number of eighteenth-century travelers on the Continent, in Britain, in America who by that time were finding roads smoother and inns more inviting. (41)

The image of the palimpsest is appropriate here because each journey writes over the territory of its predecessors, rewriting the history and the culture of each geographical site. Travel literature is a form of diplomacy between nations (or among different groupings of peoples within nations), an investigation of the various products of each country's labour (wines, lodging, intellectual labour etc.).

Adams's tracing of travel literature's historical evolution makes apparent the differences between travel and exploration narratives which I detailed in chapter two. The differences between these two discourses are

⁶⁶ Adams explains that literature of sea travel did not become prevalent until the sixteenth-century, but once it did it "overshadowed other kinds of travel accounts . . . [and] has apparently continued to do so" (49). Perhaps part of the reason for this dominance is that the sea provides a comparatively "blank slate" over which narratives are written. At a time when Europe was becoming increasingly "known" the various sea voyages provided a mysterious and welcome alternative.

magnified in Canada where the dimensions of the land far exceed the scientific and imaginative scope of the early Europeans. Much of Canada remained unmapped into the twentieth century and, even today, much of what we call travel could well involve more than a little exploration, particularly in the remoter regions of our country and even within national parks. Arguably, part of the evolution of Canadian discourse is the story of how exploration literature becomes travel literature, where the movement outwards and towards discovery is halted by settlement and the inward pull of communities. This is one way of explaining the gradual familiarizing process that repeated representation brings about. Perhaps we can formulate another distinction here between exploration and travel literature: the former more often exposes its own hesitations and inadequacies in describing its objects, while the latter is under no obligation to reveal any such lack. Travel literature is always already a writing over, and most importantly is recognized as such, hence my point in chapter two where I discuss how the travel writer's style is more important than that of the explorer, where the geography itself can provide the originality. On the other hand, exploration literature is always pretending to be a "first" writing, even though its discourse is constructed and sustained by a history of écriture.

The densely cultured and Eurocentric nature of what we call "travel writing" is described by Dennis Porter in his introduction to Haunted Journeys where he is discussing the texts about which he has chosen to write:

They have in common the fact that they are in one way or another examples of what might be called "critical travel." That is to say, whether they are the work of men known primarily as men of letters, philosophes, natural scientists, social scientists, navigators, or novelists, they pose or cause to be posed questions of central significance for European society in their time. (16)

By however hesitantly creating the category of "critical travel," Porter raises the issue of travel writing's intellectual force. In all his examples the men who write these works are constructed out of a history of asking certain kinds of questions. The fact that they are travelling somewhere only allows them to ask the same questions in difference circumstances. Concurrently, the fact

that all of these questions are "of central significance for European society in their time" shows, once again, that critical books on critical travel tend to begin and end in Europe, no matter where they might wander around the globe. The Eurocentrism which Porter describes is precisely the dilemma with which Cavell insists Emerson is wrestling. Porter's travellers may approach other lands, but they invariably turn around to head home, leaving the newly "discovered" peoples on their shores looking after the departing ships.⁶⁷ In contrast to Porter, who examines authors who self-consciously "pose or cause to be posed questions of central significance for European society in their time," I will be taking the role of the "genealogist," and finding "discontinuities . . . [and] recurrences and play where others found progress and seriousness." I believe that Foxe, James and Hearne are just as important and interesting as Porter's Diderot, Darwin, Flaubert and Naipaul, but that their "cultural geography" is quite different. Following Foucault's preoccupation with the gaze and the visible, I am interested not so much in what these explorers thought, as what they saw. In exploration discourse, seeing is very much believing.

Another way of charting the distance between travel and exploration is to ask the question: how is it that we increasingly become so familiar with our landscape that we call it ours? Is there a point where the critical aspects of the travel narrative pose questions central for Canadian society? How is it that the ground takes on an unmistakable familiarity despite the omnipresence of foreign empires? In Survival Atwood argues that nineteenth-century aesthetics, including Burke's notion of the sublime and the beautiful, prepared emigrants for a certain way of experiencing Canada and that after they arrived they were upset by the fact that nature was hostile and dangerous rather than merely sublime. She states that subsequently, "[their] distrust, . . . [their] sense of betrayal, may be traced in part to expecta-

⁶⁷ Everyone returns except those like Cook and Franklin, who spend too long there and do not turn back fast enough.

tions which were literary in origin." (49)⁶⁸ In a general sense, Atwood may be correct; certainly the Canadian landscape, with its seemingly infinite variety, has been the source of both frustration and inspiration over the last few hundred years. The problem with Atwood's (and I.S. MacLaren's) aesthetic formulation is that in all its historic specificity, it begins the discussion of Canada's representation in a post-Enlightenment period without considering the earlier history of representation. Following a similar logic, practically all Canadian literature courses begin with Wacousta or Roughing it in the Bush, works which contain landscapes already written over by Europeans. When we examine this European thought we see that Burke, Godwin, and other writers of the period produced works that would influence subsequent notions of conservatism, socialism, romanticism and the relationship between the individual and society. All of these were complex notions that took place in a debate within a specifically "continental" context. The present study attempts to stay on the North American continent and examine the various narratives from a historically linear and spatially contiguous perspective. While there is no doubt of the importance of the established aesthetic framework, or of the scholarship MacLaren and others have done in the field, there are many earlier narratives, literally grounded in Canada, that can bear critical examination and that can re-contextualize many later works.

While I am attempting to make a case for Canada's difference in terms of its geography and textual history, the structure of Canadian exploration narratives is derived from a long history of travel books. The adventurers/authors were Europeans who had read many of the existing accounts of travel on the continent, and were writing for a public that was familiar with the genre. While these discourses discuss alien lands and cul-

⁶⁸ I will discuss more of this theme of "aesthetic betrayal" later because it informs much of I.S. MacLaren's work, although he does not acknowledge Atwood in either his doctoral thesis, or in "Retaining Captivity of the Soul: Response to Nature in the First Franklin Expedition," an essay which explicitly discusses strategies of survival.

tures, they are produced for the society "back home,"⁶⁹ so there was a ready-made market with pre-existing market forces. The examples of Foxe and James will show how important this market is; James's narrative appealed to a public desiring an exciting story of narrow escapes, and was reprinted several times, while Foxe's book was relatively ignored. Subsequently, James's Strange and Dangerous Voyage provides the longer surviving image of northern North America.

Just as the public expects certain conventions to be upheld, there is important information which must be included. Exploration is inevitably a social activity, performed by a group of people (almost always men), and ultimately undertaken for the commercial and scientific advancement of the society from which they came. At various points the eating and drinking customs of the crew are described, the constitution of exploration parties and their instructions and reports on the terrain and on the vegetation and wildlife are also given. The chronology of the voyage assumes major importance because the days are often printed in the margins to impress the reader with the scientific time grid. Although exploration is a group activity, undertaken under the flag of a nation, it is written by an individual (often elevated to the status of hero), and the identity of the expedition is subsumed under that of the leader/writer. However much the discourse attempts to be social and historical, it also contains a large amount of the individual's reaction to the external elements. Structurally, then, many of the generic characteristics of travel narratives are retained in these early works of Canadian non-fiction.

In distinction to Cook and Columbus and other explorers searching the southern waters of the world, the earliest English explorers of Canada are faced with the radical otherness of a country which apparently produces

⁶⁹ For example, the positing of a readership was an intriguing problem for John Richardson with his novel Wacousta. Although the novel was initially written and published in Britain, a Canadian culture was beginning to develop, and American culture was flourishing; therefore his potential readership was divided several ways.

nothing.⁷⁰ Their works can be read as attempts to produce something of meaning from the alienating landscape. As stated previously, the earliest English explorers were searching for a way around the country in that portion of the land considered most inhospitable. As we will see in the accounts of Foxe and James, the ice and inclement weather made simply arriving on the land difficult, so the relationship between the explorers and the land about which they wrote was heavily problematic.⁷¹ The problem of production was very important because, as I explained in the chapter on "Frobisher's Map," early English explorers of North America were primarily capitalists looking for resources and trade routes. The capitalist agenda and structure of trading companies, from James's Bristol merchants to Hearne's Hudson's Bay Company, further distinguish the exploration of the Northwest Passage from prior European pilgrimage and travel narratives. Aside from works from the classical and late antiquity periods, the earliest western European texts were of pilgrimages towards the east, and the subsequent guidebooks and travel narratives had an important spiritual component. As Mary Campbell puts it, "The botany of Palestine, for instance, is of no concern: only such singular plants as the sycamore of Zacharius, the oak at the vale of Mambre, or the Burning Bush are notable" (Witness 18). The movement westward is a turning away from the spiritual quest, and even though the eventual destination is still ultimately the East, it has now become a commercial rather than spiritual site. Although Foxe and James make many references to the fact that God has preserved them, or has given success to their labours, if they are interested in plants, trees, and minerals at all it is primarily as natural resources. It is significant that explorers like Hearne, Mackenzie and Franklin make far fewer spiritual references, and are much more interested

⁷⁰ To refer back to Tyrrell's description, this is also a land whose inhabitants apparently do nothing!

⁷¹ This is quite an important distinction from, for instance, Columbus who was able to at least fantasize about the abundance of gold and other wealth in Cuba and South America. In spite of his pronouncements being wrong, at least the land and the natives provided a site for the fantasy to operate.

in economic, geographic and ethnographic observations.

In addition to the shift from spiritual to economic goals, the structure of exploration and travel literature was also changed by improvements in scientific methods and modes of inquiry. James Cook was at the centre of these developments and in his essay, "Hearne, Cook and the Exploration Narrative," T.D. MacLulich discusses the enormous impact the published accounts of Cook's three journeys (1774-1785) had on the subject matter of the travel literature genre:

Several factors combined to make Cook's voyages very different from previous voyages of discovery: the success of Cook's anti-scurvy programme; the choice of suitable ships; the development of a means of ascertaining geographical position accurately; and the scientific outlook which came to permeate Cook's writing and thinking, through the influence of the scientific supercargoes taken aboard the first two voyages—Joseph Banks and Andrew Solander on the first voyage and the two Forsters, father and son, on the second—as well as the astronomical observers. Nor should one forget Cook's magnificent seamanship, which enabled him to do with apparent ease what others had done only with greatest difficulty (189).

MacLulich argues that in earlier voyages ships that passed "through the Straits of Magellan or around the Horn . . . were all reduced to such poor condition" that "instead of being records of geographical discovery, the accounts of these voyages turned into catalogues of disasters and near-disasters" (190). MacLulich stresses the physical circumstances of the voyages, demonstrating that the writing of discovery's "book of exploration" is grounded in the material context of its production. The life and health of the ship and crew motivate the text not just by providing events, but by formulating the material basis of a narratological boundary. The ship becomes a metaphor for existence (just as it is in more conventionally "literary" works like Rime of the Ancient Mariner), but the basis of this metaphor is always revealed for inspection because so much of the narrative depends on the journey itself.

Five years after MacLulich's article appeared, Barbara Stafford, in Voyage into Substance, developed an exhaustive and illuminating

examination of the Enlightenment's effect on travel literature. The title is meant to suggest that at this period in history the progress of science had led explorers to believe that there were real, scientifically knowable places and things out there and that the narratives subsequently produced truthfully represented these wonders. This is what MacLulich means when he refers to "the scientific outlook which came to permeate Cook's writing and thinking." This does not mean that previous explorers thought they were engaged in some fantasy, but that the nature of representing nature was changing. In her introduction Stafford summarizes Chapter One as tracing

... the rise and development of an empirical attitude toward nature. To accomplish this, I focus first on the radical reforms of language, involving the abolition of varnishing metaphor and the development of a paratactic style, that arose in England and France in the early seventeenth century. I then try to indicate how a "passionate intelligence" and Bacon's inductive "contemplation" came to be thought requisite for the accurate perception of the "real thing" and its "plain" transmission in a "transparent" and "masculine" idiom. (xx)

Chapters three and four develop conceptions of materiality which lead to the eighteenth-century assumption that the "infinite metabolism of matter is legible and hence penetrable" (xx). Stafford's phrase "legible and hence penetrable" demonstrates how closely writing is related to theoretical ideas of the physical nature of the universe. To refer back to Mary Campbell's example, "the oak at the vale of Mambre" becomes important because of its empirical qualities and the science of botany makes these qualities "legible."

The exploration of Canada, and its representation through repeated layerings of textuality, begins at the end of the medieval period, when journeys were spiritual and heavily symbolic, and continues through the Renaissance and into the Enlightenment, when the sciences and humanities were forcing a re-thinking of how knowledge was constructed. The fact that "new worlds" were being discovered and that they might offer insight into current philosophical and scientific problems encouraged the development of Enlightenment thought. And while systems of thought and representation were transforming, travel literature as a genre reached an unprecedented

level of popularity during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Explorers were also "best-selling" writers and were therefore involved in two economic activities: both the sailing and the subsequent production of discourse were undertaken with the expectation of profit.

II The Sea of James and Foxe

The first surface or "geography" to be written about in relation to Canada was the sea. "Civilization" approached the continent through the ocean, or so the story goes (the approach was actually much earlier and overland, but that is another story). The country gradually emerged out of the sea as explorers mapped out more of its features, so this mapping began from the periphery. The first explorers were looking for the east, then, as separate expeditions repeatedly encountered land, they began searching for a passage around the land; the interest in the land itself (whether terra firma or meta incognita), was relatively small. Geographically, England was at the very end of the spice trade route while historically, land routes to the east presented a variety of problems, including fierce mongol hordes, a variety of infidels, obstructive topography and tenuous foreign relations. A north-westerly sea route to the East promised huge possibilities for economic exchange and would give England a clear geographic advantage over rival countries like Spain and Portugal who had claimed much of the southern hemisphere. Canada came into being as an obstacle in the way of this "free" exchange (or, in more contemporary terms, "free trade"), a huge and undefined land mass that confounded the British ships and refused to yield a passage despite promising geographical features like the St. Lawrence River and Hudson Bay.

In attempting to articulate the foreign geography—the sense of space these explorers experienced—the narratives of these voyages are structured around a crucial difference of land and sea. This difference necessarily

involves their physical compositions, with the land continually deferring the possibility of a clear passage which the sea promises. The land, then, is not only physically opposed to the sea, it also symbolizes a failure or finiteness to the process of exploration which had been instigated, ideally, as an exploration of the sea. As an island and a sea-faring nation, Britain was proud of its sailors and their ability to exercise control over this fluid and economically fertile space. The discovery of Canada, and especially its northern limits, conflicted with their world view. Additionally, these early sea voyages articulate a profound historical difference between the East, land of fantasy, crusades, pilgrimages, and spices, all represented within a rich palimpsest of intertextual references and plagiarisms, and the West, containing a vast expanse of water and largely fabricated from a capitalist fantasy which leaves behind the problematic East. In a sense, these explorers were turning away from Europe and attempting to write their stories on the blank canvas of the Atlantic; this canvas ultimately turned into America.

The division of land and sea has remained important for centuries and in Playing Dead, Rudy Wiebe discusses how the water and the Arctic define Canada.

After twenty-five years of flying over Canada . . . I have become convinced that the only natural human boundary is water.

The Great Lakes are there, yes, and the brief Niagara River, but so much of Canada's southern boundary is invisible from the air; too much of its southern edge was conceived in the imagination of officials who had never and had never intended to see it. Whatever that southern boundary is, it was apparently discovered among the movements of instruments and remains invisible even from the air to a normal human eye. . . . Flying north to Herschel Island or Tuktoyaktuk or Paulatuk, the limits of Canada are clear and definite even under ice . . . The water declares [them]. . . what is not clear is where that ocean begins and . . . the rivers end. (9-10)

Wiebe hints at several themes developed in the current study. One which I discuss in the following chapters is the politics of mapping, the "movements of instruments" which determine and define the ground over which human sociality is carried out. For now, however, I will confine the discussion to

matters of land and sea. Wiebe points out, from the twentieth-century vantage point of a plane, how "clear and definite" are the limits of Canada. But then he immediately complicates this picture by admitting that the division between river and ocean is "not clear," and later in the essay he reverses the natural course of water: "Though we ordinarily think that rivers run from the heights of land and mountains to eventually vanish in the sea, when you approach a river from the ocean it becomes much more enlightening to recognize that rivers are the gnarled fresh fingers of the sea reaching for the mountains" (12). Wiebe demonstrates that even in our present age of science, where the view from a plane clearly reveals the definition of the country, the most basic physical characteristics are subjective and open to a mythic interpretation. Clearly, in the realm of climate and weather, all the water of the world is mixed and "interconnected," but the image of the rivers as gnarled fingers both personifies and mythologizes the ice-cold sea where "arctic char thrash and flicker." This section of the first essay, "Exercising Reflection," is in fact an elaborate reflection on edges, definitions, periphery, margin and centre. Is the centre the mountain or the ocean? For the English sailors, the sea was the centre because it was their domain and property, an extension of their imperial writing of the world, an écriture fueled by mercantile and colonial interests. The ocean represented the possibility of an unrestricted economy, an exchange of money and goods which found its reflection in nature:

... the water which evaporates, of course, turns into clouds, and the clouds into rain and snow which may fall as the winds carry them and rejoin other streams quite different from their originals. When Shelley wrote The Cloud was he not in a sense writing of rivers? Is it fanciful to imagine that all the rivers of the northern hemisphere, if not of the world, are in this sense interconnected? (MacLennan, Hugh, Seven Rivers of Canada quoted in Playing Dead 10)

The boundaries between the physical world and the metaphoric world are continually undergoing revision and, like the clouds turning into rain and returning to the sea, metamorphosis.

In drawing our attention to the intersection of land and water, Wiebe emphasizes a central difference which is crucial to the structure and meaning of this discovery genre. Many of these narratives spend such a large amount of their time discussing this material intersection which becomes the site of difference. It is evident that this is a difference necessary for the production of discourse and to see this we need only point out a strategy common to all these voyages. The trip across the Atlantic is consistently elided even though it takes a significantly large portion of time and contains the same elements of radically variable weather and nautical observations as all the other portions of the voyage. The principal difference is that there is no difference of land and sea and although the purpose of the voyage is to find only sea (a Northwest Passage), the story begins again only when land is reached. For instance, in the Strange and Dangerous Voyage the crossing occurs between May 22 and June 4. The overall pattern of the book has devoted from a few sentences to a page to each day, but this entire period receives only the following coverage (beginning with the 17th when James's ship was anchored in Milford):

Here we remained till the seventeenth in the morning; when with the first favouring winde, we proceeded and doubled about Cape Cleere of Ireland. The two and twentieth we were in Latitude 51:26. and the Blaskes did beare of us North-east, about twelve leagues off: which Blaskes is in Lat. 52.4. Here I ordered the course that should bee kept: which was generally West North-west, as the winde would give leave: which in this Course and distance, is very variable and unconstant. The fourth of June we made the land of Groynland: standing in with it to have knowledge of the trending of it; It prooved very thicke foule weather; and the next day, by two a clocke in the morning, we found our selves incompassed about with Ice...(6)

Even though the wind on the crossing is "very variable and unconstant," James decides that there is nothing worth commenting on; we are given only the names of the land on either side. Significantly, the narrative begins in earnest when they find themselves "incompassed about with Ice." This begins a long battle with this powerful and malleable enemy, but I will discuss that aspect of James's narrative below.

James's description of the crossing demonstrates many difficulties the early explorers had in articulating their "discourses of exploration." I will refer to Foucault's statements that "one would need to study the history of the fortress, the 'campaign,' the 'movement,' the colony, the territory" in order to reveal the "tactics and strategies deployed through implantations, distributions, demarcations, control of territories and organizations of domains which could well make up a sort of geopolitics." In the later expeditions Foucault's statements are more obviously relevant because a territory exists upon which "implantations" and "demarcations" can be articulated. But with James and Foxe and others in that period of exploration the "territory" was still very much in question, and I mean here the simulated territory seen in "Frobisher's Map," as much as any "real" geographical entity. James is faced with the difficulty of being master of his exploration while having so little "control" over the ground he surveys. It is almost with relief, then, that he continually turns to descriptions of battles with the ice because it offers a site of resistance and articulation; despite its transitory and transient nature, it is always there to confront the expedition and provides an important narrative element. Furthermore, the struggles with the ice are part of a traditional "man against nature" theme with which James would have been familiar.

Dionyse Settle, a member of the second Frobisher expedition, published Last Voyage into the West and Northwest Regions in 1577, but despite the sixty-year gap his earlier account is similar to James's in its difficulty articulating the "territory." Settle spends two full pages describing the islands and inhabitants of Orkney, another example of articulating the unfamiliar through a more familiar territory. The islanders are represented as living at the edge of civilization and sharing similarities of manner with the "savages" the explorers will meet later. Settle writes that, "At our landing, the people fled from their poore cotages, with strikes and alarms, to warne their neighbors of enimies: but by gentle persuasions we reclaimed them to their h[o]uses (B,ii)." Settle continues:

Their houses are verie simply buylded with pibble stone, without any chimneys, the fire being made in the middle thereof. The good man, wife, children, and other of their familie, eate and sleepe on the one side of the house, and their cattell on the other, very beastly and rudely, in respect of civilitie. They are destitute of wood, their fire is turffes and Cowe sharden. (B.ii, verso)

Even though he later says that the "fisher men of England have daily trafique to Orkney," thus showing their commercial proximity, these people seem to represent the absolute limits of humanity. They live in a treeless land, eating fish, corn and oats, in a manner which appears scarcely higher than that of the beasts with which they share their houses. The structure of distance imposed by maps is absent from Settle's book and, instead, he emphasizes the first Frobisher expedition's encounters with people. Distances and geographic relationships are simply not as important as they will later become and, furthermore, the Frobisher expeditions are not as scientifically equipped to make detailed maps.

Settle's book is not structured by the dates (both James and Foxe have them in the margins to emphasize the passing of time); instead, he includes the dates within a short and concise narrative. The crossing of the Atlantic took from June 8 to July 4, and Settle summarizes it in one paragraph:

Wee departed herehence, the 8. of June and followed our course between West and Northwest, until the 4. of Julie: all which time, we had no night, but that easily, and without any impediment, wee had when wee were so disposed, the fruition of our bookes, & other pleasures to passe awaye the time: a thing of no small moment, to suche as wander in unkowen Seas wā long navigations, especially, when both the windes & raging forges, do passe their common and wonted course. (B.iii)

Settle next describes how they "met floating in the sea great Firre trees" and then on "The 4. of Julie, we came within the making of Freeseland. From this share 10.02.12. leagues, we met great Islands of ice...." The fir trees are objects from the land uprooted and displaced onto the sea. And the "Islands of ice" are elements of the sea which, through naming, become identified as a form of land, a simulacrum of land which inhabits the water, and is of the

water. These examples demonstrate how the sea narrative is concerned with the foreboding of land; displacements and images of terra firma continually invade the sea voyage even though the purpose of the trip is to find a way to avoid the land. This section of Settle's narrative ends, like James's, when they encounter the ice which will plague them for the duration of their voyage.

As stated above, Settle does not use the book's margins for an ongoing chronology; instead, the events of the voyages are summarized, therefore valorizing the "adventure narrative" over the objective exploration. The summaries of the voyage through "Frobisher's Streight" are good indicators of what Settle (and, by implication, his readers) found important:

The Queenes Foreland
Halles Isle
Frobishers streight
Islandes of yce comparable to mounteines
Capteine Frobisher his special care and diligence for the
benefite of his
Prince and countrie
The order of the people appearing on the shoare
Fierce and bould people
One taken
(B.iiii, verso - B.vi).

Here is a mini-narrative of early exploration in North America. First, geographical locations are named after important English public figures, then comes the inevitable encounter with ice with a reference to its enormity, and then an early "imperial gesture." Frobisher's "special care and diligence," which is a reference to his skill at navigation, are linked directly to his ideological role wherein he represents "Prince and countrie." Settle's description plays on two interpretations of the figure of Frobisher: first, he is an individual who possesses great skills in navigation and in commanding an expedition and for those talents he is to be much admired, and secondly, he stands synecdochically for "King and country" and his skills are a result of his

being born in this proud seafaring nation.⁷² After overcoming the natural obstacles to exploration the expedition encounters the "Fierce and bould people" and here again England prevails with the simple phrase, "One taken." Settle's narrative is clearly one of conquest over land and peoples, but it lacks the geographic specificity necessary for any long-term form of governance. These early explorers have not formulated their modes of empirical control; they have not sufficiently "organized their domain." Settle is distracted by the local and the anecdotal, and here he parallels the course of Frobisher himself who becomes distracted from exploration and turns all his energies towards mining the mysterious "black rock."

Foxe's narrative differs from the above examples because he does attempt to account for the time elapsed, but his narrative is dull and exposes the limits of the early exploration genre. Foxe details the end of May and beginning of June, but he reports little of interest.

May 27. This day, the 28 and 29, the wind contrary, I was in traverse, had little sight of the Sunne since the 26.

May 30. It was easie wind and close weather, and I observed in 58 deg. 39 m. I caused 3 peeces of Ordnance to be strooke into the hold, and two of my greatest Anchors to be taken of the bowes, at night I fount a drift tree, but it would not make me a maine yard.

May 31. It was faire, dry, calme, and close weather, since the 26, and the freat Westernne Sea, was not downe until this day.

June 1. This day was a faire wind with wet foggy weather.

June 2. I had faire winds, but thicke close weather. (176)

These passages are dull because they tell us mostly of the weather, and most readers do not read discovery narratives for their description of the weather because they reveal nothing new or "discoverable." When the continent is

⁷² My analysis is related somewhat to the Renaissance distinction between the *de jure* and *de facto* powers of the sovereign. Both the King and Frobisher have certain practical and lawful powers of governing (*de jure*), just as they have "god-given" (*de facto*) powers to rule over (and represent) the state.

finally reached the elaborate descriptions of the cold are linked to the land which is conspiring against the explorers and the story is enlivened. But Foxe's descriptions of the ocean crossing, where there is only wind and sea, show him to be a bad editor of his own material, and unable to separate the exciting business of exploration from the mundane actions of everyday travel.⁷³

The fact that the Atlantic Ocean is elided in the majority of these works draws attention to another element of geographical structuring. With the ocean as dividing line, North America is seen as irretrievably "Other," and is defined by its absolute remoteness. While the action of landing is often productive scientifically and archaeologically (at least for Foxe), it also denotes a failure to gather the information while aboard ship, and has to be approached very cautiously. Eventually most Canadian literature will be narrated from the point of view of land, and journeys into the water—be it lake or sea—will be regarded with trepidation, but in these works the act of landing separated the explorer from the ship which contained his provisions and from the society which had given him his identity. Leaving the ship is an act of self-isolation because survival on land for an extended length of time is

⁷³ Historically, the sea has consistently been elided in favour of the exotic lands which are at the end of the journey. Of course Captains have to keep journals, and these often contain interesting information about the crew and the social organization on the ship. These personal journals fit into what I described in chapter two as the "private" act of "writing a book," but are rarely published and are not part of the public "book of exploration." The case of Columbus is interesting because he kept a journal in which he wrote about how he deceived his men about the distance they had travelled so they would not think they were so far away from home—although it has been "discovered" in the modern era that his own calculations were in error (so was Columbus systematically, through the use of science, really deceiving only himself?). The interesting thing about this is that his Letters back to his King are what were published, translated, and formed the image of his journey. And these letters were written after his arrival on shore, after having breached the difference of the land and sea, and after having elided—or misrepresented—the ocean. It is significant that the part of the journey with which we are all familiar is the end where the signifiers of land (birds, plant life floating in the water) mysteriously appear "out of the blue" ocean and sky.

impossible given the European's lack of knowledge. Landing was accomplished by a smaller boat (e.g. a "pinnace") which replicated somewhat the structure of the larger vessel. The process of landing was so important that Foxe writes a detailed set of instructions for those who left his immediate command.

First, You shall take with you into the boate, one halfe houre glasse, one halfe minute glasse, one logge and line, cleane paper, one Pensill of blacke Leade, and one Compasse, with some peeces of Iron.

Secondly, One quarter Saw, two Axes, three Carbins Guns with Powder and Shot, two or three Lances, two Swords, two Pikeaxes and every man his one day bread.

Thirdly, At your departure from the ship, turne the halfe houre, and when it is neere out, set your Logge to goe by the halfe minute, that thereby you may estimate the distance betweene the ship and land, as also what the boate can rowe an houre. . . .

Sixtly, Remember I give you no libertie to goe within the land, yet it for recreation goe no further then the full Sea marke, and armed, leaving two to keepe the Glasse and Boat, looke for stones of Orient colour, or of weight, Seamors teeth, Vnicornes horne, or Whale Finne, Plants, Herbes, or any thing, Spungy fleet out of the Sea, if you finde Scurvie grasse, Orpin, or Sorrill, bring them all on board to me. (North-West Fox 191)

Foxe claims that he sent the boat to "try the Tyde" so it is natural that the surveying equipment is listed at the beginning of the instructions. But it is still intriguing how precise his instructions are regarding the "cleane paper" and "blacke Leade" pencil, because they draw our attention to the importance of accuracy and legibility in mapping their environment. These instruments of observation and definition complement the second set of items listed: implements of colonization and enforcement. The saws and axes will mold nature, and the guns and swords will be used to govern beasts and savages. Furthermore, although the compass, pencil and paper are used to articulate and control space, the half-hour and half-minute⁷⁴ glasses will articulate the time necessary to measure that space. After describing the various instruments

⁷⁴ Although it is easy to see how the half-hour and half-minute glasses would be practical for a short trip, it is still interesting that their very names stress the division of time so central to the mission.

and their means of deployment, Foxe goes on to consider the men. Rather than allowing them to indulge in any sort of "libertie" or "recreation" upon the land, activities one might expect from men who have been confined to a small ship for two months, Foxe specifically directs them towards botanical and archaeological investigations. We can see, then, how precisely controlled is the space between the ship and land, and how defined and regulated the action of landing on shore.

The separation and difference of land and sea, articulated by the distinctiveness of each, is important because all early writing about Canada is mediated by the sea; it is as if the country rises out of the ocean. The importance of the land/sea dichotomy remains well into the period of settlement and trading (particularly in the Hudson Bay area), because the Hudson's Bay Company's posts needed to be supplied by the yearly ships from England. The economy of the fur trade integrates the land and sea by involving both in the exchange of furs and manufactured goods, but this integration occurs after the voyages of James and Foxe.

In these early works the land/sea difference is further complicated by the ice which can be seen as the sea's attempt to resemble land. This is the most terrifying aspect of these arctic exploration narratives, where the sea contains the possibility of erasing its difference, of freezing and trapping the boat in the ice. When this difference is erased, all that sustains the crew will also be erased and death will soon follow. Understandably, then, both James and Foxe devote a considerable portion of their narratives to discussions of the ice. Foxe has an elaborate observation on the different types of ice, perhaps in an attempt to find difference scientifically within a seemingly monolithic, elemental force:

Now this prodigious thing we call Ice, is of two sorts, as mountainous ice w^{ch} is a huge peece, of a great quantity, some of more, some of lesse; but in this Freet, you seldome have any bigger then a great Church, and the most therof lesse, being of severall formes, as some 20, some 30, some 40 yards above the superficies of the water, but farre more under, of these you may tell sometimes 7 or eight in sight, so that they are no hindrance to us.

The other is smaller, and that we call masht or fleack't ice: of this you shall have numbers infinite, some of the quantity of a Rood, some a Pearch, $\frac{1}{2}$ an acre, some 2 acres. but the most is small and about a foot or 2, or more above the water, and 8 or 10, or more under the water, and those are they which doe inclose you. . . (186)

Foxe's "mountainous ice," or what we would today call "icebergs," is named specifically for how it resembles land and it is said to be of "no hindrance." It is because of their size that these larger pieces are not troublesome: they are observable and may be navigated around. But another reason is that Foxe can define them as a specifically knowable "thing," even though "farre more" of them exist beneath the water than above. Although we now know the maxim that ninety percent of any iceberg remains submerged, Foxe perceives them as "no hindrance." On the other hand, the smaller ice is a problem because it is not nearly so definable. It may be anywhere from a foot to two acres, and because of its variable size it can enclose the ship. This "masht or fleack't" is like the mountainous ice, in that most of it is below the surface, but it presents more of an interpretive problem. Because of the multitudes of shapes it blurs the distinction between land and sea, and even between land, sea and ship:

...So as in much wind from the topmast head, you shall hardly see any water for them, but whilst you lie amongst them, it is so smooth as you shall not feele the ship stirre, onely if it be much wind, make the ship snogge, and at returne of the Tydes, when the ice doth loozen, have all care to the Rudder... (186)

The image here of the ice "snug" against the ship is almost comforting until we realize the danger of surrendering identity to the natural forces. Foxe's descriptions of ice are attempts to be scientific, objective and therefore alien; after carefully creating the image of the ship nestled snugly amongst the ice, he changes the focus and begins a discussion of navigation, the rudder, and how to maintain your course in spite of the elements.

Foxe's objectivity can be more accurately assessed when placed within the context of James. From his first encounter with ice, James sets a tone which will persist for the duration of the book:

All this day, we did beat, and were beaten fearefully, amongst the Ice; it blowing a very storme. In the evening, wee were inclosed amongst great pieces; as high as our Poope: and some of the sharpe blue corners of them, did reach quite under us. All these great pieces (by reason it was the out-side of the Ice) did heave and set, and so beat us; that it was wonderfull how the Ship could indure one blow of it; but it was Gods only preservation of us, to whom be all honour and glory. (6-7)

Although the two Captains plied essentially the same seas, the two accounts differ radically in both style and content. James's account is much more concerned with the imminent danger of the situation (hence the title of his book), suggesting that each turn of fate could bring instant disaster. In fact, themes like fate, destiny and providence play a much larger role in James's account as we can see when he states that they were saved through God's grace.⁷⁵ In James's world, natural forces are much larger than the humans in the ships and while one can navigate, at a certain point one must pray for survival. James's description of the ice itself is similarly subjective. Instead of comparing the ice to mountains and estimating the size of the different types, or even classifying them with names like Foxe's "masht or fleackt" ice, he describes them as "great pieces; as high as our Poope: and some of the sharpe blue corners of them, did reach quite under us (6)." The perception of the ice is from the ship's point of view; its size and effect are described according to its relationship to the ship. Rather than attempting to control the ice through understanding or analysis, James simply treats it as the "other," and appeals to God.

Both Foxe and James encountered phenomena beyond their ability to understand, and they developed different strategies of representation as a reaction to the foreign, and often indecipherable, environment. However, the surface of the land (and sea) is a central concern in both texts, as is the division between land and sea. Having examined some specific aspects of how these texts articulate their surfaces, and how the two Captains represent

⁷⁵ In "Arctic Exploration and Milton's 'Frozen Continent'" I.S. MacLaren gives examples to show that "A number of incidents in James's narrative of his 1631-32 expedition to James Bay may have proven conducive to Milton's poetic paintings of Hell" (326).

themselves in relation to a land which appears to produce nothing, I will now discuss some more general literary and historical elements.

III Their Most Dangerous Styles

James's Strange and Dangerous Voyage and Foxe's North-West Fox are published at a critical juncture in the search for the Northwest Passage. Miller Christy places their voyages within a historical context:

From the time of the departure of Captain John Knight in April 1606, to the return of Captain Hawkrige in September 1619, a period of thirteen years, there had never been a time (if we except the two years 1617 and 1618) when there had not been a well-equipped English expedition out searching for the Passage or just returned from the search, or when some fresh expedition was not being fitted out to start at the earliest possible moment. And, although considerably more than two centuries had yet to elapse before the object of all this searching was to be attained and a Passage was to be discovered, there need be no hesitation in pronouncing this the Golden Age of Arctic Research; for, never before nor since (except for the search for Franklin), was a Passage so ardently and so persistently sought. ("Introduction" li-liii)

After 1619 there is a gap of twelve years before Foxe and James set sail but the climate of expectation was sustained. However, after their unsuccessful returns, when both argued there was no Northwest Passage or, if one were eventually discovered, it would be useless for commercial shipping, the search was abandoned for almost 100 years until it was resumed by the Hudson's Bay Company. James's and Foxe's works mark the end of a distinct genre of writing about [the area that would eventually be called] Canada, a genre which has not been adequately recognized as such.⁷⁶ Even Germaine Warkentin's recent anthology, Canadian Exploration Literature, begins with narratives by Pierre Esprit Radisson in 1660 and Henry Kelsey in 1690

⁷⁶ In fact, North-West Fox is itself an anthology of this genre, although Foxe's versions are not as interesting reading as some of the originals.

(explorers directly related to the fur trade and writing from a landed point of view), and ignores earlier sea voyages.⁷⁷ This "pre-Enlightenment" period produces the myths of Frobisher and Hudson, two Captains who repeatedly venture into the Arctic. Interestingly, neither Frobisher nor Hudson—nor Cabot before them—published his own story; they were disseminated by their crew and various editors (including Richard Hakluyt's The Principall Navigations, and Samuel Purchas' Purchas, his Pilgrimage of the World).

Foxe writes in a pseudo-scientific language which attempts to explain phenomena objectively, but which fails to engage the reader narratively. His attempts at pre-scientific categorization occur long before the establishment of the Royal Society which helped consolidate exploration discourse into its Enlightenment form which Stafford describes in Voyage into Substance. It is the substance of Foxe's ice, maps, and landscape in general which is missing. James is a better editor and his book is simply more interesting because he winters in North America and encounters more difficult problems, including sinking his own ship and the death of crew members. In addition to James's opposition between man and nature, his frequent religious appeals introduce another dramatic element into his work. These English explorers were also writing before they had settled onto the land so they are constantly alienated from it: the land is mysterious and unknown, blocking the way to vast riches and harboring many forms of death.

After these early sea voyages, the next set of English exploration narratives were linked to the Hudson's Bay Company and more clearly contained a rhetoric of economic production sustained by fur trading and the possibility of mining. Hearne, Mackenzie, Franklin and others will abandon the sea and travel over the land, in order to better survey its economic potential.⁷⁸ Later narratives will produce the writing of Canada through its

⁷⁷ See my review of Canadian Exploration Literature in the "Letters in Canada" issue of the University of Toronto Quarterly, Fall, 1994.

⁷⁸ We will see below how Franklin—ironically—gives up the land in his third and final expedition, only to be defeated when the sea freezes, turning into a simulacrum of land and stopping his ships.

resources and more precisely through its surfaces, but for these early explorers the land and its resources remain hidden and defy interpretation: to the eyes of these early explorers the land appears to produce nothing. (In the case of James, it barely produces enough deadwood to burn throughout the painfully cold winter.) When trading sites become more or less permanent (depending on the status of the French/English conflict), there will also be an incorporation of the natives, both as trading partners—as an integral link in the economic and corporate chain—and as living producers of discourse. However biased or mediated their discourse becomes once transcribed into Western *écriture*, it is radically different from the image of the natives, or as most of the explorers call them, *sauvages*, that is presented in these earlier narratives. There is no communication with them other than crude gestures, attempted capture, and a cursory examination of artifacts.

Stylistically, James's and Foxe's narratives could not be more different. Miller Christy contrasts the two of them in his "Introduction" to his Voyages of Foxe and James:

[Foxe's] style is so faulty that it is scarcely correct to speak of it as "style" at all; for his punctuation is extremely defective; his spelling is bad, even for the period; whilst his diction is ill-chosen and often slangy. As a natural consequence of these defects, Foxe's sentences are often so confused as to be almost, and sometimes quite, incomprehensible. In addition, we meet in the narrative with a constant straining after far-fetched witticisms. The text is, moreover, encumbered with an immense amount of indigestible information as to the direction of the wind, the latitude, the state of the weather, his course, the hour of the day at which he did this thing or that, and many other minor observations, which a more skilled narrator would have thrown into tabular form and inserted as an appendix. (cxxv-cxxvi)

Christy describes James's book in entirely different terms:

It is true that James's volume is a much smaller one than that of Foxe . . . But its prompt publication was no doubt mainly due to the fact that (unlike Foxe) James was a well-educated gentleman, who had considerable literary experience. In his narrative, he expresses himself so clearly, his diction is so good, and what he has to say is so interesting, that it is a pleasure to read his book; while to peruse that of Foxe (which took a much longer time to prepare) is a tedious and difficult occupation. It is

undeniable that to this great merit in James's book is due the fact that it has been very frequently reprinted . . . And that it has made a distinct position for itself in literature, which Foxe's work has utterly failed to do, although it is unquestionably of the greater geographical value. (clxxvii)

In Christy's opinion, James was clearly the inferior geographer and navigator and the many descriptions of horrendous ice conditions were a result of his own incompetence:

This may, I think, be easily inferred from the general tenour of his narrative; but it is, I think, proved by the fact that Foxe, in sailing over almost the whole of the same ground, and in the same year, scarcely experienced any serious difficulties at all The next most striking feature which the student of Captain James's narrative will observe is the very small amount of useful geographical discovery he accomplished. The credit of having first explored the southern coast of Hudson's Bay belongs . . . equally to both Foxe and James. The only other direction in which both made any new discoveries was in Foxe Channel; and here James (who was a year later than Foxe, and did not sail nearly so far north) did not name a single feature nor locate a single inch of coast-line, while Foxe did both and much more. . . . Captain James was absent from England over three times as long as Foxe, but his discoveries, such as they were, were certainly not equal in value, from a geographical point of view, to Foxe's. (clxxi-clxxiv)

The considerable differences between Foxe and James's narratives and accomplishments foreground many issues involving the place, importance and purpose of discovery narratives. Foxe was the better sailor and geographer, but wrote an inferior book, while James, who made no substantial geographical discoveries, was better known in his time and his narrative was far more influential. One conclusion which Christy's comments help us to draw from comparing the two works is that at the time of Foxe and James the literary merits of exploration texts were simply not related to their objective control over "empirical reality." While the search for the Northwest Passage was an acknowledged imperial goal, the expeditions of Frobisher, Hudson, Button etc., had succeeded in producing only vague stories of wild "salvages," and various "great tides" which promised to turn into the legendary route. All explorers were expected to be scientific and objective in

their pursuits, since, if a passage was discovered, it would have to be mapped out so as to be useful as a commercial shipping route. But although Frobisher's Map can "precede" and "engender" the territory, it cannot quite control it and enforce imperial power over it.

Part of the "strangeness" or "otherness" of these early narratives comes from both captains attempting to write a language of scientific accuracy which prefigures those of the Enlightenment and post-Enlightenment period. For instance, North-West Fox and the Strange and Dangerous Voyage contain multiple observations to determine the ship's position in relation to the stars, distance from the sea floor, and the motion and effect of various currents, tides and winds. All of these measurements articulate their position in a physical space and they therefore continually determine how the ship and its crew are constituted in relation to their physical surroundings.⁷⁹ Although they are generally not immediately essential to the plot, these measurements often provide important geographical information which will structure the movement of the ship—and subsequently the plot as well. Even though the average reader may not be interested in constant references to latitude, tide and wind, these measurable things constituted the world within the text. However, both expeditions ultimately fail to "control" the landscapes they find although James does create an archetypal image of a cold and desolate country.

The question of style is central to the manner in which both works claim to represent their respective landscapes. Describing the differences quite simply, while James's narrative stresses the alterity of there and here, Foxe's attempts to erase the "otherness" through narrative digressions into the history and textuality of the geography. North-West Fox foregrounds its own textuality because Foxe's voyage occurs only at the end of a compilation of many other voyages beginning, remarkably, with one by King Arthur. The

⁷⁹ While Foxe ponderously includes these observations within his text, James has separate sections at the end of the book titled, "The Names of the several Instruments, I provided and bought for the Voyage" (which includes compass measurements) and "An Appendix touching Longitude."

earlier parts of the book do not discuss the Northwest Passage as such, but serve to exemplify the notion of nationhood, control over the sea, and expansion over territories. As Foxe states in "The Preface to the Reader," "I begin with those Princes, to show the Honour and Renowne of our Nation, and so proceed to all necessity which I conceive them to be as Appendices to the Journals of these moderne times." By calling narratives of the formation of the British nation "appendices" to the "journals" chronicling its modern expansion, Foxe treats exploration history as a series of palimpsests; each exploration is another writing-over of both the nation's image and the image of the land described. Although the ostensible point of these journeys was empirical—to find a Northwest Passage—their real motivation was imperial: the point of any discovery was not to find anything "new," but to confirm what was already understood about the "Honour and Renowne" of the British nation.

In contrast to Foxe's stress on nationhood, James writes much more personally, with only an introduction to the King⁸⁰ and a short endorsement from the well known author Thomas Nash. James's letter to the King is very much about himself and the danger he has faced:

Many a storme, and Rocke, and Mist, and Wind, and Tyde, and Sea, and Mount of Ice, have I in this Discovery encountered withall; Many a despaire and death had, almost, overwhelmed mee. . . (¶ 3)

Even though most of the introduction is implicitly about his own dangers, James incorporates economics and nationalism and religion into how he has represented his king in this voyage: "Your Majestie in my employment (like a true Father of your Countrey) intended the good of your subjects: and who is not bound to blesse God for your Royall care in it?" Here James represents himself as an employee (although one who enjoys the divine protection and direction of his King), and his next statements more directly refer to the economics of exploration:

⁸⁰ Both James and Foxe write introductions to the King, but only Foxe (perhaps more democratically?), writes one to the reader.

Had it, now, beene my fortune, to have done my Countrey this service, as to have brought home the newes of this supposed and fought for Passage; then should the Merchant have enjoyed the sweetnesse of the hoped profit, and the Subject have been sensible of the benefit of your Majesties royall intentions in it. I have done my good will in it: and though not brought home that newes, yet shall I here divulge those observations; which may (I hope) become some way beneficiall unto my Countrey. (§ 3-4)

That the merchant would enjoy the "sweetness" of profit may be an indirect or unconscious reference to the physical and sensual nature of the exotic goods that would be traded with the East. On the other hand, the royal "subject" may not derive any benefit from the trade other than the rather abstract knowledge that the King "intended" profit to take place. Capitalism is therefore royally sanctioned through a symbolic order which directly links King, God and country. Unfortunately, James has not discovered a passage and his voyage has resulted in a loss; therefore, he hopes his book will in some way stand in for the profit which has escaped him.

The Strange and Dangerous Voyage's introductory matter, along with the previous quotations from it and North-West Fox, clearly show how seventeenth-century exploration narratives are imperialist discourses, approved by the King, and serving corporations set up with their expectation of profit. However, because they were written before the "Age of Enlightenment" and before objective scientific methods were established, it is difficult to separate a discourse of commerce from that of religion or science. The merchant's profit is seamlessly connected to the King's and God's will, even though it is unclear how it will benefit the "subject."

Germaine Warkentin addresses a similar problem of distinguishing between discourses—which she terms "generic disjunction"—though she restricts her article's focus to understanding how the "tale-teller and scientific observer are one and the same, that ethnographer and conquistador are also one and the same, and, most of all, that these disjunctions would not much have troubled the London Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1690, though they might have begun to do so a decade or two later" ("Henry

Kelsey" 109). The "disjunction" of which Warkentin writes occurs in our contemporary reading of Kelsey's poem/journal because we are now more aware of how discourses are socially constructed, and represent different classes and dispersions of power. Many of Warkentin's comments on Kelsey are equally applicable to James and Foxe:

Close observation and detached reportage are in fact quite difficult, and there are sound reasons for believing that the techniques of empirical observation are not innate but culturally specific, and as such had to be fostered and developed. For their explorers the Spanish devised the relación geográfica, which was designed to teach them how to make observations, and as the Grand Tour developed a century later there were handbooks which explained to voyaging gentlemen what they should report from their travels in order to be of more use to their country. Not long before Kelsey wrote, Robert Boyle had composed a set of instructions for the organizing and recording of a scientific experiment. (110)

An important point which Warkentin does not make is that the readers of Kelsey, James and Foxe would not be "troubled" by the "generic disjunction" because the genres themselves would not have been constructed at the time of these voyages. I have commented previously on how these voyages occur before science has become empirically based, and all writers were faced with the task of combining the factual description of the voyage with narrative events that would appeal to an audience which, in Warkentin's words, "still absorbed the marvels of Mandeville's Travels with enthusiasm" (109). The worlds represented in these early narratives are strangely othered by a lack of empirical references and of generic distinctions.

As Christy has said, James made a "very small amount of useful geographical discovery," and his book more obviously relies on its narrative of oppositions and tension, of the individual's struggle against nature. A result of this emphasis is that it does not really matter where "nature" is geographically encountered, so long as the struggle itself is present. The Strange and Dangerous Voyage's literary merit is further emphasized in Thomas Nash's introduction in which he quotes Latin and emphasizes how the individual's glory comes through overcoming adversity; he commends the

work and increases James's stature by writing, "The worth of a Warriour and Pylot is never discovered but in stormes and skirmishes, and how many skirmishes of stormes and tempests you have past, this Journall of yours doth sufficiently manifest (§ 5)." Nash also continues to metaphorize the sense of smell when he praises James's status as explorer: "So may you deserve, with Columbus, Drake, and Frobisher, to have the remembrance of you smell sweetly in the nostrils of posteritie, when you are in the dust." Though Nash's introduction is short, its lavish and learned praises place James as explorer in an elevated position, even as it ignores his actual achievements.

As I examine the works of Foxe and James it becomes clear that their role as authors is central to articulating how Europe approached what it considered to be a "new world." In his essay "What is an Author?" Foucault explains that in ancient times most texts had no identifiable author and "Speeches and books were assigned real authors, other than mythical or important religious figures, only when the author became subject to punishment and to the extent that his discourse was considered transgressive" (124). During the middle ages texts "that we now call 'scientific' (dealing with cosmology and the heavens, medicine or illness, the natural sciences or geography) were only considered truthful . . . if the name of the author was indicated" (126). At that time, the author's name "marked a proven discourse." But by the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, after Boyle's scientific method had helped revolutionize the way philosophers and scientists viewed the world,

scientific texts were accepted on their own merits and positioned within an anonymous and coherent conceptual system of established truths and methods of verification. . . . At the same time, however, "literary" discourse was acceptable only if it carried an author's name; every text of poetry or fiction was obliged to state its author and the date, place and circumstance of its writing. the meaning and value attributed to the text depended on this information. (126).

The early exploration narratives occur in the Renaissance, the "age of exploration," and a period when both scientific and literary discourses were

undergoing radical shifts regarding their perceived referentiality and claims to truth. According to Foucault, Foxe and James's accounts are scientific mainly because their names verify that what they say is true, and that they have completed their voyages as they have related. Yet all these narratives also include astronomical measurements which are part of a "coherent conceptual system of established truths." Clearly then, just as the Europeans' world is expanding, their conception of truth and the role of the author is changing as well.

In "What is an Author?" Foucault shows that the conception of author changes throughout history, and also in terms of a "literary" or a "scientific" discourse. Exploration literature is fascinating precisely because it inevitably contains all these elements: both literary and scientific, it demonstrates how history is made into text. In seeking to explain how much "modern criticism . . . desire[s] to 'recover' the author from a work," Foucault provides an important perspective on Foxe and James within the Renaissance:

The author . . . constitutes a principle of unity in writing where any unevenness of production is ascribed to changes caused by evolution, maturation, or outside influence. In addition, the author serves to neutralize the contradictions that are found in a series of texts. Governing this function is the belief that there must be—at a particular level of an author's thought, of his conscious or unconscious desire—a point where contradictions are resolved, where the incompatible elements can be shown to relate to one another or to cohere around a fundamental and originating contradiction. (128)

Renaissance Europeans saw their geographic centrality becoming increasingly relative. The discovery of new worlds and civilizations threatened their political and social control. By representing England and her seafaring mystique, Foxe and James "neutralize the contradictions" among the various texts of imperialism, contradictions created by an expanding and fragmenting geography. Edward Said claims that "texts have ways of existing that even in their most rarefied form are always enmeshed in circumstance, time, place, and society—in short, they are in the world, and hence worldly" ("World" 35). Exploration texts exemplify Said's point most

explicitly not only by going out into the world, but also by bringing that "world" back to the readers at home. Furthermore, the simulacrum of North America which is published and distributed in England is propagandized and codified by imperial desire, just as we have seen with "Frobisher's Map." The Northwest Passage, as represented on that map, erases the land which "contradicts" the free flow of commerce. And although James himself does not manage to erase the contradictory land and ice, his overcoming of those obstacles and returning to England "neutralizes" the potentially catastrophic effect of the unknown Other.

Perhaps one of the reasons for the commercial failure of Foxe's book is that he fails to build on his own imperial authority. Foxe places his own narrative at the end of his book, and while this sequence emphasizes the glory of a nation of explorers, it de-emphasizes his individual achievement. By making North-West Fox, or Fox from the North-west Passage an exploration anthology he passes up the opportunity to include some of the structural tension possessed by the Strange and Dangerous Voyage of Thomas James. Even a comparison of the titles demonstrates the differences: Foxe's book has two titles, the first North-West Fox, boldly attaches a geographic appellation to his name, thereby associating him with the land. But then he seems to retract this statement, and Fox from the North-west Passage emphasizes his moving away from foreign geography, and perhaps back towards England.⁸¹ On the other hand, James's straightforward and descriptive title emphasizes the journey itself, rather than the geography which is not nearly as interesting. Specific differences in style are readily observed by recalling some of the quotations above. Foxe's description of the ice shows a detached fascination: "you shall hardly see any water for them [icebergs], but whilst you lie amongst them, it is so smooth as you shall not feele the ship stirre" (186). In contrast, James writes, "All this day, we did beat, and were beaten fearefully, amongst the Ice; it blowing a very storme" (6). Both quotations are from the Captain's early encounters with ice, but

⁸¹ Foxe's title, with the attempted rhetorical flourish through repetition, is typical of his "straining after . . . witticisms."

Foxe settles in smoothly with the ice while James is beaten fearfully. While there are moments when Foxe is in peril, they are remarkably few, and even then the permutations of his reasoning and excessive narrative digressions serve to rationalize most of the danger out of the situation:

The flood coming on, I caused both Topsayles to bee cast over, and wee threed it, betweene Ice and Ice, with a well bent flood inwards, so as that we had got above the Ile (that tyde) if this faire day had not ended in fogge. A motion was made before this, to looke for harbour, but that I denied, for those reasons given, that I did not know, what danger might fall me, if I had put into the shore, where lay much yce (as we could see) and what yce or sunke Rocks might be in the way, I was as ignorant of; besides not knowing whether the the wind would serve to bring me in a safe roade . . . the wind might Souther, and then there being such store of yce in the passage, would inforce me on shore upon the Rockes, it flowing much water there, as Baffin reports, with these reasons wee were all perswaded, to ply it up amongst the Ice in Sea roome, rather then to indanger our selves in harbour. . . (North-West Fox 183-84)

This passage, which is edited to less than half its length, shows the remarkable turning and twisting of Foxe's narrative. He begins with the shrewd action of lowering the topsails in order to thread his way through the ice. The same material in James's account would more than likely describe in detail all the scrapings and beatings. Instead, Foxe goes backwards in time to describe how they came to be among the ice ("A motion was made before this, to looke for harbour," emphasis mine). Rather than building up to it, Foxe places the climax at the beginning of the section and the rest of the paragraph is an elaborately detailed argument as to why they are there.⁸² Typically, in the midst of his digression on the probable wind conditions and presence of rocks, he mentions the possible effects of a tide "as Baffin reports," thus making a reference to a previous text in his own book. Apparently his literary erudition is enough to carry the day, for he reports that "with these reasons wee were all perswaded." We can only wonder if he

⁸² Like most of Foxe's paragraphs, it is almost all one sentence; the sentence begins "a motion was made," about three quarters of the way down page 183 and continues until three quarters of the way down page 184, at which point the day, the paragraph and the sentence end.

actually used Baffin's text to convince his crew, or if he is using it to convince us. Returning to the image of the palimpsest, it is impossible to separate one text from another, to determine which is situated within which, so that Foxe's "world" is literally textured by the exploration accounts which have come before, many of which are reproduced in his own book.

By using Foucault's formulation of the author-function, we see that Foxe has tried hard to "neutralize the contradictions" present in his confrontation with the Other; he contains the foreign landscape so that it does not startle his readers and the radical geographic and cultural differences between England and Hudson Bay are not made explicit. Further along in this same elaborate sentence/paragraph we find an interesting comparison when Foxe is describing the eddies and currents that the rocks and "grounded ice" which form small islands make. He remarks that similar navigational problems

may be observed by London bridge, the bases of whose Arches, being set in the Tides course, doth so restraints his motion, that the following streames, by heightening the waters, causeth such a Current as it were to ingulfe by the fall thereof, as you see the water men cannot keepe their boates even on, the Counter tyde, wheeling on her, of the one side, the eddie coursing her upon the other, not joyning their separations, but going as it were distracted above Cole-harbour before they come to themselves againe, to passe Westward; (184)

Foxe shifts his geography in mid-sentence from Hudson Bay to London. This narrative diversion has many consequences, the first of which is that it provides a comparison with something presumably familiar so that the English reader may better understand the navigational situation. But another consequence is again to write over the new country with the geography of the old, because the explorer always approaches any new landscape with images of previous terrains. In fact, Foxe connotes the entire geographical space from London bridge to Cole harbour when he writes the new country as a palimpsest of England. Just as the Atlantic ocean has been elided in the narrative, so has the distance between there and here by the produced word on the page in front of us. The familiarity of the terrain Foxe describes also

helps erase the tension of reproducing the new country: its "Otherness" is hidden by turning rocks and ice islands into the arches of London bridge, a well-known symbol of British civilization. But while the example of London bridge helps to pull the image of British imperial domination over the treacherous shore of Hudson Bay, it does not hide Foxe's lack of dominance, or mastery, over his own discourse. Foxe's "style" marks the entire sentence, but this portion particularly twists and turns and his syntax is so broken by commas and embedded clauses that it parallels the "water men" who "cannot keepe their boates even on."

In one sense the discourse never leaves Britain because it is composed with such a British perspective and, historically, it is produced by Foxe only after his return. While his journals are composed daily on board the moving ship, the book that is finally printed, with its 171-page history of earlier voyages, requires the libraries and printing presses of England. The difference between the journals and the published book can also be explained by referring back to chapter two, where I distinguished between the "private" act of writing a book, and the public action of publishing another addition to the "book of exploration"; the mini-anthology included with North-West Fox draws attention to Foxe's voyage as another textual contribution to this "book."

Foxe uses England to define the new country and his strategy is even more pronounced in his use of place names. Often Foxe will mention a place name (in the early portion of the voyage usually a name chosen by an earlier explorer), and then digress into a long exposition of the name's history, as if this English name had some innate and inseparable connection with the territory it describes.⁸³ A good example of naming occurs towards the

⁸³ The example of naming most clearly shows the arbitrariness of the Englishmen's project of establishing the new land's written identity. As James Williamson's The Voyages of the Cabots demonstrates, the Vikings did not generally name the lands after themselves, but after events or qualities of the lands themselves. The most well-known example is "Vineland" which was named after its abundance of vines.

beginning of his voyage when he has just crossed the Atlantic and arrived at Lumley's Inlet:⁸⁴

Seeing now that it hath pleased God, to send me thus happily neere to the land being the N, side of Lumleys inlet, so named after the right honourable the Lord Lumley, an especiall furtherer to Davis in his voyages, as to many other Lordly designes, as that never to be forgotten act of his, in building up the peere, of that distressed poore sister towne and corporation of Hartlepoole, in the Bishoprick of Durham, at his owne proper cost and charge, to the value of 2000 pounds, at my first comming thither I demanded at whose charge the said Peere towne was builded, an old man answered, marrye at my good Lord Lumleys, whose Soule was in Heaven before his bones were cold. (179)

Although the Atlantic has been crossed, the place name refers not to the new land, but back towards England where a businessman has built a pier to encourage commerce in the depressed town of Hartlepoole. This paragraph demonstrates how economic interests advance the cause of exploration and inform the subsequently produced discourses. That is, Lumley builds piers and finances Davis, thus ensuring the future of commercial and exploratory sailing, and his image—through his proper name—is reproduced on the newly discovered geography.⁸⁵

Again, Foxe veers away from the narrative of his voyage into a digression on the history of naming. When we examine the narrative in terms of this series of digressions, we see how more than just the image of England

⁸⁴ This is one of the first "Canadian" landmarks Foxe encountered on his voyage. As Miller Christy's map shows us, it is part of Baffin Island and was named Lumley's Inlet by Davis, but is now called Frobisher Bay. In a series of displacements, one explorer is written over by another.

⁸⁵ The "original" naming of the inlet is present in North-West Fox in the section containing Davis' third voyage, but here it is a much more barren story:

The 26 was a pretty storme at S, E, 27,28,29. faire weather; He had coasted the South-side shore of Cumberlands sound: And was got cleare out into 62, deg. betwixt which and 63.deg.00. he espies an opening: And names it Lumleys Ilet: And tells of great falls and Gulfes of water.

Although Foxe's style is often convoluted, he incorporates interesting historical details that would, in most other books, remain unwritten.

is drawn over this terrain. History is read into the landscape in the form of possession: it is "Lumley's" inlet because he now owns it through his financing of its discovery. While he doesn't own "the thing itself," whatever and wherever that is (we could ask if "Lumley's Inlet" is the same thing as "Frobisher's Bay"?), he owns the image of it within Foxe's text. Lumley owns the access to the inlet, both through the initial voyage and through subsequent texts which repeat the gesture of this voyage. Just as Lumley has produced the new pier in Hartlepoole, he has produced an inlet on the other side of the Atlantic. And it is only taken away from him when the financier's name is replaced by that of an explorer.

Despite Foxe's defective style, his "authorial function" contains textually the radically different North American geography⁸⁶ and endows this explorer with a representative power over land.⁸⁷ Another aspect of this power is Foxe's inclusion of the "old man" within his narrative. Acting as historian, the old man relates the circumstances of the pier's naming and even comments on the character of the benefactor. Significantly, this old man is an oral historian whose discourse is incorporated within that of Foxe's, and this appropriation anticipates future explorers' contact with oral native cultures. The reason this man is able to "answer" to Foxe's "demands" upon his "first comming thither," is that he has, presumably, lived in Hartlepoole long enough to grow old and commit to memory its history. Foxe's writing of that history takes what was local, lived, and contingent on experience, and uses it as a source for his own re-writing of Lumley, an anecdote which serves to

⁸⁶ In his novel Burning Water, George Bowering graphically describes George Vancouver's reaction to the radically different landscape of North America:

In the antipodes they had sailed into fjords that will shrink your scrotum, but he could still never get used to the mountains that rear suddenly out of the mist and up from the water, so that the land you have been making for is not in your fancy or before you, but beside you and above your mast. (106)

⁸⁷ An empirical proof of writing's force is that many of his names have remained on Canadian maps.

prop up the myth of Lumley as a capitalist benefactor whose worth even God recognizes.

After analyzing these passages of Foxe's we can agree with Miller Christy's remarks that, "Foxe's sentences are often so confused as to be almost, and sometimes quite, incomprehensible. In addition, we meet in the narrative with a constant straining after far-fetched witticisms." But Christy is superficial in his criticism because many of these "confused" sentences reveal much about Foxe's project and his culture. Of course the book is difficult to read, and ultimately may even be dull, but it is this very difficulty which exposes the strain of representing a new geography and climate. By attempting to erase the radical difference of there and here, Foxe over-determines the landscape's historical and cultural background with so many minute details (Christy calls them "indigestible information"), that our attention is repeatedly drawn to this strategy of artifice.

[A] James: Alterity and Rime

In contrast to North-West Fox, James's Strange and Dangerous Voyage stresses the alterity of there and here by exaggerating the "otherness" of Canada: its harsh weather is described in detail and the land is almost entirely devoid of any sustenance. On a purely quantitative level the two accounts differ radically as we can see from the comparatively bountiful land presented to us by Foxe:

That Foxe was an excellent all-round observer, his Journal also shows. He mentions no fewer than twenty-three species of plants, shrubs, and trees; twenty-one of mammals; twenty of birds; and several of fish. (Christy_cxxix-cxxx)

A short survey of the places in the book where Foxe mentions animals will suffice to demonstrate the great variety of interactions. On page 178 a whale is sighted, on 193, a sea unicorn, on 199 a bear is sighted and killed, and on 203 fish, seals and a whale are seen. On page 205 a deer is chased and "Peter

Nesfield, one of the Quarter-Masters," (the leader of the "landing party") reports observing forty whales, "some say less, but it seemeth, there were many lying there to sleepe, so as they tooke them for Rocks, they say there is a Cove or Harbour, made by small islands..." Also on page 205 a swan is taken on board but "within 3 or 4 dayes the legges by mischance were broken, and it dyed."⁸⁸ Remarkably, on page 218 another bear is killed, and on page 219 three bears are killed! Foxe's contacts with various animals run the gamut from casual observation to mild carnage.

On the other hand, animals are practically non-existent in James's narrative. Neither James nor his crew are able to catch any fish or hunt successfully and only in the spring, after they manage to live through a devastating winter, do they manage to pick some green plants that save most of them from scurvy. While Foxe's men kill five bears, the following is the only account of any hunting in the Strange and Dangerous Voyage. It occurs on March 15, 1632, a point in the expedition when their activities are reduced to eating and foraging enough wood to burn in their meager fire:

The fifteenth, one of our men thought he had seene a Deere: whereupon he with two or three more desired that they might go to see if they could take it: I gave them leave: but in the Evening they returned so disabled with cold, which did rise up in blisters under the soales of their feete and upon their legges, to the bignesse of Walnuts; that they could not recover their former estate (which was not very well) in a fortnight after.

The sixe and twentieth, three more desire that they also might goe out to try their fortunes: they returned worse disabled, and even almost stifled with the cold. (65-66)

The failure of this hunting expedition reinforces the overall image of a barren environment where the crew's thoughts of sustenance lead only to further desolation and deterioration.

While the absence of other forms of life (plant, animal, human) reinforces the notion of alterity in the Strange and Dangerous Voyage, the inclusion of "The Wintering" section both contributes to its fascination as

⁸⁸ This incident is strangely reminiscent of the albatross that is killed in The Rime of the Ancient Mariner of which the Strange and Dangerous Voyage is a major source.

exploration narrative and displays an extreme of human endurance. James crosses over the gulf between sailing and landing by actually sinking his ship and wintering on Charleton Island. This radical act of desperation adds an element to the story which is simply not present in Foxe's voyage because he was more efficient in his mapping, in following the written instructions both captains were given, and in sensibly departing in the fall and sailing back to England.⁸⁹ Christy discusses Foxe's superior achievements as far as discovery and surveying are concerned and, as I have previously mentioned, argues that a "striking feature which the student of Captain James's narrative will observe is the very small amount of useful geographical discovery he accomplished" (clxxi). Interestingly, it is not the so-called "discovery" of geography which is important in the narrative, but James's actual encounter with it. It is one thing to map out the division between land and sea accurately; it is quite another thing to give up the comfort and identity of the ship and become practically at the mercy of the inhospitable "other."

⁸⁹ Both Foxe and James received similar instructions from the King although, as Christy tells us, neither have been preserved. The main object of both explorations was to "explore to the north-westward from Salisbury and Nottingham Islands, whence both the survivors of Hudson's expedition and Button had observed a tide which the latter regraded as 'the true channel tyde'" (xcvi). If the tide could not be found then the west side of the bay was to be explored. These instructions, and the manner in which they are followed in the two voyages, clearly demonstrate my notion of the exploration as palimpsest, a word which, from the Greek, literally means "scraped again." Parchments or old tablets would be written on several times, the old inscriptions sometimes imperfectly erased. This word emphasizes writing as a physical process, and that each "writing" occurs both physically and metaphysically over a surface of previous inscriptions. Foxe and James sail and write over the surface Button has inscribed before them (just as, in one of the earliest examples of "exploration literature," Virgil has Aeneas retrace the geography of Homer's Odysseus). The narrative is therefore shaped, not only by previous voyages, but by the sovereign under whose authority the vessels travel. In addition to framing the overall form of the narrative, these instructions explain the multitude of depth soundings and discussions of the tide in both works. The various mappings are not only concerned with the differences between sea and shore, but also between sea and sea floor. In this sense the measurements show to what extent the sea is contained within the land.

Earlier I discussed the importance of the division between land and sea, and the mystifying space of ice. The whole process of transferring people and contents from the ship to the shore takes place over a continually shifting mixture of ice and water in the first two weeks of December, 1631:

The first of December was so cold, that I went the same way over the Ice to the Ship, where the Boate had gone yesterday. This day we carried upon our backs in bundles 500. of our fish: and much of our bedding and clothes; which we were faine to digge out of the Ice. . . .

The third day, there were divers great pieces of Ice that came athwart the Ship: and shee stopt them, yet not so, that we could goe over them. We found a way for the Boat: but when she was loaden, shee drew foure foot water, and could not come within a flight-shot of shoare.⁹⁰ The men therefore must wade thorow the thicke congealed water; and carry all things out of the Ship upon their backs. Every time they waded in the Ice, it so gathered about thé, that they did seeme like a walking piece of Ice, most lamentable to behold. (56-57)

The ice, which can take the form of land, blurs the distinction between land and water, freezing enough to walk on one day, and partially thawing the next. In this passage the ice extends its domain to the men, who seem like "walking piece[s] of ice," literally losing their identity to the elements. The Strange and Dangerous Voyage portrays a steady deterioration of the physical universe the men inhabit, beginning with their entry into this "other" world where the ice immediately threatens to break up their ship, to this point in the narrative where the ship must be abandoned and provisions carried ashore. In a sense, then, their world has completely capsized and there is little hope for the future. The world that is thus represented is one in which humans are relatively small and ineffectual compared with the elemental forces of the world, and this repeats the juxtaposition of size and importance foreshadowed in James's discussion of his ship in relation to the ice (quoted at the end of the previous section).

James places his tension between man and nature within a traditional Christian framework, first with his many appeals to God's mercy and God's

⁹⁰ In his edition of Strange and Dangerous Voyage, W.A. Kenyon changes this to "within a bow-shot of the shore."

grace, and then by his formalizing this structure in his speech to his men as they prepare to move their provisions from ship to shore:

I comforted them the best I could with such like words: My Masters and faithfull Companions: be not dismaide for any of these disasters, but let us put our whole trust in God. It is he that giveth, and he that taketh away: he throwes downe with one hand. and raiseth up with another. His will be done. If it be our fortunes to end our dayes here, we are as neere heaven, as in England Admit the Ship be foundered (which God forbid, I hope the best) yet have those our owne nation, and others, when they have beene put to these extremities, even out of the wracke of their lost Ship, built then a Pinnasse, and recovered to their friends again. If it be objected, that they have happened into better Climate, both for temperatenesse of the ayre, and for pacificke and open seas: and provided withall, of abundance of fresh victuall: yet there is nothing too hard for couragious minds: with hitherto you have showne, and I doubt not will still doe, to the uttermost. (55)

There is an interesting conflation here of God's will with that of James. The overall intention of this mini-sermon is to bend the men towards his own purpose even though it might seem as if James has failed them thus far. After stringing together several religious clichés, James returns to the theme of geography and alterity. He admits that their geography makes their situation unique and more precarious than previous expeditions faced with similar circumstances, and he exhorts his men to place their trust in God to complete his [James's] will. The effects of geography and climate have together stripped their social structure to its most basic construction of authority; it is also significant that James points out how religion erases the difference of "there and here" when he says that "we are as neere heaven, as in England."⁹¹ His strategy is apparently successful because in the next paragraph we find that "They all protested to worke to the uttermost of their strength, and that they would refuse nothing that I should order them to doe, to the uttermost hazzard of their lives" (55). It is significant that his men

⁹¹ Concerning this passage Walter Kenyon remarks:

A quotation from More's Utopia. This must have been a very popular book with explorers. Just before his frigate, the Squirrel, went down in 1583, Sir Humphrey Gilbert was exhorting his crew with the same passage (145)

respond to the extremity of their situation by pledging to push themselves to extremities, as if paralleling the environment might improve their condition.

Details of the wintering show how their lives are a constant struggle to articulate their existence. The boundary between land and water is erased by the ice, and has lost its importance because the sailors have retreated to shore. Once they are on shore, the climate and geography again work to erase their existence:

Long before Christmas, our mansion house was covered thicke over with Snow: almost to the very roof of it. And so likewise was our second house: but our Store-house, all over: by reason we made no fire in it. Thus we seemed to live in a heape, and Wildernesse of Snow; forth adores we could not go, but upon the snow: in which we made us paths middle deepe in some places: and in one special place, the length of tenne steps. . . . And this was our best gallery for the sickemen: and for mine owne ordinary walking. And both houses and walkes, we did daily accommodate more and more, and make fitter for our uses. (61)

As James says, they live "in a heape, and Wildernesse of Snow," where it becomes increasingly difficult to separate themselves from this blanket of blankness. The path in the snow that the men build helps maintain them both through physical exercise and through the articulation of their existence in this medium which seeks to cover over all traces.

Just as the ice was a combination of water and land, the snow combines water and air in attempting to cover over the land. Significantly, the only thing that saves them is their control over the fourth and final element, the fire which holds back the freezing cold. As James says, the store-house which lacks a fire is covered "all over." In fact, much of the wintering is consumed by the terrible necessity to keep the fire going. After describing how sick most of the men were with scurvy ("all the teeth in their heads being loose, their gums swolne, with blacke rotten flesh; which must every day be cutaway..." (63)), and how many of their axes and tools had been broken, James then details the wood-gathering procedure. First there was the wood that was to be used to build the pinnace, and it therefore had to conform naturally to the necessary shape:

The three that were appointed to looke crooked timber, must stalke and wade, (sometimes on all foure) thorow the snow: and where they saw a tree likely to fit the mould: they must first heave away the snow, and then see if it would fit the mould; them they must make a fire to it, to thawe it: otherwise it could not be cut. Then cut it downe, and fit it to the length of the mould: and them with other helpe, get it home: a mile thorow the snow. (67)

Then there was the wood to be used for burning which, above all else, could not be green because it would smoke and "the men had rather starve without in the cold, then sit by it." To find dry wood they had to look for a dry standing tree:

For that the snow covered any that were fallen. Then they must hacke it down with their pieces of hatchets: and then others must carry it home thorow the snow. The boyes with Cuttleasses, must cut boughes for the Carpenter: for every piece of timber that he did worke, must first be thaw'd in the fire: and he must have a fire by him, or he could not worke. (67)

They must build a fire to cut down trees, and another for the carpenter to work; in fact, their very existence depends upon this elemental force. James gives an example of how near they are to the deathly cold when he describes how the cook must thaw their food in a brass kettle by the fire, but "I have many times both seene and felt by putting my hand into it; that side which was next to the fire, was very warme, and the other side an inch frozen" (65).

We have seen how Foxe attempted to be scientific in his description of ice, whereas James makes similar distinctions about the cold which are reminiscent of a description of the circles of hell:

Since I have spoken so much of the cold, I hope it will not be too coldly taken, if I in a few words make it someway to appeare unto our Readers.

Wee made three differences of the cold: all according to the places. In our house, In the woods: and in the open Ayer, upon the Ice, in our going to the ship.⁹²

⁹² James seems to have a fondness for the trinity; later in his narrative he divides his infirm along the same lines:

We had three sorts of sickemen. Those that could not move nor turne themselves in their Beds, who must be tended like an Infant. Other that were as it were creepled with scurvy Aches. And others lastly, that were something better. Most of all had sore mouthes. (72)

For the last, it would be sometimes so extreme, that it was not indurable: no Cloathes were prooffe against it; no motion could resist it. (64)

Although James attempts to be objective by classifying the cold according to place, the illustration is really highly subjective since it depends on the amount of open air to which a person is subjected (today we call this the wind chill factor). At its worst the cold is completely irresistible and simply "not indurable." The move to the land and the subsequent wintering has reduced the sailor's world to the sensations of heat and cold. This limited existence, coupled with the gradual wasting away due to scurvy, surely qualifies as a finely-honed vision of hell.

If sinking the ship is an act of desperation that could lead to devastation, then the raising of it is a form of redemption. And between the two lies a winter which is described as a hell on earth. Ultimately they are able to raise their ship because the elements have again spared them; the water has not frozen under the layer of ice and therefore the bottom of the ship is still intact (they had feared the ice would have forced the timbers apart). Those who sail home are "sadder but wiser men," and live to rise the "morrow morn."

Given the harsh winter, the deaths on Charleton Island, and the near destruction of the ship, "turning back" seems self-evident. Yet for James—as for most explorers—this requires substantial justification.⁹³ The moment of return reveals a great deal about the power of textuality in the whole operation of exploring. James calls a "consultation" of his "associates," "requiring them to advise and counsell mee, how to prosecute our businesse to effect" (104). They advise him to "repaire homward" list seven reasons, including the cold which makes it hard to use the sails, the stormy weather, the probability of ice in Hudson's Straights, the lateness of the season, and

⁹³ In the final chapter, I discuss how for Franklin, even his boats falling apart is not, in itself, enough of an incentive to turn back.

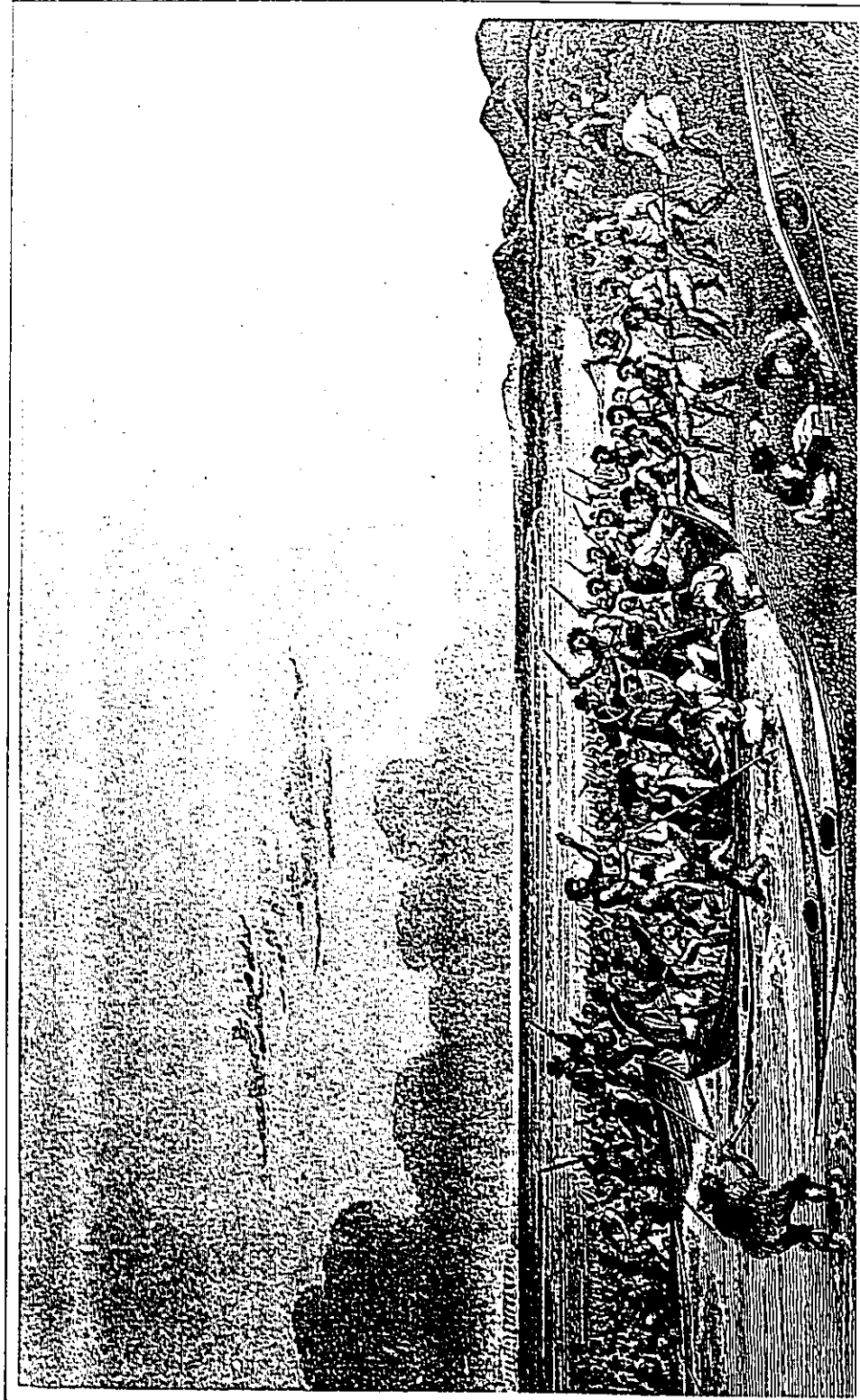
the poor repair of the boat. The care with which James sets up this meeting, naming all the associates who guide him in the decision, and detailing the reasons for turning back, draws attention to the legal aspects of the trip. Aside from those moments when James names some geographic site after a benefactor, this is the first time since the book's beginning, where James has described how the Merchants of Bristol outfitted him, that we are reminded the journey has been undertaken at the request of a commercial consortium, and James is, therefore, under contract. The legal language is important since if James does not "prosecute his business to effect," he may himself wind up being prosecuted for failing to carry out the business of those "benefactors."

Foxe and James's books demonstrate that the "book of exploration" contains many different forms of writing, including autobiography, early attempts at empirical observation, poetry, history, adventure, and legal argument. However, as Germaine Warkentin demonstrates, the boundaries separating these different genres were much less clearly defined in the Renaissance and when the "tale-teller and scientific observer are one and the same," actual control over the territory is difficult to establish. Even with, for the time, relatively sophisticated modes of representation, these early narratives remain at the margins of the land itself. The gulf remains between sea and land, and James's crossing over that divide only reinforces its importance. Innis's formulation of "margin and centre," what Northrop Frye will later reformulate into his famous "garrison mentality" statement on Canadian culture,⁹⁴ is not appropriate here because no forms of communication have been established over the unseen terrain. In fact, Foxe's and James's attempts at communication take on a surreal and solipsistic bent. As I men-

⁹⁴ In his "Conclusion" to the Literary History of Canada, Frye argues that the Canadian imagination has been conditioned by what he describes as a "garrison mentality," rooted in a history of "Small and isolated communities surrounded with a physical or psychological 'frontier,' separated from one another and from their American and British cultural forces" (830). This mentality leads to "unquestionable" moral values since "In a perilous enterprise one does not discuss causes or motives: one is wither a fighter or a deserter."

tioned in chapter two, Foxe's men find Thomas Button's "board broken in two" and Foxe regrets removing it from the land into which it was disintegrating; James starts a fire which almost kills him, and then leaves a long "letter . . . fastened to [a] Crosse" on Charleton Island, the "copie" of which takes up over eight pages at the end of his book. To whom is this letter addressed, a text which is unlikely ever to be read on the island where it has been planted? The published/duplicated letter we can read is merely a simulacrum of the "original"; divorced from its frigid landscape, it is no longer a "letter" at all, but, rather, an appendix beside the "names of several instruments" and "An Appendix Touching Longitude." Although many explorers claim territory they will never see again, this letter does not; instead, it is a miniature narrative of the trip, perhaps a silent proof of their achievement in case they do not make it back to Bristol.

Despite the ineffectiveness of their communication over the land, their inability to glean intelligence from its surface, the early explorers were successful in creating a harsh and alien image of the country which was repeated and recognized for many years after. The technology of writing, through the conflation of discourses mentioned above, "captures" an image and brings it back to the imperial public, hermetically sealed between the covers of what will, they hope, become a bestselling book. Although the sailors are confined, for the most part, to discoursing over the marginalia of land and sea, they begin the colonial inscription of Canada.

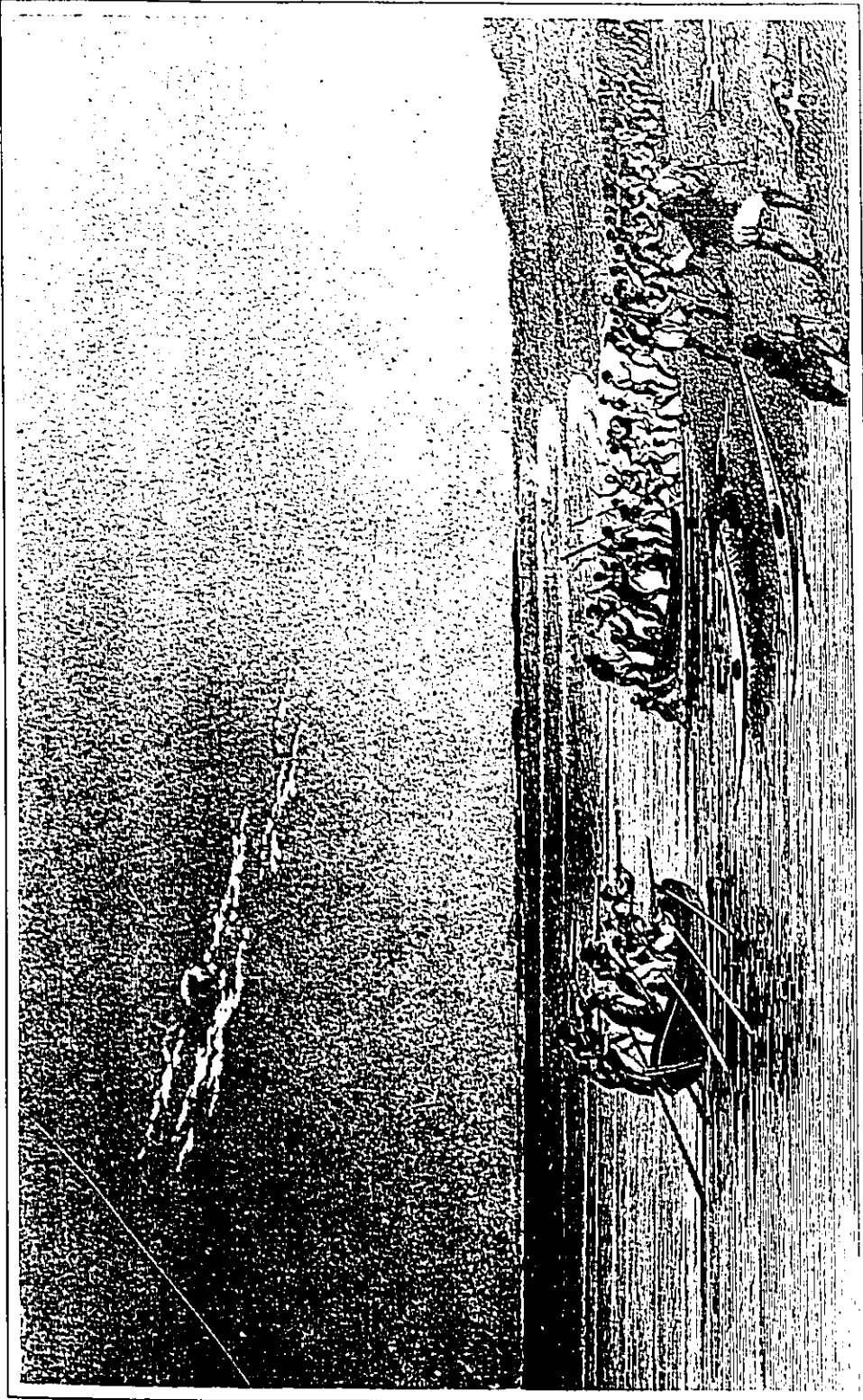


Drawn by Capt. Back R.N.

Engraved by Edward Finden

The Esquimaux pillaging the Boats

Fig. 4 "The Esquimaux Pillaging the Boats"



Engraved by Edward Finden

The Boats getting afloat

Drawn by Capt. Back R.N.

Fig. 5 "The Boats Getting Afloat"

after William Williams, Esq., late governor of Prince Rupert's land. We observed here an unusually large spruce tree, considering the high latitude in which it grew; it measured seven feet in circumference, at the height of four feet from the ground. A hole was dug at the foot of the hill, in sandy soil, to the depth of three feet without reaching frozen ground.

1826.
July.

On the 6th, heavy and continued rain delayed our embarkation until ten o'clock in the forenoon, and the weather, during the rest of the day, was hazy, with occasional showers of small rain. Before leaving the encampment, we lopped the branches from a tree, and suspended to it a small kettle, a hatchet, an ice-chisel, and a few strings of beads, together with a letter written in hieroglyphics, by Mr. Kendall, denoting that a party of white people presented these articles to the Esquimaux as a token of friendship*. As we advanced, we came to the union of several ramifications of the middle channel with the eastern branch of the river, and the breadth of the latter increased to two miles; its depth of water being rarely less than three fathoms. In latitude 69°, the eastern channel of the Mackenzie makes a turn round the end of the Rein-deer-hills which terminate there, having previously diminished in height to about two hundred feet. At the commencement of this turn, there is a small island nearly equal to the main land in height, and appearing, when viewed

Thursday,
6th.

* As the reader may desire to know what hieroglyphics were used to express our intentions, a copy of the letter is annexed.



Fig. 6 Hieroglyphic illustration

Chapter 5

"The Esquimaux Pillaging the Boats" and "The Boats Getting Afloat"⁹⁵

Throughout this thesis different "scenes" in the drama of exploration are analyzed for how they enact structures of power over the lands and peoples they represent. Some of these scenes occur within verbal discourse and others are visual, but they employ many of the same strategies of domination. These two engravings, taken from the Narrative of a Second Expedition, can be viewed as another representation of the northern territory depicted in "Frobisher's Map." While "Frobisher's Map" amounts to optimistic propaganda, and could almost be described as a poster or advertisement designed to lure prospective investors, Franklin's engravings detail some of the many obstacles constantly in the way of the explorer. Almost 200 years have elapsed between these two images and the point of view has shifted from a map fantasizing the global circulation of commerce, to a ground level scene of the shore itself: the boundary between sea and land, a symbolically charged site where "first contact" often takes place, where goods are first traded to begin the process of exchange, and, as I have described previously, where the flags of the colonizer are planted in the soil to designate ownership of the territory. And the search for the Northwest Passage continues although by the nineteenth century the Passage was no longer considered a possibility as a viable shipping route, and the desire to "discover" it had become a more abstract aspect of imperialism's quest for geo-political control.

Both the map and the engraving depict the division between land and sea, and in both cases the sea represents a liberating medium while the land

⁹⁵ I have presented portions of the following material before the English Faculty at Mount Royal College and at the annual conference of the Canadian Association for Commonwealth Literature and Language Studies. I am grateful for the comments and suggestions I received on those occasions.

symbolizes failure and danger. Frobisher was a true capitalist; he sold the belief in his ability to sail anywhere and he asked investors to put their money behind him because he was a proven sailor. In his last voyages he sold the fact that he was a good entrepreneur so successfully that he did not even have to sail to Cathay in order to find gold. But his map is from an early period when his business sense told him the answer lay in the East. While Franklin relies on capitalism to sustain his expeditions, these engravings show him to be more a military man than an entrepreneur. The "pillaging" occurs because his attempts at "trading" have gone awry, and he retreats into an enforcing mode, as if the Eskimo were unruly civilians needing quick and effective police action. Franklin is seen as superior because he has the technology which allows him to control the water, while the Eskimo are confined to land. They have canoes, but Franklin has especially designed his boats to be lightweight, yet extremely stable, maneuverable, and capable of carrying several men. Franklin and his men are a miniature navy which has touched briefly on shore, and now sail away after presenting a show of force.

These two engravings are meant to be viewed consecutively and illustrate an important moment in what is now called "first contact." The overall effect is one of a movement from disorder to order, the restoration of which generates relief that the voyage will proceed and that discoveries will ensue. There are a number of subsidiary details that work to bring this "reconciliation" about and also reveal the mechanisms of an imperial power which is presented here so forcefully with the picture of the rifles in the second frame. The fact that the images are consecutive is important because they therefore represent a time period between them and this becomes an integral structure of the narrative. Most pictures in books of exploration tend to be static and depict a landmark such as a lake, river, sea, or mountain which literally marks where they have been. The motion which is thus evoked makes these scenes a foreshadowing of motion pictures and demonstrates the flexibility of exploration literature which can include charts, maps, and engravings such as these. Even pictures and sketches can

range from "scientific" drawings of plants, to portraits of indigenous peoples, to full scale landscapes. When I refer to these pictures as "frames," then, I mean both in the sense that they frame two distinct moments in time, and also they they may be regarded as sequential "frames" in a film strip, able to be projected on a viewer's psychic apparatus.

Certain structural elements are immediately apparent, so I will discuss the obvious oppositions first. Although in these pictures the division between land and sea is central to the story—and is responsible for articulating the tension—the location itself is inconsequential; the story is the interaction of two cultures over the landscape. The viewpoint is almost identical in the two frames, leaving the landscape virtually unchanged as well, and this further focuses the attention of the reader/viewer on the conflict. In The Esquimaux Pillaging the Boats it is difficult to distinguish between the members of the Franklin expedition and the "esquimaux" and this mixup inevitably leads to tension for the reader since we have taken the point of view of the explorers throughout the narrative, and now risk losing it. Not only does the second frame restore imperial order, it reassures the reader by providing a clear identification of the explorers. Although the viewpoint is almost identical, it does change very slightly. The landmarks are not entirely consistent (pointing again to their relative unimportance), but we can see, through the placement of the two kayaks in the bottom centre and the scale of the figures, that the second frame's implied observer is farther away. Retaining the analogy with film, we could say that the "camera" in the first frame is zooming in for a "close-up" which heightens the conflict, and the second frame objectifies and detaches from the now established order by moving away.

The gap between the two pictures produces an interesting question: how is this order achieved? The opposition between the two pictures is so marked that the order seems to arise mysteriously, yet naturally, from the officers and crew raising their rifles. The pictures reinforce a stereotyped image of imperial powers achieving conquest and rule over ravaging hordes

of "savages." In order to reveal how their power is constructed it is crucial to note that the rifle's power is highly symbolic and theoretical rather than practical because after the first volley of fire the Eskimo would certainly be capable of overwhelming the men. (As Franklin writes, "I am still of opinion that, mingled as we were with them, the first blood we had shed would have been instantly revenged by the sacrifice of all our lives" [107]). The explorers must show their force without actually using it. Therefore, their escape is achieved through a dramatization of their own position of power. They act out their imperialism until the Eskimo finally recognize it and let them escape. And this is the power of representation, in that they can continually act it out, dramatizing their control, which is much more portable and efficient than the messy business of warfare.

Many formal aspects of the second drawing contribute to the image of imperial power. For instance, the men's rifles are level with the horizon, placing them in a sort of "harmony" with the landscape while the native's knives and spears are at all angles signifying wild disharmony. Similarly, the actual engraving uses a series of extremely fine parallel horizontal lines to represent the ocean's surface, and the men rise in perfectly straight lines out of this surface while their rifles remain precisely parallel to the sea and blend in with the lines of the engraving.⁹⁶ The men's rigid formalism—constructed directly through the engraving process—reinforces their military demeanor and also proves its effectiveness. The process of representing is inextricably also an inscribing which reinforces the drama of the events and, through slightly shifting point of view, and the engraving techné itself, reifies the position of the explorers.

There are a number of possible stories circulating in and around Plates eight and nine. There is the story which Franklin narrates in the body of his journal (and which I will examine in the final chapter of this thesis);

⁹⁶ It is interesting to note how the hierarchy is maintained within the boat. The officers are standing, are closest to the reader/viewer, and their rifles are closest to parallel. The sailors and voyageurs are seated—therefore in a more subservient position—and their rifles deviate more from the strict parallel.

there is the story of heroism in the face of apparently unsurmountable odds which is perhaps pictured in these two frames, and there is the story of imperial formalism triumphing over Inuit who simply do not know the rules of the game as I have detailed them here. And there are also the captions which add their own interpretation of the images. The first caption, "The Esquimaux Pillaging the Boats," more or less describes the scene though it is not completely accurate. For instance, the scene shows an armed struggle between two cultures but little "pillaging," the main example of which is the two figures on the bottom right leisurely examining the contents of a trunk. The actual "pillaging" is described within the narrative, but even there it unfairly circumscribes the natives within a system of law and order they know nothing about.

Far more problematic is the second caption: while "The Esquimaux Pillaging the Boats" emphasizes the Eskimos' negative role, "The Boats Getting Afloat" completely erases the conflict between imperialism and native culture. The passive construction attempts to erase the violence as well. "The Boats Getting Afloat" refers to the discourse of exploration where transportation is all important, and in this instance it clearly works to direct our attention away from the action being depicted.

Finally, I would like to compare this scene with another visual supplement which is printed on page 191 of Franklin's Narrative of a Second Expedition. This is a hieroglyph representing commerce with the natives and is from Dr. Richardson's account of his portion of the expedition. (The entire Franklin party went down the Mackenzie River to the Ocean, but then Franklin went west and Richardson commanded another party east). Richardson writes that after spending the night on "the site of another Esquimaux encampment," the next day (July sixth) they left for the natives "a small kettle, a hatchet, an ice-chisel, and a few strings of beads, together with a letter written in hieroglyphics, by Mr. Kendall, denoting that a party of white people presented these articles to the Esquimaux as a token of friendship" (191). This hieroglyph is more than a "token of friendship"; it is a

written lesson in commerce specifically designed to teach the natives how they should react to the invasion of their lands. Is also strangely duplicates the scene at the beach, for the Europeans are perfectly straight with their rifles, the trade goods are in the middle and the natives are seen in a chaotic mix of euphoria and apprehension. Commerce and military power are mixed here as the uniformed men carrying rifles both offer goods and stand ready to enforce the discipline of exchange. The boats and water are also represented in the middle and above the activities of trading, seemingly as a transcendent symbol of transportation: the ability to "get the goods" to the customers, wherever they might reside. The importance of illustrated rules and formulas is demonstrated by Franklin's experience. According to his journals the disorder in "The Esquimaux Pillaging the Boats" was a result of the Eskimo becoming too excited by the trade goods Franklin offered them. Franklin begins by trading with them, but their raw desire, unencumbered by capitalist structures of exchange, causes them to want everything immediately and they attempt to get it.

The comparison of these two scenes from different explorers' accounts, one illustrating a hair-raising tale of near death at the hands of "savages," the other a written lesson in commerce, reveal a commonality of purpose. The controlled exchange of commodities is essential to any "friendship" between cultures, and exploration is as much a process of making peoples "civilized" and "capitalized" as it is discovering geographical facts. All three images show how representation is used to achieve the imperial goals of ensuring the circulation of capital.

Chapter 6

Exploring and Trading: Samuel Hearne in the Eighteenth Century

I From Sea to Land

Our discussion moves now from the ocean to the land, from the direction of approach, of continually moving and looking for a way forward past the encumbrance which threatens profitability, to being stationary—planted in the ground—and even looking backward across the Atlantic at the ever receding continent, when one is not looking around and making sense of a landscape now just coming into view, and becoming an increasingly dense site of interpretation. Samuel Hearne is one of the earliest products of a European education to travel for extended periods through the Canadian wilderness and meditate, and philosophize on his surroundings. The work produced from this travel, Journey . . . to the Northern Ocean, is a major text in Canadian literary history,⁹⁷ and is generally acknowledged as the first "literary" attempt at representing the landscape. As Victor G. Hopwood writes in the Literary History of Canada,

The model, and one of the best narratives of Canadian land exploration, is Hearne's Journey From Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean. It begins a series of major narratives, notably by Mackenzie, Henry, Harmon, Thompson, and Ross, all conforming more or less to a pattern. They are written in the first person, are factual, and derive their interest from the novelty of their material, their story of endurance, adventure, and discovery, and the incidental insight given into the character of the author. . . . The Journey is one of the most sophisticated early journals and narratives, perhaps as the result of a bent more speculative and literary than was common among fur traders. (25-26)

Not only does Hearne's narrative signal a break from the earlier sea voyages, it institutes a series of generic characteristics that will influence subsequent

⁹⁷ Germaine Warkentin writes that Journey . . . to the Northern Ocean "became the first and most enduring popular classic of Canadian exploration writing" (Canadian Exploration Literature 112).

works for many years. Hearne's narrative is particularly interesting because although it "conforms" to the "pattern" of the others, like Henry Kelsey before him, he is a company man implicated in a unique mix of historical and political circumstances. Hearne lived from 1745 to 1792 and spent practically his entire adult life, from 1763 until 1787, working for the Hudson's Bay Company. He undertook the journey to advance its economic interests and therefore, more than any of the traders who followed, his story is structured by company interests.

The differences between Hearne's and the earlier sea voyages are manifold—particularly since the economic and geographic backgrounds have shifted substantially—and I will begin by describing some of these shifts. The most radical change between Journey . . . to the Northern Ocean and Strange and Dangerous Voyage or North-West Foxe concerns the surface or site of exploration; the movement from water to land shifts the site or ground of interpretation. To begin with, Journey . . . to the Northern Ocean is a book written from the position of a tentative settlement; Hearne's title describes a journey from a fort (a stationary site which uses a military rubric to guard an economic purpose), towards an ocean. At the beginning of the book the river and the ocean are mythic creations of the natives which have made their way into Hudson's Bay Company folklore; Hearne sets out to "re-write" and map this mythical territory in an objective manner. While the sea voyagers were attempting to find a way around the vaguely defined continent, Hearne's narrative is planted firmly in the ground over which he and his native guides walk. Every condition of this surface influences how the journey (and, hence, the narrative) will proceed and is a possible site of investigation. The land is covered by snow in winter, turning lakes into serviceable walking paths, while in the summer canoes must be manufactured or acquired through trade; hunting and fishing are also seasonal and influenced by the shape of the land they must interpret for signs of game. The land surrounds the travellers and Hearne is constantly analyzing where he is in terms of spatial orientation, while his native guides assess the country's ability to sustain them. Foxe and

James are not concerned with the land as such; they pick out only the most noteworthy landmarks to mention in their works, and then not for anything intrinsically or materially contained within the landmark itself, but usually only as a point of geographical reference. For Hearne and his guides, the land contains a depth or density of meaning simply not present in the sea, which is generally articulated as a flat surface serving only to facilitate transportation. The occasional plumbing beneath the surface for depth measurements is also one-dimensional and fails to extend our, or the captain's, perceptions beyond the rather abstract reporting of those measurements. So although "land" exists in both types of narratives, it is constituted quite differently.

In the preceding chapter, I discussed how the historical progression of writing about Canada demonstrates an increasing recognition of the country's economic potential, whereas to the sailors whose journals form the early portion of this history, the land produces nothing. Consequently, the sailors' perception (or their misperception) is responsible for the "strange and dangerous" image of the country they produce and publish.⁹⁸ The ships carry all the provisions with them and any recourse to the land is courting disaster, as we have seen in the case of James's Strange and Dangerous Voyage, with its horrific description of wintering on Charleton island. Ships are sealed up against the sea: the whole idea behind the vessel is to repel both the water and the land. Inherently isolationist, the ship is there to map and to observe, and to move its cargo from one place to another, if a cargo can be found. The sailing ship, which sees "everything" yet hides its own mission and culture from the natives, can be seen as a precursor of Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon, described and theorized at great length by Foucault in Discipline and

⁹⁸ The experiences of Martin Frobisher, as detailed in the earlier section, "Frobisher's Map," are remarkable in how they anticipate many of the themes of subsequent narratives. Frobisher's diversion into mining illustrates how, if wealth can be found in the Arctic, the passage becomes much less important. It regains its prominence when the economic circumstances render it valuable and it is again cathected as an object of economic desire. Like Frobisher's before him, Hearne's mission is comprised of both mineral and geographical interests.

Punish. Bentham invented the Panopticon as a device for controlling prisoners through observation:

...at the [prison's] centre, a tower; this tower is pierced with wide windows that open onto the inner side of the ring; the peripheric building is divided into cells, each of which extends the whole width of the building All that is needed, then, is to place a supervisor in a central tower and to shut up in each cell a madman, a patient, a condemned man, a worker or a schoolboy. (Discipline 200)

Foucault's choice of cell occupants indicates that this is a model not just for prisons, but also for asylums, hospitals, factories and schools. These are all institutions where the state and corporations seek to control the actions of those within them. The subject "is seen, but he does not see; he is the object of information, never a subject in communication" (200). This form of control and alienation is a direct result of the manipulation of the environment to produce certain types of subjects within a discourse of power. The early explorers, instead of writing about prisoners in cells, write about "savages" who seem condemned to live in a barren land, and the relationship between the two cultures is similar to what Foucault describes.

In fact, Frobisher, and others after him, make the role of jailer much more explicit by actually capturing the natives to take back to England where they will be "on display" for a much larger audience. Stephen Greenblatt provides a helpful interpretation of Frobisher's actions in Marvelous Possessions ("Kidnapping Language," 109-18). Greenblatt's discussion clearly demonstrates how the kidnapped Eskimos are "objects of information" and never "subject[s] in communication." The English sailors repeatedly claim a knowledge of the Eskimos' signs which they clearly do not possess. Greenblatt writes, "In the absence of any clear grasp of the native language or culture, the little that the English learn from their captive seems overwhelmed by all that they do not understand, and when they do not understand, they can only continue to entrap, kidnap, and project vain fantasies" (117). Greenblatt describes a situation parallel to my description of Cartier in chapter two, where during his departure from the country the

natives "made signs to us that they would not pull down the cross, delivering at the same time several harangues which we did not understand" (97).

Unlike Frobisher, Cartier admits he does not understand, but his honesty regarding communication does not seem to alter his actions. Even after explorers become settlers and learn more about native languages and culture the entrapment and projection of fantasies do not end because this knowledge is itself produced by the imperial gaze and its discourse of power.⁹⁹

The explorers who travel in ships make explicit the role of the objectifying observer and, hence, best fit Foucault's model; they are alienated from the environment and enforce a "coast guard" patrol of the shoreline. But although Hearne and others travelling on the land do not look like wardens and are often integrated into the life and work of the natives, they share the power of the controlling gaze. As the author of a work of exploration, Hearne's prime purpose is observation and he reveals to his readers the habits and codes of his Indian guides while he maps the "unexplored" and "undiscovered" territories in which generations of these same guides have hunted and fished. Foucault writes about a "supervisor in a central tower," and who is more central than Hearne, whose "towering" discourse captures so many aspects of the land and its culture?

One important difference between Foucault's theory and exploration discourse is important to mention: Foucault discusses subjects inside institutions, while explorers have no walls around them. However, this difference merely demonstrates the power of the Western gaze which does not need walls or extensive physical coercion to enforce its ideology. It is also important for Foucault that while walls enforce space around physical bodies, the practices of observation and discipline mold subjectivities. As if to magnify the truth of their own position and practices many explorers repeatedly make observations about the space and time, while remarking (and complaining) that their companions are not interested in seeing what

⁹⁹ For example, see Ward Churchill's Fantasies of the Master Race for an analysis of more contemporary "vain fantasies."

they see, or fail to differentiate landmarks in a precise and ordered fashion. Various tribes are found to be incredibly "provincial" when they are unable to provide information about territory a few days' march away. The author may appear benign, but he is always assessing appearances, sifting through actions, writing, mapping, and watching from his location at the centre of the land and its culture.

If the land is the "other," and if it contains more potential for a "depth or density of meaning" than does the sea, we must investigate how this density is formed. As Hearne and his guides walk through the country, they carry a minimum of provisions and consequently must rely on their interaction with the land, through hunting and fishing, for their survival. On the journey overland one is constantly open to the elements and interpreting them; therefore the land is always producing something, whether it is actual food, or merely signs of where food might be found. For their part, Hearne and his guides use the land as a semiotic canvas, actively producing discourses in their readings of it, although their processes of interpreting are radically different.

Just as the modes of travel interact with the environment differently, so too are their technologies dissimilar. The ship is a large technological apparatus built to be almost entirely self-sufficient. It patrols the coastline like Bentham's prison warden and it maintains its force and stability from its isolation: if the sea is let in it sinks; if its sailors are forced to abandon it for the shore they generally perish. Its size and hull mask a series of intricate processes which serve to propel and guide it, to feed and shelter its inhabitants, and ultimately to carry its cargo or "payload." The ship houses a small community of workers, part of whose job is to repair portions which have become damaged through use or contact with the "outside" elements. Although they are manned by civilians, the ships are governed by military procedures and its leader is called a "captain." These vessels literally carry a microcosm of their cultures across the ocean to invade the foreign lands. The ships are part of, as Foucault would say, a technology of power linked to

imperialism and observation. There also exists a parallel mechanical technology necessary to their physical construction, and this history of ship-building is important as well. The historical uses of sailing ships include warfare, exploration and trade, all important to forwarding nations' imperialism throughout the globe, and it was because of the advances in ship design and building during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that arctic regions could be explored at all. A ship is therefore an historic and cultural site where several technologies converge in the name of imperialism.

The technologies employed by Hearne and his native guides are of course much smaller and transportable than those of the sea voyagers, and they are also more local, yet the cultural division is maintained despite the disappearance of the vessel's physical walls. Both natives and Europeans use knives, rifles, and ammunition which are manufactured in Europe and have supplanted the indigenous people's tools. Although control over the technology reinforces the cultural differences, in any extended journey—which only the natives are capable of carrying out—they must make use of the surrounding environment for their needs. An example of this technological interaction comes early in Journey... to the Northern Ocean where Hearne describes how the Indians pitch their tents. After finding a "level piece of dry ground" and clearing the snow away

A quantity of poles are then procured, which are generally proportioned both in number and length to the size of the tent cloth, and the number of persons it is required to contain. If one of the poles should not happen to be forked, two of them are tied together near the top, then raised erect, and their butts or lower ends extended as wide as the proposed diameter of the tent; the other poles are then set round at equal distances from each other, and in such order, that their lower ends form a complete circle, which gives boundaries to the tent on all sides... (13)

The precise differences in the formulation of technologies can be demonstrated by comparing this passage with one quoted previously by Thomas James explaining how his half-frozen crew looked for wood with which to build their pinnace. In that case the men had to build a fire under the tree in order to thaw it before it could even be cut, and even then they

broke several of their hatchets. The most obvious difference is the relative scales of the respective undertaking of James and Hearne; the former is looking for immense pieces of timber to construct a seagoing vessel when they obviously do not have the technological capacity to fashion the wood. In a sense, it is a case of misrecognition, because they are trying to find products of their European culture in North American nature. James writes that the men "were appointed to looke crooked timber," meaning they were to look in nature for materials that most resemble the products of artificial construction. On the other hand, the natives utilize whatever materials exist in the area and "If one of the poles should not happen to be forked, two of them are tied together near the top," so that the technology is able to be adapted to nature's incongruities. The ships, then, are isolated not only from the new environment by their design and workings, but also by their mode of production.¹⁰⁰ This is not to say that the natives are "closer to nature" or "more natural" than the British, since both cultures are fashioning nature in order to protect themselves from it. The difference is in how the relationship is mediated; both cultures employ their technologies but the natives are obviously more successful.

Another example of these early European sailors' alienation from nature—resulting in their failure to appropriate it for their own needs—is found in James's description of the surgeon's tending their scurvy wounds. He describes how they experimented with boiling all sorts of buds, herbs, and parts of trees and after applying these mixtures to the men's sores, "this would so mollifie the grieved parts, that although, when they did rise out of their Beds, they would be so crippled, that they could scarce stand; yet after this done halfe an houre, they would be able to goe (and must goe) to wood, thorow the Snow, to the Ship, and about their other businesse" (73). In one of the footnotes to his edition of the *Strange and Dangerous Voyage*, Walter Kenyon remarks that "This liquid, taken internally, would almost certainly have cured the men" (146). At this stage of European medicine scurvy was

¹⁰⁰ By this I mean they are produced in a shipyard by skilled workers and are early examples of industrialization.

still a relatively mysterious event and while the men rub the elements of the land onto their exterior, they do not take them internally.¹⁰¹ Even when on the brink of being consumed by the elements their bodies remain apart from them; their cultural distance is maintained even as their bodies increasingly manifest signs of their own deterioration. This unfortunate hesitation (a hesitation on the part of James, his surgeon, his men and seventeenth-century science) to break the barrier between inside and outside arises out of both a lack of scientific knowledge, and possibly a fear of the "other" contained in the "strange and dangerous" nature of this hostile land. It is only in the spring, when the ground shows visible signs of producing edible vegetation, that they ingest the substance ("The last of this moneth, wee found on the Beach some Vetches, to appeare out of the ground; which I made the men to pick up, and to boyle for our sicke men" [78]).

The circumstances of the European's relationship to both the land and the indigenous population have undergone radical change by the time of Hearne's Journey . . . to the Northern Ocean. This change is demonstrated by examining one of Hearne's medical interventions:

One of my companions had now the misfortune to shatter his hand very much by the bursting of a gun; but as no bones were broken, I bound up the wound, and with the assistance of some of Turlington's drops, yellow basilicon, &c., which I had with me, soon restored the use of his hand; so that in a very short time he seemed to be out of all danger. (18)

¹⁰¹ James Lind did not publish his famous book, A Treatise on Scurvy until 1753. In How to Live Longer and Feel Better, Linus Pauling writes that the British Navy did not order a daily ration of fresh lime juice until 1795, "forty-eight years after Lind had carried out his striking experiment" (66). Although "scurvy soon disappeared from the British Navy . . . The spirit of free enterprise remained dominant in the British Board of Trade, however, and scurvy continued to ravage the British merchant marine for seventy years longer. Not until 1865 did the Board of Trade pass a similar lime-juice regulation for the merchant marine" (66). While it is true that explorers (who are often part of the military) regularly use science to measure and control the environment, this brief history of scurvy demonstrates a bureaucratic tendency to avoid anything "alien," until absolutely proven and familiarized, and this attitude is consistent with viewing the new lands and peoples as "other."

The first thing to note is how the construction of the accident demonstrates the circularity of the European system because it is their technology which both wounds and heals the hand of Hearne's Indian companion. It is also well known that the rifles traded to the Indians were less powerful and of poorer manufacture than those reserved for the Europeans and were therefore more liable to misfire.¹⁰² This early form of planned obsolescence produces an injury which leads back to European science. Additionally, the "companion" is, in a sense, an employee of Hearne since the Indians guiding him were doing so partially because they ultimately expected compensation. In this sense, then, the gunshot wound is a work-related injury.

Hearne is writing 140 years later than Foxe and James, and science has improved so much that the visitor and outsider can help heal the natives. Furthermore, this healing is performed under the names of "Turlington's drops" and "yellow basilicon," the first implying a copyright which enables a company—in the name of an individual—to own and receive compensation from the process of healing. The name "Turlington's drops" repeats the process of the place names (e.g. "Lumley's Inlet") whereby English identities "invade" the territory of Canada and although the specific effects from naming landscapes and naming ointments are quite different, the invasion is still carried by linguistic means. The second name, "yellow basilicon," also brings with it the trace of empire: the OED defines "basilicon" as "Name given to several ointments supposed to possess 'sovereign' virtues" and "basilic" as "kingly, royal, sovereign." The medicine with which Hearne heals his companion not only represents the de jure power of patents and capitalist enterprise, but also the de facto power of kingship. We see, then, how the Europeans extend their own technological control over the surfaces of land and bodies.

¹⁰² For instance, in Samuel Hearne and the North West Passage, Gordon Speck includes an illustration of a "Hudson's Bay Company Trade Gun" on page 267. The caption reads, "With an .87 bore, it was sold to the Indians and Eskimos. Under normal conditions Company officers carried a gun with approximately twice this bore."

II Who is Samuel Hearne?

The ground, the country, the surface of discovery and writing-as-inscription, are the site of exploration, and it provides a rhetorical canvas over which the various authors inscribe their experiences, and these historically disparate narratives describe what is frequently a site of struggle and resistance. The publication of Journey . . . to the Northern Ocean occurs in an era where the character of the author becomes more important; as Foucault states in "What is an Author?," as scientific discourse develops in the eighteenth century "scientific texts were accepted on their own merits" while "literary" discourse was acceptable only if it carried an author's name." And Hopwood describes the string of narratives which Hearne prefigures: they are "written in the first person, are factual, and derive their interest from the novelty of their material, their story of endurance, adventure, and discovery, and the incidental insight given into the character of the author" ("Explorers," 25). In the last 20 years, the term "character" has been replaced somewhat by the notion of "subjectivity," and it will be enlightening to compare the differences between the two terms because of how they influence the way in which we read these first-person narratives. Generally, the word "character" is used as if the meaning were self-evident; for instance, in The Rhetoric of Fiction Wayne Booth briefly mentions "static," "unreliable," and "two-dimensional" characters, but does not analyze the notion itself. In A Glossary of Literary Terms (5th Edition) M.H. Abrams defines "characters" as,

The persons presented in a dramatic or narrative work, who are interpreted by the reader as being endowed with moral, dispositional, and emotional qualities that are expressed in what they say—the **dialogue**—and what they do—the **action**. The ground in the characters' temperament, desires, and moral nature for their speeches and actions constitute their **motivation**. . . . A character may remain essentially "stable," . . . or may undergo a radical change, either through gradual development . . . or as the result of a crisis. . . . the reader of a traditional, realistic work expects "consistency"—the character should not suddenly break off and act in a way not plausibly grounded in his or her temperament as we have already come to know it. (22-23)

This traditional notion of character attributes a unity or "consistency" to the "persons presented" even if they change radically throughout the work. So much of the criticism directed by this notion of character seeks out motivations, as if these textual constructs really had "moral, dispositional, and emotional qualities" that could be discovered through additional readings. This form of reading psychologizes literary creations and blurs the line between text and life. This reading also assumes what Abrams calls a "traditional, realistic work" as its basis, but many recent studies question the entire notion of "realism."¹⁰³ Nonetheless, when critics have approached "discovery literature" at all, they have often discussed it in terms of a single strong and "unified" individual/author who must respond practically and aesthetically to his new and unfamiliar environments.

Bruce Greenfield constructs his version of Samuel Hearne along the lines of traditional characterization; for Greenfield, one of the central issues regarding Hearne is the tension among the many various motivations for both his journey and his book:

The rhetoric of Hearne's A Journey . . . to the Northern Ocean depends to a large extent upon the author's attempts to deal with the expectations of his employers, backers, and home audience

¹⁰³ It is not the purpose of this study to discuss realism in elaborate detail, but in The Semiotics of Poetry, Michael Riffaterre puts mimesis (the basis of realism) in an interesting light:

Now the basic characteristic of mimesis is that it produces a continuously changing semantic sequence, for representation is founded upon the referentiality of language, that is, upon a direct relationship of words to things. It is immaterial whether or not this relationship is a delusion of those who speak the language or of readers. What matters is that the text multiplies details and continually shifts its focus to achieve an acceptable likeness to reality, since reality is normally complex. Mimesis is thus variation and multiplicity. (2)

Mimesis, the basis of the "traditional, realistic work" is not unified at all, but, rather, a constantly shifting parlor game of references and contexts which provide the illusion of "consistency." Exploration narratives offer a great challenge to mimesis since the "ground" is not only shifting, it is virtually unknown. The authors compensate for their unique problems by including references to "familiar" places known to the reader, and constantly referring to measurements of time and place; all these examples of the "text multiplying details" solidify the narrative's illusion of mimesis.

on the one hand, and the specific demands of life and travel in the remoter regions of eighteenth-century North America on the other. This tension pervades Hearne's narrative (and others like it), whether he is describing the day-to-day conduct of the expedition or discussing the formulation of its ultimate goals. Hearne experienced it as he attempted to carry out the instructions he had accepted at the beginning of his journey, and he experienced it again as he attempted to write his account of his journey, when he had to keep in mind both the initial concept of his journey and what had actually happened. This tension is that which is inherent in any experiment: the results may invalidate the assumptions upon which the experiment was conceived. The historical context in which Hearne and men like him operated was not, however, that of experimental science, but that of business and politics. They represented powerful "interests" that urged them to discover what was needed and desired, not simply what was there. Practically speaking, with a government or a large trading company as a backer, explorers found it difficult to offer mere negative knowledge as a return. ("Idea of Discovery" 193)

I have quoted this paragraph in full because Greenfield raises a number of issues that need to be critiqued in detail. To begin with, Greenfield treats Hearne as a character/person with "temperament and desires" in whom he tries to construct various motivations. Hearne's motivations are divided into two main areas: 1) the expectations of all those who would have him produce a constructed and artificial discourse in order to comply with various political and economic agendas, and 2) "what . . . actually happened," the lived experience "on the road" where survival was the most important aspect of existence. Greenfield then uses the tension between these two motivations to construct a form of anxiety in the character of Hearne. Added to these individual tensions are further pressures of competing discourses. Hearne has both his original instructions (which preface his book and order him to assess various geographic and economic aspects of the land), as well as the emerging notion of scientific method. Although Greenfield denies that Hearne operated within the "historical context" of "experimental science," the Journey . . . to the Northern Ocean is full of references to existing disputes over the physiology and habits of various animals, as well as examinations of

the culture and various technologies of his Indian companions.¹⁰⁴ The overall thrust of Greenfield's description is to say that although there were a variety of external pressures, the narrative which is ultimately published is the product of a unified individual's reaction to and interpretation of these pressures.¹⁰⁵

The first problem with Greenfield's analysis is his easy distinction between "the initial concept of . . . [Hearne's] journey and what . . . actually happened." In addition to treating the book as the product of one "consistent" character, Greenfield erases any consideration of temporality within the notion of this "person." That is, he suggests that we treat the book as if it were written while "on the road" even though it was not published until almost twenty-five years after the journey "actually happened." It requires a considerable and constant effort for the reader, and for Hearne himself as he set about to reconstruct the events, to imagine the "specific demands of life and travel in the remoter regions of eighteenth-century North America" while sitting at a desk with paper, or in the comfort of our padded chairs. Surely it is impossible to believe that the individual who alternately feasts and starves for a period of eighteen months, is the same one who intermittently reflects on this journey over the next twenty-five years. Journey . . . to the Northern Ocean is not the story of a specific trip; it is the textual product of a lifetime

¹⁰⁴ In fact, the last two chapters are entirely devoted to the realm of scientific discussion as their titles demonstrate. Chapter nine is called "A Short Description of the Northern Indians, also a farther Account of their Country, Manufactures, Customs, &c." and chapter ten is "An Account of the Principal Quadrupeds found in the Northern Parts of Hudson's Bay. The Species of Fish found in the Salt Water of Hudson's Bay. Frogs of various sizes and colours. An Account of some of the principal Birds found in the Northern Parts of Hudson's Bay. The Species of Water-Fowl. Of the Vegetable Productions as far North as Churchill River." These certainly appear to be more related to science than "business and politics."

¹⁰⁵ Greenfield repeats essentially the same argument in Narrating Discovery (1992), but there his comments on Hearne are placed within a much more interesting discussion of exploration and economic forces. The section in which this occurs is titled "Trading and Telling: Discovery and the British Fur Trade."

of re-writing. Richard Glover describes the historical context of Hearne's textual exertion:

... Hearne was notably slow to venture into print. That he should be so is quite understandable since the first thing a publisher ordinarily expects of an author is that ability to write correct English which Hearne conspicuously lacked. ... William Wales proved a friend in need ... and he seems undoubtedly to have negotiated the sale of Hearne's manuscript to Messrs. Strahan and Cadell, the publisher of Cook's Third Voyage. ... On ... Monday, 8 October, "W^m Wales" witnessed the contract signed between Hearne and Strahan, by which the publisher undertook to buy the needy author's manuscript for the remarkable price of £200. On 23 October Hearne made his will; and then, as his obituary puts it, he "died of the dropsy, November, 1792, aged 47." Authorship had beaten death to the post by a very short head. ("Editor's Introduction" xlii-xliii)

These few sentences speak of Hearne's enormous struggle, not with his employers, but with language itself, a struggle towards coherence and putting his life in order which lasted virtually until the time of his death. The authors expend themselves into their texts, yet the finished work erases this labour, just as the technology of writing erases the struggle of European civilization across the continent.

There is a remarkable biographical similarity here among Hearne, Foxe and James because they all died shortly after their works were published, as if once their life-works were written their lives became redundant. And in a strange way, Franklin also proves this hypothesis by returning to exploration until he too ultimately dies. Franklin refuses to retire peacefully and sets out, twenty-five years after his second polar expedition, to write yet another chapter in his life. Unfortunately, this radical expenditure on the author's part may even go unnoticed as in the case of Miller Christy, who remarks only in passing on the timeliness of his two authors' departures: "It is strange that Foxe and James should have died within a few weeks of one another, but such was the case" (ccv). In all four cases the death of the author/explorer punctuates the relationship between writing and death. Derrida has remarked in several essays that throughout the history of western

metaphysics (which is also the history of philosophy and language) writing has continually been referred to as carrying death along with it. Geoffrey Bennington clearly explains this relationship in the context of time, space and communication:

Writing communicates my thought to far distances, during my absence, even after my death. At the moment of reading my letter, the addressee knows that I might have died during the time, however minimal it may be, between the moment at which the letter was finished and the moment of its reception. (50)

The authors' deaths can be read as a literal "acting out" of how writing works. Just as the books always represent the possibility of death, they will always stand in for their authors in the event of death. In this sense, the act of writing is a form of suicide because once the book is finished the author is no longer necessary. Glover writes that in Hearne's case, "Authorship had beaten death to the post by a very short head," but in fact Hearne invites death by becoming an author and his struggle with language is a confrontation with his own mortality.

We can see that in writing a book there is a lot more at stake than the representation of a short eighteen-month trip into the wilderness. The nature of the struggle with and against the written word becomes clearer if we substitute "subjectivity" for "character." The development of thinking about subjectivity is briefly summarized by Kaja Silverman at the beginning of her appropriately titled The Subject of Semiotics:¹⁰⁶

Semiotics involves the study of signification, but signification cannot be isolated from the human subject who uses it and is defined by means of it, or from the cultural system which generates it. . . . [Charles Saunders] Peirce increases the number of signifying relationships over those charted by Saussure, and makes the human subject their support. Barthes demonstrated that signification cannot be divorced from the operations of myth or ideology, and that it thus always implies the larger cultural field. Derrida indicates that certain privileged terms not acknowledged by Saussure function to anchor and restrain the play of signification. He also reveals the ideological basis of these terms. . . (3-4)

¹⁰⁶ Of course this book could have been called The Subject in Semiotics, or The Semiotics of Subjectivity.

While this is an extremely simplified rendering of many complex thinkers and ideas, we can see how the "character" of Hearne is not simply motivated by a variety of interests; he is the site of a variety of contesting discourses and ideologies, some emanating from the political and economic conditions of the eighteenth century, and others resulting from the subject's grappling with its own entry into writing. The discursive site, conveniently called "Hearne," shifts and changes as it moves through twenty-five years of history. As Richard Glover describes it, Hearne's writing is characterized by an elaborate delay, the story of which is quite fascinating. After returning from his third and successful expedition to the Coppermine River, Hearne was employed in various capacities with the Hudson's Bay Company, including the founding of Cumberland House in 1774, and taking over the governing of Prince of Wales's Fort in 1776. Throughout this period he filed reports with the Hudson's Bay Company and these observations entered into the debate in England over the role of the company in exploration, its continuing monopoly, the value of the surrounding lands and other matters. Throughout this delay, then, pieces of Hearne's corpus are disseminated in a variety of official reports and pamphlets which are, in turn, quoted by various other "interested parties." Hearne's own scientific accuracy was questioned—and he addresses many of these issues in his introduction and in the main body of the text—but at the same time his subjectivity, as constituted by a variety of textual "signifying relationships," is being constructed on the continent, while he is still governing in North America. Hearne's problem with writing, then, is complicated not only by his delay in writing and publishing his book, but also by the geographical displacement of his physical location, and the location of his discourse.

Hearne returns to England in late 1782, where his explorations have turned him into a minor celebrity, a somewhat mythic figure who has travelled where no one has ever gone, and for the next year he meets many influential politicians and scientists. Some of these new friends influence the style and direction of the evolving manuscript. For instance:

Thomas Pennant . . . who was a zoologist of some note . . . was glad to meet and talk with Hearne, since he was already employed in collecting material for his Arctic Zoology (London, 1784-5), and this work was in turn to provide the framework of the final chapter of Hearne's book. It gave him English names for animals he had hitherto known only by Indian names; he sometimes borrows its phrasing word for word; sometimes again he corrects it. (xxxviii-xxxix)

This is an important demonstration of how the trip back to England, back to the seat of culture and knowledge, serves to fortify Hearne's scientific language so as to extend his writerly control over the animals of North America. The key phrase here is that Pennant's book "gave him English names for animals he had hitherto known only by Indian names" (emphasis added). The replacement of Indian names with English ones supplements the practice of naming I have already described being exercised over the land. Local knowledge concerning various animals' migrations, eating habits, and the useful products that can be produced from them, is incorporated into a European taxonomy of genus and species. This is even more dramatic when we see what kind of knowledge Pennant, a "zoologist of some standing," possessed:

The books he wrote are indeed little more than compilations out of other men's works, and he did not always quote very carefully; but he had side interests, was well-read and familiar with the classification of animals accepted in his day. Hearne had none of this systematic learning, Pennant had none of Hearne's first-hand acquaintance with wild creatures in the field, and the meeting of the two men was valuable to both. (xxxviii)

Hearne and Pennant are practically polar opposites: Hearne, an unlearned layman with an abundance of field experience and Pennant, a well-read wordsmith. Pennant is practiced at controlling an extreme form of abstract knowledge rhetorically, yet Hearne will struggle to learn these taxonomies, just as he struggles with his grammar and spelling.

After several months in London, Hearne sailed back to Canada in 1783 "to refound the Hudson's Bay Company's trading-post at Churchill River" where he still continued to work on his manuscript. He returned to

England for the final time in 1787 pleading illness and, indeed, his condition of dropsy gradually worsened until his death in 1792. By superficially tracing Hearne's biography we can see how he carried his text with him, navigating between Europe and North America, living through his surrender of the fort to the French in 1782, making multiple copies, disseminating maps and various written texts among the Hudson's Bay Company officers and various "scientists," until he finally signed the contract to publish just before his death. His life constitutes a long string of re-writing and deferral, in some ways paralleling the plot of his journeys (the first is delayed by a guide who "had not the prosperity of the enterprise at heart" and who eventually leaves him, and the second is deferred by his own breaking of his quadrant). It is therefore difficult to agree with Greenfield's idea of the "tension" between "the expectations of his employers, backers, and home audience on the one hand, and the specific demands of life and travel in the remoter regions of eighteenth-century North America on the other." The tensions in Journey... to the Northern Ocean are structured by the delay and displacement of Hearne's signifying relationships exacerbated by the cultural différance between Prince of Wales's Fort, the small colonial outpost, and London, the centre of imperial discourse. Added to this binary opposition of margin and centre—the European confrontation with the "other" that is Northern Canada—is the necessity of the subject to engage in the discourses of economics, science, religion, discovery literature and travel writing. Certainly there are enough variables present here to create tension in any subject's articulation of its position.

To ask "who is Samuel Hearne?" is to investigate the various discourses, ideologies and myths which, through their signifying relationships, construct the subjectivity of this eighteenth-century explorer. Historically, he is the first European to walk overland to the Arctic Ocean, he founded Cumberland House and "rescued the Great Company,"¹⁰⁷ he created a genre of

¹⁰⁷ See Speck, 274 ff.

"Canadian land exploration" narratives.¹⁰⁸ He also enclosed an enormous area of land for the first time within a system of writing, and this technology brings a European economy of knowledge into play over this vast space. Greenfield asserts that "the original goal [of discovery] proved illusory, and Hearne's only discovery was the negative one of confirming the Hudson's Bay Company would have to look elsewhere for a supply of copper, a navigable harbor, a Northwest Passage" (*Narrating Discovery* 41). Speaking historically this is correct, but my argument is that Hearne's mapping is important in how it aids the Hudson's Bay Company to extend its ideological control over resources and people as it plans to extend its system of profit and exchange. When Hearne contacts new tribes he speaks to them in the language of capitalism and introduces them to trade, thus advancing European ideology; he then documents them—inscribing them within his book of exploration—recording their habits, beliefs, and desires for the benefit of his imperial employers.

Another important aspect of "Samuel Hearne" is his name. We have seen how explorers have historically exerted rhetorical control over land and peoples,¹⁰⁹ and in light of this authorial control it is fascinating to read Gordon Speck's investigation of Hearne's own proper name:

¹⁰⁸ Hopwood, 25.

¹⁰⁹ Paul Carter provides an instructive account of naming's role in the subsequent identity of a country by analyzing Captain Cook's unique role in creating Australia's identity:

In the nearly two hundred years since Arthur Phillip, commander of the First Fleet and first governor of the colony of New South Wales, found Cook's description of Botany Bay so inaccurate he had to transfer the settlement to Sydney Cove, historical writers have eulogized and vilified Cook with almost equal enthusiasm. He has been called the founder of Australia; at the same time, he has been accused of culpable indifference—his descriptions of the Australian coast are said to be less than fulsome and, much worse, he never came back. . . . During the four months Cook spent in Australian waters, he named well over one hundred "bays," "capes," "isles," and the like. (1-2)

Cook's names have had the paradoxical effect of both bestowing meaning on "blank" geographic sites, and causing future generations of Australians to

The family name, Hearne, is a place name, coming down from very early times in the British Isles and going through the usual corruptions but never losing its basic meaning—a nook, a corner, a bit of land in the turn of a fence, a hiding place. Bardsley's English Surnames says "any nook or corner of land was . . . a 'hearne.'" Lacking evidence to the contrary we may assume that this was the origin of Samuel Hearne's family name. (1-2)

Paradoxically, Hearne's own proper name comes from the land, the surface he will eventually map and control rhetorically, and therefore "turn" into his property. "Tropes" are "'turns,' 'conversions' in which words or phrases are used in a way that effects a conspicuous change in what we take to be their standard meaning" (Abrams 64). The explorer's practice of naming a geographical feature after an individual is, in effect, a "turn" or "conversion" where the individual's identity is displaced onto an object. This displacement or conversion is a structuring of identity around "property" and I mean to imply Derrida's phrase le sens propre, "that which is correct . . . that which is one's own, that which may be owned, that which is legally, correctly owned"; it implies "all the links between proper, property, and propriety."¹¹⁰ Of course this rhetorical turn, or displacement, is also a synecdoche because the explorer who names and claims the property is representing—"standing for"—an imperial nation. How intriguing, then, to find that Hearne's own proper name means "a nook, a corner, a bit of land in the turn of a fence, a hiding place." "Hearne's" circularity of reference shows how meaning is constructed as an exchange within a system of signification; from place name to proper name, identity is deferred and displaced.

III Getting Started: Hearne as Don Quixote

question the arbitrariness of this identity.

¹¹⁰ This definition is from Alan Bass's translator's note in "Différance" 4.

"Hearne's Preface" and "Hearne's Introduction" are two of the most interesting parts of his Journey . . . to the Northern Ocean, yet in most of the extant criticism—of which there is not a great deal—these sections are generally ignored. The one section which has been discussed is Hearne's "Orders and Instructions" from the Hudson's Bay Company which he quotes in his "Introduction." Since these tell Hearne what to do, where to explore and what to see, commentators have found them useful to compare with his actual results (this fits in with the idea of the "scientific model" mentioned by Greenfield). But what has been overlooked is how the preface and introduction are the places where Hearne most openly defines himself and the structure or organizing principles of his journey. Hearne begins his preface—literally his first words to his readers—with this sentence: "Mr. Dalrymple, in one of his Pamphlets relating to Hudson's Bay, has been so very particular in his observations on my Journey, as to remark, that I have not explained the construction of the Quadrant which I had the misfortune to break in my second Journey to the North" (xlix). There are several critical concerns raised by Hearne's opening his narrative in this manner.

To begin with, the sentence is clearly intertextual and addressed not to the reader, but to an ongoing argument. We learn that Mr. Dalrymple has argued with Hearne publicly in his "Pamphlets" and we can only assume that Hearne has had his own accounts disseminated in some manner (a point I will return to below). The reader immediately enters into a debate concerning scientific veracity and description. The "Preface," then, announces that this book is not only about a specific journey, but also about the interpretation of that journey, the methodology employed, the instruments taken, and the overall question of representing geography for various audiences and interests. It is helpful to contrast the opening of the "Preface" with the first sentence in the "Introduction": "For many years it was the opinion of all ranks of people, that the Hudson's Bay Company were averse to making discoveries of every kind; and being content with the profits of their small capital, as it was then called, did not want to increase their trade" (lvii). On one

hand, Hearne participates in a scientific debate over quadrants and cartography, and on the other, he defends the Hudson's Bay Company against charges of neglecting the terms of their charter which clearly state they must engage in exploration in exchange for their being granted a monopoly. Rather than seeing these issues, as Greenfield does, as an individual's response to competing demands upon him, I see them as a series of rhetorical maneuvers necessitated by the discourses present in English culture at that historical period. In order to make himself understood, and in order to be published, Hearne must participate within the structure of these exchanges, many of which are constituted long after his journeys are over.

The intertextuality of discovery narratives and the multiple discourses present within these narratives question the common notion that Greenfield, and many other critics propose: that explorers simply set out on their journeys and write about what is "really out there." An act of writing this comprehensive would be impossible. Through this thesis I am treating "writing" as a finite and material technology which structures the interactions between European and North American cultures, and no matter if one ascribes to a theory involving "reality," the "Real," or a universe of textuality with no "outside," there is always already an excess of material, be it inside or outside the text.¹¹¹ The organization of "experience" into a journal and then into a published book is a complicated act of writing and in order to explain these rather general claims I will return to Hearne's "Preface" again:

Being well assured that several learned and curious gentlemen are in possession of manuscript copies of, or extracts from, my Journals, as well as copies of the Charts, I have been induced to make this copy as correct as possible, and to publish it; especially as I observe that scarcely any two of the publications that contain extracts from my Journals, agree in the dates when I arrived at, or departed from, particular places. (li)

This is the clearest statement of one of Hearne's principal tasks: he must take control of his already-fragmented subjectivity by writing the true book of his

¹¹¹ In order to compensate for this "overdetermination" of experience literary representation relies on Michael Riffaterre's "continuously changing semantic sequences."

life. In a sense, Hearne is a bit like Don Quixote who, in the second half of Cervantes's novel, encounters characters who have read the first half. Michel Foucault explains the problems resulting from Don Quixote's encountering the various echoes of his own subjectivity:

In the second part of the novel, Don Quixote meets characters who have read the first part of his story and recognize him, the real man, as the hero of the book. Cervantes' text turns back upon itself, thrusts itself back into its own density, and becomes the object of its own narrative. . . . Don Quixote must remain faithful to the book that he has now become in reality; he must protect it from errors, from counterfeits, from apocryphal sequels; he must fill in the details that have been left out; he must preserve its truth. . . . Between the first and second parts of the novel, in the narrow gap between those two volumes, and by their power alone, Don Quixote has achieved his reality—a reality he owes to language alone, and which resides entirely inside the words. Don Quixote's truth is not in the relation of words to the world but in that slender and constant relation woven between themselves by verbal signs. (*Order*, 48)

In similar fashion to Don Quixote, Hearne goes out and performs his great adventure and then, when he returns to Europe for a brief period in 1872-73 and finally in 1787, he encounters a scientific and political public which has heard and partially read (and misread) his exploits. It is his task to "fill in the details that have been left out," to "achieve his reality . . . inside language" by producing his life textually. Of course the situations are radically different because Don Quixote, in addition to being a fictional character and crazy, has an actual "book" to live up to, while Hearne has only fragments of his journals and an image as an explorer. Yet both characters must struggle with the dissemination of their subjectivity, the various political, scientific, and economic signifying practices which neither can afford to ignore. Both are entangled within the texture of intertextuality.

In the section of The Order of Things from which these quotations are taken, Foucault is discussing the transition from medieval to classical modes of thought; he calls this the change from "resemblance" to "representation." "Resemblance" is close to what we now call "allegory," only in that historical period it was read literally; that is, there is no division made between reality

and signification and the church operates as an overall controlling, or grounding, force in the production of meaning. Earlier in the book Foucault explains this system of meaning in a section called "The Four Similitudes":

It was resemblance that largely guided exegesis and the interpretation of texts; it was resemblance that organized the play of symbols, made possible knowledge of things visible and invisible, and controlled the art of representing them. The universe was folded in upon itself: the earth echoing the sky, faces seeing themselves reflected in the stars, and plants holding within their stems the secrets that were of use to man. (17)

Theoretically any sign on the earth, or in a painting, could be a sign of God, and because the painting resembled the world, both signs were thought to be identical. Some of this thinking is present in the Strange and Dangerous Voyage when Thomas James is confronted by a particularly "dangerous" situation, and he prays to God believing that Nature and God exist on the same level. Objects are not scientifically constituted as things-in-themselves; they are manifestations of a higher order. Of course by the time of James, and even more so by the time of Hearne, resemblance is giving way to representation where the world and its representations or images—whether sculpture, painting or language—are seen as separate. Although the force of nature may be approaching that of divinity, its effect on the bodies of James and his men is "real" in a directly physical sense. His descriptions of the various types of cold is an attempt to turn it into a classifiable phenomenon by describing it, or representing it, in different circumstances.

Foucault describes the Don Quixote who exists in the first book as living in a primitive state of resemblance, before his world is opened—ruptured or fractured—by the possibilities and implications of his own identity:

His whole being is nothing but language, text, printed pages, stories that have already been written down. He is writing itself, wandering through the world among the resemblances of things. Yet not entirely so: for in his reality as an impoverished hidalgo he can become a knight only by listening from afar to the age-old epic that gives its form to Law. The book is not so much his existence as his duty. He is constantly obliged to consult it in order to know what to do or way, and what signs he should give

himself and others in order to show that he really is of the same nature as the test from which he springs. (Order, 46)

Both Hearne and Don Quixote set out to explore the surface of the world which spreads itself before them. In the case of Don Quixote, the world has already been written and all his adventures are attempts to interpret the world strictly according to those books of chivalric romances. But although Hearne is exploring "new" territories, he too must follow the "Law" of his culture and consult the books written by those who have explored before him (just as Foxe had consulted, and even published, the works of previous explorers). Hearne must be conscripted by his "duty" which the Hudson's Bay Company has prescribed; in fact, it is the combination of these constraints that forces him to "work through" the labyrinth of textual exigencies for the duration of his life. For both Hearne and Don Quixote "the road" is not a blank slate of adventure, but a web of predetermined discourses with which they must be familiar in order for their own narratives to be understood. In Hearne's case there is another "folding in" of his world and that of the trail as he continues to be employed by the Hudson's Bay Company. The line between public and private is obscured because, even though a servant of the Company, he must somehow write and preserve his own proper name.

In the world of representation, which includes such "writing effects" as intertextuality, deferral and delay, the whole notion of "getting started" is more difficult than in the days of resemblance. The subject must now enter into discourse, into the trail of language that winds between Europe and North America, capitalism and exploration. Even Don Quixote, who has books instructing him in conduct and manners, a vision to fulfill, and a willing servant, finds it difficult to set out in opposition to all those around him who try to convince him otherwise. Similarly, Hearne too has difficulties negotiating with the Governor of Prince of Wales's Fort, Moses Norton, over equipment and who should accompany him. Coincidentally, both Don Quixote and Hearne are forced to end their early journeys because of misfortune on the road.

IV Getting Started II: Hearne and the Economic Landscape

Perhaps the most contentious discussion within which Hearne finds himself entangled is the economic and political arguments for increased exploration. Not only are these political questions, but also they call into question issues of mimesis and verisimilitude. L.H. Neatby provides a good summary of Hearne's position:

Hearne's journey, unlike those of his predecessors, had other motives than the promotion of trade. From 1740 on, Arthur Dobbs, an influential British member of parliament,¹¹² had been attacking the company's monopoly of trade, alleging that it was concealing the resources of its territories, which were, he asserted, accessible to commercial shipping by way of an ocean passage from Hudson Bay... ("Introduction," Journey . . . to the Northern Ocean (1971) [xviii-xix])

Hearne addresses this point in his first sentence of the Introduction already quoted above, but it is instructive to know just what image of Canada Dobbs was representing to his fellow parliamentarians. Dobbs writes a very detailed discussion of the economic benefits of exploration in his book, An Account of the Countries Adjoining to Hudson's Bay. Although it is of historical importance that Hearne's voyage was instigated partially in response to the criticism the Hudson's Bay Company was receiving in the British parliament, I am primarily interested in the image of Canada contained within Dobbs's rhetoric. An important thematic aspect of Dobbs's Account is its largely speculative nature, given the fact that Dobbs never visited North America.¹¹³ He begins the book by describing portions of Canada in relation to areas of northern Europe, a pattern of description often employed

¹¹² In "The Hudson's Bay Company and the Fur Trade: 1670-1870," Glyndwr Williams calls Arthur Dobbs "an Irish Member of Parliament with large if eccentric views on the expansion of British trade..." (11).

¹¹³ I wish to recall here some of the discussion on speculation in chapter two where I linked the consideration and reflection on North America to the notion of profit.

by Foxe. However, while Foxe used the descriptions in order to convey geographical distances and characteristics of the landscape, Dobbs uses the European images as a sort of leverage, a familiarizing strategy designed to pry open the new lands to the possibilities of economic activity. Dobbs is arguing that the Hudson's Bay Company has used its trading monopoly to restrict free trade and he also believes that much of Canada could be settled comfortably after building some houses with stoves; he then goes on to discuss how the country has previously been represented:

The reason why the Manner of living there at present appear to be so dismal to us in Britain, is intirely owing to the Monopoly and Avarice of the Hudson's Bay Company, (not to give it a harsher Name) who, to deter others from trading there, or making Settlements, conceal all the Advantages to be made in that Country, and give out, that the Climate, and Country, and Passage thither, are much worse, and more dangerous, than they really are, and vastly worse than might be, if those Seas were more frequented, and proper Settlements and Improvements were made, and proper Situations chosen for that Purpose; this they do, that they may ingross a beneficial Trade to themselves, and therefore oblige their Captains not to make any Charts or Journals that may discover those Seas or Coasts, in order to prevent others from sailing to their factories. (2)

Dobbs's main point is that if capitalism and the "free market" were allowed to take their course much more exploration and settlement would occur. He sees economics as a natural—almost utopian—force which will inevitably compel discovery, trade and settlement, if only allowed to proliferate according to its own natural energy. The major problem with Britain's relationship to the new world is the "monopoly" which Dobbs likens to "avarice," one of the seven deadly sins.

Dobbs also implies that the Hudson's Bay Company has a monopoly not only over the geographical area, but also over knowledge as well in the form of the "charts and journals" which the Captains are ordered to refrain from making. Once again, mapping and writing are central to the project of imperial control and Dobbs's phrasing makes it seem as if the "Charts and Journals" themselves "discover those Seas or Coasts." The text is important

because it is portable, can be passed from the hands of one member of parliament to another, and can represent the foreign landscape to those in political power. Dobbs is arguing for increased representation, for a proliferation of writing and mapping, as much as he is arguing against the Hudson's Bay Company's monopoly.

Twenty-five years after Dobbs's Account was published, The American Traveller made a similar case for the exploitation of the lands around Hudson Bay. The subtitle, "Observations on the Present State, Culture and Commerce of the British Colonies in America," reinforces the visual metaphor of "seeing" the new country as it should be—again, combining philosophizing with speculation—and this metaphor is extended to the chapter titles. Other than the "General Introduction" and "Recapitulatory Remarks," all the chapter titles adhere to the same pattern of naming (e.g. "Observations on Hudson's Bay," "Observations on Labrador," "Observations on New York," "Observations on East Florida"), presenting the reader with a series of images of the country. In the "Observations on Hudson's Bay," which is the longest section, taking up four chapters and twenty-one pages, there is an interesting discussion about the whole nature of trade and the relationship between the old world and the new. The anonymous "old and experienced trader" begins by mentioning the "sterility" of the country and how this has confined the present inhabitants' "Cares within the narrow Circle of the indispensable Necessaries of Life, without supplying a single Article, that could suggest, much less gratify a Thought of any Thing further" (12). This being the state of things in the new lands, the foreign traders must bring their own system of barter to the country and establish an economy since nothing of the sort exists at present:

The Advantage of such a Commerce to a Country able to avail itself of them are sufficiently obvious. It takes off such of its Produce and Manufactures as are most plenty, and cheap, at their real Value to those who want, and not being able to procure them elsewhere, beat not down their Price on Account of that Plenty, nor require such Accuracy and Ornament in the manufacturing of them, as make them come dearer to the

Vender without being of greater Use to the Purchaser; and for any Deficiency in which they would be rejected by other Purchasers; and brings in Return the Produce of the Country of the Barter, at the low Rate set upon it by those who do not want it, who have no other Vent for it, and consequently are glad to exchange it at any Rate for what they do want, and cannot obtain otherwise; not to dwell upon the great national Advantage of it being unmanufactured, and thereby affording employment to the various Artificers, who prepare it for Use. (12-13)

The most obvious theme here is the exploitation of the country's resources and "inhabitants" through a developed European economic system. In fact, even today many economists will tell us how our problems result from our extracting and shipping out our "unmanufactured" minerals and timber to the "various Artificers" south of the border and across the seas "who prepare it for Use" and, in many cases, sell it back to us at inflated rates. However, the above account is more interesting in how it links the material—and capitalist—basis of production to ideas of knowledge and perception. The various native tribes which participate in the trading are all labelled with the generic name "inhabitants." They cannot be called "savages" after the fashion of earlier explorers like James and Foxe because that name bestows upon them too much alterity. You can war with "savages," but you cannot set up a system of barter with them. "Inhabitant" is the perfect appellation because it acknowledges they have a connection with the territory but blurs this relationship so that it has no real claim to the land. An "inhabitant" is certainly more of a tenant than a landlord.

The above quotations from The American Traveller also set out certain material conditions for knowledge. The generic inhabitants have no identity not only because they have no economy, but also because they are constrained by their material existence never to think "a Thought of any Thing" further than the "Necessaries of Life." Of course this statement is racist, but, more importantly, it is produced out of a capitalist system which thinks itself through its materialist structures and is itself incapable of thinking beyond its own objects and into the culture of the Other. The

anonymous "old and experienced trader" can only know the "inhabitants" think as he thinks they do, because they have no objects (not a "single Article") to tell him any differently. Therefore, judging the indigenous peoples by their possessions, he represents them as "thoughtless" and "base" peoples who are available to be incorporated into an economy. The issue of materialism is important here, and for an analysis of it in relation to trade I will turn briefly to Marx.

The whole issue of articulating the "inhabitants" precise position in relation to Western thought must be approached carefully because, although The American Traveller is using the distinctions Marx would later term use value, exchange value and surplus value, the natives have not yet even been articulated within this system. That is, although we are using the concepts of a materialist description according to Marx's own definition, the natives' world is pre-materialist:

A commodity is, in the first place, an object outside us, a thing that by its properties satisfies human wants of some sort or another Every useful thing, as iron, paper, &c., may be looked upon from the two points of view of quality and quantity. It is an assemblage of many properties, and may therefore be of use in various ways. To discover the various uses of things is the work of history. So also is the establishment of socially-recognized standards of measure for the quantities of these useful objects. The diversity of these measures has its origin partly in the diverse nature of the objects to be measured, partly in convention. (41-42)

Marx describes here the conditions of objecthood for the commodity within a system of exchange. The key phrase defining the relationship between regarding use value and the native population is "To discover the various uses of things is the work of history," for history is not merely a story relating events, it is "the establishment of socially-recognized standards of measure for the quantities of these useful objects." In other words History is a series of evaluations, of measures which organize how objects can be exchanged for each other. From the trader's perspective, although the natives may use the beaver pelts they trade, for them these pelts have no use value because they

have not entered into the system of exchange. According to The American Traveller the "inhabitant's" world ends with the object itself because their "Thought" can go no "further." Whereas both Foxe and James saw a land which produced nothing, The American Traveller sees a land where commodities are produced, but where the inhabitants do not know they are producers.¹¹⁴

The trade between England and Canada is therefore established, but this system of exchange harbors a gap or aporia since the natives themselves cannot "think the history of the system."¹¹⁵ The practical implications of their "ignorance" is that since the inhabitants do not know the "real Value" of the artifacts for which they trade, they are unable to bargain or recognize deficient merchandise. If we follow the logic of The American Traveller through, we can see that from its perspective the natives are not really trading at all since they do not know the meaning of value: they are merely exchanging some necessities of life for others. History and economics combine to form a system of values and measurements which parallel writing because they are imported technologies which inscribe certain relationships with the native peoples, yet at the same time form systems of knowledge which are foreign and indecipherable to these people. Marx says use-value is defined through "socially-recognized standards of measure," yet the "experienced trader" depends on his client's blindness and non-recognition.

The issue of trade and capitalist exchange is central to Hearne's narrative since his subjectivity, and so many of his relationships during his travels, are defined by his role as employee of the Hudson's Bay Company.

¹¹⁴ In fact, as I will show below, many of the conflicts between natives and Europeans is the result of the latter's difficulty in teaching the former a capitalist system of value.

¹¹⁵ This quote is from Derrida in Of Grammatology where he is discussing how one might attempt re-writing the history of writing, against its logocentric past. What I am implying is that The American Traveller denies the natives knowledge of themselves by refusing to let them philosophize about, speculate on, or "see" themselves. Representing them in a position of base materiality prevents them from "extending" their thought.

Another way of describing the difference between the "inhabitants" and the European traders is to say that while the former exchange necessities, the latter trade commodities. Of course, the manner in which this formulation falls so easily into a binary opposition of nature and culture demonstrates a present difficulty in thinking through these relationships. It is important to keep in mind that what is being detailed is a system of representation; I am not claiming, for instance, to know what the native peoples really thought about the artifacts for which they traded, but merely how they were articulated within the structure of exchange, and Marx shows how this structure produces knowledge and values as well as profit. There are some important ramifications for the natives who are written as natural, rather than as cultural, phenomena. G.A. Cohen describes more fully the importance of "use-value":

The term "use-value" denotes a power, and, derivatively, things which have that power, so that what has . . . a . . . use value is a use value. The use value of a thing is its power to satisfy, directly or indirectly, a human desire. It satisfies a desire indirectly when it is used in the production of acquisition of another use-value. Otherwise it satisfies a desire directly.

The use-value of an automobile is, inter alia, its power to transport human beings, and, depending on the type of automobile, with a certain measure of speed and comfort. The desire to move with speed in comfort renders that power a use-value. The use-value of water is to quench thirst, to extinguish fire, and otherwise to service human desire. (345)

The importance of this description is in how it shows use-value to be already within a system of power and desire, a system from which natives, as the "other," are excluded. Not only are the "inhabitants" not able to think beyond their necessities, they are not able to desire objects in the same way as Europeans. When an Indian trades for a knife or kettle, he is satisfying a direct desire whereas European desires have become increasingly indirect. For example, the use-value of a beaver hat is partially its warmth, but it was worn largely for its style. A difficulty articulated within many exploration narratives is that the natives they claim to describe not only do not speak the same linguistic language, they also do not speak the same language of production

and desire. Specifically, this formulation of economy and desire explains the "old and experienced" trader's remarks that the inhabitants care only about the "narrow Circle of the indispensable Necessaries of Life." He is unable to understand how they might have any surplus—of either philosophy or desire—because it would not be definable within his culture's system of production.

The very limited desires of the Indians, and their gradual assimilation into the capitalism of the fur trade, result in many tensions between them and Hearne. On his second attempt to reach the Coppermine River he is increasingly bothered by the material demands of the Northern Indians:

So inconsiderate were these people, that wherever they met me, they always expected that I had a great assortment of goods to relieve their necessities; as if I had brought the Company's warehouse with me. . . . It is scarcely possible to conceive any people so void of common understanding, as to think that the sole intent of my undertaking this fatiguing journey, was to carry a large assortment of useful and heavy implements, to give to all that stood in need of them... (27-28)

In fact, it is part of Hearne's assignment to "encourage" the Indians "to exert themselves in procuring furs and other articles for trade," but Hearne has only been able to bring with him on the road "a few nick-nacks and gewgaws" (27). Unlike the American Traveller, Hearne does not confine the Indians to a base existence because it is clear that they have a variety of desires, but he describes them as being "void of common understanding" about the material conditions of trade. The radical difference in cultural interpretations of capitalist exchange is responsible for a series of misapprehensions of desire between Hearne and his native guides, misapprehensions which extend to many areas of lived existence including trading, marriage, eating and working. When we contrast the narrative of the "old and experienced trader" with Hearne's we see many limits to the trader's understanding of the lands and peoples. However, the point of view he presents is helpful because it was a common one—his argument concurs with many of Dobbs's assertions about the landscape's economic potential—and it reveals the racist and

utopian nature of the European economic vision which intends to cultivate this barren ground.

The most central example of the writing of a natural object into a cultural one is the beaver itself which, to put it simply and dramatically, is transformed from a living organism into a hat, from wilderness to high society. The beaver's transformation involves much more than a mere exchanging of manufactured goods for raw materials; it is a cross-cultural activity with myriad ramifications, the first of which is the introduction of a foreign economy and population into North America. The history of the fur trade is a history of movement and colonization, from east to west, in search of more furs along the rivers.¹¹⁶ Harold Innis explains the movement of the fur trade:

During the period from 1600 to 1663 the fur trade emerges independent from fishing. This growth was dependent on the opening of the St. Lawrence to the interior. The organization of the trade shifted from a state of competition to monopoly as a result of the overhead costs incidental to movement to the interior. This monopoly organization was later modified to meet the new demands of the trade.

The fur trade was a phase of cultural disturbance incidental to the meeting of two civilizations with different cultural traits. The demand for a more efficient route to the interior, the struggle with the Iroquois, the modification of trade organization, the limited growth of the colony, and the disappearance of native peoples were phases of the catastrophe which swept over the northern fur-producing areas of North America. The rapid destruction of the beaver has an important influence on the spread of the disturbance to the interior and the fur trade was fundamental in determining the lines followed but it was incidental to the driving forces of the demand for European goods. (The Fur Trade 42)

While Innis's characterization is helpful, he misinterprets the process of intervention. He is saying that while the fur trade structures the routes through which Europeans come to know the inhabitants, the "catastrophe" of destruction is caused by the natives' "demand for European goods." From the

¹¹⁶ Canada's first natural resource, which I will not discuss in any detail, is fish. The geographical movement of economic activity, from fish to beaver and from sea to land, parallels the movement of exploration.

above analysis of commodities and need we can see that the demand, or desire, for European goods is driven by the economic system itself which creates desire through the commodification of objects. Before these objects were imported there was no desire for them; as The American Traveller puts it, the inhabitant's "Cares [were] within the narrow Circle of the indispensable Necessaries of Life." And how does he know this? Because they could not "supply" (or produce) "a single Article, that could suggest, much less gratify a Thought of any Thing further." In other words, they themselves produced only objects they needed, and nothing which could be desired. The Europeans set up a system in which there will always be a demand for objects because these objects are incapable of ever fulfilling the desire they have set into motion. The movement of trade and exploration is therefore expedited, sustained and protected by the economy it brings with it.

Naturally it is impossible to write the beaver "in nature" because any attempt is already preceded by the cultural apparatus of writing and representation. Additionally, pre-contact indigenes trapped beaver and manufactured their pelts into clothes for their own use so that they themselves took the beaver out of nature even before it is traded into the European market. Still, we can examine the massive amount of over-determined symbolism which has formed so much of its "post-natural" history. The first post-contact trading was done with the French and the value of this trade fluctuated depending on popular fashion and political will. The relationship between France and its colonies was perpetually ambiguous, precipitating Radisson and Des Groseilliers's famous defection to the English to whom they proposed a strategy of trade utilizing Hudson Bay. It is the company subsequently created which established a series of posts which consolidated annual trading patterns with the natives. The Hudson's Bay Company is particularly important to the cultural history of the beaver, both transforming it into fashion, and into the currency of its own exchange. Ray and Freeman explain that:

Goods and furs were purchased and sold in the European sphere of the fur trade under a market system based on monetary

exchange However, these currency values would not be extended to cover transactions in the North American sphere of its operation because the pre-contact Indians of the sub-arctic had no conception of the use of money for the three purposes normally ascribed to it (as a unit of account, as a medium of exchange, and as a store of value). Therefore the Hudson's Bay Company invented a system of value measurement which could be applied to both the furs and goods bartered with the Indians. This accounting system was based on a unit called the made beaver (MB). The MB established an equivalence between volumes of goods traded and furs taken in return in terms of the number of prime, whole beaver pelts which they represented.

Under the MB system, the company fixed the equivalents of trade goods in terms of MB units according to what it called the Official Standard of Trade. . . [which] remained remarkably fixed. (54)

By becoming a measure of its own exchange the "beaver" is transferred from the realm of use-value to that of exchange-value. This example shows how completely and irrefutably the European systems of economy and writing combined to define the various objects in the new lands in their own terms. No longer was the beaver simply another animal; it fueled European expansion and colonization across the country and its simulacrum was the basis for measuring economic growth. To demonstrate how completely this economy writes over the indigenes themselves we need only look into the "manufacture" of the beaver pelts. The most prized were the castor gras, which had been worn by the Indians all winter and had a "downy character." This was also called "coat beaver" in opposition to "parchment beaver," "robes which were scraped thin and treated but not worn."¹¹⁷ My point is that the indigenes, merely by wearing winter clothes and going about their business, were henceforth implicated in a process of manufacture tied to the production of fur. Every part of their lives was affected by the fur trade, even those aspects which might seem peripheral. In effect then, their lives were written through the apparatus of trade; they borrowed against the made

¹¹⁷ See Innis, 64 ff. for a discussion of various types of beaver and their role in trading. See also Ray and Freeman, 161 ff. for a discussion of economics and the problems which arose when parchment beaver was in more demand in Europe than the coat beaver.

beaver standard and their nomadic style of living was interrupted as they participated in the flow of commerce to and from the Hudson's Bay Company's forts.

V Getting Started III: The Traveller Departs

More than any other part of Journey . . . to the Northern Ocean, the "Preface" and "Introduction" place Hearne's trip within the context of the economic and ideological discourses of the fur trade. This economy of the fur trade has made Hearne's various guides available because they regularly travel to Prince of Wales's Fort and it is therefore a place of reference in a land which is largely unmapped. This is quite different from Thomas James who, after surviving a devastating winter, attempts to contact the "Salvages" to "get some intelligence" from them (I have previously mentioned this scene in chapter two). After setting a signal fire which almost succeeds in killing him, and next day continues to burn "most furiously; both to the Westward and the Northward" James still receives "no answer of it." In fact, James's attempt at communication literally backfires on him, for the next day,

About noone, the winde shifted Northerly; and our Sentinell came running home, bringing us word that the fire did follow him at hard heeles, like a traine of powder. It was no neede to bid us take downe and carry all away to the sea-side. The fire came towards us with a most terrible rattling noyse: bearing a full mile in breadth: and by that time wee had uncovered our houses and laid hand on, to carry away our last things: the fire was come to our Towne and seized on it, and (in a trice) burnt it downe to the ground. (85)

Compare this "strange and dangerous" signifying practice with that of Hearne where the lines of commerce have so regulated the movements of the aborigines that he is able, on one occasion at least, to deliver a message back to the fort and order supplies! This is quite a remarkable achievement, given the enormous distances involved and the differences between various tribes' travelling plans. Hearne's journal entry for March 20, 1771 reads:

Before morning the weather became so bad, and the storm continued to rage with such violence, that we did not move for several days; and as some of the Indians we met with at this place were going to Prince of Wales's Fort in the Summer, I embraced the opportunity of sending by them a Letter to the Chief at that Fort, agreeably to the tenor of my instructions. By summing up my courses and distances from my last observation, for the weather at that time would not permit me to observe, I judged myself to be in latitude $61^{\circ} 30'$ North, and about $19^{\circ} 60'$ of longitude to the west of Churchill River. This, and with some accounts of the usage I received from the natives, with my opinion of the future success of the journey, formed the contents of my letter. (54)

The missive which Hearne sent to the fort is the equivalent of what we would now call a postcard. It provides little concrete information other than the fact that he is still alive and occupying a specific geographic site. His observations of "courses and distances" are nowadays replaced by a picture, generally of an object we have viewed. As Derrida has written, "The entire history of postal *tekhne* tends to rivet the destination to identity. To arrive, to happen would be to subject, to happen to 'me'" ("Envois" 192). Since Hearne has not finished his trip, has not arrived at his destination, he posts the letter so it will arrive for him back at the fort. "Meanwhile, back at the fort," it will secure his identity in his absence.

When Hearne writes that he sent his letter "agreeably to the tenor of my instructions" he refers to a section in his "Orders and Instructions," a document regulating his conduct during the trip. It is clear from this document that the "Company" wishes him to keep in constant contact, since Governor Moses Norton states he should send letters for "food and clothing" and additionally,

according to the Company's orders, you are to correspond with me, or the Chief at Prince of Wales's Fort for the time being, at all opportunities: And as you have mathematical instruments with you, you are to send me . . . an account of what latitude and longitude you may be in at such and such periods, together with the heads of your proceedings; which accounts are to be remitted to the Company by the return of their ships. (lxvii)

Although the adventurer is literally, "in the middle of nowhere," he is able to articulate his identity through his writing, and his position with his "mathe-

matical instruments." These signifiers of identity are then supposed to be carried, by Indians caught in the cycle of economic exchange, back to the fort and then eventually back to England. Of course this degree of communication was physically impossible, but the fact that it was set down so explicitly demonstrates how clearly the Hudson's Bay Company theorized its relationship with Hearne as well as its control over the terrain it had been granted.

Hearne ends his Introduction with a description of the items he carries with him:

I drew a Map on a large skin of parchment, that contained twelve degrees of latitude North, and thirty degrees of longitude West, of Churchill Factory, and sketched all the West coast of the Bay on it, but left the interior parts blank, to be filled up during my Journey. I also prepared detached pieces on a much larger scale for every degree of latitude and longitude contained in the large Map. On these detached pieces I pricked off my daily courses and distance, and entered all lakes and rivers, &c., that I met with; endeavouring, by strict enquiry of the natives, to find out the communication of one river with another, as also their connections with the many lakes with which that country abounds: and when opportunity offered, having corrected them by observations, I entered them in the general Map. These and several other preparations, for the easier, readier, and more correctly keeping my Journal and Chart, were also adopted; but as to myself Ammunition, useful iron-work, some tobacco, a few knives, and other indispensable articles, make a sufficient load for anyone to carry that is going a journey likely to last twenty months or two years. (lxxii)

What is striking about this final passage of the Introduction is that the most elaborately planned aspects of the trip in this description are his maps and Hearne goes into great detail in describing their composition. By recalling the image of the postcard, we can see how Hearne's identity depends extensively upon his maps and his ability to articulate at all times where he is. The power of mapping is considerable, given Hearne's lack of knowledge about the country in which he travels. Although Hearne has never travelled to the Coppermine river before, he is able to sketch out a grid of latitude and longitude and "all of the West coast of the Bay." And even though the

interior is left blank, the grid provides a structure of knowledge flexible enough to allow him to alter the scale of his mapping from entering "daily courses" on the "detached pieces" to "corrected . . . observations" on the "general Map." Although it is the natives who guide him to the Coppermine river and back, Hearne uses his mapping as a means of asserting control over the blank spaces. Practically every part of his discourse demonstrates this power relationship. For instance, he states that he endeavored "by strict enquiry of the natives, to find out the communication of one river with another, as also their connections with the many lakes with which that country abounds." The country is represented as something which "communicates" and is literally alive with geographic connections which can be mapped out. In this passage the natives are much less significant; they are useful for purposes of interrogation but no matter how much they help with the construction of the maps, they are themselves absent from it. In fact, it is significant that according to this system of knowledge the country is blank before Hearne writes it down.

This final passage from Hearne's Introduction is also interesting in that it does not reveal the primary apparatus behind all this mapping: the quadrant, which is essential for making observations of latitude and longitude, is elided from his description of what he carries.¹¹⁸ This is particularly significant because he does discuss the long period of the journey and how he is not able to carry more than is absolutely necessary, so something as relatively large and cumbersome as a quadrant must surely be worthy of mention, particularly when it is indispensable for all the measurements he makes. In fact, through the text of Journey . . . to the Northern Ocean, the quadrant is rarely mentioned, despite its central importance to his whole activity of mapping. The omission of the quadrant repeats a strategy of power prevalent in the technology of writing and in colonial discourses in

¹¹⁸ This structure is quite different from both Foxe and James who describe how they first begin to plan the trip, who commissioned them, how they got their ships and crew, and James even has a special appendix titled "The Names of the severall Instruments, I provided and bought for this Voyage."

general. Writing and mapping exert control over the territory they articulate, yet they hide the apparatus of control, thus making their technologies appear more natural. Or, as Barthes would say, écriture presents itself mythically, relying on its form to denote or represent the territory over which it travels. The quadrant is an extremely advanced technology manufactured in England, and transported to North America where it is the basis for structuring a European empirical world view. It is the scientific instrument which aids writing in its empirical and imperial tasks. Greenfield writes that on the third expedition Hearne "joins Matonabee's entourage as an honored guest" and "Matonabee's competence allows Hearne to devote himself to his astronomical observations and his journals" (Narrating Discovery 36). In other words, while the Indians hunt, socialize, set up camp and look for landmarks, Hearne's responsibility is to his writing and maps.¹¹⁹ Yet almost all reference to this is elided even though, as was the case in the second edition, the breaking of the quadrant forces him to return to the fort.

Imperialism's eliding of its mechanisms of writing is an ideological strategy repeated in many other exercises of power. In Modern French Philosophy, Vincent Descombes writes, "The discourse which presents a de facto situation as being founded de jure, or a traditional privilege as a natural superiority, is an ideological one" (137), and the discourse is ideological precisely because it hides its history, the process of how it came to be inscribed. In "Myth Today," Barthes makes a similar point about the bourgeoisie:

...as an economic fact, the bourgeoisie is named without any difficulty: capitalism is openly professed. As a political fact, the bourgeoisie has some difficulty in acknowledging itself: there are no "bourgeois" parties in the Chamber. As an ideological fact, it completely disappears: the bourgeoisie has obliterated its name in passing from reality to representation, from economic man to mental man. (138)

¹¹⁹ These differences, between explorer as writer and possessor of knowledge and the "employees" assigned the everyday labours, are repeated in the Franklin expeditions where the officers classify life forms, take measurements of distance and temperature, and write.

Similarly, Hearne has no difficulty acknowledging himself as an economic agent of the Hudson's Bay Company. Political issues are far removed from his narrative, and ideologically, while he is often sympathetic to the Indians' situation and way of life, western views are always presented as "natural" and obviously superior.

So many of the published versions of exploration narratives stress the individual's suffering and triumph over events and terrain, while eliding the devices that enable the individual to define himself against the alien geography and cultures. In Journey . . . to the Northern Ocean, there is an understandable tendency for Hearne to identify with his native guides throughout their travels because, except in the first attempt which ends in deceit, they are all headed in the same direction and undertaking the same mission, and he ultimately depends on them for his life. Yet the text we read is generated by Hearne the writer who is perpetually alienated by the fact that he is always measuring his distance and location, not only in geographical terms, but also in cultural terms; Hearne inscribes his guides into the text, othering them from their oral existence. These activities, central to what I term the écriture of exploration, are probably the most important differences between Hearne and his native guides, but because they are ideological differences, they are rarely mentioned.

Some of Walter Ong's distinctions between oral and literate cultures can also be helpful here. Ong explains that oral cultures have few analytical or abstract concepts of reasoning, and language is used to describe events, rather than in any analysis of those events ("Oral cultures tend to use concepts in situational, operational frames of reference that are minimally abstract in the sense that they remain close to the living human lifeworld." [49]). However, literate cultures are able to look up facts, reason through and compare contrasting arguments, and engage in self-analysis:

Self-analysis requires a certain demolition of situational thinking. It calls for isolation of the self, around which the entire lived world swirls for each individual person, removal of the center of every situation from that situation enough to allow the center, the self, to be examined and described. (54)

The perceptual differences between the natives' tribal cultures and the exploration narratives by the individualized Europeans who explored and inscribed their lands, are not merely "natural" results of divergent geographical and historical conditions: these differences are also directly derived from the way in which the separate cultures use and articulate knowledge. Overall, Hearne alternates his analysis between making generalizations about Indian culture, and attributing individuals (like Chaw-chinahaw, Matonabee and Moses Norton) with specifically European characteristics.

After going into great detail over his system of mapping, Hearne quickly glosses over his clothes and ends his list with "Ammunition, useful iron-work, some tobacco, a few knives, and other indispensable articles." Although many of these items are for his personal use, they are also for exchange with the tribes of Indians he will meet on his journey. In fact, his whole existence on the road is maintained by an elaborate system of exchanges and promises depending, ultimately, on the economic force of the Hudson's Bay Company. The Indians guide him with the promise of recompense and regarding those whom he meets, his instructions read:

Whereas you and your companions are well fitted-out with every thing we think necessary, as also a sample of light trading goods; these you are to dispose of by way of presents (and not by way of trade) to such far-off Indians as you may meet with, and to smoke your Calicut of Peace with their leaders, in order to establish a friendship with them. You are also to persuade them as much as possible from going to war with each other, to encourage them to exert themselves in procuring furs and other articles for trade, and to assure them of good payment for them at the Company's Factory. (lxvi-lxvii)

Although Hearne is instructed to dispose of his trading goods "by way of presents (and not by way of trade)" his mission is partly to encourage the "far-off Indians" to engage in trading with the Hudson's Bay Company. Today we might call his presents "loss leaders," because in effect he is trading even though the Hudson's Bay Company wishes to call it "establish[ing] . . . friendship." Despite the importance of his trade goods in identifying him as

an agent of the Hudson's Bay Company, and therefore helping to sustain him in hostile conditions, Hearne never reveals precisely what they are.

Ironically, we learn the identity of some of the "indispensable articles" when he is robbed in his second attempt to travel to the Coppermine river. These events occur in chapter three, in August of 1770, just after Hearne has had to abandon his second journey.

It proving rather cloudy about noon, though exceeding fine weather, I let the quadrant stand, in order to obtain the latitude more exactly by two altitudes; but, to my great mortification, while I was eating my dinner, a sudden gust of wind blew it down; and as the ground where was very stoney, the bubble, the sight-vane, and vernier, were entirely broke to pieces, which rendered the instrument useless. In consequence of this misfortune I resolved to return again to the Fort. (29)

The decision to turn back emphasizes the severity of the situation. Although Hearne has suffered no physical injury and it is possible his guides could still lead him to the Coppermine, the quadrant's breaking signals an end to the fixedness of his world; he would no longer be able to articulate himself against the wilderness and his native guides. The writing of his "daily courses" would become increasingly erratic, the "detached pieces" increasingly detached from Western logos, to the point where he would no longer be able to "correct" his "observations" on the larger map. This would lead to a kind of semiotic breakdown in the wilderness, so Hearne turns away from it and heads back towards his employer's Fort. Coincidentally, the next day, he suffers another setback which threatens his identity and even his ability to return to the safe haven of signification.

Hearne begins his description of the theft by stating that "nothing can exceed the cool deliberation of those villains; a committee of them entered my tent" (30) thus representing them as a combination of English highway bandit and parliamentary commission:

... they asked me for several articles which I had not, and among others for a pack of cards; but on my answering that I had not any of the articles they mentioned, one of them put his hand on my baggage, and asked if it was mine. Before I could answer in the affirmative, he and the rest of his companions (six in

number) had all my treasure spread on the ground. One took one thing, and another another, till at last nothing was left but the empty bag, which they permitted me to keep. At length, considering that, though I was going to the Factory, I should want a knife to cut my victuals, an awl to mend my shoes, and a needle to mend my other clothing, they readily gave me these articles, though not without making me understand that I ought to look upon it as a great favour. Finding them possessed of so much generosity, I ventured to solicit them for my razors; but thinking that one would be sufficient to shave me during my passage home, they made no scruple to keep the other; luckily they chose the worst. To complete their generosity, they permitted me to take as much soap as I thought would be sufficient to wash and shave me during the remainder of my journey to the Factory.

(31)

Here at last the villainous natives empty all his baggage and spread it out in front of him. Throughout this passage Hearne seems to be offended not so much by the fact that he was robbed, but by the complete disregard the Indians have for his personal property which he, thus far, has been able to keep to himself. For Hearne, his possessions have helped establish his own self-possession.¹²⁰ Yet even though his "indispensable articles" are spread out in front of him (and us) he still manages to evade mentioning the particulars with phrases like, "One took one thing, and another another, till at last nothing was left but the empty bag"—an ingenious description of robbery without any real list of what has been taken. It is interesting that even though the natives are "villains," they agree to give him back enough personal possessions for him to survive his trip back to the Factory. Not only to survive, but to keep his clothes sewn, his shoes mended and himself shaven; in other words, to constitute himself as a European adventurer. Towards the end of this scene we might even imagine the slight gloating of the British trader as the Indians "chose the worst" razor blade. Overall, then, this robbery by committee seems less an outright act of stealing than a dispersal of goods, a scene of bartering over identity where Hearne struggles to keep his possessions.

The robbery is a "set piece" or mini-drama demonstrating just how powerless Hearne is and how much he relies on his guides and the other

¹²⁰ I thank David L. Clark for this convenient phrase.

natives he meets; yet even there he is able to barter his way into getting enough artifacts for him to return, washed and shaven, to the Factory. What is fascinating about Journey . . . to the Northern Ocean is how the text tells so much while revealing so little about the structure of its own dominance over the land and peoples it describes. The Indians wish mainly to share the goods and divide them among themselves, but Hearne, as efficient capitalist trader, manages to get some of them back. Now that we have some idea of the conditions of Hearne's journey, we can go out on the "trail" with him.

VI Hearne on the "Trail"

Hearne's directions from the Hudson's Bay Company, represented by Governor Moses Norton, were titled, "Orders and Instructions for Mr. Samuel Hearne, going on an expedition by Land towards the Latitude 70° North, in order to gain a Knowledge of the Northern Indians Country, &c. on Behalf of the Honourable Hudson's Bay Company, in the year 1769."

Hearne's primary goal was to reach the river "called by the Northern Indians Neetha-san-san-dazey, or the Far Off Metal River" which had been

represented by the Indians to abound with copper ore . . . and there determine the latitude and longitude as near as you can; but more particularly so if you find it navigable, and that a settlement can be made there with any degree of safety, or benefit to the Company. . . . And if the said river be likely to be of any utility, take possession of it on behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company, by cutting your name on some of the rocks, as also the date of the year, month, &c. (lxviii).

Even in this Introduction, with its legalistic and declamatory language signifying an extreme utilitarianism, the themes of representation and symbolism recur. The Indians are said to have "represented" the river as abounding with copper and Hearne is being sent to check their verisimilitude. The river itself is called by the Indians the "Far Off Metal River," and renamed, after this expedition, the Coppermine river, even though Hearne found very little copper existed there and no mine was established. In fact,

the name still stands, now embodying a nostalgia for a form of colonial economic desire. Once arriving there Hearne is instructed to claim it, if it is "likely to be of any utility," by inscribing his proper name on the landscape, thus turning a presumably blank and non-signifying surface into property. In an interesting footnote, which I have already mentioned in chapter two, Hearne states that he was "not provided with the instruments for cutting on stone; but for form-sake, I cut my name date of the year, &c., on a piece of board that had been one of the Indian's targets and placed it in a heap of stones on a small eminence near the entrance of the river" (lxvii). Despite finding the river and surrounding area of little value, Hearne places his name there for "form-sake" because the formal acts of possession and inscription are essential to articulating an imperial identity over the landscape. Hearne's "mark" is another Peircean index of imperial passage and despite his apparent reluctance to inscribe the territory, it still functions as a symbol of empire.

This same event of naming occurs later in the diegesis itself; Hearne is finishing his survey of the regions around the Coppermine river. The weather has been too foggy and rainy to make observations of latitude, and "finding that neither the river nor sea were likely to be of any use, I did not think it worth while to wait for fair weather" (106). But just before he leaves Hearne adds, "For the sake of form, however, after having had some consultation with the Indians, I erected a mark, and took possession of the coast, on behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company" (106). If this "mark" is the cutting of his "name date of the year, &c., on a piece of board" then it is meant to be an imperial act of possession even though the territory has been acknowledged as worthless (in fact, since Hearne doubts it can ever be "of any utility" he contradicts the letter of his instructions). We may also wonder about what he "consulted" with the Indians. Did he ask them if he could possess the land, thus establishing a form of treaty within the silence of his own account? Or did he ask them for their "piece of board that had been one of . . . [their] targets" on which to write his name? The origin of this "board" is also poten-

tially of interest since that name implies some process of manufacture differentiating it from any shapeless piece of wood. Ultimately, this additional scene of writing leaves the question of possession equally ambiguous: while the Introduction tells us about the board and some of the information written on it, the description on page 106 adds the consultation, but reduces the process to that of erecting a "mark," indicating the action is more indexical (and therefore "exclamatory") than possessive.

In his article, "Concepts of Native Peoples and Property Rights in Early Canadian Poetry," D.M.R. Bentley provides a comprehensive history of the philosophical and legal arguments used to exercise European authority over any "newly discovered" territory. Bentley discusses "three conceptions of ownership" which are: "(1) the right of first discovery;¹²¹ (2) the right of first possession; and (3) the right of annexation through labour" (30). In all cases native peoples are excluded from "owning" the property they have inhabited for thousands of years. The "right of first discovery" was contrived to stop wars between European states by establishing discovery as the basis of a claim, thereby demonstrating the Eurocentric nature of that term (which has already been discussed in chapter one). Bentley also discusses how the "inscribed cross" Henry Kelsey planted in northern Manitoba in 1691 echoes "Cartier's raising of the Cross of France on the Gaspé on July 24, 1534" and how these crosses develop into Alexander Mackenzie's writing "in large characters" his name and date of journey on a rock near Vancouver in 1793. Bentley's point is that all these actions (he quotes Greenblatt who calls them "rituals of possession") are directed towards a European "interpretive community":

If an inscribed cross was an accepted "token" of imperial possession during the period of the First British Empire and earlier, the inscribed name and origin of the explorer was apparently an accepted token in the Second. In both cases, the meaning of the "token" as an announcement of appropriation was as clear to

¹²¹ Bentley claims this was a "long-standing convention among the imperial powers of western Europe" though it did not stop them from fighting wars over territory.

those of European origin as it must have been opaque to the native peoples. (32-33)

By calling the various "marks" on the colonial landscape Peircean "indexes" rather than tokens, I am stressing writing as inscription, the physical presence or trace of écriture which transcribes imperialism across the Atlantic. The "writers" can explore the territory, live among the natives and record their customs, survey the landscape, itemize their actions, and leave their marks in plain view, and everything written in the language of imperialism remains undecipherable to those same natives who cannot read, and therefore cannot "see" how they appear in the discourse.¹²² The condition of the colonized—the position of Other within a dominant discourse—has produced a strange alterity throughout the history of imperialism so that when some of the Indians eventually acquire knowledge of writing, they will find their history and mannerisms already described in imperial terms. Bentley's article discusses legal issues of ownership, and relates these to specific passages in early Canadian poetry, but my analysis of writing is directed towards understanding the power of representation. Although Hearne claims this worthless land merely for the sake of form, the act of claiming through inscription is an important part of most exploration narratives. As an act of territoriality, Hearne's claim has no immediate worth; its real value lies in how it helps structure the discourse of exploration. Of course these "rituals of possession" (what I call "acts of inscription") point back towards the audience in Europe, but these fragments of texts, which explorers are continually writing over a variety of surfaces, have a textual power produced through a reaction between discourse and environment because, as I argued in chapter two, they inscribe the foreign landscape into the "book of exploration."

Delving for a moment into biography, we can affirm the importance of writing to explorers. Gordon Speck describes some pertinent details of

¹²² This strategy of imperial writing is demonstrated by my example of the movie Black Robe in chapter two. Laforgue offers to share his [imperialist/Catholic] writing with the Algonkin but they must first let him convert them.

Hearne's life, in respect to marking and possessing, which occurred immediately after he joined the Hudson's Bay Company:

He was assigned to the sloop Churchill, a company ship trading about the mouth of the [Churchill] river; two years later he was on the Charlotte under Joseph Stevens, with whom he was notably happy; he is seen, often by inference, carving his name on a rock, hunting wild geese to supply the winter larder, repairing equipment or tending the Company store—but essentially he was preparing himself, quietly but with determination, to make the first overland journey to the American Arctic and either find the supposed Strait of Anián or prove its non-existence. (15)

When Speck writes that Hearne is "preparing himself" to become an explorer we might imagine he is referring to his development of character and survival skills. But perhaps "carving his name on a rock" is just as important a skill for an explorer who represents national and capitalist interests and, in fact, Speck highlights this skill by including a picture of Hearne's "signature" on page 12 titled "Hearne's Name Carved in the Glaciated Rock of Sloop's Cove." Since we have proof of his extensive practice it seems negligent on Hearne's part not to have taken the necessary materials with him on the trip.

One of the major sources of tension in Journey . . . to the Northern Ocean is over the natives' representations of the river and Hearne's discussion of this must be viewed in light of two aspects of European culture which have been mentioned previously. One is writing as a technology possessing certain powers and imposing a variety of constraints on the peoples and lands it inscribes. The second important cultural trait is that of science and the increasing belief in models of empiricism. Hearne's "Instructions" state that the river has been "represented by the Indians to abound with copper ore, animals of the furr kind, &c., and which is said to be so far to the Northward, that in the middle of the Summer the Sun does not set, and is supposed by the Indians to empty itself into some ocean" (lxviii). The Indians have described this area over a period of years in various oral exchanges; by calling these descriptions "representations," the Hudson's Bay Company officials incorporate them within their own languages of verisimilitude. The

mythic quality of this "land of the midnight sun,"¹²³ rich in resources and with the river running into the sea, is apparent to any reader, yet placed as it is within the legalistic rhetoric of the "Introduction" it is presented as fact and used to support a logical argument for Hearne's voyage. The Europeans have combined a variety of oral narratives, re-written them within their own logos, and then interpreted them according to their own science. However, once Hearne reaches the Coppermine river he sees a mimetic betrayal:

On my arrival here I was not a little surprised to find the river differ so much from the description which the Indians had given of it at the Factory; for, instead of being so large as to be navigable for shipping, as it had been represented by them, it was at that part scarcely navigable for an Indian canoe, being no more than one hundred and eighty yards wide, every where full of shoals, and no less than three falls were in sight at first view. (94-95)

It is at this point in Hearne's text where an aporia between native and European modes of description is most clearly revealed. For Hearne, and many writing after him, the explanation is simple: the Indians have lied in order to get some material advantage from the Company. Not only have the Indians told the Hudson's Bay Company what they wanted to hear, they have structured the landscape to accommodate a European economic vision which desires unimpeded trade with rivers providing a convenient mode of transportation. Therefore, the river is deepened and the waterfalls are erased in order to make it "navigable for shipping." However, the chain of signification is much more complex. It is not that the Indians have "lied," but that they have made their tales available to the Europeans' "economy of representation." Part of the mis-representing has been achieved by the Company's translation of these tales. The gradual accumulation of stories about this mythical land has been built into a list, a catalogue of traits which have become part of a structure of desire and fulfilled an answer to the linguistic and capitalist "demand" for more resources.

¹²³ I thank David L. Clark for pointing out how this phrase ties into my general discussion of Bentham's Panopticon and the "colonial gaze." In contrast to the "dark continent," the Canadian north is, in the summer months anyway, constantly visible to those who wish to measure its distances.

There are two other important places where Hearne writes about how natives go about representing nature, and these scenes again reveal the gap between cultures. The short amount of time during which Hearne was able to observe the Coppermine river can be divided roughly into three narrative periods. The first is where Hearne, Matonabee, and the Copper Indians arrive at the river and he begins his survey. The second section is the longest and concerns all the events around the slaughter of the Eskimo, (including sending spies out to find them, sneaking up on them at night and the actual slaughter itself), and I will return to that below. The third section is where he surveys the land for its mining potential and again complains about the Indians' "representations":

By their account the hills were entirely composed of that metal, all in handy lumps, like a heap of pebbles. But their account differed so much from the truth, that I and almost all my companions expended near four hours in search of some of this metal, with such poor success, that among us all, only one piece of any size could be found. This, however, was remarkably good, and weighed above four pounds. (112)

After complaining about the lack of minerals Hearne gives us a fascinating glimpse of the Indians' world view:

It may not be unworthy the notice of the curious, or undeserving a place in my Journal, to remark, that the Indians imagine that every bit of copper they find resembles some object in nature; but by what I saw of the large piece, and some smaller one which were found by my companions, it requires a great share of invention to make this out. I found that different people had different ideas on the subject, for the largest piece of copper above mentioned had not been found long before it had twenty different names. One saying that it resembled this animal, and another that it represented a particular part of another; at last it was generally allowed to resemble an Alpine hare couchant: for my part, I must confess that I could not see it had the least resemblance to any thing to which they compared it. It would be endless to enumerate the different parts of a deer, and other animals, which the Indians say the best pieces of copper resemble: it may therefore be sufficient to say, that the largest pieces, with the fewest branches and the least dross, are the best for their use; as by the help of fire, and two stones, they can beat it out to any shape they wish. (113)

Several aspects of this passage are germane to our discussion. First, on the surface it seems as if Hearne is again accusing the Indians of lying because he states that he could not see that the copper "had the least resemblance to any thing to which they compared it." They are performing the same mimetic operation on the copper as they did on the Coppermine river. Second, Hearne's description of the Indian's relationship to copper represents them as "natural" beings who have a simple and unmediated relationship to the wilderness. How else can they be unable to distinguish fantasy from reality, to refuse the guidance of botanical taxonomies, and to see things as they wished them to be? However, stepping back from the picture we can see this image is created by the frame which Hearne places on them. It is worthwhile to recall our earlier discussion of Foucault's The Order of Things where he discusses how resemblance and representation distinguish between medieval and classical modes of seeing the world. Hearne has placed the Indians within a world of resemblance, where everything has the possibility of being identified with other things. A slight difference between the two worlds is that in the medieval picture the notion of God existed as a kind of controlling presence over signification, and Hearne does not mention religion. Nonetheless, Foucault's words certainly seem applicable to this situation:

The universe was folded in upon itself: the earth echoing the sky, faces seeing themselves reflected in the stars, and plants holding within their stems the secrets that were of use to man. (Order 17)

Reading this section of Journey . . . to the Northern Ocean through Foucault, we can see how Hearne represents the Indians not as closer to nature, but nostalgically, as belonging closer to an earlier mode of European thinking.

Hearne's observations are important for our discussion of economics because he presents the Indians' mode of representing as pre-capitalist because they are not "seeing" the copper as a commodity and not constituting it as an object with exchange value. Instead, they assign it an identity based on resemblance. Marx describes this mode of representing as "fetishism"

because identity is based on ideas originating from the "mist-enveloped region of the religious world" rather than on systems of exchange:¹²⁴

There is a physical relation between physical things. But it is different with commodities. There, the existence of things *quâ* commodities, and the value relation between the products of labour which stamps them as commodities, have absolutely no connection with their physical properties and with the material relations arising therefrom. (83)

The copper is valuable to the Hudson's Bay Company for what it can be exchanged for, and to them it represents future profits. But to the Indians it represents anything they wish. Another aspect of their representational system is that its ultimate identity is arrived at communally ("I found that different people had different ideas on the subject, for the largest piece of copper above mentioned had not been found long before it had twenty different names. One saying that it resembled this animal, and another that it represented a particular part of another; at last it was generally allowed to resemble an Alpine hare couchant. . ."). Hearne cannot fathom what he sees as a completely arbitrary system, although their system is actually less arbitrary than his own. That is, the Indians have a social and mimetic structure in place which ascribes identity and value according to reasonably defined rules. But Hearne wishes to take the copper out of that structure and put in on the "free market" where its worth will fluctuate according to its exchange value. Significantly, Hearne veers away from the unfathomable complexity of the Indians' system of mimesis ("It would be endless to enumerate the different parts of a deer, and other animals, which the Indians say the best pieces of copper resemble") and ends this section with a discussion of the copper's use-value in manufacturing ("the largest pieces . . . are the best for their use; as by the help of fire, and two stones, they can beat it out to any shape they wish). Presumably, the Indians will beat it out of its natural shape and into one which Hearne can recognize, that of a tool or weapon.

¹²⁴ Again, this concurs with Foucault's picture of the medieval world in which the system of resemblance is derived from religion.

The detailed discussion of the copper and its various representations demonstrates the difference between European and native North American concepts of mimesis, economy and value. Of course we can never know what the Indians may have been thinking, but we can achieve some sense of this vast difference by seeing how Hearne's narrative repeatedly turns away from their thought, replacing it with his own (in the above example, with the more familiar process of manufacturing). There is another point in the Journey ... to the Northern Ocean where this same act of similitude is practiced. When his native guides are preparing for their war with the Eskimo,

each painted the front of his target or shield; some with the figure of the Sun, others with that of the Moon, several with the images of imaginary beings, which, according to their silly notions, are the inhabitants of the different elements, Earth, Sea, Air, &c.

On enquiring the reason of their doing so, I learned that each man painted his shield with the image of that being on which he relied most for success in the intended engagement. Some were contented with a single representation; while others, doubtful, as I suppose, of the quality and power of any single being, had their shields covered to the very margin with a group of hieroglyphics, quite unintelligible to everyone except the painter. Indeed, from the hurry in which this business was necessarily done, the want of every colour but red and black, and the deficiency of skill in the artist, most of those paintings had more the appearance of a number of accidental blotches, than "of any thing that is on the earth, or in the water under the earth" and though some few of them conveyed a tolerable idea of the thing intended, yet even these were many degrees worse than our country sign-paintings in England. (96-97)

Here the fetishistic aspects of the Indians' representations are shown most clearly. The OED describes fetish as meaning "Originally, any of the objects used by the negroes of the Guinea coast and the neighbouring regions as amulets or means of enchantment" and "something irrationally revered." It comes from the French fétiche meaning "charm, sorcery," and the Spanish hechizo, "a subst. use of feitico adj. 'made by art, artificial, skillfully contrived.'" A fetish is something which has powers that are irrational and enchanted, yet it is itself artificial and constructed. The Indians paint their

shields so they too may possess the properties of whatever it is they choose to represent. This is as close as Hearne comes to describing aspects of their beliefs and rituals (which he dismisses as "silly notions"), yet again he turns away from the discussion because to him these symbols lack intelligibility: they "had more the appearance of a number of accidental blotches." He also ignores how they differ from the copper pieces, where meaning is arrived at communally; these signs are essentially private so that each man possesses his own shield and identity. The shields are therefore a form of autobiography, of self-representation which resembles chivalric conventions where knights could be identified by their shields. It is also interesting that at this point, where Hearne dismisses the Indians' system of mimesis and beliefs, he quotes from his own religion. Richard Glover points out that "of any thing that is on the earth, or in the water under the earth" is an echo of Revelations, 5:13. This is the section of Revelations where the seven seals are being opened to reveal what will come in the future and the verse reads "Then I heard every created thing in heaven and on earth and under the earth and in the sea, all that is in them crying: 'Praise and honour, glory and might, to him who sits on the throne and to the Lamb for ever and ever!'" (New English Bible 318). By quoting from a sacred text he shows how the natives are literally not able to represent "any thing" that is on the Christian earth, thus placing the Christian universe, where everything cries "praise and honour" to God, in a position of superiority.

Hearne's biblical quotation comes from an important place in the New Testament. The book of Revelations, with its eschatological expression of force and violence, is being placed next to the Indians' shields which are also being readied for violence. But we are being told that they simply do not signify; therefore any symbolism or force which they have in the native's culture is erased.¹²⁵ A European Christian perspective is observable

¹²⁵ The erasure of the symbolism also works to undermine the reader's belief in the Indians' ability to reason or represent things logically. If their representations are undecipherable then it must only be a reflection of their thinking. This no doubt violent and unnecessary action of attacking the Eskimo is always represented from Hearne's perspective and from his semiotic context, so that the natives' actions are seen as almost completely

throughout Journey . . . to the Northern Ocean, and in most travel and exploration writing into the middle of the twentieth century, particularly when issues of native culture and morality are discussed. Hearne's account of the shields reveals how an intertextual reference overpowers the Indians' signs in a manner which only writing is able to bring about. Writing has the ability to "quote," to take discourses from a variety of texts temporally and spatially removed from each other, and construct meanings out of the resulting confrontation and conflation. In the case of the Indians' shields, which are, as stated above, being readied for violence, a violence is committed against them as the Christian text intervenes and disrupts a system of meaning: their signification is silenced and their surfaces turned opaque.¹²⁶

The preceding discussion of the elaborate preparation for the attack demonstrates how much the Indians value ritual and symbolism. Even more intriguing than their preparations is Hearne's reaction to their symbolic order, and his recoiling from signs he perceives to be indecipherable. Given the theoretical importance of this section preceding the attack, and the myriad fascinating details presented throughout Journey . . . to the Northern Ocean, it is intriguing that the slaughter itself has become the most famous incident in Hearne's narrative. It has been analyzed, alluded to, quoted, and anthologized more than virtually any other single episode in either Hearne's narrative or other works of Canadian exploration literature. In fact, Dermot McCarthy picks out three central moments of "our tradition" that demonstrate "one man's experience of the 'deep terror in regard to nature'

unmotivated and irrational.

¹²⁶ At the end of his paragraph Hearne repeats a rhetorical strategy he has employed earlier. When he discussed the natives' puzzling perceptions of copper he ended with a discussion of its manufacturing potential, and here he ends the discourse on shields by saying they were "many degrees worse than our country sign-paintings in England." This reference to a culture Hearne presumably shares with the reader neatly brackets the native's undecipherable representations by referring to a shared image: on the sign-paintings the language is understandable despite its disfigurement.

that Frye distinguishes as a characteristic of much Canadian poetry" ("Not Knowing" 165). His examples are "Hearne's experience at Bloody Falls . . . [Alexander] Henry's at Michilimackinac" and "Regaut's discovery of Brebeuf's bones." McCarthy's choices are revealing because, except for Hearne's tale, all involve Indians' massacres of Europeans; therefore, none involve man's experience of nature at all, but, rather, Europeans' representation of the Other that is the indigenous population of North America.

This section's fame may be attributed to some aspect of voyeurism or sensationalism, but it also shows how discovery narratives have been traditionally read. Narratively speaking, the slaughter comes after a number of tensions have been building between Hearne and his guides, and also among the different tribes on the trip, so it functions as a climax, a form of catharsis, breaking the suspense. It also comes at the climax of Hearne's disappointment over the Coppermine river itself, and neatly displaces or defers his parallel disappointment over the lack of copper. Therefore, the slaughter of the Eskimo provides a convenient plot twist, similar to how much fiction is constructed. Although primarily interested in Journey . . . to the Northern Ocean's landscape aesthetics, I.S. MacLaren has also analysed its narrative technique:

An accomplished dramatist of the scene, Hearne pauses after setting the scene in order to heighten audience suspense. He details the preparatory rituals undertaken by the Indians to an extent sufficient to redirect his reader's attention. Then, in nine swift sentences, he springs into action. ("Landscapes" 33)

Most readings of Hearne, and other explorers, have focussed on the drama and sense of "discovery" present in their narratives. Almost as a compensation for the lack of discovery, Hearne provides the most dramatic scene in Canadian exploration literature, which, in fact, sensationalizes and decontextualizes the event as it might have occurred within its cultural context. MacLaren writes that Hearne's description of the rituals is a dramatic "pause" before the action commences. While this is true in the context of the narrative, the Indian's rituals can be seen historically to con-

textualize their violent actions. As J.R. Miller explains, warfare was motivated by commercial reasons, and a desire for retribution, and it was usually accompanied by rituals which held symbolic meaning for the community:

Although warfare was common before the coming of the European, it was not usually very extensive or destructive in those times. Non-commercial war in particular tended to be focused narrowly on a particular family or village, and its objectives were satisfied with the death of relatively few people. . . . Among some Indians the death of captives taken in battle was not just expiation of the obligation to seek retribution but also a religious rite. Torture was commonly employed among both Algonkians and Iroquoians, and for the Iroquoians torture was a type of religious observation in honour of the sun. (11-12)

As MacLaren notes, Hearne's highly dramatic scene is "wholly conventional" according to the "conventions of the literary Sublime practised in late-eighteenth-century Britain" (33). By looking at the events described, both as "conventionalized" elements of a diegesis, and as cultural performances, we see how *écriture* has removed them from the local context they may have had, and articulated them as prime example of exploration discourse. As a textually-reified moment, the slaughter is what we read towards, and has become almost canonical.

Hearne's own cultural blindness is repeated by latter day critics, such as Dermot McCarthy who claims that "*A Journey* narrates Hearne's quest into and back from 'the barren lands' and the massacre at Bloody Falls is Hearne's climactic confrontation with the incomprehensible malignancy at their heart" (153). Again, and as in the quotation above, McCarthy erases the Indians as agents of the massacre, and replaces them with "the barrens." It is also fascinating how McCarthy's article, "'Not Knowing Me from an Enemy': Hearne's Account of the Massacre at Bloody Falls," parallels Hearne's narrative strategy as it builds in suspense, and gradually works up to the key passages of the massacre itself. For instance, we are told that Hearne is a "clumsy and humourless writer, with a meagre vocabulary" and that the passage is "remarkable because of his shortcomings." But then McCarthy

describes the tension in Journey . . . to the Northern Ocean: Hearne admires Matonabee, but is disturbed that the chief is leading this savage attack, and this tension "reaches a terrible climax in the account of the massacre."

Hearne builds suspense by beginning the Bloody Fall section by describing his surveying and the Indians' practical and symbolic preparations for their attack, and then working up to the massacre itself. McCarthy copies this structure by first questioning Hearne's ability to tell the story, then hinting at just how "terrible" the story is, and as the plot of his own critical text nears the climax of Hearne's story, McCarthy includes more quotations, with briefer analyses, to quicken the pace and accentuate the violence.

There is another important point to note about McCarthy's essay, and that is how it represents Hearne's position in relation to the Indians who guide him to this primal scene.

When the ragtag assortment of individuals suddenly joins together into an awesome fighting unit bent on senseless destruction, Hearne seems torn between disgust and admiration. The paradox of their behavior is unsettling to the civilized European observer, attracted perhaps by the display of order, but repulsed by its purpose. Indeed, to be caught in such a paradox, to be at the centre of the vortex of brutality and barbarism, could have shattered his own civilized veneer and resulted in his "uncivilizing"—insanity, in effect. Consequently, distance, if only rhetorical, is a desperate but absolutely necessary gesture of self-preservation, literally, the preservation of that civilized self Hearne bore into the barren lands by the repeated assertion of his difference and superiority to the Indians who surrounded him. (160)

The difficulty here is in the notion of "rhetorical distance" for it has not been adequately theorized. Certainly, Hearne wishes to keep his own identity even as he is guided, fed, and protected by Matonabee and his "crew." And, as I have already demonstrated, he does this through controlling his discourse in relationship to the wilderness, continually measuring where he is and when he got there. Consequently, it is Hearne who draws together the disparate characters and events to create his narrative. Rather than distancing himself from "the vortex of brutality and barbarism," it is he who recalls it and who

places it on paper for us to read and critique. The slaughter of the Eskimo also exemplifies the movement and strategy of exploration in general which so often allies itself to the native Other in order to reach its goals in the hopes of eventually incorporating that Other within a mechanism of trade and profit. It is McCarthy who "rhetorically distances" the Indians by practically writing them out of the analysis. He describes their racially motivated warfare as "senseless," and "the clamorous face of violence, disorder, and destruction," even though his own article has depended upon their actions for its main focus and tension.

In the introduction to the 1971 edition of Journey . . . to the Northern Ocean, L. H. Neatby states that "Hearne was observant, inquisitive, amiable and void of prejudice. Though representing a culture that was advanced and still acutely class-conscious, he moves among the Indians as a sympathetic equal" (xxiii). That Hearne understood the natives better and was more sympathetic to them, than many others from the Hudson's Bay Company is certainly true, but to say that he is "void of prejudice" is to erase his own subjectivity as it is constituted within a social framework. In fact, "prejudice," as "a preceding judgement or decision" (OED) would be impossible to avoid and, as we have already seen, the very act of writing prejudices Hearne against the signifying practices of the natives' oral tradition. Hearne was trained by the military as a seaman, and then employed by a mercantilist monopoly; therefore he would have undergone a long history of being trained in judgments. Historians such as Neatby and Tyrrell go to great efforts to describe the actions of a figure like Hearne, but rarely discuss the issues of power and ideological dominance. I have discussed in great detail the elaborate physical and written delays Hearne and his narrative undergo, largely because he must fit his text into the already established discourse of commercial exploration. Once "on the road," Hearne's écriture works to distance him from his environment, and to enforce his own "prejudiced" and writerly world view.

VII Hearne's Écriture of Gender

I will end this chapter with a discussion of writing, culture, and gender which will demonstrate writing's effect on a very specific set of relationships in the fur trade culture. One of the recurring oppositions throughout Hearne's narrative is the one between the Northern and Southern Indians where the former—who trade with the Hudson's Bay Company but live away from the forts and also act as intermediaries for more distant tribes—are depicted as independent and resourceful, while the latter—who live closer to the outposts, often spending the winters there, and are employed hunting to procure food for the winter months—are frequently described as weak, lazy and morally corrupt.¹²⁷ In June of 1771 Hearne is travelling with Matonabee and they reach a last resting place before the group begins the final leg of the journey to the Coppermine River. Hearne writes that it is here "Matonabee and the other Indians thought it advisable to leave all the women at this place, and proceed to the Copper-mine River without them" (81). At this point in the narrative, when the men are hunting to provide enough meat for their journey and the women's wait, Hearne digresses into a discussion of gender and culture. Much of the tension that has existed between differing tribes of Indians has come from the exchange of women from one group to another. In the present party there are Southern, Northern and Copper Indians, the last present as guides for the final journey

¹²⁷ David Spurr explains that it is a "standard practice of colonial discourse . . . to establish a connection between the moral standing of a people and its climactic environment. The heat of the tropics, according to this logic, produces races characterized by indolence and easy sexuality, while the harsher conditions of northern climates have created a race devoted to diligence and self-control" (41). It is almost perverse that Hearne can maintain such a distinction in a land most would describe as universally cold, but the fort itself has a "warming" influence on the natives in that it forces otherwise nomadic peoples into a stasis which might be interpreted as "indolence."

who are also attracted by the thought of warring against the Eskimo.¹²⁸ Since Hearne has favoured the Northern Indians many times in the past it is not surprising that he extols their virtues here as well:

It is undoubtedly well known that none can manage a Northern Indian woman so well as a Northern Indian man; and when any of them have been permitted to remain at the Fort, they have, for the sake of gain, been easily prevailed on to deviate from that character; and a few have, by degrees, become as abandoned as the Southern Indians, who are remarkable throughout all their tribes for being the most debauched wretches under the Sun. (81)

An important consideration here is that exploration literature is predominantly literature by and about men with very few references either to women, or to the whole concept of femininity. When the feminine does materialize it is marginalized, appearing at the edges of production, consumption and exchange. In the above quotation, Hearne represents the Indian women as dangerous and in need of mastery; it is as if they have no moral centre or separate subjectivity, and have to be prevailed over by a male from the proper culture. The women are often represented as being between tribes, exchanged between men, the cause of conflicts and often an impediment to the steady progression of the voyage.

Yet women are also an essential part of Hearne's expedition (and, it goes without saying, native life in general). As Matonabbee has explained much earlier, the reason Hearne's first two expeditions to the Coppermine river failed was because they lacked women:

"...when all men are heavy laden, they can neither hunt nor travel to any considerable distance; and in case they meet with

¹²⁸ From Hearne's description, it appears the Copper Indians have the same utopian visions of this landscape of commerce as do the others who have regularly visited the fort:

I found they were delighted with the hopes of having an European settlement in their neighbourhood, and seemed to have no idea that any impediment could prevent such a scheme from being carried into execution. Climates and seasons had no weight with them . . . for though they acknowledged that they had never seen the sea at the mouth of the Copper River clear of ice, yet they could see nothing that should hinder a ship from approaching it. (77-78)

success in hunting, who is to carry the produce of labour? Women," added he, "were made for labour; one of them can carry, or haul, as much as two men can do. They also pitch our tents, make and mend our clothing, keep us warm at night; and, in fact, there is no such thing as travelling any considerable distance, or for any length of time, in this country, without their assistance. Women," said he again, "though they do every thing, are maintained at a trifling expence; for as they always stand cook, the very licking of their fingers in scarce times, is sufficient for their subsistence." This however odd it may appear, is but too true a description of the situation of women in this country; it is at least so in appearance; for the women always carry the provisions, and it is more than probable they help themselves when the men are not present. (35)

Matonabee's description of women shows a curious mixing of oral and literate traditions. It is presented rhetorically as a catalogue of their capabilities and therefore conforms with literate paradigms like a dictionary or encyclopedia; as Hearne writes it, Matonabee is giving a textbook description of women's capabilities. Yet the actual presentation of their capabilities reads as if it were derived from an oral culture because of the practical, context-related activities he describes.¹²⁹ Women are defined by what they do. Matonabee (or perhaps it is Hearne pretending to relay Matonabee's words), repeats the gesture of exclusion when, after describing how central and essential women are to any expedition, he says they "are maintained at a trifling expence." It is as if the women were some sort of ghostly slaves who performed their tasks but had no corporal existence and hence, no needs or desires. In fact, the entire structure of sexual desire and reproduction is reduced to the assertion that they "keep us warm at night." The notion of ghostliness and illusion is furthered by Hearne who states that Matonabee's description may be true "at least so in appearance." Hearne speculates that perhaps the women, who "always carry the provisions . . . help themselves when the men are not present." The logic of this whole scene is fascinating: women participating in their own erasure, creating an illusion of

¹²⁹ This again brings to mind Walter Ong's statement that "Oral cultures tend to use concepts in situational, operational frames of reference that are minimally abstract in the sense that they remain close to the living human lifeworld" (*Orality* 49).

ephemerality by sustaining themselves through themselves, by licking their own fingers. And who is being deceived? Matonabee, or Hearne who re-writes and re-interprets the Chief's words only to then put them into question by claiming they may only describe an elaborate illusion? Within Hearne's text then, whether represented "directly" by him or deferred through the character of Matonabee, native women are given a paradoxical role: although crucial to the success of the expedition, they are represented as ephemeral, as possessing no moral or cultural centre and little substance.

There is one point in Journey . . . to the Northern Ocean where this representation of an Indian woman differs, and it is again a moment of intertextuality, where the inscribing of one culture within another produces a defamiliarizing semiosis. After having described the different morality between Northern and Southern Indians, and the depths to which the latter are capable of sinking (Hearne calls the Southern Indians the "most debauched wretches under the Sun"), he inserts a footnote containing a transcendent image of an Indian woman named Mary:

Notwithstanding this is the general character of the Southern Indian women . . . I am happy to have it in my power to insert a few lines to the memory of one of them, whom I knew from her infancy, and who, I can truly affirm, was directly the reverse of the picture I have drawn.

MARY, the daughter of MOSES NORTON, many years chief at Prince of Wales's Fort, in Hudson's Bay, though born and brought up in a country of all others the least favourable to virtue and virtuous principles, possessed them, and every other good and amiable quality, in a most eminent degree. (81)

Hearne lavishes praise on her, stating that with her "benevolence, humanity, and scrupulous honesty" she would have "shone with superior lustre in any other country." However, tragedy has caused her death at the young age of twenty-two. She was "suffered to perish by the rigours of cold and hunger amidst her own relations, at a time when the griping hand of famine was by no means severely felt by any other member of their company; and it may truly be said that she fell a martyr to the principles of virtue." Hearne clothes the ambiguity of her death with the Christian images of martyrdom and the

Virgin Mary, and then he quotes a fragment of a poem by the seventeenth-century poet Edmund Waller:

Peace to the ashes and the virtuous mind,
Of her who lived in peace with all mankind;
Learn'd from the heart, unknowing of disguise,
Truth in her thoughts, and candour in her eyes;
Stranger alike to envy and to pride,
Good sense her light, and nature all her guide;
But now removed from all the ills of life,
Here rests the pleasing friend and faithful life.

In this footnote Hearne again turns away from the issue he has raised. Rather than dwelling on the subject of Northern and Southern Indian women, and thinking through the issues of culture and gender, Hearne stops this line of thought by quoting another text. This poem presents a Western and Christian image of a perfect and universalized woman. In effect, "Mary," is completely erased from the book, her subjectivity displaced behind a series of textual, idealized images. At those moments, then, when Hearne seems to be describing and philosophizing the native culture he stops short, retreating back to his own familiar culture with its intertextual power. Lest we think "Mary" is too far away for us to identify with, we are quoted an appropriate text which turns her suffering into martyrdom and conceals her difference.

The most fascinating aspect of Hearne's representation of "Mary" is how it reveals so many of his feelings for her, while completely erasing their personal relationship. As Germaine Warkentin notes about the above passage, "Hearne's long note is a biographical sketch of the woman who is believed to have been his 'country wife,' Mary Norton" (*Exploration Literature* 138). While Hearne is able to eulogize her through conventional literary means, he is unable to incorporate their sexual and social relationship within his discourse of exploration. Again, this demonstrates how writing is able to produce such a depth of interpretation, while hiding so much of the underlying structure. We can only wonder where Hearne was when his "Mary" died of starvation, and why he could not, or did not, intervene.

We see here the limits of exploration discourse in its inability to discuss many aspects of gender. This is partially a result of the underlying

discourses upon which explorers rely. The discourse of "Scientific method," introduced by the Royal Society and cultivated by the Enlightenment, viewed native women anthropologically, and there are several discussion in Journey ... to the Northern Ocean concerning their place in Indian society. But even when marriage is mentioned, Hearne sticks to a discussion of women as objects of exchange (how many wives a man may have, how he may give one to another man, how their work contributes to the economy of the family or tribal unit), and not of desire. Another discourse, which we might label "official Hudson's Bay Company policy," or "the discourse of commercial relations," rarely mentions women, and is uneasy about the whole matter of intimate contact with the feminine other.

The enormous extent to which exploration narratives erase and deny women's sexuality—and, therefore, their différance—is ably documented by Sylvia Van Kirk in her book, "Many Tender Ties": Women in Fur-Trade Society in Western Canada, 1670-1870. Her detailed descriptions of the many marriages between traders and Indian women à la façon du pays, and the valuable economic and social contributions these women made to the fur-trade culture provides a fascinating counterpart to the published exploration and travel narratives written during the period. Van Kirk describes how intermarriage, begun by the relatively independent voyageurs, eventually was encouraged by both native and European communities because it helped strengthen business and social relationships.¹³⁰ The women were also in favour of encouraging trade because they benefited most from the improved technology which gave them iron cooking pots and knives. Perhaps most significant is the prohibition on European women in fur-trading territory until the middle of the nineteenth century. This considerable "lack" is rarely mentioned in any narratives, but it placed the Indian women in a position of power. Besides acting as intermediaries between the trading companies and

¹³⁰ "Marital alliances could also be a factor in trade competition. In 1794 at a post on the Saskatchewan, Duncan McGillivray reported that he had secured the furs of a former customer of the English because one of his womenfolk had become the wife of a Nor'Wester" (30-31).

their tribes, they "provide[d] the men [of the forts] with a steady supply of "Indian shoes" or moccasins," they preserved pemmican,¹³¹ they "were also responsible for collecting auxiliary food supplies" such as wild rice, maple syrup and dried berries, and also snared small game for the food as well as trading the furs from the animals. From a Marxist perspective, one could say that exploration narratives exclude Indian women from the basis of production. Matonabee claims that "women are made for labour," but then his subsequent description of their role, in almost all cases, puts this labour directly at the service of men ("They also pitch our tents, make and mend our clothing, keep us warm at night," emphasis added). Their labour is represented as being confined to carrying out a number of essentially menial tasks, and their sexuality to keeping the men warm at night.

There is great difficulty in conjecturing on the precise roles the "country wives" played because, as Van Kirk explains,

Unfortunately, Indian women have not left a record of their views on the fur trade or their reasons for becoming traders' wives. A reconstruction of their perspective can only be derived from the writings of the fur traders who, perhaps inadvertently, provide some remarkable insights into the behavior of the women. (75)

These Indian women are doubly "othered": as women they are excluded from the "male" activities of hunting and guiding,¹³² and, as Indians, they have no means of representing themselves within a literate culture. All that is possible is a "reconstruction of their perspective" from the diaries, journals, and company records kept by the officials and individual workers. This marginalization is similar to that already discussed in the chapter on Frances Anne Hopkins, where Johnson asks, "When and under what circumstances did Frances make journeys by canoe?" These questions can only be answered by her husband's business letters, thus showing the factual nature of another

¹³¹ "...a nutritious, compact mixture of pounded buffalo meat and fat which kept well and took up relatively little space" (*Many Tender Ties* 56).

¹³² It is important that Mackenzie, Franklin, and other explorers describe these "male" activities while largely ignoring the actions of females even when they accompany expeditions.

"male" discourse. Men travel, explore, trade, and generally circulate within a commercial network that ensures they always know where they are and how to get home. Women sew, trap and paint, but are seldom reproduced as important subjects of the narrative. It is therefore interesting that Hearne's wife is mentioned only in death, and then in a discourse which takes her far away from Prince of Wales's Fort, and places her within a highly-stylized artifice of seventeenth-century Christian English poetry.

Dermot McCarthy makes the strange and short-sighted assertion that Hearne was a "clumsy and humourless writer, with a meagre vocabulary and an unstinting inability to extend himself beyond his immediate sensory experience"; McCarthy's critique completely misses the value of Journey ... to the Northern Ocean, and other "clumsy and humourless" examples of exploration literature, as complex documents incorporating ethnographic observation, botanical and zoological classification, celestial observation, discussions of commercial viability, and suspenseful accounts of danger and tragedy. Hearne's myriad adventures add up to a remarkable tale of human endurance, but they also tell of the imperialism's endurance over exceeding rough terrain. His expedition is twice deferred, and even under the guidance of Matonabee he suffers much hardship and is literally at the mercy of the natives for an extended period of time. Yet what eventually emerges is a discourse of exploration which evaluates and controls all the aspects of the voyage which it represents. The promise of trade and capitalism reinforces Hearne's position within the Indian's community, his mastery of mapping and his protracted, but ultimately successful, struggle with writing assures that he keeps his own identity, and each time his published narrative is read it repeats his perceptions throughout history.

25 of May 1817
 H. M. S. ship *Endeavour* and *Victory*
 { Multitude in the ice in
 Lat $70^{\circ} 5'$ N Long $99^{\circ} 23'$ W
 having wintered in 1846-7 at Beecher Island
 in Lat $74^{\circ} 43' 28''$ N Long $91^{\circ} 39' 15''$ W after having
 ascended Wellington Channel to Lat 77° and returned
 by the West side of Cornwallis Island.
 Commander.
 John Franklin commanding the Expedition.
 All well &

Whoever finds this paper is requested to forward it to the Secretary of
 the Admiralty, London, with a note of the time and place at which it was
 found: or, if more convenient, to deliver it for that purpose to the British
 Consul at the nearest Port.

Quiconque trouvera ce papier est prié d'y marquer le tems et lieu ou
 il l'aura trouvé, et de le faire parvenir au plutot au Secrétaire de l'Amirauté
 Britannique à Londres.

Cualquiera que hallare este Papel, se le suplica de enviarlo al Secretario
 del Almirantazgo, en Londres, con una nota del tiempo y del lugar en
 donde se halló.

Een ieder die dit Papier mogt vinden, wordt hiermede verzocht, om het
 zelve, ten spoedigste, te willen zenden aan den Heer Minister van de
 Marine der Nederlanden in 's Gravenhage, of wel aan den Secretaris den
 Britsche Admiraliteit, te London, en daar by te voegen eene Nota,
 inhoudende de tyd en de plaats alwaar dit Papier is gevonden geworden.

Finnsom af dette Papir ombedes, naar Leilighed giver, at sende
 samme til Admiralitets Secretairen i London, eller nærmeste Embedsmand
 i Danmark, Norge, eller Sverrig. Tiden og Stødt hvor dette er fundet
 ønskes venskabeligt påtegnet.

Wenn diesen Zettel findet, wird hier-durch ersucht denselben an den
 Secretair des Admiralitets in London einzusenden, mit gefälliger angabe
 an welchen ort und zu welcher zeit er gefunden worden ist.

Party consisting of 2 Officers and 6 men
 left the ship on Monday 24th May 1859
 G. M. Fox
 Chas. F. Des Voeux made

25th May 1846. HMS ship *John* and *Endeavour* wintered in the ice at Beecher Island in 1846-7. The ship was captured by the ice and the crew were rescued by the *Victory* in 1859. The crew of the *Endeavour* were rescued by the *Victory* in 1859. The crew of the *Endeavour* were rescued by the *Victory* in 1859.

The notes found in the cairn at Victory Point on 5 May 1859

Fig. 7 Cairn Record

Chapter 7

The Cairn Record: "All Well"

Thus far, literary critics, historians and archaeologists have all agreed that there exists no "narrative of a third Franklin expedition" since everyone on that tragic journey perished in the arctic snow. Although no narrative exists, there are texts, one being the record found by Lieutenant W.R. Hobson on May 5, 1859 in a cairn on King William Island. This record has been interpreted extensively and its few words pored over for historical accuracy. Much has been theorized about the events and characters mentioned in it, though this work has come mainly from historians and not literary critics. Furthermore, the record is a bona fide official document, written on a naval record form with two messages, the first written by Lieutenant Graham Gore in May 1847, and the second dictated to Commander James Fitzjames by Captain Crozier in April of 1848. The first message gives the routes the Erebus and Terror travelled in the first two seasons and ends "all well." The second message describes the abandonment of the ships, still beset in the ice, and the desperate—and doomed—attempt by the "105 souls" who remained alive to reach Back's Fish River, approximately two hundred kilometres away. In many respects the cairn record follows the pattern of Franklin's first two narratives which were produced through group efforts and included the texts of other officers. And like Journey to the Polar Sea and Narrative of a Second Expedition, the cairn record functions as an official report, though it is short on detail.

One of the most famous interpretations of the record was by the "arctic veteran" Captain Francis Leopold McClintock who commanded the expedition of which Hobson was a part. Upon learning of the document he said, "So sad a tale was never told in fewer words." Indeed, the record is brief reading, consisting largely of statements of time and place (a remarkable

number of which are incorrect), along with descriptions of the men's movements and deaths. Its entirely "official" and factual documentation satisfied the public's desire for facts and dates, yet still left most of the expedition's events to their imagination. McClintock's reading of the document stresses its brevity, yet argues that its literary effect is still substantial, in spite of its compression. He implies that it does "tell a tale" and therefore its value for him is primarily narrative.

Although the record is incomplete, fragmented, and contains geographic and chronological errors, it is important to recognize its immense authority as official text of the third expedition. In the years following Franklin's disappearance much speculation occurred as to the length of time he and his men might have survived, the outcome of their possible contact with the Inuit in the area, and the amount of territory they might have discovered. The discovery of this record, and the subsequent discovery of a lifeboat with skeletons of Franklin's men, ended the mystery of the expedition's fate. The cairn record became the "journal" of the third expedition, a document which declared its validity and importance through its singularity. While conjecture and theorization continue to this day, the record has become central to any interpretation because it stands as an unquestionable official statement. Despite its immense historical importance and the considerable number of times its words have been cited, virtually no attention has been paid to its literary significance. It is as if McClintock's statement were deemed sufficient and no further words were spent exploring its plot and technique.

One aspect which is immediately striking is its severely formal nature. It is a standard naval form, with prompts and blank areas for the ship's names, the date and latitude and longitude to be filled in. In fact, there is practically no space set aside to write out anything other than these barest of details. It is almost as if the formal efficiency of the form were working to destroy any author's ability to weave a narrative other than what can fill in the blanks. The texts of Gore, Fitzjames and Crozier are literally written in

the margins, the interstices between what the navy has decided it needs to know. Just as the journey itself has been a struggle against obstacles, ending in the unyielding bottleneck of northern pack ice, the narrative of the journey, which came close to never being found, struggles with official naval decorum, threading its own way through the bureaucratic form with its maze of blanks.

The majority of the form is taken up by these instructions in six languages:

WHOEVER finds this paper is requested to forward it to the Secretary of the Admiralty, London, with a note of the time and place at which it was found; or, if more convenient, to deliver it for that purpose to the British Consul at the nearest Port.

In previous chapters I have given examples proving the veracity of Derrida's statement: "The entire history of postal *tekhné* tends to rivet the destination to identity" ("Envois" 192). This naval message directs anyone who finds it and can read it to become an imperialist messenger, thus including the whole of the "Western" and "civilized" world within the service of the British Admiralty. Considering the amount of space I have devoted to detailing the relationships between Europeans and aboriginal peoples, we might also ask: who cannot read it? And the answer would be the Inuit who have either not found the record, or left it there deciding it was worthless. The universality of the royal Naval form, translated into all major European languages, is stopped by an untranslatable cultural barrier. Even in the nineteenth century, when the fur trade has opened up routes the length and breadth of the country, there are still areas not charted, and peoples who would not know how to find a "British Consul." Perhaps the record remained secure in the cairn precisely because of its own untranslatability, its otherness which defied interpretation. Oral reports from a number of sources claimed the Inuit had seen the Erebus and Terror after the expedition had perished and boarded the vessels, tearing out valuable wood and iron before the ships eventually sank. Whether or not these reports are true, the ships did contain resources the natives could recognize, and they would have stripped them,

just as they "pillaged" Franklin's boats in the Narrative of a Second Expedition (see chapter seven) and ultimately pillaged the boats used in the third expedition's last desperate attempt to reach the Back River. But the cairn record remained untouched and unread because it did not appear valuable or meaningful in any sense the Inuit would have recognized. This text is appended to a long history of European writing placed on foreign shores, including James's "letter . . . fastened to [a] Crosse" on Charleton Island, destined to remain mute to those who might gaze upon them unaware of their importance as imperial markers.

Once in the right hands, the record exhibits a remarkable circularity: it travels outwards towards the site of discovery, and then announces its intention to return back home, to rivet its identity firmly to British soil. Furthermore, it extends this circularity throughout the world by making any port a site of British identity; and by reproducing the message in other languages it reinforces a myth that this identity survives translation. Ports are architectural junctures bridging the alterity between land and sea: "a place by the shore where ships may run in for shelter from storms, or to load and unload; a harbour, a haven." A port must combine a good geographic location with a solid organizational infrastructure, and is also "a place where customs officers are stationed to supervise the entry of goods." Thus ports are strategic places of governmental control with each location "standing in," synecdochically, for Britain, therefore ensuring that the image of imperialism circulates around the world and, through the loading and unloading of goods and the circulation of trade, that it is always tied to capitalist production.

The austere formalism of the naval record is undermined by the excessive marginalia through which the narrative of the expedition unfolds. The blanks are replete with latitude and longitude figures, but these figures overflow the designated areas and spill out into the margins. The word "Commander" is crossed out or perhaps put sous rature since there were two ships and several officers in positions of authority and this one record must stand for them all. The first note is signed by Lieutenant Gore, although

Franklin is "commanding" the expedition, and the second is written by Fitzjames although it is "dictated" by Crozier (now in command after Franklin's death). There is simply too much information to be conveyed and the form is completely filled with writing.

Although the text greatly exceeds the space designed for it, neither Gore nor Fitzjames manage to transcend the fairly strict limits of official naval discourse. It is as if, although exceeding the blanks, each statement is designed to still fill the blanks, even in the margins. The text of the first note reads:

28 of May 1847. HM Ships Erebus and Terror wintered in the ice in Lat. 70°05' N. Long. 98°23' W. Having wintered in 1846-7 at Beechey Island, in lat. 74°43'28" N, long. 90°39'15" W. after having ascended Wellington Channel to Lat. 77°, and returned by the west side of Cornwallis Island. Sir John Franklin commanding the expedition. All well. Party consisting of 2 officers and 6 men left the ships on Monday 24th May 1847. Gm. Gore, Lieut. Chas. F. Des Voeux, mate. (Neatby 262)

The date of wintering is incorrect and should read 1845-46. This text is comprised almost solely of statements of dates, locations and proper names. The one deviation is the two word sentence, "All well," which becomes tragically inaccurate when read in the context of the men's deaths. These figures indicating time and place form a compressed narrative of the expedition which historians have read and reread, reconstructing events and theorizing motivations and routes travelled.¹³³

There are two extraordinary aspects of this record found by Fitzjames in 1859. First, it is remarkable that such a fragile sheaf should weather several winters and provide the few answers we have concerning the third

¹³³ Perhaps the ultimate irony is that the men who abandoned the ships a year after this portion of the record was written did discover the Northwest Passage when they walked south and found that "King William Land" was, in fact, "King William's Island." Leslie Neatby describes this achievement as a form of redemption when he writes that the "unburied skeletons . . . found along the King William Island shore and on islets in Simpson Strait . . . prove that in those last days of misery and despair they did achieve the discovery of the Northwest Passage which they had so joyously undertaken" (264).

expedition. Though it was rolled inside a metal cylinder to protect it from the elements, it is still relatively insignificant against the vast arctic backdrop. Perhaps part of the reason for its survival is that it was able to remain absolutely apart from the environment; it did not disintegrate into the ground, and was stored in a cairn to draw attention to its textual and cultural différance from the surrounding landscape. That writing can be stored so efficiently, then subsequently provide such a rich resource for myriad interpretations, points to writing's flexibility, its durable nature, and its extensive capacity for carrying and withholding knowledge.

The second extraordinary aspect of this record is that its instructions are actually followed! It is "forwarded to London" and the time and place of its being found have become almost legendary. The circularity of the system is completed and the letter finds its way to its destination proving that no matter how small or insignificant a text may appear, it can still attract an audience. When Gore and Fitzjames write their notes they are not simply recording events; they are writing their histories back to the Empire in the hope that somehow their message will be forwarded or delivered to whomever it might concern. This is an example of "writing as inscription," where the landscape is not claimed, not used as a canvas or sheet of paper, but is rearranged to provide shelter for this index of existence, this short "narrative" of the third expedition.

Chapter 8

Expeditions Under the Name of Franklin

I The "Modern" Approach to Exploration

We weare Cesars, being no body to contradict us, we went away free from any burden, whilst those poore miserables thought themselves happy to carry our Equipage, for the hope that they had that we should give them a brasse ring, or an awle, or an needle. (Pierre-Esprit Radisson, Warkentin 11)

Probably no name in Canadian exploration is better known and has had more mythology attached to it than that of Sir John Franklin. Already famous for his first two expeditions "to the polar sea," which mapped out hundreds of miles of the arctic coast, he achieved perhaps his largest share of fame from perishing in his third expedition. His death led to one of the most productive periods of arctic exploration because of the many expeditions sent to discover what had become of him, his ships, the Erebus and the Terror, and the 112 crew and officers who accompanied him. The press and the public took particular interest in Lady Franklin and her efforts to lobby the government to send out more expeditions.¹³⁴ The question of the third expedition's fate became the subject of public and highly publicized speculation. It was an international story of intrigue and discovery where the myth overpowered the actual expeditions, and the mapping of the landscape

¹³⁴ Lady Franklin even purchased a yacht called the Fox for £2000 and outfitted an expedition herself which she hired Leopold McClintock to lead. The popularity of John and Lady Franklin is evidenced by their appearance in several poems of the period and in Frozen in Time Beattie and Geiger quote the folk song "Lord Franklin," told from Lady Franklin's point of view: "And now my burden it gives me pain, / For my long lost Franklin I'd cross the main. / Ten thousand pounds I would freely give, / To say on earth that my Franklin lives" (33). In The Fate of Franklin, Roderic Owen supplies the texts of other poems.

became much less important than locating the explorers on and beneath it. In short, the mystery of the explorers supplants that of the exploration.

In my examination of Franklin's expeditions I will start by explaining how they differed from those previously undertaken, in part because they are, in Barbara Stafford's terms, "voyages into substance," which employ increasingly sophisticated scientific and technical methods. The narratives of these expeditions also utilize what Michel Foucault has termed "disciplines" to organize their governing of bodies and space and, although this organization breaks down quite significantly in the first and third expeditions, Franklin can be said to act out the passage of exploration into the "modern age." I will then discuss how science, represented by Dr. Richardson's medical knowledge, along with the second expedition's unparalleled organizational structures, creates a unique "landscape."

The first two sections of this chapter will focus on the first two expeditions which were successful in surveying large amounts of territory and which used similar modes of operation, though the first one nearly resulted in the starvation of all its personnel. With minor exceptions, Franklin's writing style is similar in both volumes and the sociality of the officers, in contrast to the sailors, voyageurs and Hudson's Bay Company officials and employees, creates a unique articulation of class distinctions.

In the final sections I compare the first and third expeditions. They very nearly had similar endings and, although Franklin did not publish on or about the third expedition, "texts" of this voyage have been exhumed and I will examine them. The question over its fate was also responsible for initiating a series of public debates on the Arctic. In the search for that Franklin expedition archaeology, *écriture* and popular culture are all inextricably bound in divergent semiotic processes. The "mystery" of the third expedition survives even today, partially because both the Journey to the Polar Sea and the third expedition stretch *écriture* to its limit. The notion of *sparagmos* will be used to explore some theoretical implications of the final expedition's disastrous end.

Sir John Franklin produced two large illustrated volumes which exemplify the nineteenth-century British model of explorational imperialism.¹³⁵ It is useful to place these works in the context of his only other publication, Copy of a Despatch from Lieut. Governor Sir John Franklin, to Lord Glenelg, dated 7 October 1837, Relative to the Present System of Convict Discipline in Van Dieman's Land. Franklin's Convict Discipline is an example of a bureaucratic discourse in which he justifies his term of administration over Tasmania (or "Van Dieman's Land" as it was then called). In the absence of an important war, administering a prison colony and exploring the Arctic are alternative duties a British officer might be called upon to perform, and they are not as far removed from one another as might be assumed. Both duties involve maintaining discipline in adverse conditions over many different, and sometimes unruly, people.¹³⁶ While Franklin never calls the voyageurs and natives whom he supervises "criminals," he frequently remarks on their lack of scruples and, particularly in the Journey to the Polar Sea, laments their lack of appreciation for his imperial project of exploration. I have described previously how Foucault's discussion of "Panopticism" is relevant to exploration narratives, and it also allows some theoretical connections to be made between the position of explorer and prison warden: both are highly trained observers who are concerned with controlling space. Convict Discipline's subject matter is almost completely administrative and deals with prisoners and landowners. Over

¹³⁵ Franklin wrote two books concerning his arctic exploration; one from each of the first two expeditions: Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea, in the years 1819, 20, 21, and 22 and Narrative of a Second Expedition to the Shores of the Polar Sea in the Years 1825, 1826, and 1827. In this thesis I will refer to the first as Journey to the Polar Sea and to the latter as Narrative of a Second Expedition.

¹³⁶ Franklin was careful to maintain a class distinction between officers and the hired men, particularly those native to North America. In Playing Dead, Rudy Wiebe shows how much of this bias was racist, and may have led to the deaths of several voyageurs since they were required to perform almost all the exhausting labour of the expedition, at least until the final trek across the Barrens.

half the book is taken up by the Appendix which consists of records (including police report) of the criminals assigned to Van Dieman's Land, additional crimes and sentencing of the criminal population, and "Applications received by the Board of Assignment."¹³⁷ These taxonomies of offences and disciplines are a penal counterpart to the enumeration of botanical and zoological specimens in the appendices to Journey to the Polar Sea and Narrative of a Second Expedition. Another similarity the two exploration works share with Convict Discipline is their bureaucratic accountability: although they were published to appeal to a wide readership, they are also official reports of a governmental initiative, and like Convict Discipline they must justify their enterprise on the basis of institutional and imperial goals. The main difference between the exploration works and the Convict Discipline is the articulation of space; whereas exploration literature travels into "new" territory, the space of Convict Discipline is thoroughly settled and controlled, and its population subject to numerous census takings and reports which work to further refine the state's knowledge of both settlers and convicts.¹³⁸

Exploration in North America prior to the nineteenth century can be divided into two general categories of sea and land expeditions, both of which are represented by works I have discussed previously. The sea voyages involved a large group of men confined on a ship; the identities of these men were largely erased under the controlling authority of the Captain. In the voyages of Frobisher, James, Foxe and others, the "men" are only mentioned when they become injured, ill, or die, or when they are given precise

¹³⁷ Many of the settlers in Van Dieman's Land would request skilled and unskilled labour, and convicts would be assigned as available.

¹³⁸ For instance, Franklin includes not only the names, offences, and sentencing of the convicts, but also information such as their "Regulated Hours of Labour" which change seasonally, a list of the clothing they receive, the food they eat, and the duties of their supervisors including the "Catechist" who "performs divine service every Sabbath day," the "Overseer . . . who shall have charge of 40 men, in four messes" and the "Watchmen" who "shall, at uncertain hours during the night, visit the huts, and ascertain whether all the men are present" (Convict Discipline 49).

direction by the Captain.¹³⁹ In a sense, the sailors occupy a space within the technology of sailing ships and are represented as being largely indistinguishable from it. As I described in chapter four, these earlier writers have few psychological elements in their writing and the author's own opinion and "voice" are difficult to distinguish from generalized imperial goals of British mastery over territory. The name of the sovereign, the name of God, and the various names of English nobility and friends become "place names" which familiarize and articulate the foreign geography. A great part of these voyages consists of actions performed on the land in an attempt to get around it and there is a sense of alienation where the land is seen as Other.

The second set of expeditions, those carried out over land, are supported by the fur trade and usually consist of one man, or a very small group, travelling with the assistance of natives. The economy of the fur trade initiates these voyages, and structures their various exchanges. By Hearne's time, many of the natives are familiar with exchange because they are continually asking him for more of his meagre collection of trade goods, even after he has explained they must be kept for the tribes he has still to meet. Hearne's expeditions, and those which roughly fall into the same category such as those of Henry Kelsey and Alexander Mackenzie, were intended to inspire good will with these other tribes and encourage them to participate more directly in the trade. They are also intended—as Hearne's instructions demonstrate—to look for general possibilities of economic expansion and in this second set of narratives authors have more stylistic freedom because they are less directly agents of government. While I have shown that *écriture* is constantly operating as an emissary of imperial power, these later narratives produce a more refined analysis of the field conditions, and the individualized desires of the explorers appear beside the more generalized desires of imperialist expansion.

¹³⁹ This is not quite the case for Frobisher, since Best writes the account, but there is still continual deference to "our worthy General, Captain Frobisher."

Franklin's expeditions, much like many of the earlier sea voyages, were structured by a military rubric, but he travelled over sea and land, and he and his officers developed a far more sophisticated and systematic understanding of the surrounding country than any previous expedition. In a political and economic sense, they believed themselves to be "in control" of their environment,¹⁴⁰ and this could not really be said of either Foxe or James. The expeditions of Franklin, and other nineteenth-century explorers, used more sophisticated surveying techniques, were more mobile in that they often changed from sea to land, and relied on a far more extensive network of fur trading as a conduit of supplies and communication. Scientific discourse had developed considerably and a Franklin expedition could include someone as skilled as Dr. Richardson, and appendices devoted to "deviations of the magnetic needle," "observations on the Aurora," zoology and botany occupied proportionately larger areas in the journals.¹⁴¹

Yet in spite of these advancements Franklin's basic imperial aspirations were not that far removed from those of Foxe or Frobisher, just more finely honed. Ironically, at the same time that cartography had become more refined, the passage itself was becoming an increasingly theoretical

¹⁴⁰ I.S. MacLaren discusses the aesthetic implications of this belief in his article, "Retaining Captaincy of the Soul: Response to Nature in the first Franklin Expedition."

¹⁴¹ The *Grolier Encyclopedia* explains that

The major scientific developments that took place during the 19th and 20th centuries would have been inconceivable without the total transformation of the way science was conducted. One of the most dramatic changes involved the shift of scientific activity away from the domain of the secluded--sometimes amateur--mathematician or natural philosopher to the sphere of professional science as it is known today. ("Science, history of")

In other words, the theories of empiricism and scientific method that had been formulated by Bacon, Hobbes and others in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had become, by the nineteenth century, institutional practices. Dr. Richardson is a sterling example of this "professional" training; for instance, MacLaren writes that he "devoted himself to the studies of anatomy, biology, botany, ichthyology, and geology, undertaking the first learned studies of the North in these disciplines" ("Retaining Captaincy" 89).

construction, and as the search for the Northwest Passage became more theoretical it also became more abstracted, a product of England's imperial desire to demonstrate its control over, and knowledge of, its colonies. The search was a practical example of national "character," and added to a history of exploration. It was obvious to Ross, Parry and others who sailed during the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, that travelling any particular route would involve as much luck with weather and ice conditions as it would planning. It became routine for expeditions to expect to take two or even three summers in their attempts to find and sail through the passage and as the commercial value of its mapping diminished, the project became even more a byproduct of imperial pride. In fact, by the time the Passage was "officially" discovered by McClure in 1851, the British Government's prize of £20,000 for its discovery had been withdrawn.¹⁴² Of course, for the early explorers the "Strait of Anian" was also a highly theoretical concept, but their maps showed open water because they wanted to generate commercial interest in their projects. By Franklin's time the impetus for the search was less commercial and more bureaucratic; therefore it was allowable for the maps to show an increasingly complex and unnavigable Arctic.¹⁴³

¹⁴² See Neatby, page 177 for the discovery of the passage and 226-9 for a summary of how a £10,000 prize was finally awarded to the officers and men of McClure's Investigator.

¹⁴³ However, despite the difficulties Franklin experienced, capitalism's optimism still somehow persists in spite of obvious dangers. In Journey to the Polar Sea by mid-August the canoes have been devastated by the Arctic Ocean, food is scarce, and Franklin decides to turn back from the arctic coast. He summarizes the expedition's "researches" with an absurdly hopeful account of the possibilities of this area for shipping, claiming that their observations "seem to favour the opinion of those who contend for the practicability of a North-West Passage." Franklin deduces that the existence of whales "may be considered an argument for an open sea" and

The portion of the sea over which we passed is navigable for vessels of any size; the ice we met, particularly after quitting Detention Harbour, would not have arrested a strong boat. The chain of islands affords shelter from all heavy seas, and there are good harbours at convenient distances. (389)

This description scarcely resembles anything Franklin has described thus far,

Franklin begins his first book with the statement, "His Majesty's Government having determined upon sending an Expedition from the Shores of Hudson's bay by land, to explore the Northern Coast of America, from the Mouth of the Copper-Mine River to the eastward, I had the honour to be appointed to this service..." (ix). There is no mention of merchants who backed him, or the prospect of trade to Cathay; the motivation for the trip is presented as a bureaucratic decision. Similarly, while the economy of the fur trade is important to his voyages, and in his first trip the feuding between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Northwest Company causes some men in his expedition to starve and almost ruins it altogether, Franklin is much more independent of it than Hearne, Mackenzie, Kelsey or other "company men."

In addition to the combining of science and imperialism, one of the most important differences between Franklin's expeditions and those of previous explorers is its bureaucracy and social organization. These structures underlie almost every aspect of his writing and in his introduction to Journey to the Polar Sea, Franklin reveals his attitude towards the social aspects of exploration:

It will be seen, in the course of the Narrative as well as in the Appendix, how much reason I had to be satisfied with, and how great my obligations are to, all the Gentlemen who were associated with me in the Expedition, whose kindness, good conduct, and cordial co-operation, have made an impression which can never be effaced from my mind. The unfortunate death of Mr. Hood is the only drawback which I feel from the otherwise unalloyed pleasure I derived from reflecting on that cordial unanimity which at all times prevailed among us in the days of sunshine, and in those of "sickness and sorrow." (xiv)

If there is one theme which runs through all of Franklin's writing (all the way from the "narrative" to the "appendix"), it is that of "gentlemanly behavior." The social organization of his expeditions, divided into two main classes of officers and subservient "employees"—be they Canadian voyageurs or

and demonstrates how pervasively the impulse of economic expansion can infiltrate seemingly objective remarks about geography.

Orkney sailors—ensures a stable cultural matrix from within which Franklin writes. In fact, even the tragic death of one of these officers is described only as "unfortunate" and lamented mainly for how it was a "drawback" to the otherwise "cordial unanimity which . . . prevailed" among these gentlemen. Perhaps Franklin is also thinking of the fact that Hood was allegedly killed by Michel Terohaute, an Iroquois voyageur who was certainly not a gentleman.

Aside from establishing codes of behavior, the officers also contribute to the content of Franklin's books. Richardson, Hood, and Back produce sketches, detailed pictures, narrative accounts, astronomical observations and conduct surveys of the land. Journey to the Polar Sea includes chapters written by Dr. Richardson ("Dr. Richardson's Residence at Cumberland-House—His Account of the Cree Indians"), Lieutenant Back ("Transactions at Fort Enterprise—Mr. Back's narrative of his Journey to Chipewyan and Return") and Lieutenant Hood ("Mr. Hood's Journey to the Basquian Hills—Sojourns with an Indian Party—His Journey to Chipewyan").¹⁴⁴ The quantity of text produced by these men becomes even more substantial if we add the letters written by Dr. Richardson to his wife (quoted in McIlraith's Life of Sir John Richardson) and Hood's own book, To the Arctic by Canoe 1819-1821, edited and published posthumously by Stuart Houston in 1974. The Narrative of a Second Expedition contains a similar structure as Franklin quotes from Richardson's journal on several occasions and includes Richardson's journey eastward as two of its chapters. The books of the first two trips, therefore, contain quotations and extended writings of other officers, several maps surveyed by different members of the expedition, many engravings of both land and peoples, and an appendix of botanical and zoological observations. To use a contemporary term, these books are early "multi-media" renderings of the explorations and "reading" them is an active process which involves consulting maps and matching engravings with detailed descriptions in the narrative's diegesis. While many of these elements are present in previous texts, no expedition had the resources to

¹⁴⁴ While Hood was deceased long before the book was published he managed to produce a considerable amount of documentation.

produce a work on Franklin's scale, and none worked from within such an established community (for example, the second expedition included several members of the first).

This high degree of cooperation in producing the books is one reason why I have named this chapter "Expeditions Under the Name of Franklin." When one considers the extent to which both his narratives rely on the journals, reports, scientific observations and engravings of others, the character of Franklin as an historical figure may be somewhat diminished, but his authority as a discursive centre is only heightened. It is true that Franklin exists in an age where, as Foucault argues, "scientific texts were accepted on their own merits" and since "authentication no longer required reference to the individual who had produced them" the "author disappeared as an index of truthfulness" ("Author" 127). Using Foucault's idea of the "author function," the name Franklin now becomes a "principal of unity" around which a series of activities, some textual, some bureaucratic, and others scientific, are carried out. The name "Franklin" yokes together the appendices,¹⁴⁵ the journey's narratives, and the overall concept of the expedition into a coherent identity. In the case of the third Franklin expedition, a substantial amount of this identity survives despite its failure and the fragmentation of its texts over the frozen landscape. The cairn record is written entirely by other members of the expedition, but it does mention Franklin's date of death and none of Lieutenant Gore, Commander Fitzjames or Captain Crozier have supplanted Franklin in fame despite their being the authors of the only official record.

Franklin's reliance upon his fellow officers is demonstrated dramatically by an incident in Journey to the Polar Sea which occurs on September 14, 1822, as the exhausted and starving expedition is in the midst of its desperate trek to reach Fort Enterprise where they (erroneously) believe

¹⁴⁵ In Journey to the Polar Sea there are seven appendices with a total of thirteen sections. Of these, only two are specifically credited to "Captain Franklin." In the Narrative of a Second Expedition, there are seven appendices as well, each one having only one section. Of these, three are credited to Franklin.

supplies are waiting. Franklin is canoeing across a river with St. Germain and Solomon Belanger:

We went from the shore very well, but in mid-channel the canoe became difficult to manage under our burden as the breeze was fresh. The current drove us to the edge of the rapid, when Belanger unfortunately applied his paddle to avert the apparent danger of being forced down it, and lost his balance. The canoe was upset in consequence in the middle of the rapid. (409)

While Franklin and St. Germain manage to get back in the canoe, they are forced to leave Belanger submerged to his waist in freezing water because he is holding onto the canoe and it would have been "hurried down the rapid, the moment he should have raised his foot from the rock on which he stood."¹⁴⁶ The next two pages contain descriptions of their—ultimately successful—attempts to rescue Belanger. The struggle with the river, while Belanger stands freezing to death and Franklin too is "separated from [his] companions," is one of the many parts of the Journey to the Polar Sea which work as an exciting adventure narrative. However, after they are saved by the "goodness of Providence," Franklin explains the real tragedy which has occurred:

By this accident I had the misfortune to lose my port-folio, containing my journal from Fort Enterprise, together with all the astronomical and meteorological observations made during the descent of the Copper-Mine River, and along the sea-coast, (except those for the dip and variation.) I was in the habit of carrying it strapped across my shoulders, but had taken it off on entering the canoe, to reduce the upper weight. The results of most of the observations for latitude and longitude, had been registered in the sketch books, so that we preserved the requisites for the construction of the chart. The meteorological observations, not having been copied, were lost. My companions, Dr. Richardson, Mr. Back, and Mr. Hood, had been so careful in noting every occurrence in their journals, that the loss of mine could fortunately be well supplied. These friends immediately offered me their documents, and every assistance in drawing up another narrative, of which kindness I availed myself at the earliest opportunity afterwards. (411)

¹⁴⁶ Perhaps in compensation for his suffering, this location in the map is called "Belanger's Rapids."

This paragraph presents an alternative account of the events which have just been related in a dramatic fashion. While the fact that Belanger almost freezes to death is important, as is the near calamity of Franklin being stranded on the opposite shore, the harshest consequence of this second telling is that Franklin loses his "port-folio." The importance of this text is emphasized by the detail with which Franklin describes the portfolio's contents, his normal habit of carrying it and the precise circumstances of its loss. It is almost as if it were another comrade; indeed, once the journal would have contained Franklin's own reflections on the journey from Fort Enterprise, it would have been as personal a piece of property as could exist within this context of exploration. Therefore, when Richardson, Back and Hood offer Franklin their own journals, in which they "had been so careful in noting every occurrence," an exchange of personal and private writings and another reinforcement of the expeditions' extremely social nature occurs. When Franklin writes, "these friends immediately offered me their documents," it is as sentimental as he gets.

This story of near tragedy and then redemption through friendship and shared texts reveals that the narrative we have been reading is not really Franklin's at all, but one that he has reconstructed through his friends' words. What I have previously called the mise en abyme of writing, the placement of a text within a text, has been occurring all along, but it has been invisible until here on page 411 where the artifice literally runs into some rough water. It is in moments such as these that both the fragility and resilience of writing are revealed. Writing is fragile because it must always be carried along with the explorers and its systems of inscription and storage need special care (Franklin states he was "in the habit of carrying it strapped across my shoulders"). In Plato's Phaedrus the Egyptian King warned Theuth that writing is really a tool for reminding and not remembering, and so if it is lost, its practitioners will forget and will be "incapable of real judgement" (Derrida, Dissemination 102). The King's warning is correct: Franklin risks forgetting his past, and not knowing where he is and in which direction he

should proceed because he is without the "observations for latitude and longitude."

Fortunately, writing is not just composed of the collection of external and material elements found in Franklin's portfolio; it is also a "discursive practice" which has an institutional history. Franklin's fellow officers have been trained to write, to "note every occurrence," and to make "astronomical and meteorological observations," and this training situates the practice of science in a graphic and graphemic form. The socially constructed space these officers inhabit can be theorized with the help of some historical comments provided by Richard Ruggles in his book, A Country So Interesting: The Hudson's Bay Company and Two Centuries of Mapping, 1670-1870. Ruggles states that "the men who explored, observed, and made the maps and charts used by the Hudson's Bay Company varied widely in background, education, and profession" (10), and the Company observed all their employees for special qualities, such as being "very active" and "diligent," and possessing "youthful vigor," which would indicate aptitude for that line of work.

Ruggles divides the map and chart makers into six general groups, of which the first three are most relevant to the backgrounds of Franklin and his officers. The first group's "educational attainments covered a range exemplified at one end by a little-educated man of mixed blood and at the other by a well-educated businessman and member of the company committee, but none had any specific surveying or cartographic training before or after becoming company employees" (11). This first group was the largest, producing over half the maps and charts for the Company, and they did not receive any sophisticated or extended training in cartography. The men in the second group "were given the opportunity during their careers to learn the rudiments from and to get experience by working with more experienced men" and the men of the third group "were hired as apprentices . . . when they were young, usually fourteen or fifteen years of age." Of the three, the second and third groups produced the more highly refined maps, and their

members' backgrounds are especially important. He writes that "several doctors" were in the second group: "Being well-educated, they became skillful in the use of surveying instruments and in making astronomical observations without much difficulty" and they could also "instruct others." And the young apprentices were hired from the "Grey Coat and Blue Coat hospitals" and were chosen because most had been "members of the mathematical classes of these institutions" (12). As exploration progresses through the nineteenth century, cartography becomes an increasingly sophisticated activity, and some of those most "adapted" for it have received training in other sciences in the institutional setting of hospitals. When Franklin turns to his fellow officers, including Dr. Richardson, for help in reconstructing who and where he is, he is relying on a history of institutionalized training, of making people "skillful" in the use of measuring and inscribing instruments.

The officers' training sustains writing's resiliency; writing (as inscription, as interior to the text, as part of a wider "discourse of exploration, and as disseminator of science) is not simply located in one place, such as Franklin's portfolio, but, rather, is dispersed over a complex of institutional practices and locations. The Hudson's Bay Company's culling of cartographers, part of the larger practice of practicing "writing in general," is directly related to what Foucault calls "disciplines" which produce "subjected and practiced bodies, 'docile' bodies" (Discipline 138):

The classical age discovered the body as object and target of power. It is easy enough to find signs of the attention then paid to the body—to the body that is manipulated, shaped, trained, which obeys, responds, becomes skillful and increases its forces. The great book of Man-the-Machine was written simultaneously on two registers: the anatomico-metaphysical register, of which Descartes wrote the first pages and which the physicians and philosophers continued, and the technico-political register, which was constituted by a whole set of regulations and by empirical and calculated methods relating to the army, the school and the hospital, for controlling or correcting the operations of the body. (Discipline 136)

Foucault links together the school, the army and the hospital, three institutions which contribute directly to the discourse of colonial exploration and to

the Hudson's Bay Company's ability to recruit and train bodies to map the landscape. The structure of "two registers" is important because, as I have described previously, exploration writing tends to elide the "personal" and the "psychological," areas falling within Descartes's "anatomic-metaphysical register." Clearly more important is the "technico-political register," where the technology of writing helps to distribute the message of the dominating imperial-political structure.

One way Foucault characterizes the history of these methods is as a "history of the utilitarian rationalization of detail in moral accountability and political control" and he claims that "the classical age did not initiate it; rather it accelerated it, changes its scale, gave it precise instruments" (139). Indeed, exploration narratives have been full of "regulations" and "empirical and calculated methods" even from the time of Luke Foxe with his instructions to his shore party to take with them "into the boate, one halfe houre glasse, one halfe minute glasse, one logge and line, cleane paper, one Pensill of blacke Leade, and one Compasse, with some peeces of Iron" (191). However, as we approach the age of Enlightenment—what Foucault refers to as the "classical age"—the "regulations" of both Franklin and Colonel de Haldimar have become more "calculated," more a part of a system which has institutions to reinforce the steady and supervised practice of its methods. Of course, earlier explorers such as Foxe, James and Hearne also operated from within a system: they were authorized by the sovereign to speak with the voice of their capitalist backers who had made their journeys and narratives possible. But Foxe, James and Hearne could not depend on the same institutionally developed structure of "Man-the-Machine" which allows Franklin to turn to his "companions" to retrieve and complete his narrative, and which supplies "the Company" with bodies ready to be trained as cartographers. The fact that narratives of Cabot, Hudson and others were not written, or have been presented in unverified versions, attests to a lack of institutional and systematized support. James A. Williamson discusses the lack of textual evidence in The Voyages of the Cabots:

There is no major narrative of the English discovery of North America comparable to Drake's World Encompassed or Raleigh's Guiana. The story lies in a heterogeneous collection of short pieces, administrative documents, contemporary letters, and extracts from histories and commentaries written in the sixteenth century. (vi)

The point Williamson makes is that the Cabots and other early explorers had no major authorial figure who could, to use Foucault's words, "constitute a principle of unity" and "neutralize the contradictions that are found in a series of texts" culled from disparate administrative and personal sources.

However, my argument throughout has been that any "major narrative" is itself produced not by an "individual" like Drake or Raleigh, but by "calculated methods" and "precise instruments" belonging to a system of exploration. The difference between Cabot's time and that of Franklin is not that the latter produced more "major narratives" of discovery (for indeed, one might make the claim that this profusion of narratives similarly obscures the clarity Williamson might desire); the difference can be observed in how Franklin's works exemplify the profusion of scientific and empiricist methods.

Explorers generally begin their narratives with some introductory contextual remarks. James and Foxe (and most of the other sailors) spend only a page or two describing their financial backers and instrumentation, and while Alexander Mackenzie prefaces his Voyages to the Arctic with a section of over 130 pages titled "A General History of the Fur Trade from Canada to the North-West," his actual travel narrative begins quickly with the sentence, "We embarked at nine in the morning, at Fort Chepewyan, on the South side of the Lake of the Hills, in latitude 58. 40. North, and longitude 110 30. West from Greenwich, and compass has sixteen degrees variation East, in a canoe made of birch bark" (193). In the midst of a sentence which might have simply declared "We embarked in a canoe made of birch bark," Mackenzie inserts the scientific specificity of when and where, yet still "gets us going" on the journey.

By way of contrast, Samuel Hearne delays starting out "on the road" because he must confront his own textual legacy which had been building over the twenty years since he had physically completed his journey. But once the narrative addresses the actual logistics of travel, Hearne needs only a page to describe his instruments and some of his trading goods. In contrast to the works which have preceded him, both of Franklin's books trace the beginnings of the journeys from England into Canada, and through a maze of Hudson's Bay Company officials, negotiations for various supplies and trading goods, establishment of base camps and other preliminaries before taking the reader to the actual scene of exploration. Franklin's delay is social and technological: just as the scientific apparatus is growing, so must the introduction explaining its organization.

In his Narrative of a Second Expedition Franklin details in his "Introductory Chapter" the special manufacture of three boats for navigating the Arctic Ocean, the procurement of navigational instruments, "bedding and clothing," ammunition and food. Franklin also balances his descriptions of technological details with his travel itinerary beginning "On the 16th of February, 1825" when he "embarked with Lieutenant back, Dr. Richardson, Mr. Kendall, Mr. Drummond, and four marines, at Liverpool, on board the American packer-ship, *Columbia*" and continuing to provide "a slight outline of . . . [the] route through the United States, Upper Canada, and Southern part of the Fur Countries" (xxx):

From Albany, we travelled through Utica, Rochester, and Geneva, to Leweston, in coaches, with more or less rapidity, according to the condition of the roads; and, crossing the river Niagara, entered Canada, and visited the Falls so justly celebrated as the first in the world for grandeur. We next crossed Lake Ontario in a sailing boat, and came to York, the capital of Upper Canada, where we were so kindly received by the Lieutenant-Governor Sir Peregrine Maitland, and by Colonel Cockburn and the Commissioners then employed on an inquiry respecting the value of Crown Lands. From York we passed on to Lake Simcoe, in carts and other conveyances, halting for a night at the hospitable house of Mr. Robinson of Newmarket. We crossed Lake Simcoe in canoes and boats, and

landed near the upper part of Kempenfeldt Bay, but not without being obliged to break our way through the ice for a short distance... (xxxi-xxxii)

Once they are on the continent the narrative's progress is swift, for within less than a paragraph Franklin has travelled from civilization, where his party is subjected to every form of hospitality, to the edge of the wilderness where they meet the force of nature in the form of ice. Their progress from Albany to Lake Simcoe reveals the trajectory of "civilization"; they have been carried into the wilderness on a network of sociality which remains with them, always buffering them from the "other" whether it is in the form of natives or a hostile environment.

This part of the Narrative of a Second Expedition is an example of travel writing, where Franklin is conveyed by established transportation, and the trip is punctuated by frequent stops where hospitality is offered. Although he obviously relishes the attention, it is significant that Franklin does not dwell on this period of the journey because he is an "explorer" and is uncomfortable in the role of traveller. He is not "discovering" anything other than the fact that North America contains a number of high-ranking government officials and wealthy private citizens who are every bit as welcoming and hospitable as those he left behind in England. None the less, the officers' route to the wilderness, with its series of social exchanges, sets up a conception of sociality and class structure which they attempt to maintain throughout the expedition.

At the beginning of Narrative of a Second Expedition Franklin explains the logistics of arriving in the country they are to explore.

The boats of the Expedition had advanced from Hudson's Bay into the interior, twelve hundred miles, before they were joined by the officers; whilst the latter, from taking a more circuitous route by New York and Canada . . . travelled two thousand and eight hundred miles, to reach the same point. (1)

The description here and below of the progress of "the boats," and Franklin's meeting them, reinforces the class structure because the men who produced the physical labour to "advance" these "boats of the Expedition," are erased

from the narrative: for the purposes of supporting and structuring travel and organization, the "boats" are more important than the anonymous employees. Franklin's description of the officers finally meeting the bulk of the expedition on the Methye River ("latitude 56° 10' N., longitude 108° 55' W.") demonstrates several of the organizational systems necessary for exploration to be carried out. The Methye River is shallow and contains many rapids, making it very difficult to surmount:

But whatever apprehensions the men might have entertained on this subject, seemed to vanish on our landing amongst them; and Dr. Richardson and myself were received by all with cheerful, delighted countenances, and none more warmly than by our excellent friend and former interpreter Augustus the Esquimaux, and Ooligbuck, whom he had brought from Churchill, as his companion. A breakfast was quickly prepared by Mr. Fraser, a clerk of the Hudson's-Bay Company, under whose charge the boats had been, since their departure from Cumberland House; and I then inspected the boats and stores, which I was rejoiced to find were in good order. We had brought letters from the relatives of several of the party, and another hour was allowed to read them. (2)

The meeting here repeats earlier scenes of hospitality being exchanged. However, the relationships are different, for even though the officers are "received by all with cheerful, delighted countenances," Franklin's main point is that the arrival of the officers has instilled the men with confidence and a sense of direction. In both of his books Franklin describes tensions between the men and the officers, where the former are weak-willed and need the moral and intellectual guidance of the latter. This scene is constructed as a crucial juncture at which the officers have arrived just in time to provide crucial leadership simply by "landing amongst" the men, and despite these men already having transported the boats and equipment 1200 miles.

Mr. Fraser represents the Hudson's Bay Company, another force directing and subsidizing the expedition, and his preparation of a "corporate breakfast" symbolizes that role. In addition to providing leadership, the officers also deliver the mail, thus re-inscribing the men within the familial and cultural matrix they have left behind. These two quotations also

demonstrate Franklin's obsession with fixing time and space because they are full of measurements. The boats (and men) have travelled twelve hundred miles while the officers have travelled two thousand and eight hundred miles (but at a much quicker rate); they meet at a precise geographical location, exchange greetings, breakfast is prepared and eaten, and then one hour is allocated for reading before setting out. Franklin's setting out repeats Mackenzie's elements of time and place, but Franklin's discourse is far more complexly structured; Mackenzie merely says "we set out," but for Franklin "we" is a mixture of British officers, Company men, voyageurs and interpreters, who have "set out" at different times and in different locations, and he is careful to distinguish amongst them.

Another important point about Franklin's narratives, and that of the second expedition in particular, is the delay caused by how and where the place of exploration is situated. The network of trade extends so far west and north that the expedition must travel a great distance before they are in any position to explore. On both trips they are required to set up a winter base and defer the exploration to the next year in order to have an entire summer in which to complete it. Strictly speaking, then, while he left England to cross the Atlantic on February 16, 1825, "overtook the boats in Methye River, at sunrise on the 29th of June" (xxxiv), and first reached the ocean around August 16, it is not until July 4, 1826 that Franklin, taking the "western party" separates from Dr. Richardson, and begins in earnest the exploration for which they have been sent. In addition to the time spent in England preparing, they have spent several months in Canada organizing supplies, keeping the men occupied, building structures, hunting and fishing, and communicating with other settlements. Part of the reason for this extraordinary delay is geographic: the vastness of Canada's north simply requires time to traverse. But the explorers must also travel farther to get beyond what has already been written and mapped. This latter delay is produced by the body of preexisting texts over and above which Franklin must articulate his own

journey.¹⁴⁷ Franklin's nineteenth-century delay is quite different from earlier periods where just surviving the trip across the Atlantic practically ensured the explorer would find a subject for composition. (For instance, as I have described in chapter three, the Frobisher expedition is already "exploring" when they stop at the Orkney Islands.)

Franklin's extended preliminary travels are evidence that in the nineteenth century the site of exploration is shrinking and becoming more remote. This is the entry of exploration into the "modern age," where more observation is needed in order to discover where to explore, and the organizational infrastructure is becoming increasingly dense. This pattern will continue into the contemporary world where the "space" for exploration has all but disappeared. Time magazine of March 1, 1993 contains the article "Great Explorations" written by Jesse Birnbaum with the headline: "Call it Adventure, Call it Madness: Modern Explorers Reach Beyond the Farthest Barrier."¹⁴⁸ But upon reading the story it becomes apparent that most of the "explorers" are not exploring anything that has not already been mapped—in fact, they do not themselves produce maps at all. Instead, they set records for endurance like "Norwegian Erling Kagge . . . [who] wanted to be the first man ever to ski alone and 'unsupported' to the [South] Pole" (47) or "schoolteacher Ann Bancroft" who is "the first woman ever to reach the North Pole by dogsled" (49-50). In a spectacular attempt to achieve ego gratification these contemporary adventurers must repeat the established routes in increasingly arcane fashions in order to be entered into the Guinness Book of World Records. Britain's Robert Swan remarks "I hate living in a stinking tent with other men. I hate being cold, and you must be a pervert to like having ice inside your underpants. . . . But it pumps up the ego" (50). What a

¹⁴⁷ While Journey to the Polar Sea travels over similar territory and rewrites Hearne's Journey . . . to the Northern Ocean, Narrative of a Second Expedition rewrites Mackenzie's Voyages From Montreal. In both cases Franklin's party meet people who knew the previous explorers, and he makes specific references to the earlier writer's descriptions of the landscape.

¹⁴⁸ I thank Joan Lazarski for drawing my attention to this article.

radical departure from Franklin's extreme sociality: we cannot imagine a Robert Swan declaring his obligations to "the Gentlemen who were associated with me in the Expedition, whose kindness, good conduct, and cordial co-operation, have made an impression which can never be effaced from my mind."¹⁴⁹

The contemporary explorer has inverted the established emphases of the discourse of exploration. As I explained in chapter two, from the theorist's perspective, one of the most useful characteristics of exploration writing is its constant eliding of the personal and psychological in favour of the "system," whether it be writing, science, some aspiration of imperialism, or an institutionally prescribed set of "disciplines." Unlike travellers, explorers do not delve too far into the realm of the personal because it is the territory about which they are most concerned. Exploration literature reveals so much about the society which has capitalized and desired it yet at the same time it reveals so little about those who write it. Even from Franklin, whom I have described as stressing the social aspects of his journeys, we receive scant information about the specific characters of his companions, except that they exhibited "kindness, good conduct, and cordial

¹⁴⁹ The exception to these non-exploration adventures is "Californian Sylvia Earle" who "prefers to study the last truly unexplored region on earth: the bottom of the sea" which she states "has yet to be explored. In the deep sea, less than one-tenth of 1% has even been looked at, and much of it has been mapped only in the most general way" (50). The need to explore beneath the sea demonstrates just how complete is the lack of surfaces or sites above water. If future journals were written about this form of exploration they would depend on an elaborate scientific structure, would include technologically sophisticated photographs, and they would be rhetorically distant from previous exploration narratives. I suspect the stories from beneath the sea would come in two radically distinct forms: the first would be research articles for scientific journals and the second would be coffee-table books containing colour photographs and little text. These stories would also lack sociality and contact with other cultures, though the coffee-table books would indulge in anthropomorphic accounts of various sea life. There is a profound silence beneath the sea which may be partially responsible for the hitherto unrelated fascination with discovering Atlantis and learning how whales "talk" to each other, two projects which generate social narratives out of the silence.

co-operation." On the other hand, a narrative from someone such as Erling Kagge, whose fame depends on the fact that he was alone on his "unsupported"¹⁵⁰ ski trip to the North Pole, would mix travel scenes with interior monologues. Many of these "explorers" lecture and present slides rather than produce a written account of their journey. Ironically, in contemporary exploration literature the territory is valuable only as a site of resistance; the landscape oscillates between being scenery and being an obstacle.

II Technology and Texts in the Three Expeditions

Technology has always been important to exploration, beginning with medieval shipbuilding practices which facilitated increasingly dangerous and extended voyages, and continuing with the commercial production of metal pots, rifles and other trading goods. Technology was also important to the Franklin expeditions because they occurred during a period of rapid industrialization when England was expanding its mercantile empire, and the increasing profits and world political dominance were proving the validity of its colonial practices.¹⁵¹ In many ways, the theme of technology structures

¹⁵⁰ I do not wish to devalue the very real danger of these treks, but the notion they could ever be "unsupported" is impossible to conceive. Just as James, Hearne and Franklin rely on imperialism, economic motivations and various technologies (including writing) to sustain them, Kagge has spent months preparing for his journey and employs sophisticated, technologically-advanced equipment.

¹⁵¹ Klaus Knorr shows that eighteenth- and nineteenth-century economists were divided on the subject of the "financial burden of empire." Edmund Burke argued against much foreign investment using the example of the province of Nova Scotia which he called an "ill-thriven, hard-visaged, and ill-favored brat" which "has stood us in a sum of not less than seven hundred thousand pounds" and "to this day it has made no repayment" (*Colonial Theories* 234). Other economists, such as Henry Brougham, disagreed claiming that although colonial trade involved "long credits . . . and slow returns" it was still worthwhile because capital "invested in colonial speculation is chiefly a part which cannot find profitable employment at home" (233). My main argument is that regardless of conflicting economic

all three expeditions; because Journey to the Polar Sea ends disastrously, the Narrative of a Second Expedition can be read as an attempt to rewrite the first by solving its problems.

One reason the third expedition was undertaken with so much confidence was the presence of canned provisions:

In 1845, tinned preserved food was still a relatively recent innovation that promised immediate and major effects on exploration. The tin container itself was patented in England in 1811, and was immediately embraced by the British for use in the Royal Navy in most parts of the world. It was an invention that would allow arctic expeditions to winter successfully in the Arctic, and made an assault on the Northwest Passage seem destined for success. (Beattie and Geiger, 157)

Ironically, the story of this technology parallels Derrida's reading of the pharmakon, a word used in Plato's Phaedrus meaning both "remedy" or "cure" and "poison" (Dissemination 97 ff). The preserved food is a cure for scurvy and promises to sustain exploration into areas it had been logistically impossible to go; it is received enthusiastically by the Royal Navy, and is distributed throughout Britain's colonial matrix. However, through the contemporary practice of forensic archaeology, Owen Beattie has determined that the lead-sealed containers in fact spread lead poisoning, thus impairing the life of those it was invented to nourish: exploration's remedy became its poison. Overall, Franklin's three expeditions evidence an expanding confidence in technology and industrialization, but these technologies have many implications not realized by their practitioners

The Royal Navy's use of technology to sustain its own idea of exploration touches on the issue of differing cultural approaches to the landscape. Rudy Wiebe describes how Vilhjálmur Stefánsson proved that by refusing to adopt native methods of travel and hunting, European arctic explorers had suffered and died needlessly:

views, the discourse of exploration demonstrates a belief in profit, because it was so closely allied with the fur trade, and this belief continually motivated exploration and expansion.

Instead of hauling in tons of expensive supplies and killing his hired men carrying it everywhere (the more men you have, the more supplies you must pack: the whole process is self-defeating), he [Stefánsson] hired two Inuit men and two women: the men to hunt and drive the dog team (he quickly realized that the only reliable season for arctic travel is winter; anyone walking a mile across a boggy rocky "nigger-headed" tundra, as they call it, will instantly understand that; and three centuries of Englishmen had proven that the summer sea is always at the whim of the ice pack moved where it listeth by the omnipresent wind), the women to cook and keep the hide clothes in order by sewing. (Playing Dead 106)

The British mode of exploration, epitomized by all three Franklin expeditions, relied on its own technologies to structure its discursive terrain and alienated the explorers from the landscape and peoples, treating them as Other, and worked to incorporate them within its own system. To a great extent, Eurocentric disciplines of naming, mapping, and governing have prevailed, but the "writing of Canada" has been hazardous: the very mechanisms of imperialism have been dangerous to those who employ them.

Franklin's Journey to the Polar Sea suffers from utilizing technology inadequate to the demands of the environment. Many of the voyageurs die from fatigue and starvation. Hood dies as well (possibly murdered), and Franklin and Richardson are only hours away from death when their Indian friends bring them food at Fort Enterprise. Historians have argued over the many logistical blunders of the first expedition, but one of the clearest mistakes was in using canoes to map the arctic shoreline.¹⁵² Rudy Wiebe quotes Richardson who is disturbed that the voyageurs, who have already suffered much hardship, "seem terrified at the idea of a voyage through an icy sea in bark canoes." And Wiebe replies,

...why should they not be? They had only two fragile canoes, one of which a week later was very nearly crushed between two ice floes. There was not a birch tree for repair, nor any tree for that matter, within hundreds of miles. (Playing Dead 30)

¹⁵² The other mistake, in Stefánsson's opinion, was to travel in the summer at all. But then, part of Franklin's job was to assess the route's viability for commercial passage which would certainly take place in summer.

By September eighth both canoes have been ruined and the "officers, good seamen all, know the compass course to reach Fort Enterprise and they begin to walk through the sudden and terrifying early snow and cold across the tundra" (31). Their expedition has seen the gradual erosion of its physical base, first with their supplies dwindling, and then the destruction of the canoes, so that they must finally put all their faith in the compass which the voyageurs, who have been raised in the primarily oral world of "lived experience," regard as abstract and tenuous.

To rephrase Barbara Stafford, this has been a journey away from substance, and while Franklin maintains a level of optimism in his narrative—written after having gotten safely back to England—his expedition has revealed several methodological flaws. Aside from the foolhardiness in using canoes in the ocean for extended periods, the expedition was also seriously hampered by the rivalry between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Northwest Company. In his article, "John Franklin and the Fur Trade," Clive Holland writes:

Did Franklin make a major miscalculation in continuing his exploration with what he knew to be inadequate supplies and ammunition? The answer must be that in our eyes he was wrong to carry on; the fur trade support that had been promised had proved inadequate, and he could reasonably and honourably have retreated. It was the discipline of his naval training and perhaps the fear of defeat that drove him on. . . . This expedition was unique in naval history and took place in circumstances that were never to be repeated. The expedition was invited and expected to rely on trading company support that proved to be wholly unreliable. (109)

Two aspects of imperialist culture were especially important in sustaining Franklin as he and his men approached starvation. First, the science of astronomy which provided him and his fellow officers with the task of constantly fixing their positions and they therefore derive a sense of identity from that science. Second, their ability to graphically represent the territory through mapping gave them the illusion of control because they ultimately knew where they were, and where they were going.

The other product of imperialism which sustained Franklin was the "discipline of his naval training." It enabled him to complete his "discovery," and contributed to his narrative's self-assured tone. Despite bad planning and starvation for the last two months of the expedition, Franklin disciplines himself and those under his command to believe that they would all survive and that his system of British naval management would ultimately prevail. He still believes in the image of himself he created at the Methye River where he instilled "confidence and a sense of direction" to the waiting men. From the beginning of Narrative of a Second Expedition Franklin shows an increased confidence in his technology and his ability to explore. When initially proposing the journey he admits to the "sufferings of those engaged in the former overland Expedition" but manages to convince "His Majesty's Government" that the route of this second expedition ensures "similar dangers were not to be apprehended, while the objects to be attained were important at once to the naval character, scientific reputation, and commercial interests of Great Britain" (xxii). Science, commerce and a solid background of naval training are yoked here in an image which makes imperialism a character on the international stage. British exploration and profit are presented as morally courageous.

In his second arctic expedition Franklin is much more aware of the logistical problems and writes ahead to various officials of the Hudson's Bay Company (which had since merged with the Northwest Company) securing manpower, transportation and provisions. One of the contributions to the second expedition's optimism is Franklin's "superintendence" of the construction of three boats:

To fit them for the ascent and descent of the many rapids between York factory and Mackenzie River; and to render their transport over the numerous portages more easy, it was necessary to have them as small, and of as light a construction as possible; and, in fact, as much like a north canoe as was consistent with the stability and capacity required for their voyage at sea. They were built of mahogany, with timbers of ash, both ends exactly alike, and fitted to be steered either with a sweep-

oar or a rudder. The largest . . . was found . . . capable of carrying three tons weight in addition to the crew. (xxvi-xxvii)

Franklin is clearly pleased with the design he has helped conceive and several times mentions the interest the boats create among various communities of Indians they meet along their journey:

A party of Indians came very opportunely with fresh meat, which is always an agreeable change to the voyager, who has generally to live on dried provision. The Indians, as well as the women and children of the fort, spent the greater part of the day by the side of our boats, admiring their whole equipment, but more especially the gay figures painted on them. Many of these were different from any animals or representations they had seen, and, judging from the bursts of laughter, some curious remarks were made on them. (6)

At one P.M. we saw a party of Indians encamped on the beach of a small stream. . . . The sight of our boats seemed to delight them as much as the ammunition and tobacco which they received. . . . We admired the shape and appearance of their canoes which were larger than those used by the Chipewyans, and had the fore part covered with bark, to fit them for the navigation of this broad river, where the waves are often high. . . . The paintings of animals on the sides of our boats were very attractive to them; they scanned every figure over and over, bursting into laughter whenever they recognized any of the animals. (21-22)

For the natives, canoes and boats are vital transportation, so an interest in their shape and functionality is something which European and native American cultures share. These passages also show that the natives are interested in the aesthetic aspects of Franklin's boats and that they delight in the representations of both familiar and unfamiliar animals. The design of these boats ensured they were small enough for river travel, but were also quite sturdy on the ocean and could be used with a sail to take advantage of the wind. They were built to operate as efficiently as possible over a variety of waters and conditions and to replace the birch-bark canoes which were inadequate in the Journey to the Polar Sea.

In addition to the three larger boats, Franklin also mentions a much smaller boat called the "Walnut-Shell,"

the invention and construction of which I owe to my friend Lieutenant-Colonel Pasley, of the Royal Engineers. It weighed only eighty-five pounds, could, when taken to pieces, be made up in five or six parcels, and was capable of being put together in less than twenty minutes. So secure was this little vessel, that several ladies, who had honoured the trial of the boats with their presence, fearlessly embarked in it, and were paddled across the Thames in a fresh breeze. It was intended to provide against a similar detention in crossing rivers to that which proved so fatal to our party on the former journey; and it was also thought, that this little bark would be found useful in procuring water-fowl on the small lakes, to which the boats could not be conveyed.
(xxviii)

The "Walnut-Shell" is the British technological response to a near disaster encountered in the previous expedition when Franklin and his starving party were almost prevented from returning to Fort Enterprise by their inability to cross the Coppermine river. Ultimately, one of the interpreters named Pierre St. Germain succeeded in building a canoe from "fragments of painted canvas" which had been used to wrap up bedding (*Journey to the Polar Sea* 426). It is this canoe, a perfect example of what Lévi-Strauss would call bricolage, that the "Walnut-Shell" is meant to replace. While St. Germain's bricolage was the product of an urgent need, and involved making do with purely local materials, the "Walnut-Shell" is fabricated in England from "well-seasoned ash" and "prepared canvas."

The technology of the "Walnut-Shell" demonstrates the gap between imperialist theory and the practice of exploration because it is not used during the whole of the second expedition even though it seems like a well fashioned item, ideally suited to a specific purpose. It was manufactured for a theoretical purpose which never materialized, so instead of carrying explorers across treacherous rivers, its sole journey was across the Thames transporting those unnamed "several ladies, who had honoured the trial of the boats with their presence." Franklin's second expedition is so much better planned and technologically superior to the first that he comments on this fact just before the two parties separate for their mappings of the Arctic Ocean shoreline to the west and east of the Mackenzie river:

It was impossible not to be struck with the difference between our present complete state of equipment and that on which we had embarked on our former disastrous voyage. Instead of a frail bark canoe, and a scanty supply of food, we were now about to commence the sea voyage in excellent boats, stored with three months' provision. (95)

The third expedition saw other technological leaps which propelled Franklin into what I called above the "modern age" of exploration. The ships, Erebus and Terror,¹⁵³ were equipped with enough food for at least three years, and "steam powered . . . screw propellers were installed in each ship for emergency use."

Despite the cramped quarters, the two vessels still had room for luxuries. The Erebus had a library of 1,700 volumes, while the Terror carried 1,200, including everything from narratives of earlier arctic expeditions and geographical journals to Charles Dickens' Nicholas Nickleby and bound copies of Punch magazine.

Each ship had a hand organ which could play fifty tunes including ten hymns. There were mahogany writing desks for officers, and school supplies for teaching illiterate sailors to read and write. Instruments for research in geology, botany and zoology, as well as important magnetic observations, were taken. The Franklin expedition was also one of the first voyages of discovery to carry on board a relatively new invention: a camera. No arctic expedition had ever been so lavishly outfitted. (Beattie and Geiger, 14)

The elaborate supplies of Franklin's third expedition reveals just how far exploration has progressed since the comparatively minimalist days of Foxe and James. Despite the development of items such as "instruments for research in geology, botany and zoology," Franklin continues the tradition of exploration as a self-consciously literary activity. Just as Foxe carried narratives of previous expeditions with him, and wrote his account as a mini-anthology of the genre, so do the two ships contain extensive volumes of exploration literature. But aside from these narratives, which contained

¹⁵³ Wiebe comments on these names when discussing John Franklin "who on his third venture to the polar seas in 1845 became world famous when he and his 130 sailors on two ships, one called Erebus (son of Chaos, brother of Night) and the other Terror (what hellish names, those) vanished forever into arctic space" (Playing Dead 14).

valuable geographical information, Franklin took a variety of literature and "school supplies for teaching illiterate sailors to read and write." Franklin had learned on his previous voyages the advantage of keeping his men fruitfully occupied throughout the long and cold winters, and teaching writing becomes a perfect solution for problems of discipline as it requires extended concentration and produces noticeable results. In Discipline and Punish, Foucault explains how institutions such as prisons, hospitals, factories and schools operate on similar principles which encourage submission to authority:

In organizing "cells," "places" and "ranks" the disciplines create complex spaces that are at once architectural, functional and hierarchical. It is spaces that provide fixed positions and permit circulation; they carve out individual segments and establish operational links; they mark places and indicate values; they guarantee the obedience of individuals, but also a better economy of time and gesture. (148)

Space was at a premium aboard the two ships due largely to the installation of the massive steam engines and "only Franklin's cabin on the Erebus was of any significant size. Commander James Fitzjames, second in command of the Erebus, had a cabin less than 2 metres wide, while the crew of the Erebus were berthed in what little space remained, many slinging their hammocks alongside one another in the mess deck" (Frozen 12-13).

The teaching of writing would help to fix the men within this space, and would also mold them into citizens of the empire where writing had been so important in transporting English colonialism across the continent. Even during the wintering, when structures were set up on Beechey and King William Islands, livable space was still at a premium and the success of the expeditions depended on maintaining discipline during those times, especially since the trip was expected to last three years and there would only be two or three months of sailing in each year. As I discuss below, the teaching of writing is one of Foucault's "disciplines" and is used on all three Franklin expeditions.

In addition to rapid advances in technology, Franklin and other nineteenth-century explorers were the first to have "media" play an important role in interpreting their actions to the public. In previous centuries literacy was confined to a relatively small percentage of the population and authors such as Foxe or James (or a literate crew member such as George Best) had almost complete authority over both the events of exploration and their textual production. By Hearne's time little had changed and the book was the predominant method of disseminating information about explorations (although pamphlets were written when there arose an important political issue, such as the perceived failure of the Hudson's Bay Company to explore and promote its vast territories adequately). By the nineteenth century newspapers and magazines, including "The Times," Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine and the Illustrated London News, were important sources of information and speculation concerning the explorers.

The media helped write what I called in chapter two the historical "book of exploration," wherein events are increasingly public. Perhaps the most famous example of the media's intervention into exploration is the "New York Herald"'s sponsorship of Henry Morton Stanley to find David Livingstone in Africa. In 1871, Stanley located Livingstone in what is now Tanzania and uttered the famous words, "Dr. Livingstone, I presume?" This statement exemplifies how nineteenth-century journalism held the tremendous power to make the private public. No matter how far away the explorer travels there is now the possibility that a reporter may walk up and casually introduce himself, as if they were meeting at a preordained engagement in the heart of London, rather than in the "heart of darkness." Stanley's identification of Livingstone is simplified because they are likely the only two Europeans for hundreds of kilometres. However, his famous greeting goes further than merely identifying Livingstone because it "presumes" that the whole of Africa is knowable and observable by the

American reading public.¹⁵⁴

Of course, there were no newspaper writers sent to find Franklin in the Arctic, but it is important to realize how the variety of discourses had increased, as had the speed of their dissemination. While this did not greatly affect the content of exploration narratives, it changed the context. Decisions about funding expeditions (and what government body should be charged with expenses), and who should lead them became more open for public debate than before. While this may have upset military and government planners who would have preferred to work in private, it had the effect of solidifying the nationalist aspects of exploration. It is no longer enough to have the backing of a few merchants and the King's authorization to claim lands, as did Frobisher, Button, Foxe and James. One might need the backing of parliament, which might depend on popular support, in addition to the sanction of senior members of the military. Franklin was acutely aware of his need to generate support when he wrote that "the objects to be attained were important at once to the naval character, scientific reputation, and commercial interests of Great Britain."

Newspapers and magazines, in addition to changing the way information about explorations was popularly disseminated, also played an important role within the narratives of the expeditions. An example of their appearance within Franklin's text, and one which is representative of their overall influence, occurs in Journey to the Polar Sea during the October of the expedition's first winter at Fort Enterprise. The voyageur named


¹⁵⁴ Stanley later explored a great deal of Africa, including tracing the Congo to its mouth. Born in Wales and raised in the United States, he epitomizes America's aggressive appropriation of European imperialism. The newspaper articles he wrote on war, exploration, and travel demonstrate the malleability of journalistic discourse. This malleability is theorized by David Spurr who develops a rhetorical interpretation of nineteenth- and twentieth-century "literary journalism" in The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration. As I have noted above, by the twentieth century exploration writing had become increasingly rare, and while for Spurr journalism often contains a "sense of living in a moment of historical urgency" (8), it is often indistinguishable from travel writing.

Belanger, "his locks . . . matted with snow" and "incrusted with ice from head to foot," had walked for thirty-six hours to deliver the explorers' mail. "As soon as the packet was thawed we eagerly opened it to obtain our English letters. The latest were dated on the preceding April" (249-50). We learn more about the effect of that mail when Franklin explains how they divide their time up while wintering at Fort Enterprise:

As it may be interesting to the reader to know how we passed our time at this season of the year, I shall mention briefly that a considerable portion of it was occupied in writing up our journals. Some newspapers and magazines, that we received from England with our letters, were read again and again, and commented upon, at our meals; and we often exercised ourselves with conjecturing the changes that might take place in the world before we could hear from it again. (258)

The public texts of magazines and newspapers give the officers a sense of identity and community which is far removed from their immediate surroundings. Writing is sealed off from the time and space in which it appears so it is not answerable to local conditions, yet it is extremely portable, and can be read "again and again," so that its various messages can be analyzed and discussed. The newspapers and magazines—what I have described earlier as writing within writing—carry their discursive structures of politics, literature and current events across the Atlantic, and reinforce Fort Enterprise as a simulacrum of British society.

Throughout the expedition, tasks such as hunting, fishing and gathering wood that are necessary for the party's physical preservation, are assigned to others while the officers read and write, readying themselves for the upcoming journey in which they will be constantly required to "produce knowledge" and to tell their subordinates who they are and where they are travelling. The various texts which they own and interpret, combined with the officers' literacy, separates them from their British and Canadian "employees" on the journey. Furthermore, their reading and writing parallel the activity of educated "readers" whom Franklin believes will wish to know how the officers passed their time.



These texts exhibit a doubleness because they are an example of how public media works to structure and enhance nationalist cultural discourses. Their public nature is limited to those who can read them and for whom they have relevance, so for the natives, voyageurs and hired seamen they are hermetically sealed behind a wall of literacy and class distinctions. The newspapers and magazines invite participation in a system of identity and "selfhood" even as they exclude those who cannot "think the system." In Journey to the Polar Sea Belanger delivers an imperial message he cannot himself decipher. He is an important and necessary part of the expedition but he is also "othered" by his illiteracy; visually, he represents the menacing forces of nature and is "incrusted with snow from head to foot." And in December at the end of the journey, after having narrowly escaped the starvation and abandonment which claimed the lives of nine of his fellow voyageurs, he continues to deliver the mail:¹⁵⁵

In the afternoon of the 6th, Belanger, and another Canadian, arrived from Fort Providence, sent by Mr. Weeks, with two trains of dogs, some spirits and tobacco for the Indians, a change of dress for ourselves, and a little tea and sugar. They also brought letters for us from England, and from Mr. Back and Mr. Wentzel. By the former we received the gratifying intelligence of the successful termination of Captain Parry's voyage; and were informed of the promotion of myself and Mr. Back, and of poor Hood, our grief for whose loss was renewed by this intelligence. (479)

Returning to Belanger's first mail delivery, specific information contained in the papers demonstrates more of what writing can do:

By the newspapers we learnt the demise of our revered and lamented sovereign George III., and the proclamation of George IV. We concealed this intelligence from the Indians, lest the death of their great Father might lead them to suppose that we should be unable to fulfill our promises to them. (251)

¹⁵⁵ There exists the possibility of confusion here for there are two "Belangers" on the expedition. Jean Baptiste Belanger dies on October 6, while Solomon Belanger survives to deliver the mail in December. Franklin does not specify which Belanger was "incrusted with ice from head to foot." For the purposes of mail delivery, one Belanger seems to do as well as the other.

The postal system reaches to the empire's very extremities so that its colonial subjects may receive news of the centre and be reassured that the empire is strong and they have not been, in Borges's words, "abandoned . . . to the Inclemencies of the Sun and of the Winters." Because the postal system carries the signifiers of a distant power, it is itself a powerful medium of "intelligence" which the officers are able to manipulate and withhold since the Indians cannot read. The coincidental similarity of the two Kings' names means that all Franklin literally conceals is the progression from III to IV, yet enclosed within that difference is a death which is potentially disruptive of their power over the natives. That simple progression signifies a history of rule identified through the proper names; while the fact that rule is passed from one George to another is coincidental, the familial lineage of the British monarchy assures that there will be only a limited stock from which to choose. Each new born will be named after a previous "George," "Edward," or "Elizabeth," and thus the royal family inscribes itself in history, adding only Roman numerals to designate the diachronic progression of their de jure rule. Écriture, as a system of differences, is able to contain difference within its own economy so that Franklin can assure the Indians "their great Father" will continue to produce trade goods.

The Fort Enterprise scene of static reading and writing is repeated in the Narrative of a Second Expedition when the expedition winters in "Fort Franklin" on the shores of Great Bear Lake. On the sixteenth of January they "had the happiness of receiving a packet of letters, which left England in the preceding June" (67). Included in this packet were magazines such as the Quarterly Review, the Edinburgh Philosophical Quarterly, the Literary Gazette and the Mechanics Magazine.

This valuable packet had nigh been lost on its way through the interior, owing to the treachery of an Indian. The fellow had undertaken to guide the Canadian servants of the Hudson-Bay Company, who had it in charge, from York Factory to Cumberland house; but supposing, from its being unusual to forward packets at that season, that it must contain something of value, he seized an opportunity . . . to steal the canoe, with its contents,

and cross the river. . . . the poor men, destitute of food, without a gun, or . . . fire, were obliged to march to the nearest establishment, through a very rugged and thickly-wooded country. . . . and as soon as they arrived . . . the chief of the department immediately sent off different parties in search of the culprit. They did not find him, though they got possession of the packet, which was torn open, and the letters scattered upon the ground. I need hardly mention that I afterwards remunerated the Canadians for their sufferings and good conduct on this occasion. (68)

What is most striking about this story is its demonstration of the radical arbitrariness of the printed word's value. The periodicals fuel extended discussions and conversation among the officers, and furnish them with political and social knowledge which in turn increases their power over their employees. The "valuable packet" is also an instrument of communication and, as we have seen in Hearne's Journey . . . to the Northern Ocean and Franklin's Journey to the Polar Sea, the postal system is a means by which the explorers, the Hudson's Bay Company, and the other European emigres, control the territory. Without this communication they would lose their différance from the natives: they would not know George III from George IV.

Yet the elegance of this system is that to the "treacherous" Indian it has no appearance of value. It produces a desire in the Indian to possess it, largely because it is being transported at an unusual time of year: it disrupts the familiar flow and is therefore suspicious. In fact, the whole notion of transporting information, rather than food or family possessions, is a European invention. Yet at the same time that he stares at this technology which is supporting the empire, he sees nothing, and therefore scatters the contents on the ground before disappearing into the "forest primeval."¹⁵⁶ The packet is made even more valuable by the fact that the Indian sees

¹⁵⁶ I am alluding to the first line in Longfellow's Evangeline: "This is the forest primeval. The murmuring pines and the hemlocks / Stand like Druids of eld, with voices sad and prophetic, / Stand like harpers hoar, with beards that rest on their bosoms." Although the image of Druids is Celtic in origin, Longfellow's forest maintains an orality which would be appropriate to North America.

nothing of value. Franklin ends the story by saying that he "need hardly mention" that he paid the Canadians for their "sufferings and good conduct." In other words, the Canadians' economic ties to exploration and the general interests of imperialism are reinforced, and the presence of capitalism is so taken for granted that Franklin hardly bothers to mention it. Newspapers and magazines, then, have a prominent role within Franklin's narratives despite their not being mentioned very often; they are just another part of the communications matrix which solidifies the European's control over the new lands while remaining invisible (or opaque) to the aboriginal culture.

III The Changing Landscape

In many respects Franklin's first book, Journey to the Polar Sea, is more perceptive than the Narrative of a Second Expedition, and empathizes more with the native population. In Journey to the Polar Sea, everything is newer, the author is less sure of his authority, and the ultimate desolation of the expedition contributes to a certain "leveling" of the discourse. In his introduction to Hurtig's facsimile edition of Narrative of a Second Expedition, Leslie H. Neatby remarks that "Franklin's second Narrative lacks something of the richness and variety of the first. He is less stirred by danger, perplexity and novelty in everything he encounters" (xx). Neatby's remarks treat Franklin as a character in his own story, and although they are accurate enough, we have seen that the difference is largely caused by the improved technology. In Narrative of a Second Expedition Franklin is better organized, better prepared, and the narrative is more formally structured; therefore, Franklin's interactions with the peoples and environment are more confident and less introspective.

An important theme which recurs throughout the Journey to the Polar Sea is the desolation of the social landscape. Towards the beginning of the journey Franklin writes:

On the 28th [of September] we passed through the remainder of Trout River; and, at noon, arrived at Oxford House, on Holey Lake. This was formerly a post of some consequence to the Hudson's Bay Company, but at present it exhibits unequivocal signs of decay. The Indians have of late years been gradually deserting the low or swampy country, and ascending the Saskatchewan, where animals are more abundant. A few Crees were at this time encamped in front of the fort. They were suffering under the combined maladies of hooping-cough and measles, and looked miserably dejected. (37)

This scene of Europeans travelling through a land of disease and weakened Indians is an important image which is repeated several times in Journey to the Polar Sea. Of course, most of the disease has been caused by those same Europeans and transmitted through the fur trade. Later on (January 16), when Franklin is describing the important Hudson's Bay Company post Cumberland House, he begins to admit this, but stops short of taking the full blame.

The neighbourhood of the houses has been much cleared of wood, from the great demand for fuel; there is, therefore, little to admire in the surrounding scenery, especially in its winter garb The tribe of Indians who reside in the vicinity . . . the Crees . . . were formerly a powerful and numerous nation . . . but they have long ceased to be held in any fear, and are now, perhaps, the most harmless and inoffensive of the whole Indian race. This change is entirely to be attributed to their intercourse with Europeans; and the vast reduction in their numbers occasioned, I fear, in a considerable degree, by the injudicious introduction amongst them of ardent spirits. They are so passionately fond of this poison, that they will make any sacrifice to obtain it. (56)

The question of disease and contagion is important since it can be seen as a metaphor for the whole relationship between European and North American cultures. As we have seen, one of the reasons for the European domination is their superior technologies of production and representation. But another reason is their introduction of diseases which killed and severely weakened large numbers of the indigenous population.¹⁵⁷ However, while Franklin

¹⁵⁷ In Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens, J.R. Miller discusses the issue of European diseases:

Centuries of exposure to such contagious diseases as measles and smallpox had produced a high degree of immunity in Euro-

describes the scene around the trading post, he elides his culture's direct responsibility for the state of the Indians. At first he seems to confront the issue when claiming that the "change" in the Crees, from "powerful and numerous" to "harmless and inoffensive," is "entirely to be attributed to their intercourse with Europeans." The word "intercourse" opens a series of associations, beginning with the sexual act where physical bodies intermingle—referring perhaps to the sexual relations fur traders had with native women—and continuing on to allude to other aspects of communication and contact between cultures. Here Franklin appears to be forwarding a "contagion" theory of culture, where sex, and the exchange of body fluids, is a metaphor for how cultures interact with each other and for how diseases, thoughts, and ideologies are spread.

This theory is logical and consistent with Van Kirk's account of the fur trade, where intermarriages cemented capitalist relations between tribes and trading companies. "Contagion" is an appropriate term for this cultural relationship where diseases, like writing, travel silently and do not show their power. The presence of disease helps Franklin continue to describe the natives as Other. "The Crees," "they," "their intercourse," "their numbers," are

peans, but Indians soon fell victims to such diseases in large numbers. Estimates vary widely and precision is impossible, but it seems reasonably clear that those Indian nations who came into frequent contact with the newcomers suffered dreadful losses. The Huron who harbored Jesuit missionaries and French traders probably lost half of their population to measles between 1634 and 1640. Since the new diseases tended to strike disproportionately at the old and the very young, these sudden losses meant that the Huron were deprived in great numbers of both the preservers of their traditions and their future soldiers. And it is quite likely that at least half of the 200,000 to 300,000 aboriginal inhabitants of Canada at contact were removed by disease over the ensuing 300 years. (48)

Aside from the population devastation, their cultural processes are interrupted which aids in their assimilation, and also makes them less likely to resist any interpretation Franklin or others give them. Their history, their community, and their ability to generate an identity into the future are all affected.

all ways of describing a foreign culture which has collapsed and fallen with seemingly little connection to the narrator. Yet we know there are connections on several levels, including transfers of capital, commodities and desires, and these ongoing and sustained exchanges are killing their "powerful and numerous nation."

After using the concept of "intercourse," a word which accurately summarizes many of the relationships between the Europeans and the native North Americans, Franklin limits its meaning to the "injudicious introduction . . . of ardent spirits." The Europeans' culpability is defined in a strictly legal sense, "injudicious" meaning "not manifesting practical judgement or discretion; showing want of judgement in action [or] behavior." Since alcohol was used in trade the only "intercourse" is economic and, although the Europeans lacked judgement, it is the Indians who ultimately lack the morality to abstain from spirits. In fact, the order of words ("their intercourse with Europeans") makes it seem as if the Indians sought the Europeans in order to consume their liquor. Of course, this entirely distorts the history of trading relations.

Blaming the natives' condition on the "intercourse" of liquor continues the theme of contagious liquids, but shifts their site from the inside to the outside, and replaces the procreating liquid of sexual intercourse with the poison of "ardent spirits."¹⁵⁸ Throughout Franklin's two books there are selected references to the liquor he would rather not carry, but which is necessary to bargain with the natives for their help in guiding and procuring fresh food for the expeditions. So while he admits to having intercourse with the natives, and to carrying a poison to make them more pliant in negotiations, he denies responsibility for the diseases which are claiming their lives and which he links to this remedy/poison.

¹⁵⁸ Again, we have an example of the logic of the pharmakon. The Europeans' "discovery" of North America 1) remedied the natives from their lives of indolence, improved their technology and made them productive partners in the fur trade, but it also 2) poisoned their culture, reduced their numbers, and infected them with disease.

In addition to declining responsibility for the Crees' deterioration, Franklin's description shifts the frame of reference away from medical and cultural issues, and into the realm of morality, implying that the Indians are responsible for their own condition. The Cree living near Oxford and Cumberland houses are described as suffering from a number of illnesses which could be identified through scientific medical analysis, but Franklin ends the description with the observation that they "looked miserably dejected," a statement about their mental attitude. While they are not overtly blamed for their plight, a series of similarly worded descriptions cumulatively generates a negative perspective. Overall, it is remarkable how Franklin's rhetoric masks the European influence, especially given the massive scale of European intervention, and the purposes of his own expedition. In the example of disease, the Europeans' political and economic control is elided and replaced by bad judgement, and the Indians' own bad desires lead the way to destruction.

Franklin's blindness to the full range of "intercourses" between Europeans and indigenous North Americans is equal to his blindness to conditions of the landscape. On his approach to Cumberland House Franklin notes that the land

is low, but the soil, from having a considerable intermixture of limestone, is good and capable of producing abundance of corn, and vegetables of every description. Many kinds of pot-herbs have already been brought to some perfection, and the potatoes bid fair to equal those of England. (*Polar Sea* 55)

This analysis of the agricultural economy shows definite signs of prosperity and Franklin remarks that "the spontaneous productions of nature would afford ample nourishment for all the European animals." It appears that European men and their animals could easily live off this land through a combination of nature and nurture. However, Franklin then shifts his gaze to the aesthetics of the area and notes,

The neighbourhood of the houses has been much cleared of wood, from the great demand for fuel; there is, therefore, little to admire in the surrounding scenery, especially in its winter

garb; few animated objects appear to enliven the scene In this universal stillness, the residents at a post feel little disposed to wander abroad, except when called forth by their occupations; and as ours were of a kind best performed in a warm room, we imperceptibly acquired a sedentary habit. (56)

Franklin's statement that there is "little to admire in the surrounding scenery," reveals his blindness to the industrial infrastructure which is supporting the fur trade. It is the Europeans' physical invasion of the North American landscape that has "cleared the wood" for fuel and building materials. And not only is the scenery dull to look at, Franklin invokes the pathetic fallacy to claim that it even inspires a "sedentary habit." Ironically, when Franklin reports their occupations were "of a kind best performed in a warm room" he comes closest to describing the role of explorer as writer: he sits comfortably with pencils and paper in a warm room heated by the very landscape he seeks to describe.

The clearing of wood from around the post, and the spreading of disease among the Indians, are useful illustrations of how colonization operated. Previous critics, particularly I.S. MacLaren, have written on the explorer's representation of the landscape, but there is also much to say about their interactions with, and actions on this surface. The explorers walk through a landscape of disease and desolation which has been carved out for them by the fur trade, an industry which supports their progress towards "discovery." Since explorers are a necessary part of the fur trade they are responsible for, and, indeed, helped create the unadmirable scenery. Once an area has been mapped it loses its value as landscape and is subsumed into a more abstract chain of communication. In this case an "outpost" is created: an identifiable place on a linear route which maintains route integrity by storing and transporting supplies and furs.

Further along in his narrative (at the beginning of February when they were still at Cumberland House) Franklin continues to develop the theme of disease by "extracting from Dr. Richardson's journal" a discussion of "Bronchocele, or Goitre . . . a common disorder at Edmonton":

The following facts may be depended upon. The disorder attacks those only who drink the water of the river. It is indeed in its worst state confined almost entirely to the half-breed women and children, who reside constantly at the fort, and make use of river water, drawn in the winter through a hole made in the ice. . . . It is said that the inhabitants of Rocky Mountain House, sixty miles nearer the source of the river are more severely affected than those at Edmonton. (118-19)

Richardson begins his description as a conscientious empiricist should, by reassuring the reader about his scientific accuracy: "The following facts may be depended upon." He then begins a disturbing description of how the landscape is betraying the natives who have relied on it for years. Although the poison seems to come from the ground, it affects the "half-breed women and children, who reside constantly at the fort" much more so than the men who are "often from home on journies through the plain, when their drink is melted snow." Part of the Indians' problem is that they have relinquished their nomadic lifestyle, and settled in and around the European trading posts where they have become susceptible to a disease they would have passed over earlier in their history. While we can "depend upon" Richardson's facts, he elides his own influence as observer, as bearer of technology and the urbanization responsible for the Indians' conversion to a static existence.

Franklin's quoting of Richardson raises a number of considerations. Because it comes after several references to disease, it fits in thematically, but it differs from previous references because it is a thoroughgoing attempt to describe the process of disease and to trace its origins scientifically. It functions partially as an alibi, assuring Franklin and the readers that the origin of the pestilence lies in the "source of the river," and not in themselves. What is most striking is how it is introduced almost completely out of context. Franklin and his party are situated at Carlton House, and he is describing it and La Montée, which are both "provisions-posts, an inconsiderable quantity of furs being obtained at either of them" (116). And after describing the manufacturing of pemmican, he then adds, "there are other provision posts, Fort Augustus and Edmonton, farther up the river, from whence some furs

are also produced." Edmonton is introduced as just another post, and the narrative should logically move on, but then he inserts Dr. Richardson's "facts" concerning "Bronchocele or Giotre," which ends with a graphic description of the Indians' deformities.¹⁵⁹ Edmonton is "special" not for its position along a linear fur-trade route, but because it has been the site of scientific observation and can therefore be inserted into the narrative where it is convenient.

The theme of disease and European intervention reaches a climax on March 14, after the expedition completes several portages leading into Athabasca Lake:

We afterwards followed the river as far as the Pine Portage, when we passed through a very romantic defile of rocks, which presented the appearance of Gothic ruins, and their rude characters were happily contrasted with the softness of the snow, and the darker foliage of the pines which crowned their summits. We next crossed the Cascade Portage, which is the last on the way to the Athabasca Lake, and we soon afterwards came to some Indian tents, containing five families, belonging to the Chipewyan tribe. . . . There was an utter neglect of cleanliness, and a total want of comfort in their tents; and the poor creatures were miserably clothed. Mr. Frazer, who accompanied us from the Methye Lake, accounted for their being in the forlorn condition by explaining, that this band of Indians had recently destroyed every thing they possessed, as a token of their great grief for the loss of their relatives in the prevailing sickness[.] It appears that no article is spared by these unhappy men when a near relative dies; their clothes and tents are cut to pieces, their guns broken, and every other weapon rendered useless, if some person do not remove these articles from their sight, which is seldom done. (132)

Franklin's contrast between the scenery and the Chipewyan camp is quite striking. The "romantic defile of rocks" present the illusion of "Gothic ruins" thus writing over the grounds of exploration not only with images of England,

¹⁵⁹ It is also interesting that Goitre, as described in the *OED*, seems to be a disease of foreign peoples, and has a long history of being reported by travellers. The examples quoted begin with Purchas's *Pilgrims* (1625), "The Gouitres of Sauoye," and end with Samuel Smiles's *Character* (1876) "There is a village in South America where gotos or goitres are so common that to be without one is regarded as a deformity."

but with actual literary archetypes. It is as if, for a moment, Franklin inhabits some Gothic romance and has just arrived to meet a ghost in the ruins of a once proud estate. But then he crosses the Cascade Portage, and emerges back in Canada where he "soon afterwards came to some Indian tents."

In contrast to the grandeur of the scenery, which Franklin has built intertextually, the Indians had a "total want of comfort." Mr. Frazer's explanation for their "forlorn condition," and Franklin's interpretation of the event, demonstrate an important rift between capitalist and tribal cultures. To begin with, they have given up their material possessions as a sign of grief, and this means that their sympathy for the dead, symbolized through their ritual destruction of possessions, outweighs their desire for technology. The Hudson's Bay Company's Capitalists have tried to establish a system of desire, but the Chipewyan's actions indicate they are still somewhat outside it (but Franklin cannot recognize this and describes them in their alterity only as "poor creatures . . . miserably clothed"). Franklin appears transfixed by the extremely systematic destruction of property ("no article is spared . . . their clothes and tents are cut to pieces, their guns broken") and attempts to introduce an element of hope and sanity in the form of "some person" who might "remove these articles from their sight," but, alas, this is "seldom done." It is significant that while the Indians are called "poor creatures," and "unhappy men," the figure who could introduce order, by denying them sight of their possessions, is a "person." Franklin's naming displays his own attitude towards the breakdown of capitalism in the face of ritualized grief.

The description of the grief-stricken Chipewyans is sandwiched between two examples of Western écriture. I have already described Franklin's "Gothic" scene, and how it contrasts with the squalor of the Indians' situation. But after Mr. Frazer explains the history of their condition to Franklin, there is another scene of representation:

Mr. Back sketched one of the children. This delighted the father very much, who charged the boy to be very good now, since his picture had been drawn by the big Chief. We learned that they prize pictures very highly, and esteem any they can get, however badly executed, as efficient charms. (132)

Franklin first "paints a picture" of the countryside, then of the Indian band, and then of "Mr. Back" painting the Indians. The Indians are caught within a web of writing and representation, and are apparently complicit in it since they "prize pictures very highly." In a sense, this is another "writing lesson," as described by Lévi-Strauss in Tristes Tropiques, reread by Jacques Derrida in Of Grammatology, and discussed in chapter two of the present work. In that scene the chief of the Nambikwara, a people "without writing," pretends to write as a way of extending his authority over his tribe, and over the visiting archaeologists, as he mediates over the exchange of gifts. As I described in chapter two, Lévi-Strauss is obviously disdainful of this charade, but it works because the Europeans "were in a hurry to get away, since there would obviously be a moment of real danger at which all the marvels [they] had brought would have been handed over." In effect, the Chief and Lévi-Strauss are in the same position since their power is reinforced by the products of capitalist production, but the Chief has seized the mechanism of exchange and the anthropologist must depart before his capital is expended. In his section, "The Violence of the Letter: From Lévi-Strauss to Rousseau," Derrida explains how écriture affects and disturbs relationships between cultures:

... the "Writing Lesson" marks an episode of what may be called the anthropological war, the essential confrontation that opens communication between peoples and cultures, even when that communication is not practiced under the banner of colonial or missionary oppression. The entire "Writing Lesson" is recounted in the tones of violence repressed or deferred, a violence sometimes veiled, but always oppressive and heavy. Its weight is felt in various places and various moments of the narrative: in groups, among cultures or within the same community. What can a relationship to writing signify in these diverse instances of violence? (107)

Derrida points out how violence is always within écriture, and is readily displayed when different cultures meet and attempt to communicate (particularly ones which do not share the practice of writing).

The same violence is present in Franklin's text, and surfaces with his talk of disease and decimated peoples and landscapes. Franklin's position as

imperialism's writer and messenger makes his discourse intensely ideological, and his lack of psychological depth helps to mask the violence his writing enacts.¹⁶⁰ Because Lévi-Strauss is a twentieth-century anthropologist, his position is much less secure and it is part of his job to write about the presence of cultural conflict. Franklin is supported by a system of trade that promises (and sometimes delivers) an uninterrupted supply of goods. It is also true that under the banner of *écriture* I have expanded somewhat the domain of writing to include other forms of representation, while Lévi-Strauss sticks with a narrower definition. But even given those provisions, Derrida's reading of Lévi-Strauss provides a great deal of insight into Franklin's discourse.

Rather than outright violence,¹⁶¹ Franklin's account is full of references to disease, which is a quiet violence slowly sapping the strength of many once "powerful and numerous nations." The Indians' sickness is an undercurrent which runs through the beginning of the expedition, and is balanced by the explorers' starvation throughout the latter third of the book. The major similarity between Lévi-Strauss's "Writing Lesson" and Franklin's visit with the Chipewyans is in how the European process of representation always wins out: it is coveted and has an important iconic value "however badly executed." The Nambikwara chief realizes the value of European production and immediately sets himself up as mediator.¹⁶² As Hearne dis-

¹⁶⁰ The enacting of violence is easier to see when represented in engravings such as "The Boats Getting Afloat." The written caption elides the conflict clearly presented in the picture.

¹⁶¹ Of course, in chapter five I have already discussed a scene of outright violence which almost exactly parallels that related by Lévi-Strauss. The *Narrative of a Second Expedition's* "Esquimaux Pillaging the Boats" does not have a chief who pretends to write, but the violence is also caused by the uncontrolled depletion of European goods, products which separate the Europeans from the natives.

¹⁶² Lévi-Strauss says of the chief: "What was he hoping for? . . . to amaze his companions and persuade them that his intermediacy was responsible for the exchanges, that he had allied himself with the white man, and that he could now share in his secrets" (*Of Grammatology* 126).

covered when his companions painted their shields before attacking the Eskimo, natives' representations are often more symbolic than mimetic.

In Franklin's examples écriture carries out the gesture of the European "great Chief" inscribing a subject into his discourse. And the Journey to the Polar Sea, as part of the history of exploration writing, is itself an example of the "anthropological war, the essential confrontation" between cultures. The father and his son, as Chipewyans, corporal figures who met Franklin at a specific point in time, are excluded from this "confrontation" because it is textual and occurs long after the empirical moment of "sitting" for the portrait to be sketched. The "confrontation" which writing sets up and carries out places the Chipewyan camp between the Gothic ruins and the schooled hand of Mr. Back so that the natives' culture is always diffused and contextualized through a veil of textuality. It is as if Franklin cannot dwell too long on these "poor creatures" who would destroy all their possessions on an apparently mad whim, and then demand more:

Having been apprized of our coming, they had prepared an encampment for us; but we had witnessed too many proofs of their importunity to expect that we could pass the night near them in any comfort, whilst wither spirits, tobacco, or sugar, remained in our possession; and therefore preferred to go about two miles further along the river, and to encamp among a cluster of pine trees... (132-33)

Franklin's expedition arrives, draws a few pictures, and then departs in order to retain their property and not be bothered by "importunate" natives.¹⁶³ By refusing the encampment prepared for them the explorers draw back into their own culture, and while Franklin obviously realizes this refusal may be

¹⁶³ Franklin's choosing the word "importune," rather than "troublesome" or "burdensome" which is the sense he means to convey, reveals two things about his strategy of exploration. First, it is a less direct word than the other two, and it therefore places his annoyance on a level of "elevated" discourse, and shows he possesses a control over language while the Indians cannot control their own impatience. Secondly, "importune" also means "inopportune" and "untimely," and comes from the Latin Portunus, the "protecting god of harbours" and ports. The word therefore has many connotations of travel and timeliness, implying that Franklin is worried about the Indians' untimely intrusion on his own travel.

interpreted as impolite, he justifies it by pointing out the impoliteness and untimeliness of the Indians.

The landscape in the Journey to the Polar Sea is a complex combination of imperialist discourses strategically deployed under the guise of objectivity. It is this sort of language to which Barbara Stafford refers when, in a passage I have already quoted in chapter two, she discusses "the rise and development of an empirical attitude toward nature." The Royal Society was responsible for promoting many of the "radical reforms of language, involving the abolition of varnishing metaphor and the development of a paratactic style, that arose in England and France in the early seventeenth century" (Voyage xx). The shift towards a terse and compressed style can be demonstrated in the works I have analyzed, as a movement away from the rhetorical excesses of both Foxe and James. However, empiricism is never neutral, particularly in exploration; despite the conciseness of the "paratactic style," the narrator inevitably approaches the land (or the Chipewyan camp) through a veil of ideology. As Derrida states, in these circumstances writing cannot help but carry a violence, "always oppressive and heavy" against those it represents. What remains remarkable is how so many of the conditions of the landscape have been altered by European influence, and how these changes are studiously documented, yet the power of these acts of writing and representation has gone unnoticed. Canada is still written as the Other, even as it becomes a part of the British image of imperialism.

IV Territoriality and the Limit of Écriture

In both Journey to the Polar Sea and Narrative of a Second Expedition, Franklin's writing depends on the British empirical/imperial system of exploration which constructs forms of knowledge to advance and implement its own interests. If Franklin reveals anything about the character of the British explorer, it is that he never falters or questions his judgement or [de jure] right to command those under him. Under normal or successful

conditions there is little to contradict this hierarchical view of the world, but the final stage of the first expedition provides an example of the very limit of imperial power, where discipline and communication threaten to break down; in the third expedition the empirical planning and knowledge fail altogether. I will first discuss that long march from the Arctic Ocean overland to Fort Enterprise and how that trek strains, and at points exceeds, the capacity of Franklin and his officers to manage the men and materials under their control. I will then finish by looking at writing and textuality in the third expedition.

The most graphic representation of the difficulties encountered towards the end of the Journey to the Polar Sea can be seen on the large map of their route appended to the back of the book and titled: "A Chart of the Discoveries and Route of the Northern Land Expedition Under the Command of Captain Franklin, R.N. in the Years 1820 and 21, Laid Down Under his Inspection by the Officers Assisting in the Expedition."¹⁶⁴ The map measures approximately 80cm by 50cm, and the route of their exploration forms a right-angle triangle. They begin from Great Slave Lake, proceed due north on the Yellowknife River to Fort Enterprise where they spend the winter, then north to Point Lake, and further north to the Coppermine River which ends in the Arctic Ocean. Their route then traces the right angle of the triangle, travelling eastward along the coastline to George IVth's Coronation Gulf,¹⁶⁵ and details a number of bays, including Bathurst Inlet. The most north eastern place name is Point Turnagain, and marks the difficult decision to turn back and end their exploration of the coast.

¹⁶⁴ Its title again reminds us of how Franklin's authority as leader of the expedition is supported by the surveying work done by the other officers.

¹⁶⁵ "The shores between Cape Barrow and Cape Flinders, including the extensive branches of Arctic and Melville Sounds, and Bathurst's Inlet, may be comprehended in one great gulf, which I have distinguished by the appellation of George IV's Coronation Gulf, in honour of His Most Gracious Majesty, the latter name being added to mark the time of its discovery" (396). The naming of the landscape therefore reflects the information about George III's death and George IV's ascension which they had received in their mail while wintering at Fort Enterprise.

At the end of their exploration they travelled towards Hood River¹⁶⁶ which they "ascended as high as the first rapid and encamped. Here terminated our voyage on the Arctic sea, during which we had gone over six hundred and fifty geographical miles" (395). They completed those miles in canoes entirely unsuited for that purpose, which were destroyed by the rough Arctic Ocean and the ice, and they headed for Hood's River because Franklin realized the canoes would not last long enough to take them back by water. Rather than travel back westward and then south along the water route, they cut southwest back to Fort Enterprise, travelling overland across the Barrens. They decide to travel southwards, up Hood's River and then overland, in an almost straight line, back to Fort Enterprise where they believe supplies will be waiting for them.

One of the more striking features of the map is the elaborate detail with which the rivers and shorelines are drawn: edges are exquisitely shaped, topographical elements delicately shaded and a profusion of names attached to the various rivers, points, bays, capes and islands. The majority of the map corresponds to Paul Carter's description of Cook's naming of Australian geography:

... Cook moved in a world of language. He proceeded within a cultural network of names, allusions, puns and coincidences, which ... gave him, like his Pacific Ocean, conceptual space in which to move. ... exploration was a spatial discourse [and] Cook's names ... have a ... genealogy of particulars, a horizontal disposition to marks things where they occurred locally. ... (7-8)

"Reading" Franklin's map creates an evocative picture of the expedition because of the elaborate detail presented in graphic form.

However, as soon as the expedition leaves Hood's River, and crosses what is described on the map as "Flat Clay," detail is quickly lost. Certainly the land is flatter and generally less interesting, but it is the exhaustion of the men, combined with their turning away from the Northwest Passage, which results in a clearly discernible graphic impoverishment. The chart's lack of

¹⁶⁶ Hood's River is also in that north-eastern most area of the arctic coast which is full of inlets and bays, but it is west of Bathurst's Inlet.

detail of this last part of the journey reflects that Franklin and his crew are no longer engaged in exploration: they are trying simply to survive, and the disappearance of cartographic nuance represents the dulling of their perceptions and interests. MacLaren makes a similar observation about the texts of the journey: "The logistical harassments take their toll on Franklin's and Hood's responses to landscape; no longer sufficiently supplied to endure any weather or terrain, the two concentrate their journal entries on matters other than landscape appreciation" ("Retaining Captaincy" 70).

As I have already discussed in relation to James's Strange and Dangerous Voyage, the decision to turn back is always a difficult one, and usually involves a great deal of rationalization. For Franklin it is no different, but because he is so careful in his descriptions, and so much more empirical than James, we can more closely examine his reasoning. The clearest sign the exploration must soon come to an end is provided on August 15:

Mr. Back reported from the steersmen that both canoes had sustained material injury during this day's voyage. I found on examination that fifteen timbers of the first canoe were broken, some of them in two places, and that the second canoe was so loose in the frame that its timbers could not be bound in the usual secure manner, and consequently there was danger of its bark separating from the gunwales if exposed to a heavy sea. (383-84)

This is discouraging news and seems clearly to undermine the material foundations of the expedition. Yet Franklin's reaction addresses an entirely different concern:

Distressing as were these circumstances, they gave me less pain than the discovery that our people, who had hitherto displayed in following us through dangers and difficulties no less novel than appalling to them, a courage beyond our expectation, now felt serious apprehensions for their safety, which so possessed their minds that they were not restrained even by the presence of their officers from expressing them. Their fears, we imagined, had been principally excited by the interpreters, St. Germain and Adam, who from the outset had foreboded every calamity. . . (384)

Franklin effects a strange shift here which is almost hallucinatory in its interpretation of events. After clearly presenting empirical evidence that the boats are close to falling apart, and that the expedition is in extreme danger, especially in the event of a "heavy sea," Franklin maintains that his real "pain" comes from the revelation that his "people" are fearing for their safety and are not able to be properly "restrained" by his fellow officers. In other words, discipline is beginning to break down.

Given the empirical nature of so many of Franklin's observations, and that Foucault's "disciplines" articulate their practices in controlled spaces, it is surprising that Franklin seems temporarily to ignore the material basis of his expedition. On the other hand, it is possible to imagine that his logic places his "people" in roughly the same material, malleable position as the canoes. In Foucault's terms they are "docile bodies" and they must be "secured" like the broken canoes, or "restrained" by the officers.

It is also significant that Franklin believes the resistance to his discipline comes from the interpreters, men who are more verbally dexterous and who have had more experience mediating between cultures. It seems reasonable that St. Germain and Adam, as professionals who had served under a variety of Europeans, would recognize the fallibility of the Royal Naval officers' management under the circumstances. But while Franklin recognizes their verbal dexterity, he attempts to undermine it by locating their words within an oral tradition of prophecy; he says they had "foreboded every calamity" and "excited" the "fears" of his "people."¹⁶⁷ Franklin's diction is so extreme here that he sounds like Antigone's Creon after the

¹⁶⁷ Franklin has earlier affirmed St. Germain's control over discourse in reference to some "fearful ideas" he and Adam had communicated to the Indians about the "danger of [the] enterprise." Franklin admits that, "An artful man like St. Germain, possessing as he did such a flow of language, and capable of saying even what he confessed to, had the means of poisoning the minds of the Indians without committing himself by any direct assertion that they could communicate" (295). Franklin realizes that his own authority is produced through his rhetoric and that St. Germain threatens his ideological control.

prophet Tiresias has warned him his actions in not burying Polynices and condemning Antigone to death are dangerous:

Old man—all of you! So,
 You shoot your arrows at my head like archers at the target—
 I even have him loosed on me, this fortune-teller.
 Oh his ilk has tried to sell me short
 And ship me off for years.
 (ll. 1144-1148)

Ironically, the interpreter's "forebodings" prove true and it is St. Germain who ultimately saves the expedition by enabling them to cross the Coppermine River. He performs a brilliant act of bricolage by fashioning a canoe from "fragments of painted canvass" they had used to wrap their bedding.

One way of describing Franklin's approach to discipline is to say that he treats his people as if they had no minds or wills of their own and constantly needed to be taught how and what to think. Rudy Wiebe gives an example of the interaction between Franklin and "his people" where the voyageurs complain about the lack of food after portaging for a number of days with almost nothing to eat: "The voyageurs have literally carried them [the expedition] over two thousand miles into the country, nevertheless they are [perceived as] little more than thoughtless hirelings of burden who, despite their acknowledged excessive burdens, must be kept in place by threat of physical punishment" (Playing Dead 24).

While Wiebe's characterization is accurate, in my argument I am concerned less with the moral aspects of their treatment and more with Franklin's consistent application of a series of disciplinary mechanisms to control their duties so that they conform to the discursive regime of exploration. The structure of the canoe aids Franklin's disciplinary practices because it bears a slight resemblance to Foucault's factory, where each worker has his "functional site" in which he can be observed from a central location.¹⁶⁸ However, there is a major difference between factory workers

¹⁶⁸ "Particular places were defined to correspond not only to the need to supervise, to break dangerous communications, but also to create a useful space. The process appeared clearly in the hospitals, especially in the military and naval hospitals" (Discipline 143-44).

and voyageurs in that the latter cannot be so easily defined as "docile bodies" since they have a great deal of experience travelling, and were, in Wiebe's words, "free men, extremely proud of their skills and hired by the job or the season" (23). The territory and the demographics of northern Canada create more hardened and independent bodies than do the urban industrialized areas of Europe. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume there would be a constant tension between the Royal Navy officers who are controlling where they are going, and the voyageurs who are laboring to arrive at the destination. However, Franklin rarely constructs this tension as stemming from anything other than the voyageurs' insubordination or their lack of ability to see beyond their own difficulties to the larger significance of the exploration project.

Once Franklin makes the decision to turn back, the Journey to the Polar Sea's subject matter becomes, in Germaine Warkentin's words, "the desperate and famished journey back across the barren lands to Fort Enterprise" (Exploration Literature 339). Like the massacre of the Eskimo in Hearne's Journey . . . to the Northern Ocean, this journey has become one of the best known and sensational incidents in Canadian exploration literature. Even after several rereadings, it remains a highly suspenseful chapter at least partially because of how Franklin has described their desperation in such fine detail, itemizing each ptarmigan killed, each half-devoured caribou carcass found, and each scrap of shoe leather eaten along the way. There is a voyeuristic fascination in reading just how much deprivation the human organism can stand, particularly when described in the stoic style of a Royal Naval officer. The men alternate between starving and eating what scant food they can procure;¹⁶⁹ eight of the voyageurs become too weak to walk

¹⁶⁹ Rudy Wiebe presents their starvation in graphic terms: "They have eaten their last bit of caribou on September 14; since then they have tried to subsist somehow on the occasional ptarmigan and boiled moss, tripe de roche as they dignify it with French, though to be completely frank, it makes them shit more than they eat" (Playing Dead 25).

and are left behind to die, Junius, the Eskimo translator wanders off in search of food and vanishes, and Dr. Richardson shoots ("executes") Michel Terohaute after suspecting him of murdering Lieutenant Hood. As Wiebe describes the tragedy, "Only Pierre St. Germain, a Métis and Yellowknife Indian interpreter, the best hunter of all whose skill in somehow fashioning a shell out of oilskins saved the party at the Coppermine River, and the two strongest voyageurs, Soloman Belanger and Joseph Benoit, survived that dreadful trek" (33). However, there is a "double" story to this journey back: while the trek over the Barrens is suspenseful, I will discuss it in terms of how writing continues to function despite the extreme deprivation. Foucault's notion of "disciplines" will also be helpful in analyzing how Franklin maintains a semblance of order in desperate circumstances.

Once the expedition leaves Hood's River they leave the space of the trail with which they are familiar: the rivers, lakes and coastlines, the geographical openings through and over which humans have traditionally moved. While trails can never be said to be "natural," since they are made by humans for nomadic hunting and gathering and to promote commerce, they do rely on "natural" features of the landscape. By contrast, the journey overland occurs in a featureless theoretical space where they must depend on the compass to guide them the "one hundred and forty nine-miles in a straight line" to Fort Enterprise. Soon after they leave the river it becomes much colder and snows.

The depth of the snow caused us to march in Indian file, that is in each other's steps; the voyageurs taking it in turn to lead the party. A distant object was pointed out to this man in the direction we wished to take, and Mr. Hood followed immediately behind him, to renew the bearings, and keep him from deviating more than could be helped from the mark. It may be here observed, that we proceeded in this manner throughout our route across the barren grounds. (403)

The space of the journey is radically altered as they compress their European "grid" of latitude and longitude into the linearity of "Indian file" walking. For

the first time the voyageurs "lead the party," though Hood is looking over their shoulder and providing directions.

In addition to occupying a different space, they are also carrying only what is essential, and on August 26, the day they leave Hood's River, Franklin divides up the shoe leather, socks and "such items of warm clothing as remained" and "stores, books, &c., which were not absolutely necessary to be carried, were then put in boxes to be left en cache here, in order that the men's burdens might be as light as possible" (398). Despite the precision of Franklin's list, there is soon some dispute as to what is "absolutely necessary." Franklin insists on the voyageurs carrying two canoes so that they may have the option at some point of splitting into two groups, but the voyageurs have difficulty carrying the canoes in the wind and are frequently blown down; on September 7 one of the canoes is damaged beyond repair and Franklin suspects it may have been destroyed deliberately. Shortly thereafter, Franklin discovers that his "improvident companions . . . had thrown away three of the fishing-nets, and burnt the floats" despite their knowing the usefulness of these items in procuring food. Faced with even more desperate circumstances, Franklin reevaluates what is "absolutely necessary":

Being thus deprived of our principle resource, that of fishing, and the men evidently getting weaker every day, it became necessary to lighten our burthens of every thing except ammunition, clothing, and the instruments that were required to find our way. I, therefore, issued directions to deposit at this encampment the dipping needle, azimuth compass, magnet, a large thermometer, and a few books we had carried, having torn out of these such parts as we should require to work the observations for latitude and longitude. (408)

As this final trek continues the men progressively lose more of their cultural accoutrements and identity, holding on only to enough instruments to find their way over a territory which has suddenly become a blank canvas. The officers are also losing control over the men who may be willfully destroying private property.

Another fascinating divestment occurs the evening of September 21: "At this encampment Dr. Richardson was obliged to deposit his specimens of

plants and minerals, collected on the sea-coast, being unable to carry them any farther" (415). Richardson has retained these specimens for fourteen days after Franklin had claimed they were carrying only the essential elements of "ammunition, clothing, and the instruments that were required to find [their] way." Despite this loss, Richardson is still able to produce a "Botanical Appendix" to Journey to the Polar Sea thirty-nine pages long with four additional pages of illustrations. In this appendix Richardson writes that "the disasters attending our return across the Barren Grounds from the sea-coast, caused us to leave behind the whole collection made during the summer of 1821, with the exception of a few plants collected during the descent of the Copper-Mine River, which were intrusted to Mr. Wentzel's care when he left us" (729). I relate these facts not to show how deeply science is valued, or to exalt the strong character Dr. Richardson demonstrates in pursuing his nobler ambitions despite the possibility of his own death constantly before him, nor even to point out the tremendous amount of empirical data gathered from an expedition many have considered to have been a disaster. My point here is the tenacity of writing—as a system of storage and as a portable recorder of events—and how it prospers despite the devastation of the expedition in general. On three occasions Franklin mentions abandoning all goods that were not absolutely necessary for their survival, yet it is only during the third purging that Richardson gives up his samples and it is only after Franklin is nearly drowned that we learn he carried his portfolio always over his shoulders. Both the specimens and the portfolio are elements of textuality and the fact they are so rarely mentioned follows the strategy of writing being taken for granted.¹⁷⁰

As I have described in the first section of this chapter, we do not learn of Franklin's portfolio until he loses it, yet he has carried it strapped across

¹⁷⁰ Franklin's reluctance to name what he carries is similar to Hearne who, when starting his epic journey, elaborates in great detail his strategies on mapping, but elides much of what he carries with the phrase "and other indispensable articles." As I point out in chapter six, it is not until he is robbed during his second trip that we learn the identity of some of these articles.

his shoulders for the duration of the trek. In his description of September 19 Franklin offers us another glimpse of the important place writing occupies within the expedition:

The reader will probably be desirous to know how we passed our time in such a comfortless situation: the first operation after encamping was to thaw our frozen shoes, if a sufficient fire could be made, and dry ones were put on; each person then wrote his notes of the daily occurrences, and evening prayers were read; as soon as supper was prepared it was eaten, generally in the dark, and we went to bed, and kept up a cheerful conversation until our blankets were thawed by the heat of our bodies, and we had gathered sufficient warmth to enable us to fall asleep. (414)

Franklin acknowledges that a fire could not always be made, and they often did not have more than tripe de roche to eat, yet the image here of putting on dry shoes in front of a fire before settling down to write out the occurrences of the day is startlingly bourgeois. The representation here of the act of writing within writing places it beside other essentials of life on the trail; for the explorer, writing is as important as eating and sleeping. After all, why did Franklin spend too long on the Arctic Ocean if not to write out more of the shoreline? Hood's contributions to the Journey to the Polar Sea prove that writing "outlives" its author, even as it carries death along within itself. The explorers are half dead from exhaustion, but are still compelled to write out each day's activities, or they might forget that they ever happened.

Writing maintains its importance throughout this "desperate and famished journey back across the barren lands" but before I discuss that it is necessary to theorize the enforcement of discipline. One of the difficulties with the trek across the barrens is that the "space" is no longer codified according to Franklin's Eurocentric categories. Frequent references to how difficult it is to supervise all the men who were in different states of health occur throughout the text. The members of the expedition walk "Indian file" so there is little opportunity for the type of surveillance to which Franklin and his other officers are accustomed. Although the party kept to a single file, those who were stronger tended to walk ahead, and had to be stopped

sometimes to allow those behind to catch up. Additionally, Lieutenant Back often roamed further ahead with a hunting party searching for food. The splitting of the group exacerbates the problem of surveillance: for instance, on September 23, Peltier, "having received several severe falls" from carrying the canoe, refused to carry it further and Franklin passes it to Vaillant:

Having found he got on very well, and was walking even faster than Mr. Hood could, in his present debilitated state, I pushed forward to stop the rest of the party, who had got out of our sight during the delay which the discussion about the canoe had occasioned. I accidentally passed the body of the men, and followed the tracks of two persons, who had separated from the rest, until two P.M., when, not seeing any person, I retraced my steps, and on my way met Dr. Richardson, who had also missed the party whilst he was employed gathering tripe de roche, and we went back together in search of them. (416-17)

Any separation like this is potentially disastrous. Because they are being guided by the compass only, and keep themselves grouped together through sight, losing either the object that guides them or sight of one another could result in death. The narrative's tension comes from the men's constant hunger and exhaustion and their disputes over walking speed, where the underlying danger is that the stronger persons will want to abandon the weaker. In the above example, Franklin's absence allows another breach of discipline to occur. After rejoining the group Franklin and Richardson find

Peltier and Vaillant were with them, having left the canoe, which, they said, was so completely broken by another fall, as to be rendered incapable of repair, and entirely useless. The anguish this intelligence occasioned may be conceived, but it is beyond my power to describe it. Impressed, however, with the necessity of taking it forward, even in the state these men represented it to be, we urgently desired them to fetch it; but they declined going, and the strength of the officers was inadequate to the task. (417)

The breaking of the canoe, which may have provided the expedition's only chance to cross the Coppermine river, results in an aporia historically and textually. This break of discipline has occurred while Franklin's gaze was averted; he is unable to "describe it" and "the strength of the officers was inadequate to the task" of retrieving it. Just as the officers' strength fails, so

does Franklin's ability to represent the events which have veered so radically from his control.

The next day the "bounty of Providence was most seasonably manifested" when their hunters killed five small deer out of a herd. After resting and eating for a day, they again set out on the 26th and that evening they had "the pain of discovering that two of our men had stolen part of the officers' provision, which had been allotted to them with strict impartiality." Of course, that "impartiality" does not take into account that the voyageurs had carried all the supplies until the march across the Barrens, and then continued to carry the canoes until each was broken. Still, the voyageurs have committed a crime and although Franklin numbers the offenders, he does not name them. Does he not remember their names, or is he reluctant to print them? Franklin's apparent inability to name the offenders is matched by his inability to punish them on the trail. He admits, "We had no means of punishing this crime, but by the threat that they should forfeit their wages, which had now ceased to operate" (421). It seems reasonable that men constantly facing their own deaths would not worry about back pay, but this breakdown of the capitalist structure demonstrates how little power Franklin now has over the voyageurs.

The expedition's mode of surveillance and its economic basis have broken down. Given this situation, we might ask what power do Franklin and his men still have over the voyageurs? Ultimately, the officers still control the space of the expedition, despite the breakdown of discipline. By abandoning the rivers and ocean they have turned from natural landmarks and adopted a "straight line" back to Fort Enterprise. By redefining their space, the officers leave the voyageurs with only one option: to follow those who have the compass which symbolizes European scientific knowledge. For example, on September 20 Franklin writes that the voyageurs "now threatened to throw away their bundles, and quit us, which rash act they would probably have done, if they had known what track to pursue" (415). Despite the officers' losing control over discipline, they still possess the direc-

tional knowledge which defines who and where they are, and the voyageurs depend on that.

In addition to the compass, which reinforces discipline through its articulation of space, Franklin and his officers still utilize written messages to direct activities, even when they are extremely weak. When Hood becomes too weak to walk, Richardson and Hepburn agree to stay with him in a tent while the rest continue. But Belanger and Michel soon ask to stay as well, so Franklin must write the men a note of permission "to Dr. Richardson and Mr. Hood" which also "inform[s] them of the pines we had passed, and recommend[s] their removing thither" (434). Furthermore, Michel asks if he may take one of the dead voyageur's blankets "if he should find it" and Franklin agrees, adding that to his note as well. Even with starvation so close at hand, and the expedition splitting into discrete groups, the compass and the text maintain a rudimentary discipline because they still work to articulate relationships between the men and the geography.

In both Journey to the Polar Sea and Narrative of a Second Expedition, the officers' use of the compass in mapping the landscape frequently demonstrates the gap or aporia between European and North American cultures. In the earlier book they reach the Coppermine River on September 26 but Franklin reports that "the men, in fact, did not believe that this was the Copper-Mine River, and so little confidence had they in our reckoning, and so much had they bewildered themselves on the march, that some of them asserted it was Hood's River, and others that it was the Bethetessy" (419). It is not until four days later that "Crédit, on his hunting excursion to-day, found a cap, which our people recognised to belong to one of the hunters who had left us in the spring. This circumstance produced the conviction of our being on the banks of the Copper-Mine River, which all the assertions of the officers had hitherto failed to do with some of the party" (425). The voyageurs have been brought up within a mainly oral tradition and prefer signs from their lived experience which they can recognize and

"read" themselves, rather than the "reckoning" of the British officers based on the compass.

Navigational knowledge is essential to mapping and is important throughout exploration narratives; repeatedly the British separate themselves from the various natives and Canadian voyageurs through the way they conceptualize space. Franklin obviously has little regard for the voyageurs' sense of direction and knowledge of geography, and often represents them as being geographically illiterate. His attitude again reveals the different perspective the Europeans have towards the geography compared to the inhabitants of the region. For the natives and the voyageurs, their experience is lived, and produced by their reaction to the environment. Walter Ong calls this type of thinking "situational rather than abstract" and explains that

Oral cultures tend to use concepts in situational, operational frames of reference that are minimally abstract in the sense that they remain close to the living human lifeworld. . . . Havelock has shown that pre-Socratic Greeks thought of justice in operational rather than formally conceptualized ways and the late Anne Amory Parry made much the same point about the epithet amymon applied by Homer to Aegishthus: the epithet means not "blameless," a tidy abstraction with which literates have translated the term, but "beautiful-in-the-way-a-warrior-ready-to-fight-is-beautiful." (Orality 49)

A scene which illustrates the different constructions of knowledge occurs on July 18, 1826. Franklin meets a "party of the Esquimaux, who brought deer's meat for sale." After trading, it was typical for Franklin to ask the natives for their geographical knowledge:

One of the men drew on the sand a sketch of the coast to the westward, as far as he was acquainted with it; from which it appeared that there was a line of reefs in front of the coast the whole way; the water being deep on the outside of them, but on the inside too shallow even for their oomiacks to float. We subsequently found that his knowledge of the coast did not extend beyond a few days' march. (Narrative 132)

Both Franklin's books contain scenes such as this, where the natives' local knowledge is displayed, sometimes in great detail, and then revealed to be extremely limited. Franklin seems to be arguing that the Eskimo does not

even know his own territory very well and that his knowledge does not extend beyond a "few days' march." Here Franklin is repeating the strategy of the American Traveller (discussed in chapter six), who said that the "inhabitants" of this country had their "cares" confined "within the narrow Circle of the indispensable Necessaries of Life, without supplying a single Article, that could suggest, much less gratify a Thought of any Thing further" (12). The "old and experienced trader" was discussing economics, but the same logic works for mapping, botany, and a variety of other Western "disciplines." Knowledge is therefore constructed spatially, and those who travel the furthest, and map their "books of exploration" over the largest areas, must be the smartest. Explorers in general can walk through the landscape and claim a special and powerful knowledge of it precisely because they have the freedom to never return. Their knowledge is based on contextualizing, on reading the earlier journals, and travelling through the territory, always in motion and using those rare moments of rest to compose their journals. Winter is a sedentary time to be avoided if possible, which is perhaps why Franklin argues so vehemently for travelling down the Coppermine river in August of 1820 so that the surveying may be completed sooner. But the chief Akaitcho argues against this strategy because it will take more than a month to reach the ocean and they might be "blocked up by the ice in the next moon[,] and during the whole journey the party must experience great suffering for want of food, as the rein-deer had already left the river" (224). Franklin reluctantly accepts the chief's advice in this instance, but encounters identical difficulties the next year after delaying his return. European explorers often ignore "local knowledge" in favour of their own logistical pronouncements (Franklin tries to argue with Akaitcho by claiming they "were provided with instruments by which we could ascertain the state of the air and water, and that we could not imagine the winter to be so near as he supposed"), and believe in the superiority of their opinion even if they damage their canoes and almost starve to death (and keep returning until they die).

V "O death, where is thy sting": The Texts of the Third Expedition

In the previous chapter I discussed the first entry on the cairn record which was written largely within the official spaces provided for dates and latitude and longitude. While the first entry ends "all well," the second is much more grim, telling the story of the expedition's final journey, a doomed trek across the snow-covered arctic tundra towards the impractical goal of Back's Fish River. The river would eventually have led to a Hudson's Bay Company post, but it is unlikely they could have paddled very far upstream. The second entry is written almost entirely in the margins and is much more verbose than the first because more has happened, and "all" is definitely not "well."

25 April 1848 - H.M. Ships Terror and Erebus were deserted on the 22 April, 5 leagues N.N.W. of this, having been beset since 12 September, 1846. The officers and crews, consisting of 105 souls, under the command of Captain F.R.M. Crozier, landed here in lat. 69 37 42 N., long. 98 41 W. This paper was found by Lt. Irving under the cairn supposed to have been built by Sir James Ross in 1831, 4 miles to the northward, where it had been deposited by the late Commander Gore in June, 1847. Sir James Ross' pillar has not, however, been found, and the paper has been transferred to this position, which is that in which Sir James Ross' pillar was erected. Sir John Franklin died on the 11 June 1847; and the total loss by deaths in the expedition has been to this date 9 officers and 15 men.

James Fitzjames, Captain, H.M.S. Erebus
F.R.M. Crozier, Captain and Senior Officer.
and start on tomorrow, 26th, for Back's Fish River (Owen,
Frozen in Time, 37-38)

Nine officers and fifteen men had perished, which was an astounding rate for an expedition outfitted with enough provisions to last well past the time they abandoned the ships. There is also an obsessive self-reflexivity in this second note, for in the midst of facts about location, numbers in the expedition, and the logistics of deserting the ships, there is an exceptionally long—considering the limited space available—digression on the placement

and movement of the record. Lt. Irving has found the record deposited by Gore (now dead) in Ross's cairn, but Ross's pillar cannot be found so the record has been moved; all these facts seem irrelevant to the historian whose main interest is in where the explorers have gone and why, and not how often the record has been moved. But this obsession again points to the importance of writing as inscription and artifact, and how its location is directly linked to its visibility. This record is the sole official "publication" of the expedition and Crozier is concerned about it finding an audience, so he details the history of its movements, where it has been deposited and by whom, because these facts are as important as the movements of the "105 souls" who are marching to their deaths.

Hobson found the cairn record on the north part of King William Island, near Point Victory, at almost the same time that McClintock was investigating the south coast of the island where he found the skeleton of Harry Peglar, a Petty Officer on the Terror. Just as the cairn contained writing, so did the body of Harry Peglar, though his texts have received much less attention. They are detailed in an article by R.J. Cyriax and A.G.E. Jones with the self-explanatory title, "The Papers in the Possession of Harry Peglar, Captain of the Foretop, H.M.S. Terror, 1845." The cairn record and Peglar's papers together produce what I call the "journal of the third expedition," for while the cairn record is obviously meant to be a public document, scientifically detailing the time and space through which the expedition has travelled, the "papers" are largely private and personal. This combination of public and private parallels the explorers' journals wherein meteorological and ethnographic observations are balanced with personal reflections.

The description of the scene McClintock discovered reads like an elaborately constructed museum display:

The skeleton had not been found by Eskimos before its discovery by McClintock. He fitted together the tattered pieces of clothing and uniform that lay around the skeleton, and found that the uniform was that of a steward or officer's servant in the

Royal Navy. Lying near were two coins (a half sovereign and a sixpence), a clothes brush, a small comb containing some light brown hairs, and a pocket-book in which were papers. ("Papers" 187)

Next to the skeleton are coins, a "clothes brush" and a "small comb," articles more indicative of a certain domesticity than a desperate trek through the Arctic. Cyriax and Jones quote McClintock who writes that when the pocket book's owner left the ship he had "dressed himself in his best shore-going clothes, the clothes reserved to be worn on the day of landing once more in England" (194). McClintock's expedition found many strange things, including a lifeboat the men had dragged over eighty kilometres and which contained "Everything from boots and silk handkerchiefs to scented soap, sponges, slippers, toothbrushes and hair-combs were found . . . The only provisions in the boat were tea and chocolate" (Beattie and Geiger 39). This boat was also turned back towards the ice bound ships, apparently because its crew were attempting to retrieve more provisions. The scene next to the cairn contained a similar collection of assorted supplies:

a vast quantity of clothing and stores lay strewed about, as if at this spot every article was thrown away that could possibly be dispensed with—such as pickaxes, shovels, boats, cooking stoves, ironwork, rope, blocks, canvas, instruments, oars, and medicine chest. (McClintock, quoted in Beattie and Geiger 38)

The scattered goods appear to represent a complex and confused set of motivations which historians have tried to understand in the intervening years. For instance, from McClintock's descriptions the supplies abandoned next to the cairn seem to be more practical than the items dragged and carried much farther overland in the boat. Regardless of the relative usefulness of the two collections of possessions, both are examples of "writing as inscription" because they have been deposited onto the landscape and are therefore indexes of European passage. But rather than bearing the signature of a specific explorer, these artifacts are more anonymous signifiers of the material limit of British imperialism.

McClintock's descriptions of the artifacts show them as both ordered (the boat's contents and skeletons almost resembling a museum display of

nineteenth-century exploration), and random (every unessential article simple thrown away). The artifacts' confused and discontinuous appearance mirrors and reverses the collecting practices of British mercantilism which were known for their bric à brac nature. James Bunn explains that the "polyglot effect of randomly purchasing knickknacks from odd corners of space and time and recomposing them pointlessly in a curio cabinet became so noticeable during the years of mercantilism, from 1688 to 1763, that some English artists and thinkers commented upon an aesthetic that was developing out of their hands" (303). The curio cabinet is a space in the midst of a citizen's household wherein artifacts from the extremities of the empire can be displayed. While Bunn argues these displays were aesthetically "pointless," they are important as synecdochal representations of British imperial power, where the discontinuous and heterogeneous empire could be made contiguous and placed at the very centre of a developing bourgeois culture. Franklin's third expedition reverses the outer-to-inner movement of mercantilist acquisition by taking the latest British technology and scattering it on King William Island and off its shore.

As a form of writing, the scattered artifacts also reverse what I have described as the conventionalized process of exploration and interpretation which is to inscribe the landscape with a text signifying imperial control, and to mirror this text with a published book which describes the routes and strategies of that control. The "book of exploration" represents the land as imperial property and uses maps and scientific appendices to measure and reinforce the governing of that land. However, Franklin's third book of exploration is not published in Britain: its single edition lies spread over the surface of the territory it was unable to claim. The artifacts on King William Island are themselves silent and nameless, and have had therefore to be searched out, accumulated and reconstructed in order to be interpreted. Those explorers and merchants who represented the British empire appeared to many indigenous peoples as being close to gods because of their ability to

summon forth the products of capitalist production.¹⁷¹ Therefore, these same products of capitalism scattered over the island resemble a form of sparagmos, where the body of a dead god is distributed over the land to cultivate fertility in the coming years; in the case of Franklin, the debris of the third expedition has promoted the sustained attention of the imperial gaze. For the British, losing their explorers also meant losing part of their imperial identity and they were interested in recovering pieces of the expedition and understanding its fate.

The idea of sparagmos in this secular context of interpretation is helpful in explaining how our culture's relationship to materiality and the ground has changed over several centuries. Frazer believes that the earliest example of the scattering of the god's body was with Egypt's Osiris who was

the first to teach men the use of corn . . . [and] the story that his mangled remains were scattered up and down the land and buried in different places may be a mythical way of describing either the sowing or winnowing of the grain. . . . In modern Europe the figure of Death is sometimes torn to pieces, and the fragments are then buried in the ground to make the crops grow well, and in other parts of the world human victims are treated in the same way. (498)

Sparagmos, then, was originally part of a more general archetype of fertility within an agricultural society. James Bunn argues that the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688 "shifted attention away from the religious wars of the previous century toward new preoccupations centered in economy." The landed aristocracy were given more control over their land so that in the same period "mercantilism . . . began . . . to suppress the agricultural meaning of ground by displacing attention toward the semiological value of wool as a sign of exchange" ("British Mercantilism" 305). I have already detailed how Frobisher, Hearne and the majority of explorers saw the ground of exploration in economic terms, and Bunn's description of mercantilism historicizes their perspectives. Throughout this thesis I have treated the

¹⁷¹ Alternately, the Hawaiians believed Captain Cook to be their god Lono because he appeared at the right time of year, and circled the island in the correct manner, and not because of his trade goods.

geography of exploration as a metaphorical surface over which what I have called the "book of exploration" is articulated. In our own post-industrial age the "ground" has evolved past agriculture and capitalist production to become a site for the play of theoretical discourses, whether they belong to literature or science. Instead of a god scattered over the earth we have the past, in all its myriad forms.

The "readings" of Franklin's third expedition have extended past the disciplines of history and literary criticism and into anthropology, archaeology and medicine.¹⁷² For instance, the cause of the seamen's death was originally thought to be scurvy and starvation, and in all probability these were important factors. However, in recent years Owen Beattie, a forensic archaeologist at the University of Alberta, has advanced a theory of lead poisoning based on his analysis of bone fragments from skeletons found on King William Island, and autopsies performed on three crew members who were buried on Beechey Island (over five hundred kilometres north) during the expedition's first winter in the Arctic. Beattie's scientific interpretation of the failure provides new material for assessing much of what has seemed to be irrational behavior (e.g. Why did three healthy seamen die on Beechey Island during the first winter? Why did the "105 souls" carry soap and silk handkerchiefs, and dress in their best clothes when trying desperately to survive in the Arctic? Why did they attempt an impossible trek to Back's Fish River when they knew a cache of food existed on the east coast of Somerset Island and they might be rescued by whaling ships?).

¹⁷² There are many other "readings" of exploration sites which employ a similarly diverse range of techniques. For instance, The Meta Incognita Project (ed. Stephen Alsford) includes ten articles reporting on ongoing studies of Martin Frobisher's exploration and mining expeditions from 1578-78. Some of the articles are: "Martin Frobisher's Base Camp on Kodlunarn Island: A Two-year Time Capsule in the History of Technology," "Martin Frobisher's Mines and Ores," "Analysis of Wood and Charcoal Samples from Inuit sites in Frobisher Bay" and "Inuit Oral History: The Voyages of Sir Martin Frobisher, 1576-78." Although none of these articles is especially theoretical, together they provide a wealth of background material for theorizing Frobisher's interaction with the geography and peoples of the north.

The numerous interpretations which have developed over the last one hundred and fifty years attempt to explain the expedition in terms of its breakdown, the confusion of the men, and, ultimately, the failure of technology. This was the most technically advanced expedition yet launched, and the lead poisoning came from the new technology of canned food. The "8000 tins of lead supplied to schedule the expedition" (Beattie and Geiger 159) allowed them to plan an expedition which they knew might take three years to complete, and delayed subsequent searches since it took longer for their absence to be noticed. While these historical interpretations are important, they fail to consider adequately the textual elements of the expedition which have provided the directions and locations. Despite the "vast quantity of clothing and stores . . . strewed about" the cairn, the record inside furnishes a narrative which maintains its coherence in spite of the confusion surrounding it. The record's austere formalism, and the authors' military training, ensure the essential information is communicated despite the desperate situation in which the men found themselves.

I will end with a few words on the "private" texts of the third expedition. Cyriax and Jones list a total of thirteen items found "in the possession of Harry Peglar," of which the following are most important: "1) The parchment certificate of a seaman serving in the Royal Navy; 2) A narrative of Harry Peglar's services at sea; 3) The words of a sea-song" beginning "The C the C the open C it grew so fresh the Ever free," and several other papers, some with addresses, others with assorted types of writing. Item number nine is "A sheet of paper bearing some lines which begin: "O death whare is thy sting, the grave at Comfort Cove for who has any douat how. . ." (192).

Most of the words are spelt backwards and so many are illegible that the subject-matter cannot be fully elucidated. The first line, "O Death, whare is thy sting," was obviously taken from the Burial Service or the New Testament. (192)

Among these papers we have a microcosm of the nineteenth-century British seaman's world. The papers include Peglar's Royal Navy seaman's certificate

and a history of his life aboard various ships,¹⁷³ two items establishing his imperial identity. Cyriax and Jones have attempted to trace the addresses in Peglar's possession and were successful in approximately half the examples. In a sense, they are additional indicators of his national identity since they link him with the British postal system and I have already described the importance of that system to the dissemination of imperialism. Cyriax and Jones were able to trace the addresses through city registry books, proving the efficacy of the archival in maintaining historical coherence. Peglar can be traced back to England because his texts are part of a system of inscription.

His "sea-song" is a consciously literary text and Cyriax and Jones report that

McClintock concluded that since Peglar had amused himself by writing this song on 21 April 1847, the officers and men of the Franklin expedition were at that time still cheerful and confident of success. Indeed, he regarded the song as a confirmation of the words 'All well' written on two records deposited . . . on King William Island. (190-91)

McClintock links the sea-song intertextually to the cairn record I have already discussed, although his interpretation ignores the texts' formal characteristics and uses them as touchstones to speculate on the character and mood of the historical figures he reconstructs. But this sea-song can also be grouped with Peglar's seaman's certificate and his narrative of service because it is another text of the profession. Regardless of his mood, Peglar would have been familiar with rhymes and poems relating to the sea because they were texts he would have used to recite, to pass the time, or to relieve the tedium of shipboard tasks. The burial service from the new testament ("O Death, where is thy sting") is another text which seaman might be expected to know since regular services were held, and it would be recited when any of them passed away.

The combination of the cairn record and Peglar's papers offers a public and private representation of the final Franklin expedition. The

¹⁷³ The narrative begins: "H Peglar has Served On board of His M S Clio 1825 Joined H M Ship Magnificent at Spit head Sail For Jamaker Under the Command Lev()tenent Mundel..."

public record details the ships' spatial progress through the Arctic, and fixes important temporal moments of the expedition such as Franklin's death and the abandonment of the ships. That the public record is an official form only reinforces the imperialist system of regulation. Henry Peglar's "papers" show us the textual construction of a professional seaman's private territory. The addresses, seaman's certificate and personal history link him to Britain's imperial project of exploration and communication. Peglar's travels helped reinforce the Empire's control so that its territories would not be, in Borges's words, "abandoned" to "inclemencies." Peglar's literary texts represent the culture of the seafaring world, oscillating between optimistic rhymes of the freedom of the sea, and sobering lines from the new testament.

Chapter 9

Conclusion

Throughout this thesis I have discussed the construction of the Canadian cultural and geographical landscape by focussing on how writing has inscribed the country with European practices of knowledge. Writing was introduced into North America by explorers, fur traders, the military and the government as a "technology" which paralleled the increasing industrialization of Europe. Additionally, writing has been an essential part of many discursive and governmental practices which facilitated Canada's colonization: writing helped carry and sustain foreign industrial and political systems over vast and uncharted territories. The medium of writing offers a variety of resources with which to govern the country and its peoples: geographical locations are named after British Royalty, naval officers and merchants; trading transactions are recorded in ledgers used to assess the country's economic productivity and potential; and the trading and exploration routes are continually mapped with a theoretical grid. From Martin Frobisher in the sixteenth century to John Franklin in the nineteenth, the techniques of representation increased in complexity as individual explorers and the members of expeditions became more professionalized in their training and procedures of observation. Writing is a graphic system which exists in many forms and it has been consistently at the centre of systems of economic and political control.

Frances Anne Hopkins's painting Canoe Manned by Voyageurs represents the Europeans' movement across the North American continent as relatively effortless; the men and woman in the canoe employ the country's "inhabitants" in productive labour while scientifically classifying its plants and minerals. Europeans, therefore, possess both the systems of knowledge and its representation, thus ensuring they will themselves always be presented in the best light. In Journey to the Polar Sea Franklin presents a far harsher

landscape, in which several employees perish on the return trip across the Barren Grounds, yet despite that expedition's many tragic circumstances, the medium of writing ensured the survival of a vast accumulation of geo- and ethnographic knowledge. In his Narrative of a Second Expedition Franklin responds to the disasters of his first expedition by describing how planning, commercial stability and technology triumph over a still hostile environment. As Germaine Warkentin has written, the stereotype of exploration "pictures the explorer as a solitary hero" but the "scene" was in fact "crowded both with the natives whom Europeans encountered and the Europeans' own business and scientific partners and acquaintances" ("Introduction" x). Throughout all of these European interactions with the cultures and landscapes of North America the practice of "writing" ensured the cohesiveness of power, knowledge and representation.

What I have referred to as the "book of exploration" has constructed and controlled, over a period of more than 300 years, the territory which gradually became known as Canada. The present study has argued that beginning in the sixteenth century, British exploration narratives represent northern North America as a complex landscape and an ongoing and diverse site of textual production. The Renaissance, the Enlightenment and the industrial age are all terms used to describe important periods in European history but their technologies, practices of science, and methods of representation also had an enormous influence on how North America was explored and settled. Canada's history can be generalized as a long period of colonialism, during which the Hudson's Bay Company exercised a monopoly on power and industry. This monopoly was eventually broken by increased settlement in the interior regions, the diversification of industry and by confederation and increased political maturation of Canada during the First World War and beyond. Canada's economic and political development into the twentieth century has been directly influenced by the preceding narratives of exploration.

It is my intention that the ideas developed throughout this thesis provide a background for further inquiry into exploration literature, as well as within the vast field of post-colonial literatures, and in related interdisciplinary studies; I will explain some of the areas in which I see research developing. Aside from the specific exploration texts upon which I have chosen to focus, there are many others to which I have merely alluded; they provide a fertile ground for further scholarship. For example, the geography discussed has been confined largely to the east coast, areas of Rupert's Land, and the arctic. Explorers such as John Palliser have written extensively on the prairies and the interior, and others, such as Cook and Vancouver, wrote about the west coast. Other forms of Canadian writing from colonial to contemporary times, including travel literature, fiction and a wide range of government documents, from official reports to blatant propaganda bear further study because they have influenced and have helped construct Canadian political and cultural identity.

Explorers described and interacted with their environments textually and much of my research is equally relevant to works of fiction. For example, John Richardson's Wacousta (1832) contains a geographical discourse which utilizes the same strategies of writing and representation employed in explorer's texts.¹⁷⁴ Just as the explorers are concerned with mapping the territory and preparing it for economic expansion, the soldiers in Wacousta are attempting to regain control of territory which has been thrown into a form of anarchy by the "Pontiac rebellion." Although the soldiers did not trade furs themselves throughout Canada's history the military has been

¹⁷⁴ The most obvious place where Wacousta displays its affiliation with the book of exploration is in its opening pages: it begins with a travel narrative informing the reader of the geographical outline of the country ("Chapter I: Introductory"). Richardson explains, "As we are about to introduce our readers to scenes with which the European is little familiarised, some few cursory remarks, illustrative of the general features of the country into which we have shifted our labours, may not be deemed misplaced at the opening of this volume" (3). Richardson then begins an account which first outlines the place of Canada relative to the United States, and then continues on a literary cruise down the St. Lawrence river.

an important ally of the capitalists who explored, traded and industrialized the country. Therefore, Wacousta reveals important political and governmental aspects of the same imperialism which reinforces what I call the "discourse of exploration" even though it is not itself an exploration text.

Many contemporary Canadian writers have also used exploration narratives as an important background to their fictions. For example, in Burning Water George Bowering incorporates the journals of George Vancouver into his own narrative which alternates between the past where natives speak in the language of sixties pop psychology and Captain Vancouver exerts a steel-willed discipline over both his men and the landscape, and the present where a semi-autobiographical character named "he" travels to Europe in order to write a book—in the style of what Linda Hutcheon would term "historiographic metafiction"—about Vancouver's expedition to the west coast of North America. George Bowering writes Burning Water as a palimpsest over the exploration narratives, both enhancing and fictionalizing George Vancouver's considerable achievements.

In his short story, "A Night at Fort Pitt, OR, IF YOU PREFER, the Only Perfect Communists in the World," Rudy Wiebe develops an elaborate fictional and meta-fictional account of a meeting between William Francis Butler,¹⁷⁵ and Mary Sinclair, a mixed blood daughter of Hudson's Bay Factor John Sinclair (described as a "poor Scot forced to spend his whole life remembering home from the other side of the world"). Wiebe writes that Butler "wrote a book" and mentions Mary Sinclair

only in the same sentence as "buffalo steaks and potatoes." For these in Fort Pitt, he writes, "I had the brightest eyed little lassie, half Cree, half Scotch, in the whole North-West to wait upon me," and he mentions this "lassie" not at all on his return journey from Fort Edmonton at the end of December, 1870, when bitter cold and a lack of sled dogs forced him, so he writes, to wait at Fort Pitt for seven days. (244)

¹⁷⁵ Butler was an Irish-born soldier hired to spy on Louis Riel and author of two popular travel books: The Great Lone Land (1872) and The Wild North Land (1873).

Wiebe takes this slender textual reference and expands it into a series of parallel narrative possibilities, a strategy he repeats on a much larger scale in his latest novel A Discovery of Strangers (1994).¹⁷⁶ Wiebe uses exploration texts as beginning points in understanding the intersections between cultures, where Europeans marginalize the indigenous peoples while glorifying their own control over the environment.

As these examples of nineteenth- and twentieth-century fiction demonstrate, exploration narratives have had a lengthy and complex influence on textual production in Canada. The various practices of writing which I have described in this thesis lie at the centre of Europeans' interaction with the peoples and geography of the "new world." Whether the explorers were claiming the land through their various acts of inscription, or observing the inhabitants to provide information for British capitalists, the journals, pamphlets, ledgers, maps and published books accumulate over several hundred years like historical palimpsests to construct a "Canadian" textual identity. As I discuss in my chapter on the sea voyages, Canada begins as an obstruction to free trade, but over an extended period of time the land which produces nothing becomes a land rich in resources and discourses.

The title of this thesis, "From There to Here," is written from the present, from within a country with an established history and a thriving literary culture. This present perspective has been achieved through a long textual history of writing and mapping geographical locations and of imperialist intervention into indigenous and settler cultures. Various modes of writing practices, articulated over a variety of textual and geographic surfaces, have transported and communicated the "here" we now inhabit: the place of our contemporary Canada. The historically constructed oscillation between Europe and North America, symbolized by the "Company ships" delivering the yearly supply of trade goods to economic centers such as

¹⁷⁶ This novel discusses the first Franklin expedition and the native woman Greenstockings. Lieutenant Hood drew a portrait of her "mending a snow shoe" which is located opposite page 254 of Journey to the Polar Sea.

"Prince of Wales's Fort," and removing the raw materials, became fragmented over time. England diminished in importance in comparison to "here" which was and is dynamically being redefined and rewritten. Of course, the present state is full of contradictory and ill-defined discourses and includes bewildering terms such as "native self-government," "Quebec sovereignty," and "western alienation," as well as titles as diverse as the "Canada Council" and the "Niagara Escarpment Commission," two official bodies assembled to supervise Canada's cultural and geographical landscapes. My discussion of the role of writing in exploration literature will not adequately explain or theorize these concepts, nor is it intended to satisfy a specific political agenda. However, by asking the questions, "Who can Write? What can Writing do?" in the context of exploration narratives I believe I have helped describe and explain important aspects of the colonization of our landscape. And by tracing the routes of power across the seas, along the rivers, over the Barrens, and along the arctic shore, I have detailed several ways in which the enormous and vast geography was controlled and regulated by a relatively small group of people. I hope that my research will stimulate more analysis and discussion of writing, imperialism and textuality in these works of early Canadian exploration literature.

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