# THE MYTH OF CANADIAN VIRTUE

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SCOPE AND CONTENTS: An examination of Canadian criticism from 1880 to 1920 in which the morally-ennobling, and aesthetically-strengthening, influence of the land appears. A study of the land's impact on the characters of three novels of the same period.

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# Introduction

From the initial settlement of Canada in Nova Scotia to the present day, a wide range of Canadian writing has addressed itself to the problem of Canadian identity: what spiritual qualities, many Canadian litterateurs ultimately ask, are distinctly and uniquely Canadian? A major motif of Canadian literature, then, is the search for the essence of Canadian culture. Perhaps the classic nineteenth-century example of a work of literature which addresses itself to this problem is Susanna Moodie's Roughing It in the Bush (1852).

Roughing It in the Bush, however, is only the progenitor of a long line of Canadian poems, novels and essays which consider, either directly or indirectly, the problem of Canadian identity. Confederation in 1867, for instance, inspired some major, as well as minor, literary writings which attempt to characterize the new Dominion[1]. Such a work is Charles G. D. Roberts' In Divers Tones (1887), a book of poems which has been hailed as the first wholly Canadian work of literature[2]. Furthermore, the literature of the period immediately following the publication of In Divers Tones, particularly of the span of time from 1880 to circa 1920 which is considered in the present work,

demonstrates a widespread awareness of the problem of Canadian identity. The present thesis, therefore, addresses itself to a selection of turn of the century Canadian literature which demonstrates a consistent pattern of qualities that the writers of the day discern to be distinctly Canadian.

By far the most prominent single feature of Canada which challenged imaginative writers to examine the nature of their new Canadian experience was the vast land itself. The Canadian land -- its wildernesses, forests and rivers -- is the major indigenous influence on Canadian writing even to today. Discussing the period immediately following upon Confederation, Northrop Frye, a major Canadian literary critic of international influence, says,

> The mystique of Canadianism was ... specifically the cultural accompaniment of Confederation and the imperialistic mood that followed it. But it came so suddenly after the pioneer period that it was still full of wilderness ... In the Canadas, even in the Maritimes, the frontier was all around one, a part and condition of one's whole imaginative being. The frontier was what separated the Canadian, physically or mentally, from Great Britain, from the United States, and, even more important, from other Canadian communities. Such a frontier was the immediate datum of his [the Canadian's] imagination, the thing that had to be dealt with first[3].

It is the Canadian land which presents a unique experience to Canadians. It is, as we shall see demonstrated in the primary material which is presented in this thesis, the imaginative response to the Canadian land which essentially defines the Canadian identity. Traditionally in Canadian

literature, as well, the land is the major metaphor for the qualities which are seen as uniquely Canadian.

The present work, far from examining the effect of the Canadian land on the Canadian imagination throughout Canadian literary history, deliberately focuses on a detailed analysis of Canadian literature from 1880 to circa 1920 for a definite reason: with the exception of the wide-ranging, but necessarily sketchy, Literary History of Canada, the turn of the century is a much neglected period of Canadian literature. Such important critical surveys as Desmond Pacey's Creative Writing in Canada and Douglas Jones' recent Butterfly on Rock almost completely ignore all but the Confederation poetry of this period. The dearth of specific critical writing on the period from 1880 to 1920 is rather unfortunate. Nor is it justified: in at least two major fields of literary activity, criticism and fiction[4], the period under discussion is productive of a vast amount of material, much of it worth consideration on an academic level. This thesis, therefore, will examine the criticism and fiction of the time in order to determine the creative Canadian attitude toward the important Canadian topics of identity and land. Poetry will not be considered for two reasons. It has been extensively examined by critics already; also, space will not allow its inclusion in the present work.

Chapter one is a consideration of critical articles

published in Canadian periodicals in the late nineteenth and, in one case, early twentieth centuries. The magazines under review are all Toronto-located endeavours: The Canadian Monthly (1872-1878), The Week (1883-1896), and The Canadian Magazine (1893-1939). The material of these magazines is examined in some detail in order to demonstrate the attitude of native Canadian critical writers toward their own literature. An advantage gained by considering the periodical contributions of the day is the insight into the popular and contemporary culture which an examination of only "high" literature would not necessarily disclose. There was, furthermore, a strong indigenous culture in Canada at the turn of the century. As Roy Daniells says in his lamentably short commentary on these magazines, "what needs to be re-asserted in any study of nineteenth-century Canada is the primacy and autonomy of cultural tradition at that time"[5]. The opening chapter of the thesis, then, considers the conscious native commentaries on Canadian life and letters of the day. Indeed, the whole of the present thesis is an examination of some aspects of what Daniells calls the late nineteenth century "cultural tradition" in Canada.

Chapter two also considers critical writings, those of John Daniel Logan and Lawren Harris. It is hoped that, by complementing the more popular writings of chapter one with the work of two more important literary figures, a comprehensive view of the topic will be afforded. Lawren

Harris needs no introduction as a major Canadian painter of the "Group of Seven". He is also, however, a poet (Contrasts, 1922) and an art critic. Interspersed throughout the paintings in the 1969 Macmillan publication, Lawren Harris, are many of Harris' own critical comments. These passages are examined in this work in relation to the themes of identity and land. Lawren Harris crystallizes a major Canadian attitude toward the land.

John Daniel Logan, on the other hand, is not as well-known a writer. He is primarily a Canadian literary critic who wrote from the early 1900's to his death in 1929. Author of many articles contributed to various North American periodicals, notably to The Canadian Magazine, Logan also wrote Highways of Canadian Literature (1924), an unjustly-forgotten, and rather stimulating, survey of Canadian literature. In chapter two, the material from these works which is relevant to the topic at hand is considered.

Chapter three takes a major step from the critical material (which is at one remove from the literature itself) to the actual imaginative fiction of the period. By considering three novels, The Imperialist (1904), Flower of the North (1912), and A Search for America (1927), which are representative of, respectively, the novel of social manners, the popular romance and the "epic" mode of fiction, the imaginative depiction of Canadian life is examined. These three novels provide a reliable conspectus of both

major Canadian fiction and also of the popular romance of the North. They offer a fine indication of Canadian novelists' attitudes toward the distinctiveness of their new Canadian life. A Search for America, however, presents an apparent problem: it was published in 1927, beyond the chronological bounds of the thesis. Although the novel was published at this late date, it was, as Grove himself says, " ... during the last thirty-two years[,] ... written and re-written eight times"[6]; A Search for America, then, recounts adventures which took place, and attitudes which were formed, well within the chronological limits of this thesis. It presents, moreover, the major account in Canadian fiction of the imaginative movement toward the realization of the essence of the Canadian "spirit" ( I use the word here, as elsewhere in the thesis, in its widest sense). It is fitting, then, that the novel which caused its author so many years of frustrating work should conclude a thesis which ranges widely over forty years of Canadian writing (1880-1920) "in search of " the distinctivness of that writing.

# Chapter One

This is the beauty
of strength
broken by strength
and still strong [1]

But here [in the North] is peace, and again
That something comes by flashes
Deeper than peace -- a spell
Golden and inapellable
That gives the inarticulate part
Of our strange being one moment of release --
That seems more native than the touch of time,
And we must answer in chime;
Though yet no man may tell
The secret of that spell
Golden and inapellable. [2]

For writers in Canada the primary fact of imaginative life has been the presence of the vast and unfamiliar Canadian land, a wilderness which a resident of Canada cannot simply ignore. Many major Canadian artists and critics have accepted the challenge which the awe-inspiring land presents to respond honestly and individually to it. Much Canadian writing is an attempt to come to terms with the land in order that art might properly express life as it is lived in Canada. The influence of the land on the Canadian imagination, then, is a central factor in the development of Canadian culture.

In turn of the century literary periodicals from Toronto, the topic of the land's impact on the creative imagination in Canada receives much discussion. In the late nineteenth century, of course, there was a definite optimism among Canadians that their newly-formed nation would develop into a strong country. The periodical essays of the day give adequate expression to this hope. With the extension of the Canadas toward the largely-unsettled west, as well, there was a consequent resurgence of interest in the land itself and in its possible ultimate influences on Canadian life. Many essays in periodical magazines of the time take up the theme of the land and consider its effects on life, and art, in Canada. The present chapter will examine many of these articles in order to study the widespread popular attitudes toward the land. By considering a broad range of these essays, it is intended that the importance of a common topic, the land, among Canadian men of letters will be realized. In their eagerness to discover something which was wholly Canadian, these writers did the service of initiating considerable discussion of the seminal influence of the wilderness in their culture. They set the stage, so to speak, for a long-lasting Canadian pre-occupation with the land and its effect on Canadian culture. It is intended that the discussion of these essays will show the cultural climate of the time in Canada.

Three literary periodicals published in Toronto in

the late nineteenth, and early twentieth, centuries will be examined in this chapter. These are The Canadian Monthly (1872-1878), The Week (1883-1896), and The Canadian Magazine (1893-1939). It is important to notice that these three periodicals present a comprehensive picture of the Canadian literary scene of their time [3]. It will be demonstrated, as well, that there is a common attitude among the periodical contributors toward the land. As they direct attention to what they regard as the salient features of their Canadian environment, the critics present aspects of Canadian life and letters which they themselves consider to be important in their own culture, qualities of life which give Canadians a culture which is uniquely their own.

The initial and primary element of the Canadian experience, that feature which must be studied before all others, is the effect of the land on the culture. Roy Daniells states in the Literary History of Canada that "then, as now, the geological, geographical, topographic and lyric features of the Canadian landscape were the fundamental facets of Canadian life" [4]. The critics of the period under study recognize that the land is the primary "facet" of their Canadian life. Many of them accepted the challenge to respond spontaneously toward the land itself and toward its effects on Canadian literature.

One eminent critic of the period who substantiates Daniells' assertion that Canadians have always been aware of

their land in defining their culture, is James Cappon. Throughout his work, Cappon discusses the various influences of the land on the Canadian artist. In his book on Charles G. D. Roberts, for instance, he asserts that Canada "is a land of great scenes and magnificent physical features which dominate the imagination and form the mental vision which Canadians have of their country far more than the history of her cities ..." 5. By minimizing the urban environment as an influence in Canadian life, Cappon is consistent with much Canadian literature 6. By emphasizing the influence of the rural scene on the Canadian imagination, he recognizes that the vast and still unknown wilderness "creates" (in a Wordsworthian sense) the most important qualities of Canadian culture.

Cappon does not merely generalize his appreciation of the impact of the land on the Canadian imagination. He states quite clearly that the land is a major source of inspiration in Canadian writing. Nature, he says, "remains the grand resource of our poets, and Canadian anthologies positively burn with the aspiration to render fittingly the physical glories of the country, the great mountain ranges and prairie, the forest solitudes, the great lakes and the rivers that could almost carry the old-time voyageur from ocean to ocean" 7. Although the reader of today may smile at a phrase like "old-time voyageur", Cappon does make an important point in this passage: it is nothing less than

the vast mystery of the Canadian wilds which is the source of much Canadian writing. It is, furthermore, the "elusive" quality of the land (in that Canadians had not yet fully comprehended the "spirit" -- in a mystical sense -- of their land) that haunts the Canadian imagination, demanding expression. It is no small irony that such a statement should be made in an important initial study of Charles G. D. Roberts, "father" of Canadian poetry. Cappon has very definitely placed the impact of the Canadian land on the imagination at the headwaters of Canadian literature.

In what is otherwise a primarily sociological book, Canadian Nationality (1906), W. F. Hatheway demonstrates some awareness of the metaphorical aspects of the virile land in the creative writing of his fellow-Canadians. He states that the strength of the Canadian land creates a corresponding virility of soul [8] in man. Hatheway makes this statement rather naively. Yet he has touched on an important aspect of the Canadian land's effect on men, namely that the rugged quality of the land creates an echo of masculinity in the human soul. The result of this influence is a conception of virtue with a prerequisite quality of virility; this "quality of virility" comes initially from the Canadian land which gives to the survivor a "spirit" hardy enough to endure even purely physical trials. The land, itself, then, has a direct impact upon the formation of the Canadian "character".

In one felicitous sentence, Bliss Carman establishes that human and natural forces do interact and that, in Canada, the primary quality of the land which affects men is its virility:

> There is in reality a power in Nature to rest and console us; but few are so strong as to be able to rely on that lonely beneficence. [9]

It must be admitted, of course, that Carman was an avowed "transcendentalist" who found spiritual presences in nature. Perhaps this fact accounts for his insistence throughout his work that human and natural forces do become associated with each other in what amounts to a mythical identification of natural with human qualities. He also points out, however, that intimate contact with the Canadian land gives an apparent strength of soul to the creative individual who dares to respond honestly and personally to that land. And Bliss Carman stands at the forefront of the mainstream of Canadian poets who write in the "romantic" mode.

A few contributors to the Toronto periodicals at the turn of the century transmuted the quality of virility which we have been discussing into a metaphor of Canada as a young man. James DeMille, for instance, himself an important literary figure beyond his status as a periodical-contributor, states that "everywhere [in Post-Confederation Canada] we see the vigour and buoyancy of youth" [10]. Granted, this is an expression of Post-Confederation optimism and nationalism. The interesting feature of

DeMille's statement, however, is the diction: he speaks of a youthful "vigour" -- an energy -- which will carry Canada to the completion of important deeds.

DeMille's comparison of Canada to a strong youth is not a singular instance at the time. The editor (in 1903) of The Canadian Magazine writes a peculiar book-review of Hickman's novel, Shannon, in which he says that Hickman's characters are "typically" Canadian. By "typically" Canadian, the editor means that the characters are " ... unconventional, athletic, strong-minded, fond of the open air, energetic and thoroughbred" [11]. The claim that Canadians as characters in novels are "unconventional" (which suggests, by European standards) and energetic is curious; the statement recalls the sense of energy which DeMille attributes to the Canadian character.

Even the redoubtable Charles Mair, poet, political agitator and enthusiastic supporter of the "Canada First" movement, shortly after Confederation, speaks of Canada as a youth. At the height of his policital activity, in 1875, Mair published a two-part article in The Canadian Monthly called "The New Canada". In his emotional conclusion, he says that Canada "stands like a youth upon the threshold of his life, clear-eyed, clear-headed, muscular and strong" [12]. Charles Mair is only the most significant, of many, literary figures who describes Canada as a youth with a great strength and a faith in the future. It is the Canadian land

itself, at times rugged and always virile, which commands a strong response from the creative artist if he wishes to capture the essence of the Canadian experience. Mair, then, touches on a fundamental impression of the Canadian land, one of which he makes much in the course of his essay, "The New Canada".

"The New Canada" is an extended consideration of Canada in contrast to the United States of America. Mair makes his aversion for a moral degradation which he perceived, long before many others, in America quite clear:

> These are the more noticeable vices and defects of their social and political system ["civil disobedience" and the like], with which most of us have long been familiar. But underlying them is a fouler ulcer than humanity would willingly believe, and a prevalent and extending vice, which is rapidly converting the human economy of the Republic into a vast hortus siccus of pruriency and disease. ... Robust and perfectly healthy national life is fast dying out, and republican simplicity is a thing of the past ... An universal desire for a life of luxury and self-indulgence [exists]. [13]

Mair perceives an effeminization of American society going on which saps moral strength and integrity from the Republic. He turns from it in disgust.

And in rejecting the moral "disease" of the U. S. A., Mair instinctively turns to Canada, a strong youth emerging into national manhood. "Talk of annexation to such a state of things as this!" (the U. S. A.), he asks, "There is not one fibre of our moral or intellectual nature which does not revolt at the coarse and unworthy suggestion" [14]. Strong

words, to be sure. But strong words which display an energy to remain above such degeneration. Canada "has a history to make, a national sentiment to embody, and a national idea to carry out" [15]. Mair speaks the patriotic emotions and idealistic aspirations of a country which would stand on its own inner strength in order to create a high ideal for men. He himself "embodies" a "national sentiment" of his day.

Caught up in the glory and nobility of his country's destiny, Mair concludes "The New Canada" in a highly-emotional manner:

> And what a noble heritage it is before them [Canadians]! An atmosphere of crystal, a climate suited above all others to develop the broad shoulder, the tense muscle, and the clear brain, and which will build up the most herculean and robust nation upon earth ... [16]

Again, Charles Mair articulates a people to itself. It is the rugged northern climate of Canada which will develop the high human qualities of which Mair speaks. The demanding Canadian land is creating a new breed of men in Mair's time who will surpass all others in physical and moral strength. Here is the "myth of Canadian virtue" crystallized in one short article; Canadians are developing a moral superiority over other nations because of the fact that they must give more in order to merely survive. "The New Canada", then, pinpoints the moral effect of the land in Canadian life.

Mair realizes that such a strong influence on Canadian life as the land must also effect artistic expression in Canada. He speaks of the extension of the myth into Canadian culture this way,

> One of its [the national sentiment's] signs is the growth of a national literature. This, to be characteristic, must taste of the wood, and be the genuine product of the national imagination and invention. 17

Again, it is the Canadian land which gives the original impetus to a creative artist to express his experiences. The noble Canadian "climate", of which Mair speaks in the conclusion to his essay, purifies Canadian artistic expression of its European and American "dregs" (so Mair would think). The result, as far as Mair can see, is a higher art which expresses the nobler virtues of the Canadian race. Mair, then, neatly crystallizes the mythical effects of the Canadian land on the Canadian character and art. The rest of this chapter will examine the extension of this myth of nobler virtue in Canadian art.

Just as writers find a morally-purifying effect in the impact of the land on man, so too do the literary critics discern an ennobling process at work in Canadian literature which has its source in the land. An interesting feature common to most of these articles critical of creative Canadian writing is their almost exclusive consideration of poetry. Such a stress on poetry was only natural at the time as "in the decades following Confederation the supreme

art in Canada was poetry" [18]. Fiction had become widely practised in Canada only after circa 1890 [19]. It is not with the poetry itself that this chapter concerns itself, however, but rather with the critical appreciation of the poetry by the periodical contributors of the day.

In an article on Duncan Campbell Scott, Pelham Edgar explores the characteristics of the land in Scott's poetry. Edgar says that Scott's "forests ... retain .... something of their primeval awe ... [and their] strength and beauty untarnished since the birth of time" [20]. Here, Edgar touches on the general exalting effect of the land on a writer's moral imagination. A sense of "untarnished" purity overwhelms a creative spirit in contact with the Canadian land. Edgar sees in Scott's poetry a suggestion that the land has a purifying effect on the imagination. In the passage, as well, Edgar seems to discover an association between strength and beauty, a link which many Canadian writers and painters notice. In his article on D. C. Scott, then, Edgar touches on at least two important metaphorical associations within Canadian culture: he finds the source of a noble morality in the Canadian land; and he associates beauty with strength. The very masculine quality of the land, therefore, becomes the metaphorical focus for both beauty and morality, forming a tight association of Canadian land, morality and beauty.

Because James Cappon is a major critic of the period

under study in this thesis, his comments on the moral impact of the Canadian land on its inhabitants' imaginations are worth examining. In his book, Charles G. D. Roberts (1925), an elaboration on a 1905 essay of his own [21], Cappon says of Arthur Stringer, "it is a poet of today who describes with enthusiasm the free yet purifying atmosphere of the North-West" [22]. Cappon touches on at least two major features of the Canadian's imaginative response to the land, those of freedom and purity. Cappon admits, then, that the land has a moral effect on man. On one point, however, I must qualify Cappon's statement: his phrase, "free YET purifying", suggests that the Canadian North-West is morally uplifting in spite of its freedom. It becomes apparent in Canadian literature, however, that it is because the "air" is free that it is morally good. I mention this point only because it becomes important later in the thesis: Sara Jeannette Duncan's The Imperialist and Frederick Philip Grove's A Search for America demonstrate the process of discovering moral good through the freedom generated by the experience of the Canadian land.

The critical awareness of the purifying effect of the land on man appears also in articles critical of Canadian art which are found in the Toronto periodicals under study. One of the finest of these articles is J. M. McCallum's "Tom Thomson: Painter of the North" [23]. In Thomson's painting, McCallum finds a "truthfulness ... a feeling ...

and sympathy with the grim fascinating northland" [24]. McCallum discovers that certain moral overtones result from Thomson's complete dedication to the North. The moral effect of the land on imagination, of course, has been studied already in the present chapter. In his one felicitous phrase, "grim fascinating northland", however, McCallum cuts through to the heart of the Canadian's experience of the land. The Canadian North both attracts and repels those whose spirits would attempt to understand it. The land is both enemy and lover to the creative artist. It is this terrible fascination with a "spirit" in the land which is so indifferent to, yet so apparently sympathetic with, the human condition which accounts for the Canadian preoccupation with the land. Although McCallum may not have admitted it, he really identifies Thomson with the land in a mythical fashion: "the north country", McCallum states, "gradually enthralled him [Thomson] body and soul" [25]. As McCallum sees it, then, Thomson allowed himself to become one with the mysterious "presence" in the Canadian land, in all its paradoxical qualities, as many Canadian artists do. As the study of Lawren Harris later in the thesis will demonstrate, the identity of an artist's imagination with the Canadian land leads to a specifically Canadian -- and generally ennobling --art. It is this same close association which Mair envisages to be at the heart of a Canadian "national" literature.

Just as the land has a morally-uplifting effect on the imagination, so too does it have its strengthening impact on Canadian art itself. Bliss Carman offers an important comment on this phenomenon. Whereas in "The Friendship of Nature" Carman points out that natural virility is a metaphor for a similar moral quality in man, in "Of Vigour", he suggests that natural "vigour" has an aesthetic counterpart. In this latter essay, Carman states that the infusion of art with the vigour of the natural world "perfects" [26] art. There is a suggestion in this passage that the virility of the land is the actual source of "life" in art. Not only does the land "create" a high conception of morality in men, but also it is an actual inspiration for art in Canada.

In another article on a specific Canadian painter, the same awareness of the masculine qualities of the land influencing art recurs. T. G. Marquis, an eminent critic, historian and bibliographer and author of the essay "Canadian Literature" in volume twelve of Canada and Its Provinces uses diction which is similar to McCallum's when he describes "The Art of Paul Wickson". Marquis goes to great lengths to point out the "masculine directness of brush work, [the] technical vigour" [27] of Wickson's art with much the same vocabulary as other critics have used in discussing the Canadian land itself.

It is J. M. McCallum's article, "Tom Thomson: Painter

of the North", however, which best outlines the myth of Canadian virtue as it affects the actual aesthetic qualities of Canadian art. "The ... quiet, hidden strength, confidence and resource of the voyageur", McCallum states, "show[s] itself in the surety of handling in his [Thomson's] work" 28. Again, McCallum strikes through to the heart of the matter: he recognizes the dynamic effect of the "grim fascinating northland" on Thomson's art which "quietly" strengthens the painter's brush-strokes. (Modern criticism of Thomson's painting, it might be noted briefly, stresses the bold, vigorous brush stroke which characterizes so much of his finest work). As McCallum suggests, Thomson experienced the masculine strength of a rugged land which demanded a strong man to respond to it.

To demonstrate how universally accepted the association between land and strength is in Canada, I would refer to the poem which has become the "national anthem", O Canada. I recognize that this is an excursion outside the domain of the periodical essay; the popularity, and the complex history of the song over eighty-five years, however, justifies the side-trip. Originally written in French by Sir Adolphe-Basil Routhier in 1882, O Canada was freely translated into English in 1908 by Dr. Stanley Weir and set to music by Calixa Lavallée (the version which Canadians now sing). O Canada contains much that is characteristically "Canadian". It is intensely ironic, therefore, that the

Canadian Parliament has not yet finally proclaimed it Canada's National Anthem. Ringing with high patriotism and loyalty, O Canada repeats many times the line, "The true North, strong and free". In this one line is crystallized much that the present thesis has discussed: morality and freedom are vitally connected with the Canadian northland and its strength. The very masculine quality of the Canadian land, as it is suggested in O Canada, creates a note of high morality which runs throughout the anthem. It is important, furthermore, that Canadians should come to write such poetry in the 1880's, and continue to be inspired by O Canada as late as 1908, and even today. The fact that Canadians today apparently wish to establish O Canada as their national anthem attests to the continuing awareness of the noble strength of their Candian land, and of the role of that land in forming the Canadian character.

In his essay, entitled simply "Literature", W. A. Fraser summarizes the moral and aesthetic effects of the masculine Canadian land on the imagination. Of Canadian poets, Fraser says, "our poets must be strong and truthful"[29]; of Canadian fiction writers, he states that "their work is clean and wholesome and virile" [30]. Both of these statements demand a high moral integrity of Canadian writers. Both suggest the strength which is necessary for moral nobility. Fraser further unites the seminal features which this chapter discusses:

> We are strong, rugged people. Our country is great in its God-given strength -- its masculine beauty ... Strength begets Truth, and Truth makes Strength God-like. [31]

Here is the myth of Canadian virtue expounded again: the interplay of human with natural forces creates a unique type of virtue in Canada. The resultant conception of virtue is distinct because the Canadian land -- which is singular in its characteristics -- affects the moral sensibilities of Canadians. As Mair insists, and as Fraser outlines, the virtue which is developed in Canada is superior to that in Europe and America.

The material of the first chapter up to this point has demonstrated that the effect of the Canadian land in shaping Canadian virtue was a topic of considerably widespread discussion in turn of the century periodicals. The views which the critics present in their writings present a picture of the cultural climate of the time. A discussion of modern appreciations of the role of the land in forming the Canadian imagination will complete a chapter which attempts to take an overview of the topic.

In late 1970, Clarke Irwin published Wilderness Canada, an impressive collection of photography of, and articles on, the Canadian wilderness. The book's popularity attests to the fact that Canadians, even today, are vitally interested in their land. Of the impact of the Canadian land on its people's imagination, Fred Bodsworth says,

"... the Canadian land has shaped the spirit and nature of its people much more than Canadians, up to now, have reshaped their land" 32. That Canadians have certainly altered their landscape in reality is not important. Bodsworth touches on a popular Canadian attitude. In his "Conclusion" to the Literary History of Canada, however, Northrop Frye recognizes that Canadians have, indeed, altered their land. Yet Frye agrees with Bodsworth in stating that the land is the primary fact of imaginative life in Canada.

Nevertheless, Bodsworth realizes the wholly practical effect of the land on the Canadian people. "Above all", he asserts, "[the wilderness] selected Canadians and moulded the Canadian character, for those who could adjust to the wilderness fact and its harsh demands stayed to build a nation, and those who couldn't make the adjustment went elsewhere" 33. This is a self-evident point, to be sure. The implications of such a statement, however, are rather far-reaching, for it suggests that the "harsh" Canadian wilderness moulds a new breed of men distinct from Europeans; in short, Canadians. This "new" man then begins to think in terms of his environment.

Nor is the modern recognition that the land has played a pre-eminent role in Canadian life wholly literary. During the outraged outbursts in 1970 about the commercial exploitation of Ontario's Provincial Parks, Bruce M. Littlejohn states that Canadians need to recognize the

omnipresent effect of the land in their thinking:

> And what of the flagrant abuse of this core element of our cultural heritage?
>
> We in Canada are, in large degree, formed by the wilderness. It has been through most of our history, our context and -- in some cases -- our crucible. Our truly native people, the Indians and Eskimos, are people of the wilderness. And we are the spiritual descendants of Etienne Brule and David Thompson, La Verendrye and Simon Fraser, as well as thousands of unsung wilderness voyageurs and frontier farmers. Our cities and towns have only recently, in historical terms, grown from tiny settlements in the bush. The epic features of our national accomplishment have often been achieved against a wilderness backdrop: the French and Indian War, the expansion of the fur trade, Wolseley's march to confront Riel at Fort Garry, and the construction of the C. P. R., the drawing together of small provinces into a confederation -- provinces separated by vast tracts of mountain, plain and forest. The presence of wild lands has imprinted these events with a special character which is peculiarly Canadian and North American. [34]

(underlinings my own)

On the level of conservation writing, as well, then, it is obvious that Canadians are fully aware of the continuing vital effect of the wilderness on their culture.

It is to the modern literary appreciation of the significance of the land in Canadian culture, however, that I must return. Perhaps the most incisive -- certainly the most fully-integrated -- study of Canadian literature as a whole to date is Douglas Jones' Butterfly on Rock (1970). A highly stimulating, and generally illuminating, consideration, Butterfly on Rock cuts through to the heart of the Canadian experience: the land. Jones formulates an elaborate, and usually convincing, argument that the land is the central psychological and imaginative feature of most Canadian

poetry and fiction. Jones' second chapter, "Eve in Dejection", propounds the basic elements of the author's thesis. As the title of the chapter suggests, the major forces under consideration are the human and natural. These are the two major forces, surely, which are ultimately essential in the impetus toward imaginative expression in general. The niceties of Jones' thesis do not concern us here. Let it suffice to demonstrate that Jones considers the land's effect to be fundamental to the whole Canadian literary imagination. "The land", he asserts in his introduction, "is associated with the most vital elements in the lives of [many Canadian fictional] characters" [35]; and again, "the life of the land has been central to the experience of most Canadians and to the literature which reflects their experience" [36]. And from the recognition of the land as the central fact of Canadian culture (the "Rock" of Jones' title), Jones proceeds to elaborate on Canadian literary expression (the "Butterfly").

In any scholarly consideration of Canadian literature Northrop Frye must ultimately be consulted. Since at least 1960, Frye has written important articles for various anthologies and publications which today are recognized as central essays of Canadian criticism. In March of 1971, Frye collected his Canadian essays into The Bush Garden. The book marks a return to Canadian criticism for Frye after three years of formal silence on the subject. As Frye concludes The Bush Garden with a re-publication of his

"Conclusion" to the Literary History of Canada, I will complete my discussion of modern critics with a quotation from the same:

> From the deer and fish of Isabella Crawford's "The Canoe" to the frogs and toads in Layton, from the white narcissus of Knister to the night-blooming cereus of Reaney, everything that is central in Canadian writing seems to be marked by the imminence of the natural world. [37]

It is generally recognized that Frye understands the Canadian imagination very well. In the passage quoted, Frye not only demonstrates the complex nature of the psychological and imaginative responses to the Canadian land, but also places the fact of the land at the heart of Canadian imaginative expression. When such eminent literary critics as Douglas Jones and Northrop Frye are joined by more popular writers like Littlejohn and Bodsworth in asserting the seminal role of the land in shaping the Canadian imagination, the student of Canadian literature realizes that the Canadian land is a vital influence on Canadian culture.

From the contributors to turn of the century Toronto periodicals to major critics of Canadian literature today, a strong and widespread awareness exists that the Canadian land has been a primary influence on the Canadian imagination. The periodical essays which have been examined in the present chapter demonstrate an appreciation of the land's effect on man in many ways: the direct influence of the land on the human spirit; the impact of the land on

moral and aesthetic qualities of creative Canadian writing; and the implications of these influences in the formation of a wholly distinct cultural expression in Canada. This "myth of Canadian virtue" which results from the land's influence on man, then, forms part of Canadian culture at the popular, magazine level.

In the consideration in this chapter of the periodical essay at the turn of the century, an attempt has been made to examine as many facets as possible of the influence of the land on the culture. By ranging widely over many types of essays, it is hoped that a "cultural climate" has been given which will form a background for the specific considerations which follow.

# Chapter Two

> One can almost guarantee that two months in our North Country of direct experience in creative living in art will bring about a very marked change in the attitude of any creative individual.
>
> It will bring him an inner release and freedom to adventure on his own that is well-nigh impossible amid the insistencies and superficialities of Europe. [1]

Two Canadian men of letters of the early twentieth century, each writing in a somewhat different sphere of art, demonstrate considerable influence in their works of the land itself. John Daniel Logan (1869-1929), eminently a literary historian, and Lawren Harris (1885-1970), famous as a painter of the "Group of Seven", are both intimately affected by the Canadian land. It is men like these that the periodical essayists have in mind when they write on the fundamental influence of the land on Canadian artists. The next few pages, therefore, will examine Logan's interpretation of Canadian literature in the light of his comments on the land. To complete the chapter, Harris' response to the land will be studied because he touches on some primary qualities of the Canadian experience.

John Daniel Logan, important contributor to The Canadian Magazine and other periodicals, and author or

editor of at least twelve books, is most noted for his Highways of Canadian Literature (1924), written in collaboration with D. G. French. Highways of Canadian Literature is a compilation of many of Logan's earlier essays which are scattered throughout North American periodicals. In the book, Logan successfully attempts to write the first "synoptic" study of Canadian literature; if for no reason other than its historical importance, therefore, Highways of Canadian Literature is of interest to the student of Canadian literature. As it is, the book has enough intrinsic merit to justify consideration in the present thesis. Although Logan has been unjustly neglected by later Canadian criticism, his essays demonstrate a comprehensive and organized appreciation of his Canadian literary heritage; his professional life, spent largely as Professor of English at Dalhousie University, was a focus for many eminent Canadian litterateurs of his day. Also, he delivered "the first series of lectures on Canadian literature in a Canadian university, at Acadia in 1915-1916"[2]. The following discussion of Logan's writings will consider only Highways of Canadian Literature and "The Literary Group of '61" (found in The Canadian Magazine for October, 1911).[3]

To begin with, Logan never doubts the existence of a truly Canadian literature in any of his essays. In Highways of Canadian Literature, for instance, he asserts that "...the fact of a Canadian Literature is presumed"[4].

Logan's very justification for writing his book is that the extant Canadian literature is a good "representative of Canadian culture and of the Canadian creative spirit"[5]. It is this "spirit", which Logan descries in Canadian writing, that this chapter will explore.

Following the author's own organization of Highways of Canadian Literature, I will divide Logan's consideration of Canadian literature into two chronological sections, the Pre-Confederation and the Post-Confederation periods. In Highways of Canadian Literature, Logan defined the literature which was written by natives and permanent immigrants before Confederation as "Nativistic Literature"[6]; and he classed literature which was written by native-born Canadians after Confederation as "National Literature"[7]. These two groupings of Canadian literature become important in Logan's defence of the existence of a viable Canadian literature.

Although he expends some energy in the criticism of "nativistic" literature in Highways of Canadian Literature and elsewhere (for instance, he wrote the Thomas Chandler Haliburton volume of the "Makers of Canadian Literature" series), Logan ultimately passes a harsh verdict on Pre-Confederation literature in "Canada". He concludes his consideration of Pre-Confederation literature with the following passage:

> ...In truth, then, Pre-Confederation Canadian Literature was essentially a transplanted Old World literature ... alien to the soil of Canadian life, genius and ideals. It, therefore, lacks real vitality, vigor and truth ...[8]

Using the well-worn metaphor of Canadian literature as a transplanted tree of European culture, Logan here rejects Pre-Confederation literature on the grounds that it is not an expression natural to the Canadian land. Logan apparently demands a literature which is an honest response to an unknown environment. It is interesting, therefore, to note that Logan attributes the lack of "vitality" in Pre-Confederation Canadian literature to its essential hypocrisy, its ignorance of the presence of the Canadian land.

It is finally to Post-Confederation literature, then, that Logan turns to find a distinctly "Canadian" literary expression. Logan denies the essential "Canadian-ness" of any literature written before Canada became a country in 1867 [9]. Of Post-Confederation Canadian literature, however, Logan creates an elaborate design[10]. Among many neat classifications, such as the division of Canadian criticism into four "schools" in chapter twenty-seven of Highways..., Logan determines that two literary "renaissances" have already occurred in Canadian literature between Confederation and World War One; that of the early 1880's -- Roberts, Lampman, Carman and D. C. Scott; and that of the early 'teens -- 1913 and later, specifically in the poetry of Marjorie Pickthall. By the term "renaissance",

I take it that Logan wished to suggest an artistic "re-birth" in the sense that new thoughts and forms of expression were created by a given set of authors from their common experience of something new, namely the Canadian land.

Of the first "renaissance" in Canadian culture, Logan says,

> ... after Confederation, expression of the spiritual and social needs of the Great Dominion became a national necessity. This expression, being born out of the spiritual and social needs of Canada, must be considered, however derivative the mere forms employed, as a genuine literary Renaissance.[11]

As Logan himself admits, Highways of Canadian Literature is primarily a "synoptic" [12] view of Canadian culture. In the quoted passage, Logan outlines his reason for presuming that a unique Canadian literature does exist. He finds integrity in much Post-Confederation literature in that it grows from the distinct "spiritual and social needs" of Canada, and not from old world traditions. It is interesting to note, as well, that Logan finds a distinction of a moral, and not an aesthetic, nature. He recognizes new themes in Canadian literature, though he does not allow for new forms. The important point is, however, that J. D. Logan realizes that Canadian literature is distinct from any of its European progenitors.[13]

In his consideration of the "second" literary "renaissance" of Post-Confederation Canadian literature, Logan finds some suggestion of exploration of new artistic

forms as well as moral content. He speaks of a "modernity of theme and moral substance ... [and also a] fresh expression of neglected or hitherto unessayed literary genres"[14]. Canadian literature from about the beginning of World War One, then, satisfies Logan as a unique and distinct expression of a country wholly different from all other nations. For Logan, Canadians possess a viable culture which is recognizable as an honest and individual response to the experience of life in the new-world, Canadian environment.

In his claim that in the literature after circa 1880 Canada has a unique literary product, Logan is certainly not alone. Among other critics who demonstrate an awareness of something distinctly Canadian in literature is James Cappon, critic of both Charles G. D. Roberts and Bliss Carman. In his book, Roberts and the Influences of His Times (1905), Cappon draws a definite distinction between "personal" poetry and a poetry which is derived largely from tradition. Cappon finds Roberts' poetry to be a "personal" and honest response to the experiences of life in Canada; for this reason, Cappon attributes the honour to Roberts of being the first "Canadian" poet. In Roberts' work, Cappon finds a

> ...questioning tone ... [an] uncertain outlook on life and creeds, a search for a new form of support ... which depends more on personal intuition and on new forms of reasoning drawn from personal experience [rather] than on tradition.[15]

In this passage, Cappon makes the distinction between a personal (and, hence, honest) literary expression and a superficial literature based primarily on tradition. Furthermore, Cappon comes down strongly in support of the former type of poetry as he finds it in Charles G. D. Roberts' works, a poetry which responds honestly to whatever experiences life in Canada offers. It is interesting to note, as well, that Cappon extends his use of the idea that Canadians are on a quest to find their proper literary expression:

> [Canadian poetry from 1880 on] is really the search for a new heaven and a farewell to the traditional eschatology. 16

Cappon, as well asLogan, then, is vitally aware that Canadian literature expresses a restless search for its "spiritual" individuality.

In a later book, Bliss Carman (1930), James Cappon goes on to consider the new Canadian expression in an aesthetic, rather than moral, light. He opens discussion in this book to the topic of the newness of Canadian poetry:

> [Carman] represents better than any other of our Canadian singers the effort of modern poetry in the nineties to break through into new poetic horizons. 17

Although Cappon discusses the universal search for poetic novelty in the 1890's, he suggests that Carman seeks a personal poetry which would be wholly Canadian as well. At any rate, Cappon is made aware of the search for originality in both Roberts' and Carman's poetry.

It is J. D. Logan, however, who comes closest to realizing the essence of whatever is distinct in Canadian poetry after 1880, and that in his essay, "The Literary Group of '61" [18]. The essay, as a whole, considers the creation of a unique poetry -- Canadian -- by what we now call the "Confederation Poets". In particular, it is an analysis of Lampman's "Sapphics", a poem from Lyrics of Earth, 1893. It is in his criticism of "Sapphics" that Logan comes to recognize some "distinctly" Canadian attitudes. The poem deserves quotation in full:

> Clothed in splendour, beautifully sad and silent,
> Comes the autumn over the woods and highland,
> Golden, rose-red, full of divine remembrance,
> Full of foreboding.
>
> Soon the maples, soon will the glowing birches
> Stripped of all that summer and love have dowered them,
> Dream, sad-limbed, beholding their pomp and treasure
> Ruthlessly scattered:
>
> Yet they quail not; Winter with wind and iron
> Comes and finds them silent and uncomplaining,
> Finds them tameless, beautiful still and gracious,
> Gravely enduring.
>
> Me too changes, bitter and full of evil,
> Dream by dream have plundered and left me naked,
> Gray with sorrow. Even the days before me
> Fade into twilight,
>
> Mute and barren. Yet will I keep my spirit
> Clear and valiant, brother to these my noble
> Elms and maples, utterly grave and fearless,
> Grandly ungrieving.
>
> Brief the span is, counting the years of mortals,
> Strange and sad; it passes, and then the bright earth,
> Careless mother, gleaming with gold and azure,
> Lovely with blossoms --

> Shining white anemones, mixed with roses,
> Daisies mild-eyed, grasses and honeyed clover --
> You and me, and all of us, met and equal,
> Softly shall cover.

Even in his general comments on Lampman's poem, Logan notices that the nature which Lampman describes is thoroughly and individually Canadian. As the following passage demonstrates, Logan notes that the land, which is unique in Canada, actually forms the Canadian imagination in its own image. As a result of the land's impact on man's soul in Canada, Logan descries a new mythology being created:

> [nature's] mood or temper, be it noted, [is] not expressed by nature in any land save Canada, and [is] not to be divined and sympathized with, by any other racial genius save by the mind and heart indigenous to Canada, by the Canadian genius, "informed" from birth through intimacy with nature in the homeland. [19]

In this passage, Logan suggests that Canadians do, finally, possess a distinct "genius" and imaginative expression which are the results of the individuality of the Canadian land itself. Taking one more step, Logan makes a definite connection between the Canadian land and the Canadian genius: "the Canadian genius", he states, "is 'informed' from birth through intimacy with nature in the homeland". There is no doubt in Logan's mind, then, that the source of the Canadian distinctiveness is in the land itself. He discerns a mystical communion between land and artist which results in a new artistic expression.

As has been already pointed out, Logan makes the above quotation in an article on Lampman's "Sapphics". Surely "Sapphics" contains elements which are uniquely Canadian according to our critic. One feature which Logan finds in "Sapphics" is "the peculiar Canadian pictorializing and humanizing vision of nature" [20]. Here are Lampman's lines which prompt Logan's comment:

> Soon the maples ...
> ...
> Dream, sad-limbed, beholding their pomp and treasure
> Ruthlessly scattered:
>
> Yet they quail not ...
>
> (11. 5, 7-9)

In these lines, there is a visual image created of the trees and there is also the human quality of dreaming attributed to the trees. Yet these images are not uniquely "Canadian". What, I think, Logan suggests by the adjective,"humanizing", is not the mere inbreathing of human attributes into inanimate objects (personification), but rather the inter-relationship of the two. Logan later refers to the inter-communication of man and nature as that of a "reciprocal sympathy" [21]. In a mystical, at least "romantic", sense Logan is affected by a spiritual presence in nature. He clarifies his use of the word, "humanizing", in Highways of Canadian Literature:

> The Poet and Nature, though two physically, are one by mutual bonds of sympathy. The poet sympathizes with Nature as he himself feels that she sympathizes with him. [22]

Just as nature, Logan suggests, is stripped of its beauty, so, too, the poet changes. Like the season, Lampman finds himself

> change[d], bitter and full of evil [.]
> Dream by dream have plundered and left [him] naked,
> Gray with sorrow. Even the day before [him]
> Fade[s] into twilight.
>
> (ll. 13-16)

Here, then, is one of the distinguishing features of the Canadian imagination, its two-way quality which allows nature to affect man, and man to affect nature. Logan's concept of the man-nature interplay, of course, owes much to William Wordsworth, as do most "transcendental" theories of nature. Yet Logan's response to the land and its "spirit" is uniquely Canadian.

Logan steps away from Wordsworth when he claims that the man-nature relationship is "reciprocal". Wordsworth felt nature's "Presence", but he despaired of re-creating it; Wordsworth did not reciprocate with nature, whereas Logan asserts that Canadian poets do inter-relate with nature. This observation is actually quite astute for a critic in 1911 as the "reciprocal" relationship of land and poet is a major motif of Canadian poetry even today. Many important modern poets, such as Margaret Atwood, Margaret Avison and Jay Macpherson, suggest in their poems that the land and poet are vitally interrelated. They use images of the poet taking unto himself the image of the land, and, paradoxically, re-creating it in his own image. [23] If not a patently

Canadian quality, then, the "humanizing" of nature is at least a recurrent motif of much Canadian poetry. Logan, then, has touched on at least one major feature of Canadian literature as early as 1924.

In his consideration of the moral characteristics within Lampman's "Sapphics" Logan finds Lampman to be at the heart of the specifically Canadian. In a previously given quotation, Logan refers to a distinct "mood or temper" in Canadian nature without really defining it. In Lampman's line, "Yet they quail not" (l. 9), he discovers this distinction: "there we have envisaged the mood or temper of Canadian nature ... endure" [24]. Logan suggests that Canadian nature is "tameless" (Lampman) and noble in its survival ( "gravely enduring" is Lampman's phrase). Such a view is, of course, consistent with the sense of virility in the Canadian land which the writers referred to in chapter one discuss. Here is the stanza which prompts Logan to make this statement:

> Yet they quail not; Winter with wind and iron
> Comes and finds them silent and uncomplaining,
> Finds them tameless, beautiful still and gracious,
> Gravely enduring.

(ll. 9-12)

These lines by Lampman have the tone of the "gracious" integrity which surrounds the primeval Canadian woods. They suggest an aesthetic virility as well ( l. 11). Although Lampman speaks directly about nature in these lines, it is implied by his constant insistence on the "sympathy" between

nature and man that the sensitive Canadian receives the same qualities of spiritual and aesthetic strength from the Canadian land. The stanza which immediately follows that quoted makes a definite association between land and man: "Me too changes ..." . In these two stanzas, which form the fulcrum of Lampman's "Sapphics", Logan descries the important metaphorical extensions and mythical associations of the strong Canadian land which make Canadian poetry distinct.

Logan never loses sight of the central position of the imagery of the land in Canadian imaginative expression. Note what he says of Lampman's "Yet will I keep my spirit/ Clear and valiant" (ll. 17-18):

> Mark that as the authentic spiritual note of the Canadian genius. It is not Canadian, however, because it is the expression of indomitable courage, but because the idea, the inspiration of a self-controlled destiny, achieved with clearness of vision and valiant heart, first comes to the mind and heart and moral imagination of the Canadian poet as a gift from Canadian wolds ... And that note of clear-visioned faith and courage [runs throughout Canadian poetry]. [25]

Obviously and emphatically, for Logan, the source of the courage which is characteristic of much Canadian writing is the Canadian land itself. Logan would agree with his fellow critics, who are discussed in chapter one, who associate the strength of Canadian morality and aesthetics with the peculiar virility of the Canadian land. This places Logan in the mainstream of Canadian criticism at the turn of the century. Working from a general awareness that Canadian

literature is distinct from its European heritage, Logan ultimately concludes that it is the very strength of the unique Canadian land which creates the "distinction" of Canadian art.

Also at the centre of Canadian culture are the painters of the "Group of Seven", notably Tom Thomson and Lawren Harris. Despite strong criticism of their shows from critics and public alike, Thomson and Harris both continued to paint Canada's Northland as each saw it. Today, of course, Canada generally acclaims the "Group of Seven" paintings as a wholly original and distinctly Canadian art movement. A painting by Tom Thomson adorns a Canadian stamp, a step in Canada which attests to the universal acceptance of these painters as Canada's own.

It is mainly Lawren Harris, however, who commands attention at this point, not as a poet, nor as a first-rate painter, but as a fine theorist of art. Lawren Harris wrote a considerable amount of prose which illuminates the creative process as he understood it. All of the material to be discussed here is found in the Macmillan collection of Harris' painting (1969)[26]. Although some of Harris' expository prose was undoubtedly written after the formal chronological bounds of this thesis, most of his theory of art had evolved by 1920. His art criticism, then, belongs to the period under examination throughout this work.

In his prose, Harris shows a definite and continued

awareness that art in Canada is distinct from that in Europe. He has little to do with European aesthetic traditions, as he himself says:

> Our aim is to paint the Canadian scene in its own terms. This land is different in its air, moods and spirit from Europe and the Old Country. It invokes a response which throws aside all pre-conceived ideas and rule-of-thumb reactions.[27]

(underlining my own)

In this passage, Harris suggests a dichotomy between the effect which traditional ("European ... Old Country") art has on men and those influences which the Canadian scene, uncluttered by European tradition, has on man. Not only does he insist on the essential difference of the two influences, but also he suggests that the "Canadian" impact is more honest than that of the old-world heritage.

In the same passage, Harris establishes that he will paint the Canadian land "in its own terms". By offering himself completely to the spirit of the land, Harris hopes to interpret the essence of the Canadian land in his paintings.

In the tone of another passage, the reader finds Harris' attitude toward the "new", Canadian, influences on the creative artist:

> For the last hundred years and more in Europe, art has derived from the collections in museums, galleries and palaces; the European artist has been moved by works of art as much as by nature or mankind. But in Canada, with little or no tradition and background, our creative individuals find new adventures in imaginative and intuitive living. The

land is mostly virgin, fresh, and full-replenishing.[28] Again drawing a definite distinction between old and new world cultures, Harris here posits value in the new alone. In the Canadian scene Harris finds "nature" and "mankind" to be the dynamic influences on the creative artist. In Europe, on the other hand, he finds a strong reliance on other works of art. Although he does not condemn the interaction of art and artist, Harris implies that he has more interest in the influences of life itself -- "nature and mankind" -- on the artist; these, he finds possible in the uncluttered Canadian scene.

It is for his depiction of the Canadian land -- specifically the Canadian Northland in its Algoma and Rocky Mountain faces -- that Lawren Harris is famous.[29] The north is the very life-blood of Harris' creative life; he dedicated his soul to the discovery of its secrets. As he himself says, "this North of ours is a source of spiritual flow which can create through us" [30].

For the privilege of experiencing the North's "spirit", however, the creative artist must sacrifice much. He must do no less than surrender up his soul to the land. One cannot doubt that Lawren Harris felt an intense communion with the North as one reads both his prose and poetry. Similarly, one is aware of the vital intercourse between a painter like A. Y. Jackson and the Canadian land when one reads his autobiography, A Painter's Country (1958). In his

comments on the North, scattered throughout the 1969 collection of his paintings, Harris touches on a life-string of this "Northern" experience:

> One can almost guarantee that two months in our North country of direct experience in creative living in art will bring about a very marked change in the attitude of any creative individual. It will bring him an inner release and freedom to adventure on his own that is well-nigh impossible amid the insistencies and superficialities of Europe. [31]

(underlining my own)

It is the land itself which effects an artist in a fashion distinct from the European. And a feature fundamental to the new Canadian creative impulse is the "inner release and freedom" which the Canadian, specifically Northern, land engenders. The freedom to create honestly from one's own response to a fresh land, then, is the distinction of Canadian art. This very concept of the characteristic freedom of the creative faculty in Canada will receive extensive attention later in the present thesis. It is interesting to note here, however, that Harris establishes the idea of freedom of the imagination in Canada in opposition to the restrictions of European tradition.

Harris not only responds to the experience of the Canadian North personally, but he recognizes the central importance which the North has in Canadian culture. He finds the primary material in the North for an interpretation of Canada's spirit to Canadians. "The artists saw decorative signs everywhere in the North", he states, "and

material for every possible form of embellishment for our daily life, and all of it waiting to be used to create a home for the spirit of a new-seeing people"[32]. By turning his back on the European art-tradition, then, and painting instead the unique Canadian North, Harris not only remains honest to himself but he offers a way to find a cultural "home" for the indigenous Canadian imagination. Although he was criticized severely for his unconventional techniques by his contemporary cosmopolitan public, Harris remained true to his vision. Today, of course, we recognize him as an artist who was in vital sympathy with the true Canadian spirit as it is found in the Canadian Northland. Just as David Canaan's wish in The Mountain and the Valley is to articulate a people to itself, so too does Lawren Harris translate much of the Canadian experience through his canvasses of the rugged, virile, Canadian land.

Harris best articulates his experience of the Canadian land and the effect of the land on the Canadian imagination in the following passage:

> My work was founded on a long and growing love and understanding of the North, of being permeated with its spirit. I felt the strange brooding lonely presence of nature fostering a new race, a new age, and as part of it, a new expression in art.[33]

The complete mythical interpenetration of Harris' spirit and the North has already been discussed. In this passage, Harris goes on to delineate the personality of that Northland.

It is a "lonely" land which demands a self-reliance in those who are committed to its ways; it is a "brooding" nature as only Lawren Harris' canvasses demonstrate. And this land, Harris insists, is directly responsible for a unique cultural expression. There is no doubt in Harris' mind that the distinction of Canadian art stems initially from the land itself. In this claim, of course, Harris is in accord with the majority of Canadian critics and artists: W. A. Fraser, J. M. McCallum, James Cappon and John Daniel Logan, all of whom are quoted in this thesis, place the influence of the Canadian land on Canadian thought at the very "headwaters" of Canadian culture. Writers even today feel compelled to experience and to define the effect of the land on their imaginations. None of these writers, however, claims that Canadians are merely a race of canoeing backwoodsmen; the importance of the land in Canada is in its effect on the imaginative and creative faculties. As such, it is the vital source of all that is uniquely Canadian in our creative expression.

Harris concludes the foregoing passage with the statement that the spirit of the North is "an unfolding of the heart itself through the effect of environment, of people, place, and time" [34]. Here, Harris touches on one dynamic relationship in the creative process: the vital effect of "outside" [environment] on "inside" (imagination). For Harris, the North is a spiritual home in which he can

simultaneously lose and yet find himself in complete identity with the land.

Harris goes on to suggest the inter-relationship of land and artist, the relationship which Logan terms "reciprocal sympathy". He speaks of a mystical rapport with the soul of the universe which " ... is done by creative adventure in the arts -- a process of turning ourselves inside out". "That is", he continues, "total environment evokes in us the need to discover living values that increase the depth of our awareness; it leads us both to find ourselves in our environment and to give that environment new and more far-reaching meaning" 35. The deep communion which Harris suggests in this passage is really of a mythical nature, in that human and natural become one in essence; the human assumes the natural in order to express it. Like Logan, then, Harris insists on the vital inter-relationship of land and man in his own creative life.

If the Canadian land is essentially unique; and if it vitally affects the creative imagination which, in turn, re-defines the land; then, surely, the creative expression which results is distinct as well. Much of the material which has been considered in this thesis, of course, concerns itself with the distinction of Canadian art as it is created in images of the land which are found in Canadian literature. Such features as the peculiar virility of the land, and the masculine imaginative, moral and aesthetic

extensions have been examined. Logan's awareness of the distinctive Canadian "reciprocal" relationship with the land, of which he speaks in mystical terms, has been considered. Lawren Harris' analyses of the vital effect of the Northland on his own imagination have been studied as well. Implicit in all these writings is the assumption that the Canadian experience first liberates the spirits and imaginations of creative individuals from old world bonds in order that they may create art which is actually distinct; else all artistic endeavour in Canada would have stemmed from European traditions alone. As Lawren Harris puts it,

> ... two months in our North country will bring ... [a creative individual] ... an inner release and freedom ... that is well-nigh impossible ... [in] Europe. 36

It is this freedom, engendered in a sensitive spirit by the experience of the Canadian land, that allows the imagination to explore, and to discover, itself. As both Logan and Harris realize, the qualities which creative Canadians discern to be their own are so only because of their constant communion with a unique land.

The first two chapters of this thesis have considered final statements on the role of the land in shaping Canadian culture as many critics at the turn of the century understood that role. The conclusions which the writers have drawn are the results of much thought on their parts. The influence of the land on Canadian culture, however, is a continual and dynamic process, not a static

result. The next chapter, therefore, will consider the search of selected fictional protagonists for the distinction of the Canadian land and its effects on their lives.

# Chapter Three

...We who face the blast
Of Northern winters, scorn the puny dart
From Cupid's quiver, and the hurt that heals
As soon as given; leave we to the South
Their graceful fancy of an idle boy,
With aim uncertain; our much mightier god
Bound me a captive ... [1]

In the first two chapters of this thesis we have been examining certain critical statements made by Canadian men of letters on the topic of the land's impact on the native Canadian culture. It remains now to consider actual fictional accounts of the period which show an awareness of the mysterious, yet compelling, influence of the land in shaping the Canadian spirit. In each of the novels which are studied in the present chapter, it is the effect of the land on the characters that is the dominant force within that novel. Much like Lawren Harris, the characters experience a spiritual freedom from contact with the Canadian land which allows them to develop throughout their narratives. The qualities which each of these characters discover are similar to those that the critics which have already been examined discerned to be distinctly Canadian.

Three novels will be considered in this chapter as they relate to the subject of the thesis as a whole. These

are The Imperialist by Sara Jeannette Duncan (1904), Flower of the North by James Oliver Curwood (1912), and A Search for America by Frederick Philip Grove (1927).[2] These novels all present compelling narratives of the movement toward -- the "search" for -- a realization of whatever qualities are distinctly Canadian. As Grove puts it in the concluding chapter of A Search for America, "its (the book's) topic is the search and its end"[3], and nothing more. The present chapter, then, will address itself to an examination of these three novels which consider the problem of defining what is new in the Canadian experience.

A word must be said at this point on the nature of fiction as opposed to that of criticism. Literary criticism, such as the material which is examined in chapters one and two of the thesis, is a final product in that it is a conscious explication of certain recognizable features of a work of art (here, of apparently Canadian qualities). Fiction, on the other hand, presents the process of development toward some end which takes place dramatically in that the "end" is worked out in human terms. Fiction then, does not concern itself primarily with the final resolution; rather does it address itself to the dynamics of the movement toward that resolution.[4] The novels which are presently under examination, therefore, demonstrate only the "movement toward" a recognition that the Canadian experience is unique.

The action of Sara Jeannette Duncan's The Imperialist takes place in a small Ontario town, Elgin (Brantford), at the time of the 1896 election. As the title suggests, this is the era of British high imperialism, Elgin being a loyal outpost of the British Empire. Its social circles, in which the central family, the Murchisons, ranks high, generally practise stereotype imitations of upper class habits in England. The social forces of the novel, then, are basically British and conservative.

Set in opposition to these powerful social forces are two of the major characters of the novel, Advena Murchison and Reverend Hugh Finlay. These two characters, who are in love with each other, eventually must pit themselves against the conservative social pressures of the Elgin status quo which would disapprove of their love for each other.

Very early in the novel, the conflict of Elgin society with Hugh and Advena is referred to as a clash of the old world with the new.[5] The centre of The Imperialist is, from the initial setting on, the dramatic working out of old versus new worlds. As Claude Bissell puts it in his admirable introduction to the New Canadian Library edition of the novel, " ... the interaction between the old and new worlds ... is worked out in two romances. Lorne Murchison and Dora Milburn ... [as opposed to] Advena's high-minded romance with Hugh Finlay ..." [6]. Lorne initially represents

the imperial ideal in Elgin both politically and personally. Dora is an aristocratic, lightheaded young maiden whose most predominant characteristic is a rigid adherence to social niceties. Hugh and Advena, on the other hand, possess a depth of moral strength which raises them above judgement by Elgin's standards; they go beyond Elgin's status quo in an attempt to find a higher ideal in their lives, thereby surpassing the unthinking loyalty to social modes which Dora Milburn, for instance, allows to rule her life.

Duncan's depiction of "old" world, English social forces in Elgin is personalized in Lorne Murchison, the Empire's most fervid, and yet tragic, supporter in the town. From his very christening, Lorne appears destined to represent the imperial connection. His name, for instance, is consciously British in connection:

> Lorne came after Advena, at the period of a naive fashion of christening the young sons of Canada in the name of her Governor-General. It was a simple way of attesting a loyal spirit ...[7]

Very obviously, Lorne is raised with a view to perpetuating British traditions. Sara Duncan goes on from the above passage to emphasize Mrs. Murchison's personal attachment to British forms. And Lorne does become a true scion of the old stock.

A large part of The Imperialist, and that focussed directly on Lorne himself, is political in nature. Lorne goes to England to study the imperial question, returning

to run in Elgin for Parliament on the imperial ticket. As the political qualities of the novel cannot be discussed at length here, however, suffice it to establish Lorne's attitude toward Canada. Lorne betrays his essential feelings toward his resident country in the following statement:

> the last argument [in political dealings with England] lies in the [Canadian] soil and <u>what you can get out of it</u>.[8]

As this passage suggests, Lorne exploits the Canadian land for its political and economic expedience; he makes no deeply personal and moral responses to the land as Hugh and Advena, on the other hand, ultimately do. Lorne possesses a stereotype English colonial mind which propounds the glories of the Empire above all else.

Morally, as well, Lorne is the mere imprint of English self-esteem:

> But I'll see England, Dora; I'll feel England, eat and sleep and drink and live in England, for a little while. Isn't the very name great? I'll be a better man for going, till I die ... [the English connection] is for the moral advantage. Way down at the bottom, that's what it is ... they've developed the finest human product there is, the cleanest, the most disinterested, and we want to keep up the relationship -- it's important.[9]

In this infatuated statement, Lorne proves that he has no personal moral integrity whatsoever. He lauds England's apparent moral nature in blissful ignorance of its reality and of its relevance to himself in Canada. In the course of her novel, as we shall see later, Sara Duncan demonstrates

the superiority of "Canadian" morality over English in that the former is more spontaneous and, hence, honest.

It is Duncan's ironic detachment throughout The Imperialist that points up the essential differences of "English" and "Canadian" moralities. It is the author's double vision, which encompasses both England and Canada, that creates the dramatic tension of the novel. As she says in Cousin Cinderella, Canadians have "... a point of view" from which to see England objectively [10]. The ability of the narrator to observe England in a detached manner creates a telling commentary on the real nature of England's social trivialities.

Not only is the narrator gifted with the double vision in The Imperialist, but also Advena and, eventually, Hugh learn to examine Elgin's social mores in a detached manner. By endowing these two major characters with the ability to see Elgin's imitations of English society as outsiders (as, specifically, Canadians), Duncan creates the master-stroke of her novel: the old world-like Elgin society is exposed for its essential dishonesty and pretension; while, at the same time, the new world "honesty" of Hugh and Advena leads to an appreciation of the integrity of the Canadian experience.

As well as the double point of view in respect to the two "worlds" in The Imperialist, there is a double perspective of individual and society. Although the two

become metaphors for each other in that the social problems are dramatized in personal terms, Duncan ultimately places value only in the individual's struggle toward moral maturity. In this novel, the conflict of old world versus new world becomes specifically the clash of society and individual, the former being essentially dishonest. To point up the integrity of a person who does not follow social pressures, Sara Duncan goes to great lengths to establish Advena outside normal social circles from her childhood on. She is "bookish and unconventional" [11], for instance; she did not train in the social art of marrying conveniently; "she would hide in the hayloft with a novel; she would be off by herself in a canoe by six o'clock in the morning ... " [12]. Early on in the narrative, then, the author makes it explicit that Advena Murchison is an individual who maintains her integrity in the face of considerable pressure to conform. Duncan deliberately sets Advena apart from society, even in her childhood vagaries, so that Advena may ultimately develop her own personal view of life.

Hugh, on the other hand, hails from Scotland. While he lived in Scotland he allowed himself to become engaged to a woman he did not love. When he came to Canada, however, Hugh met Advena and fell in love with her. Caught as he is throughout much of the novel between these two worlds, Hugh learns to assess himself honestly and to act

out his own code of life. As a result of his love for Advena, for instance, Hugh becomes aware of an important change in his personality, namely that he can no longer dedicate himself unthinkingly to English manners which no longer remain pertinent to him. He says of his intended fiancee and aunt, "They, of course, will come. But the life of which they are a part, and the man whom I remember to have been me -- there is a gulf fixed --" [13]. Hugh cannot bring himself to reject a marriage to this Scottish woman, a marriage which he regards as a duty more than as anything else. Yet, he cannot ignore his love for Advena. The outcome of Hugh's dilemma, of course, is his acceptance of his love for Advena, and a consequent breaking of his former engagement. By the end of the novel, then, Hugh is of the new, not the old.

The central motif in the novel comes out in the human drama of Advena and Hugh throughout their experiences together. These two characters -- and these two alone -- come to an honest response to their new world environment. It is to them that the reader must turn to find the author's alternative to the English aristocratic way of life. Of vital importance in their development toward maturity is their discovery that the Canadian experience, which is devoid of European encumbrances, creates a spiritual freedom within them. Advena, the strongest character in the novel, "had a passionate prevision that the steps they [she and

Hugh] took together would lead somehow to freedom". [14] This passage occurs early in the novel; it introduces the theme of spiritual freedom which runs throughout the remainder of the narrative.

Hugh, as well as Advena, is profoundly affected by his experience of the land. It is through his love for Advena, for instance, that Hugh is finally freed of his Scottish tradition and the spectre of an undesired marriage. In working out the motif of freedom in the novel, moreover, Sara Duncan uses no abstract or didactic terms. Rather, she provides a definite human focus for her "morals". Take, for example, this simple, yet poignant, moment which Hugh and Advena share:

> They lingered together for a moment talking, seizing the new joy in it which was simply the joy of his sudden liberation with her ... and Finlay's eyes rested once again on the evening sky beyond the river. [15]

There is in this passage, among many others, a sense that Advena is a symbol to Hugh for the freedom-generating, soul-liberating, experience which the Canadian land gives to a sensitive person. There is, at least, a suggestion that Advena is responsible for Hugh's moral regeneration in the novel. By finally pursuing his love for Advena after rejecting his old world ties, Hugh experiences this expansive freedom. To return to Lawren Harris, Hugh finds "an inner release and freedom" in Canada which would have been impossible "amid the insistencies and superficialities

of Europe" [16].

In a comment on Graham (a Canadian visiting in England) in Cousin Cinderella, Sara Duncan makes explicit her concept of old world tyranny and new world freedom:

> (Graham is) more free than (the English), more free of a thousand things -- traditions and conventions and responsibilities, privileges and commandments, interests and bores, advantages and disadvantages and fearful indispensable sign-manuals.[17]

In Sara Jeannette Duncan's own view, then, Canadians, freed of unnecessary social encumbrances, live a life of simple imaginative response to a still-undefined environment. Unlike Europeans, as Lawren Harris also suggests, Canadians have not yet alienated their land.

The main single character who is the dramatic focus for the moral struggle of old and new worlds is Hugh Finlay, the young Elgin minister from Scotland. Hugh is caught between an old world past which threatens his present in the course of the novel and a new world present and future. He crystallizes his sensitive appreciation of the new world experience, and the agony which results from his old world ties in conflict with his new world love for Advena, in the following crucial passage:

> I have come here into a new world, of interests unknown and scope unguessed before. I know what you [Advena] would say, but you have no way of learning the beauty and charm of mere vitality -- you have always been so alive. One finds a physical freedom in which one's very soul seems to expand; one hears the happiest calls of fancy. And the most wonderful, most delightful thing of

> all is to discover that one is oneself, strangely enough, able to respond -- [18]

It is important that it is Advena who prompts Hugh to make this statement. Hugh associates the land and Advena in his mind as influences which free his soul. Advena becomes symbolic of the vitality and freedom of the land itself. As Hugh himself says, he is free to "discover" himself in this new, Canadian land. None of this self-discovery, it is implied, was felt by Hugh while he was in the old country. Claude Bissell outlines Hugh's situation well in his introduction. His diction is worth noticing in the following passage.

> Before coming to Canada the young clergyman had permitted himself to be affianced to an older woman, and despite the passionate protests of his heart he is now prepared, for the sake of old world tradition, to sacrifice both his own and Advena's happiness. But the robust, common-sense judgements of the new society cannot be denied, and the Rev. Mr. Finlay, almost against his will, ... finds himself compelled to ... acquiesce in what he most desires. In both cases, then, it is the new society which pronounces the mature judgement and leads to human release. All this is achieved by the novelist through the implications of the human drama. [19]

In keeping with the terms of the novel itself, Bissell speaks of Hugh's problem in images of old and new worlds. He recognizes that any resolution which comes in the novel must have its source in the rejection of an old world heritage which stifles the freedom which an individual can find in the new world. Bissell also establishes the

important fact that maturity for Hugh and Advena can come only after a rejection on their parts of old world tradition and a surrender of themselves to the experiences of the new. As the novel is mainly dramatic in focus, and as "maturity" in the novel comes only from an acceptance of the new world's qualities, therefore, in moving from old world to new, Hugh moves from moral immaturity to maturity. Those aspects of the new world environment, then, which are outside conservative social forces, form the medium in the novel in which Hugh develops a fuller, more honest, life.

To further illustrate Hugh's spiritual liberation in The Imperialist, the author has Hugh say to Advena in an important speech,

> And the scope of the individual, his chance of self-respect, unhampered by the traditions of class, which either deaden or irritate it in England! His chance of significance and success! And the splendid, buoyant unused air to breathe, and the simplicity of life, and the plenty of things. [20]

Again, it is Advena who prompts Hugh to make this outburst; Advena who has become linked in Hugh's mind with the freedom-giving spirit of his new world life. And Hugh realizes that even the physical freedom of the new world creates a greatness of soul in the creative individual:

> I sometimes think that the human spirit, as it is set free in these wide unblemished spaces, may be something more pure and sensitive, more sincerely curious about what is good and beautiful --[21]

This is a crucial passage in Hugh's moral and imaginative development. In it, Duncan first posits a quality of

freedom in the Canadian land which sets up a resonance of similar freedom in the Canadian imagination. From this freedom, born of the land, is created a higher sense of virtue than existed before ("more pure and sensitive"). As a result of an honest and unpremeditated response to the vast Canadian land, Duncan suggests, a high conception of virtue and beauty ("what is good and beautiful") results. The Canadian experience, then, is both morally and imaginatively uplifting for the creative individual.

In keeping with the dramatic center of her novel, Duncan personalizes Hugh's sense of freedom in Advena: "upon which Hugh Finlay saw his idea incarnate" [22]. Here lies another of the master-strokes of The Imperialist, the tight dramatization in Advena of Hugh's development. Hugh finds himself in his experience of the new world in the form of Advena. Advena is, of course, a symbol for the west to which Hugh goes at the end of the novel, a "west" which is symbolic of Hugh's new-found spiritual freedom. Hugh moves, in the course of the novel, from superficial social stereotype to complete manhood. It is Advena who inspires him throughout the novel; it is Advena who is Hugh's dream of himself incarnate. She is, as well, a symbol of the new world. Sara Jeannette Duncan, then, has written a subtle novel in which the new world, as it is figures forth in Advena's influence on Hugh, frees a man of the "superficialities" of Europe. Much like Hugh Finlay, the protagonist of

Curwood's Flower of the North experiences the new world through his love for a woman who is symbolic of that world. Flower of the North, however, is more romantic in mode than is The Imperialist.

No Canadian fictional writer of the period was so well-acquainted with the Canadian North, nor so aware of its supremely heroic qualities, as was James Oliver Curwood. Curwood lived much of his life camped in the Canadian North-lands [23]. Based on his experiences there, he wrote many volumes of extremely popular novels, replete with scenes of Northern life, both human and natural. One example of Curwood's fiction has been chosen and deemed sufficient to illustrate Curwood's depiction of the North. Flower of the North (1912) appears to represent Curwood's literary attitude toward both the Northern Canadian wilderness and southern civilization. Flower of the North demonstrates the stock-features of much northern fiction: the brave hero who is steeped in his love of the North, the noble Indian, the superlative heroine, and the suspense-filled romance-narrative. Like other Curwood novels, Flower of the North is punctuated with passages which outline Curwood's conception of the North.

Something of the initial situation of Flower of the North must be outlined. Philip, the hero of the novel has willingly, indeed gladly, rejected civilization as he knew it in the settled portions of North America. He, therefore,

moved North to the Churchill area to set up a private camp. Here, Philip lives a lonely, but happy, life until the adventures which Flower of the North recounts take place, transforming Philip's life and bringing him a wife. Early in the novel, Philip himself describes the change which occurs to the man who learns to love the northern Canadian land in all its wildness:

> The spirit that was growing in him called out for bigger things, for the wild freedom which he had tasted for a time with Gregson ... for a life which was not warped by the gilded amenities of the crowded ball-room tonight, by the frenzied dollar-fight to-morrow ....[24]

In this passage, Curwood touches on a major quality of a Canadian myth in its purest, wildest form: freedom. Like Hugh Finlay in The Imperialist, and like Lawren Harris, Philip finds the freedom to express himself in the Canadian land, and he realizes this freedom by drawing several close comparisons with the spiritual restrictions of "civilization". At the outset of his narrative, for instance, Philip says,

> I became a northerner in heart and soul, if not quite yet in full experience. Clubs, balls, and cities grew to be only memories. You [Gregson] know how I have always hated that hothouse sort of existence...[25]

Curwood's hero, then, explicitly defines himself in terms of his new, and superior, identity which has been nurtured in the North; in true romance convention, moreover, Philip is a noble hero with nothing of the villain in his blood. The reader, then, is invited to associate virtue with the north.

In conventional romance style as well, moral good and bad are so diametrically opposed as to never be confused. In Flower of the North, it is (with the exception of Philip) the northerners who are good, and southerners who are bad. Philip puts it this way at one point:

> Mac, did it ever strike you that when you want real men you ought to come north for them? ... they'll die before they go back on their word [26]

Jeanne and Pierre, the remaining two major characters of the novel, are northern-born, and, hence, are consistently noble people. It is Jeanne who inspires Philip toward a higher ideal in life.

Early in the novel, Philip sets up the dichotomy of southern, civilized man versus northern, free man thus: "I knew them [the northerners] to possess and honor which was not known down there [South] ..." [27]. Very obviously, then, Philip discerns moral superiority in the men who are formed by intimate and uncluttered communion with the Canadian North. Civilization -- which necessarily possesses old world qualities even in North America -- does not allow the freedom which is ultimately required for the complete spiritual development of the human being. Only the North, in true Lawren Harris fashion, allows for moral development.

It is the heroine, Jeanne, however, who finally crystallizes the superiority of the North over the south. Jeanne is, indeed, the "flower" of the North. To begin with, she is born in the North, at "Fort o' God", where only her

cultured father and, more importantly, constant intercourse with nature form her personality. Freed of all the hypocrisy and pretensions of "civilization", Jeanne is the epitome of natural beauty and noble truth:

> Such eyes as those belonged only to the wilderness, brimming with the flawless beauty of an undefiled nature. [28]

Philip, insanely in love with Jeanne, is the speaker of the foregoing quotation. No matter; Jeanne is explicitly related to, indeed formed by, the Canadian Northland. She is a perfect romantic portrait of a pure heroine -- "pure" in that she is wholly the product of the "wilds" alone. The land essentially creates Jeanne. She is a polished and idealistic personification of all that Curwood sees as beautiful and true in the Canadian North. Philip even descries the strong beauty of the Canadian land in Jeanne's hair; "it [the forest] revealed its beauty and strength in the unconfined wealth of her gold-brown hair" [29]. Curwood was apparently fascinated with an abundance of hair [30]. To describe Jeanne's hair in terms of the land itself, then, is to suggest the importance of the wilderness to Jeanne's personality.

Like Lawren Harris, again, Curwood recognizes the freedom which is necessary for a "creative individual" to develop himself fully. For Philip, Jeanne bodies forth the freedom of the Canadian Northland as well: "He saw the life and freedom of the forests in her every movement" [31]. From

the freedom which she possesses because she had never been encumbered by civilized "trappings", Jeanne develops a moral integrity which is beyond question. As Philip himself says, "Jeanne's [eyes] could not lie" [32]; she is perfectly true beyond reproach. In true romantic fashion, then, Curwood has created a symbol of the beauty and truth of the Canadian North in his rendering of Jeanne.

On a strictly popular level, therefore, Canadian fiction of the period under study demonstrates a highly idealistic and stereotyped pattern of the moral and aesthetic grandeur of the Canadian North. Curwood makes extensive use of this conception throughout his fiction. His romantic portrait of Canada as a land of forest and "good guys" was enjoyed by many Canadians. In the high-Victorian The Imperialist, then, and also in the popular fiction of the day, the Canadian experience breeds unique qualities in fictional characters. In A Search for America (1927), more modern and epic in scope, Grove demonstrates similar characteristics in the Canadian land which Phil Branden (his fictional narrator-protagonist) discovers in his "cross-sectioning" [33] of North American life.

A Search for America is a vast tapestry analytical of "America" [34] as seen from an immigrant's eyes in the early twentieth century. Cast in the convention of the epic journey, A Search for America is Phil Branden's account of his personal experiences during his "odyssey" to learn the

essence of America .

Phil emigrates from Europe as an upper class young man who finds himself financially disinherited as a result of his father's economic collapse. Forced back onto his own resources, "Phil" decides to emigrate to Canada (purely by chance [35]) in a state of financial near-bankruptcy but with highly cultured European tastes. A Search for America recounts the adventures, incidents and lessons of Grove's fictional narrator, Phil Branden, from his arrival in Canada to the time when he feels that he understands America's "real" nature.

Given his situation as a recent European immigrant in America, Phil Branden quickly realizes that the starting-point of his new life is the conflict of his old world traditions with the new world environment around him. Early in his narrative, for example, Phil realizes that it is solely "tradition [which] governed ... all" of his upper class, European friends [36]. And Phil leaves no doubt in the reader's mind as to what is his attitude toward these past acquaintances of his, these "parasites" [37]: "what had driven [him] out of Europe", he realizes, is "the merciless adherence to pre-ordained lines of caste -- the spirit of sham and hypocrisy -- the lying falseness of it all" [38]. The attitude which Phil adopts toward his old confreres in Europe soon after he arrives in Canada is one of rejection of the "hypocrisy" of European tradition as he understood it

from a gentleman's point of view. It is important to note Phil's reference to the "spirit of sham and hypocrisy". The word, "spirit", is an important one in A Search for America; Phil comes to recognize the "American" spirit by the end of his narrative.

Following immediately upon his delineation of European aristocrats as "parasites", Phil goes on to make explicit his choice of a different path from theirs. "How easy it seemed to follow the beaten road", he muses, "--How different to go out as a pioneer" [39]. Grove makes use of the well-worn convention of the road as structural principle in a protagonist's search for meaning in life both literally and metaphorically in A Search for America.

Even earlier in his account than his awareness of the hypocrisy of European society is Phil's depiction of himself as a man caught between two worlds; one -- the old -- useless in his new circumstances, the other -- the new -- not yet comprehended. "[I was] used to artificial atmospheres", he states, " Rude draughts of the fresh air of a new world were required to awaken me fully" [40]. At the beginning of his narrative, then, Phil Branden is caught between his old world past and his new world present with an apparent desire to slough off the old in order to understand the new. Just as Lawren Harris, dedicated to the soul of Canada's Northland, rejects, not as intrinsically wrong, but only as personally irrelevant, the European tradition of art, so too does Phil Branden reject his useless

heritage in order to experience America.

By approaching life in America with as unprejudiced and as honest an attitude as possible, Phil lays himself open to the experiences of the new world. The first lesson which Phil learns in the new world is that one must "adapt" to one's circumstances; one must accept what comes his way. As a waiter in Toronto (a far cry from the "millionaire's son", man about town, Phil Branden in Europe), Phil learns that he can muster the "necessary adaptability" [41] to survive in America. And survive he must; throughout all of his narrative, survival is a struggle of endurance. Although Phil refers to this quality of "adaptability" in apparent physical terms, it is suggested by his account that the virtue of "adaptability" has metaphysical significance as well. If one adapts oneself to one's new circumstances, surely, then, one meets that new environment in its own terms. To "adapt", in other words, is to define oneself in the image of one's environment. It is environment -- both urban and, more potently, rural -- which remoulds Phil Branden in A Search for America.

As part of his movement down toward the "underworld", Phil slowly rejects his European heritage. An incident must be outlined here in order to explain the significance of Phil's ultimate rejection of his European heritage. When he had originally landed in America, Phil had dismissed it as "crude" [42]. From that point, however, he later learned

to admire and respect a man like Abraham Lincoln [43] for his equalitarian ideals. And then, a turning point occurred in Phil's life: he read an article by Matthew Arnold which condemned Lincoln as "crude".

> I remember how I got up, searched for Arnold's "Essays in Criticism", and threw them into the fire-place in my hotel room after touching a match to it. By this word, by this judgement, Arnold had broken the staff, not over Lincoln, but over himself; and not only over himself, but over that whole culture-medium from which he came ... [44]

At this point, Phil has finally rid his mind of the irrelevant trivia of his European heritage, leaving himself empty. Like a "tabula rasa", Phil sets out to experience "the real America" [45] in his own soul, not with Europe's mind. "This day changed my aims", he goes on to say, "though not with any immediate effect; it cut me loose from Europe" [46]. Arnold's condemnation of Lincoln, then, firmly established in Phil a perspective from which could see the hypocritical, aristocratic nature of his European roots. Having admired Lincoln as a good man, and having read a complete dismissal of that man merely because he is not European, Phil learns to take the place of an "inferior" (in European terms). It is as a willing "inferior" that he takes to the tramp. Grove's succeeding narrative, then, recounts the process of Phil's "Americanization".

As a result of being "cut loose" from his European roots, however, Phil finds himself, necessarily, alone and without any stay against his environment. In effect, he

finds himself stripped of the "clothes" which would have protected him from the unknown land. He is left alone to turn in upon himself, to find the necessary self-reliance in order that he may survive. "Here I stood entirely on my own two feet", he realizes, "[on] my own achievement; I must be I" [47]. Whether or not he completes his quest to fully understand America, Phil can attempt it only by his own personal and, therefore, honest response to his new environment. Phil Branden represents an archetypal Canadian protagonist, the man who is abandoned in a vast, unknown land to work out his own salvation: archetypal and Canadian because it is in intimate contact with nature that he finds the necessary resolutions to his dilemma [48]. The very freedom which the new world creates in an individual, then, demands a spiritual strength in the individual which is necessary if he is to survive at all, let alone progress. Freedom presumes responsibility.

Both "Phil Branden" (in A Search for America) and Frederick Grove (in It Needs To Be Said..., 1929) find freedom and a surprisingly strong sense of responsibility co-existing in the lives of the poor farmers of the Canadian West. It Needs To Be Said... is a collection of Grove's essays, one of which, "Nationhood", deals with the creation of a new national culture, that of Canada. In "Nationhood", Grove speaks of the Western poor who, by "striving for a final evaluation of life ... prepare the soil from which

new thought, new art, new religious feeling can spring" [49]. Throughout both A Search for America and It Needs To Be Said..., Grove insists that the "essentials" of life are given stronger expression in the agricultural setting than in the urban.

Phil's voluntary poverty and his tramp west form an obvious contrast to his complacent and rich life in Europe. Throughout his novel, Grove sets up the dichotomy of Europe and America in order to point out the honesty of the latter. Phil looks upon what he discovers in America as the essence of human nature; whereas what he recognizes from his perspective in America in Europe is only a thin veneer:

> ...What we call culture, education, breeding is largely a matter of environment, something that it takes very long to acquire but which may, after all, be acquired and, therefore, lost. It overlies the human nature which is common to us all. [50]

Phil realizes that "breeding" is an inessential and superficial overlay on the essential and vital reality of universal human nature, and he sees a "culture-medium" [51] in Europe which lives by the superficial alone. Phil, therefore, sets out to modify, even completely alter, his life-view in the terms which he finds in America:

> I saw the futility of much of [Europe's] pretensions. I saw that what I had called my "view of life", which had been a composite of the experiences and conclusions arrived at by a multitude of great minds in the past, was utterly unoriginal and untenable ... So ... I threw them [these traditional ideas] out of my mental equipment. [52]

Phil rejects his European heritage for two reasons: its essential hypocrisy and its inability to allow an individual to work out his own peculiar "view of life". It is important that Phil should reject Europe because he could not find his own "original" salvation; his whole American experience, as he describes it in A Search for America, is the search for just this original view of life which is peculiar to himself. In coming to America and discarding his "untenable" since "unoriginal" thoughts on life, Phil lays himself open to a multitude of experiences [53]. And these experiences do alter Phil's outlook on life in its very essence; they force upon him a new, a more honest, and a more vital "view of life" in order to experience life in its simplest form. By ridding himself of his civilized "accidentals", of course, Phil gives himself the freedom to participate in the "reciprocal" relationship between man and nature as Logan and Harris, for instance, describe it in their critical works. Phil, then, has given up his old self in order to find the new.

By the end of his narrative, Phil comes to an understanding of America. He defines "the fundamental difference between this country and Europe" this way:

> The whole civilization of Europe is based on the theory of the original sin. Right is done only when might enforces it. Even the life of the individual is regulated. But here there is a profound suspicion that in his heart the human animal wants to do right and is good ... [54]

If man is basically "good", it follows that he deserves to be free in order to express his essential nature. Just as Hugh and Advena find freedom when they look to the Canadian West, so too does Phil Branden discover this same freedom of soul when he goes west. If man is to be free, he can rely only on his own strength to obtain his salvation; he may not contract another's ideas in order to conceal his own weakness. Such is Phil's situation in A Search for America: he is alone in contact only with the land for many of the decisive events of his narrative. In opening himself to the land, Phil (paradoxically) finds himself as well.

At the end of his account, Phil finally realizes that his life-view has changed in essence:

> My view of life, if now at the end, I may use this word once more, had been, in Europe, historical, it had become, in America, ethical.[55]

Phil's outlook on life has become more "ethical", more human-oriented rather than culture-oriented. Phil has become a more "essential" man. The very essence of Phil's personality, then, has been re-defined in America. He has moved from an Old Testament-like distrust of human nature (as "parasitical", for instance) which he had in Europe to a New Testament trust in the essential goodness of the individual man. Phil has progressed from "preconceived" law to spontaneous love. It remains to examine the qualities of life in America which Phil discovers in his new, and more honest, vision of life.

It is the land itself which helps Phil Branden to respond to life with an "ethical" honesty of his own original fashioning. It has been said that Phil ultimately leaves urban American life in order to be alone in the country. In constant communication with the land, he has moments of insight; to paraphrase Wordsworth, he has moments when "[he] see[s] into the life of things" (Tintern Abbey) which come to him only when he is in harmony with nature:

> To catch the real significance of any aspect of Nature one thing above all is needed -- the reciprocal mood in ourselves ... [and then] ... one of the really great things of our Earth will speak to us ... and then it stands revealed ... we have stood face to face with the Divine. 56

For Grove, just as for John Daniel Logan, there is an inter-communication between man and nature, a "reciprocal" feeling. The belief that nature speaks to man's spirit, of course, is a romantic idea. It is his spiritual experience of the land which Phil presents to the reader in A Search for America.

Phil realizes that it is a vague spiritual force of nature in America which is re-fashioning him in its own image, and that an image of more integrity than that which he inherited from Europe:

> I could not make out at the time where I was heading; but I knew even then that, unknown in their nature to myself, processes were at work which were to remould me, which were to make me into something new, something different from what I had been, something less artificial. 57

Here, Phil uses words, vague though they may be, which have

recurred many times in this thesis in order to define the influence of Canada on a European imagination: "something new ... different ... [and] less artificial".

At first, it appears ironic that Grove should refer to Phil's tramps as "the Depths". It is while he is on the move, however, that Phil descends to his lowest level; yet, paradoxically, it is while he is on the tramp, as well, that he begins to find the "resolutions" to his quest. Of his first weeks alone in the country, for example, Phil says, "Nothing remains in my memory but the impression of an inner and unconscious development of myself" [58]. Here, then, is the essential man-wilderness interplay touched upon. In Phil's experience, nature refines the human response to a higher level of integrity, whether or not the individual will allow it ("unconscious development"). Nature creates, in the sensitive imagination, a moral strength which can not be obtained from the study of culture alone.

Not only does nature develop the human appreciation of the "essential" issues of life, morality and aesthetics, but also it gives the human imagination scope in which to explore itself fully. As Phil puts it close to the beginning of the description of his trip west, "my body had become adjusted to the conditions of the tramp and left my mind free to commune with itself ..." [59]. The journey into the solitude of the land is, in typical Canadian fashion, a journey into the "depths" of Phil's own soul; it is a

confrontation with self which the "accidentals" of civilization do not allow.

The effect of nature on Phil Branden is a central motif of A Search for America only because nature itself is ultimately the "ideal" which Phil describes as America: "America is an ideal and as such has to be striven for" [60]. Phil has been, of course, in search of America throughout his narrative; he finally finds "the real America" [61] only in his experience of its wilderness. He describes the experience this way:

> Every morning [while on the tramp] I awoke as to a feast ... [a] love ... My love [for the country] was the love for the bride, full of desires, seeking all things, accepting them, craving fulfilment of higher destinies ... Every fibre of my being yearned. And though what lured me was nature, yet it was also America. [62]

Through nature, then, -- through the intense examination of self which only an extended and isolated communion with nature allows -- Branden realizes his dream to understand the new world. He undergoes the journey to self-knowledge which takes place in Canadian literature mainly in intimate contact with the vast Canadian land. This journey, of course, is a major motif of the literature considered in this thesis.

One prominent feature of the land is its immensity: mile upon mile of ever-changing, ever-renewing, open land. "The vastness of it all!", Phil exclaims, "It was disquieting!" [63]. Seen from a train window, as Phil sees

it, Canada is, indeed, powerfully huge. And the magnitude of the Canadian land commands respect and an honest response from any sensitive man: "Thanks", Phil said for a cup of tea, "nearly in a whisper, for [he] was hushed by the wide silence of the landscape" [64]. Like Wordsworth in "Tintern Abbey", "[Phil is] laid asleep/ In body, and become[s] a living soul". In Canada, however, the vision which results is not of a picturesque and dainty beauty, but rather of the terrible and masculine strength of a land stern in its features.

Nor is Phil Branden insensitive to the essential virility of the North American land. It is the simple, "near-at-hand"strength of nature, for example, which forces tears from Phil's eyes at one point [65]. "For the first time in my life", he says, "the commonplace in nature -- the "Near-at-hand" -- took hold of me and gripped my soul; so that I nearly burst into tears" [66]. Elsewhere [67], Grove defines nature's "commonplaces" as "...the true, the fundamental problems of life -- those problems which someone, perhaps half-ironically, has called the "great commonplaces" ...". For Grove, then, the "commonplace" is the "essential".

It is in life with Ivan on his tramp north that Phil experiences the virility of man and nature. Phil describes Ivan as "the man who stands squarely upon the soil and who, from the soil ... reaches out with tentative mind into the great mysteries ..." [68]. There is much praise

of the honest labour which is done on the land in this section ("The Level") of A Search for America. Grove definitely approves of rural life as opposed to urban life. And it is in a description of Ivan that Grove realizes the morality of the strength gained from the land:

> Ivan glowed and smiled; to me it seemed that in his smile there were the infinite sympathy and tenderness which are the attributes of the strong in contact with those who are weak but whom they love. 69

As the material in chapters one and two of this thesis demonstrates, it is the very strength of the Canadian land which engenders the noble morality in those who love the land. It is the peculiar virility of the Canadian land which defines the very moral personality of Canadians. The land, then, creates a strong conception of morality in its own masculine image. In the above passage from A Search for America, Grove endows the strong moral quality of the true North American with a genuine sympathy for those who are too weak to meet the land in its own rugged terms.

Throughout A Search for America, Phil insists that the "essentials" of life are found in the agrarian life, whereas the "accidentals" of life are found in urban existence: he defines the "desire for a simplification of issues" (compare Grove's definition of nature's "commonplaces" as the "fundamentals" of life) as "the movement away from the accidentals of life towards the essentials" 70. As Grove states of the western poor in It Needs to be Said...

they possess "a pre-occupation with the essentials and fundamentals of life rather than with the inessentials and accidentals ..." [71]. Very obviously, then, for both Grove and Branden, nature is the vital source of the important features of life. Civilization, on the other hand, " ...is indeed a movement from the essentials to the accidentals" [72]. Moreover, Phil does not relinquish this position even at the end of A Search for America; he maintains his faith in the rural life over the urban. And, more importantly, Phil abandons the American west to live in the Canadian west because he believed that only Canadians lived the ideal as he discovered it in "America" [73].

Grove wrote "A Postscript to A Search for America" in the Queen's Quarterly in which he condemns the industrial way of life because of its waste. Very definitely for Grove, then, "in order to catch the real trend of American thought you have to get your ear down to the soil to listen. Then you will hear the sanity, the good sense, the good will which are truly American ..." [74]. Grove, then, defines the "real" America in terms of the land, not the city. In his recognition of the essential and central role of the land in shaping the Canadian imagination, Grove is, of course, in the mainstream of Canadian literature: critics from Pelham Edgar and John Daniel Logan to Northrop Frye and Douglas Jones agree with Grove on this point; painters like Horatio Walker, Tom Thomson and Lawren Harris are in accord

with Grove; poets from Charles G. D. Roberts and D. C. Scott to Margaret Atwood, and novelists like Sinclair Ross and Sara Jeannette Duncan all assert the primary formative influence of the land on the imagination. This central phenomenon is not only a characteristic of Canadian culture, but one of its very themes. Many writers in Canada today, such as Margaret Atwood, W. O. Mitchell and Ernest Buckler, to mention only a few, portray the dynamic role of the land in shaping the imagination as an actual theme of their works.

It might be noted at this point that, throughout his wanderings in America, Phil discerns at least two virtues which are peculiar to North America: "helpfulness" and "toleration". He comes to recognize these features in American life only as a result of his personal descent and ascent pattern of movement in America and finds them, ultimately, only in Canada. It is worth quoting at length in order to demonstrate the focus of Phil's new "ethical" view of life:

> By slow degrees I have come to accept two character-traits as distinctively American, marking the collective character of the New World off from the collective character of Europe or any other civilization-unit. One of them is a lack of selfishness which rests really on the consciousness of size; it is a willingness to sacrifice, to help along, to let live, to give out of a superabundance available ... The other is a tendency of non-interference, an inclination to take things and men as they are ... in other words, the power to assimilate no matter what. 75

As a result of his "Americanization", then, Phil Branden learns to re-define his life in terms of the land (the land, it will be remembered, is associated with "America" and the "essentials of life), a remoulding which he describes as "ethical" in its nature.

In the last two parts of A Search for America, Grove makes extensive use of the imagery of "rebirth" and "resurrection". The reader begins to see Phil's journey to the "depths" of both himself and America as a movement from death (which, one would assume is represented by the spiritually-stifling European atmosphere) to new life in "America". In describing his first morning "on the tramp", for instance, Phil says, "Awakening is like a resurrection" [76]. Phil's experience of the land, which he gains on this "tramp" is like a rebirth of the essentially human within himself. To stress the importance of the spiritual rebirth which occurs within Phil on his trek west, Grove describes Phil's physical movement from the east to the west side of the divide in imagery of death and rebirth: "To pass to the west slope seemed like experiencing a resurrection of summer after fall had come" [77]. The first three chapters of the part entitled "The Depths" are replete with references to Phil's revelations as he learns more of the land, human nature, and his own self. Grove goes to great lengths to convince his reader that it is the influence of the land on his moral imagination which reshapes Phil Branden an

"American". In the central symbol of the novel, the road, Grove gives Phil a means to experience the spirit of the land; the use of the convention of a man "going down a road" to find himself and his nation, of course, also gives a dramatic focus to Grove's narrative. The explicit associations which Grove draws between land and life's "essentials", and between land and "America" leave no doubt in the reader's mind that it is the land itself which not only demonstrates the depths of Phil's personality to himself, but also offers "the way" toward the resolutions which Phil ultimately discovers. Many men have "discovered" America, Phil Branden only a fictional member of their number, and each one experiences something new from his extended contact with the North American land.

It is evident from the study of the novels in the present chapter that early twentieth-century Canadian fiction is intensely conscious of the fact that the Canadian land creates an imaginative experience in an individual. Hugh Finlay, Philip of Flower of the North, and Phil Branden all consciously reject their outmoded social inheritance in order to define themselves honestly in their new, Canadian environment. All of these fictional characters strongly emphasize their repudiations of their old world heritage. Furthermore, the narrative lines of each of the three novels examined turn on the search for a new -- a Canadian -- identity: Hugh Finlay finds himself only in a rejection of

Elgin social conventions and an acceptance of his love for Advena; Philip, in Flower of the North, finds a happy ending in the love of a northern goddess, Jeanne; and Phil Branden comes to rest only after he has been stripped of his old world pretensions and has given himself to the Canadian land. The three novelists here considered, then, sense a distinction in the Canadian land which re-creates an individual in its own image. Like Logan and Harris, the novelists find a spiritual "personality" in the Canadian land which has more integrity than the transplanted -- and hence alien -- European spirit. Though different in mode, The Imperialist, Flower of the North, and A Search for America all depict the influence of the Canadian experience on their respective fictional characters. The novel, as well as aesthetic criticism in Canada, then, demonstrates an awareness of the distinction of the Canadian land and its influence on the human imagination.

# Conclusion

Throughout the history of creative Canadian writing much attention has been directed toward the problem of defining whatever is distinctly Canadian. Writers in Canada between 1880 and 1920 were no exception to the general Canadian preoccupation with understanding Canadian culture; as a matter of fact, the consciousness of Canada's personality and future was only stimulated by Confederation. In this period of much literary activity in Canada -- from 1880 to 1920 -- there emerges a clearly-defined conception among Canadian men of letters as to what constitutes Canadian morality and art. In the period under study, Canadian writers realize much that is uniquely Canadian.

The distinctive note of the Canadian spirit, as writers at the turn of the century discern it, originates in the influence of the rugged, masculine wilderness on the human imagination. By the late nineteenth century, Canadians had begun to physically assimilate the vast Canadian land into the fabric of their society. But the land demanded an imaginative response as well: not until Canadian artists had expressed their experience of their unique land could Canada claim to have a culture wholly its own. By 1920, Canadian writers had responded honestly

and spontaneously to the influence of the land, thereby creating a distinctly Canadian literature.

It is the strength and virility of the vast, silent Canadian wilderness which most impressed itself upon Canadian artists. The land presented a rough, masculine, not dainty feminine, face to the Canadian artist. The actual strength of the land is not significant in itself. In its creation of a strong sense of virtue in the Canadian people, however, it takes on great importance: as a result of their experience of a strong wilderness, Canadians came to conceive of virtue in terms of strength -- moral strength. As W. A. Fraser puts it, "Strength begets Truth, and Truth makes Strength God-like" [1]. A high conception of virtue results in Canada from the influence of the land on the Canadian imagination. The passages by Charles Mair which are quoted in chapter one are the most convinced expression of a high Canadian morality, a virtue which is superior to that of the U. S. A. to the south, Mair asserts.

It is not merely a handful of late nineteenth century magazine-contributors, however, who discern a morally-ennobling process at work in the influence of the land on men. Canadian novelists of the same period allow their protagonists to move toward moral integrity only after they experience the impact of the Canadian land. The protagonists of all three of the novels considered in chapter three are confronted with the unknown Canadian land;

as a result of their experiences, of course, they grow to moral maturity. Hugh Finlay in The Imperialist comes to terms with himself only after he admits his love for Advena and his acceptance of the new world milieu. Philip in Flower of the North gains an exalted view of life in Canada's northland. Phil Branden in A Search for America discovers the essence of America --ultimately in Canada, it might be remembered -- after the trek "west" during which he was forced to re-define himself in terms of American "ethics". The dynamic force which brings about the movement toward moral integrity in the characters concerned is the rugged Canadian land itself. Duncan, Curwood and Grove, then, demonstrate the working out of the myth of Canadian virtue in their protagonists' lives.

The exalting effect of the land on the Canadian imagination of the period under study was not restricted to morality, however. As Lawren Harris's life and art both demonstrate, the influence of the Canadian land on Canadian art is a strengthening one as well. Like Tom Thomson's art, Harris's canvasses portray a stark, rugged land in the Canadian North; the mood of austerity and, yet, grandeur which their canvasses convey demands a strong response. Harris speaks of the strength of the Canadian land as a freeing influence upon himself which allows him a personal artistic integrity which he would not have discovered "amid the insistencies and superficialities of Europe" [2].

It is John Daniel Logan's literary criticism, however, which best demonstrates the distinctive effect of the Canadian land on art. In his essay on Lampman's poem, Sapphics, Logan realizes the "reciprocal sympathy" [3] between artist and virile Canadian land. He defines the influence of the land on Canadian writers as the distinctive note of their literature [4]. The note of courage, which their constant struggle with the land for survival creates, carries over into Canadian art as well. Highways of Canadian Literature rings with the conviction of the integrity which exists in Canadian Literature.

From the overview of the "cultural climate" which chapter one presents to the dramatic working out of the search for virtue in the context of the Canadian experience, there exists a consistent expression among late nineteenth century men of letters of the morally-ennobling, and aesthetically-strengthening, influence of the "virile" Canadian land on the imagination. The writings of the period under study in this thesis -- 1880 to 1920 -- demonstrate a widespread awareness of the distinction of Canadian life and letters; the material examined shows an intelligent appreciation of the influence of the wilderness on Canadian culture which modern critics and historians would do well not to ignore. It is the strong, rugged Canadian land which ultimately "creates" the distinctive qualities of the Canadian "spirit". As A. J. M. Smith puts it, "This is the beauty of strength ... " [5].

Footnotes

## Introduction

1. To select only a few examples of poetry which describes natural scenes in Canada: Wilfred Campbell's Lake Lyrics (1889); Charles Mair's Dreamland and Other Poems (1868); D. C. Scott's The Magic House and Other Poems (1893).

2. J. D. Logan, Highways of Canadian Literature, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1924, 26.

3. N. Frye, "Conclusion", Literary History of Canada, ed. C. F. Klinck, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965, 826-827.

4. G. Roper, "New Forces: New Fiction (1880-1920)", Literary History of Canada, ed. C. F. Klinck, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965, 260:

> "After 1890 the number of Canadians who wrote fiction increased rapidly. The number of volumes of new fiction doubled in the eighties and quadrupled in the nineties".

5. R. Daniells, "Confederation to the First World War", Literary History of Canada, ed. C. F. Klinck, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965, 194.

6. F. P. Grove, "Author's Note", A Search for America, Ottawa: Graphic Publishers Ltd, 1927.

## Chapter One

1. A. J. M. Smith, "The Lonely Land", Canadian Anthology, ed. C. F. Klinck and R. E. Watters, Toronto: W. J. Gage Ltd., 1966, 276-277.

2. D. C. Scott, "The Height of Land", Poets of the Confederation, ed. M. Ross, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1960, 110.

3. R. Daniells, "Confederation to the First World War", Literary History of Canada, ed. C. F. Klinck, introduction by N. Frye, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965, 194:

> A small group of periodicals published in Toronto furnishes a reliable conspectus of the central English literary tradition in Canada. These are the Canadian Monthly, the Week and the Canadian Magazine.

4. Ibid, 201.

5. J. Cappon, Charles G. D. Roberts, Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1925, 72.

6. Compare, for example, Lampman's distaste for the city of Ottawa.

7. J. Cappon, Charles G. D. Roberts, Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1925, 72-73.

8. W. F. Hatheway, Canadian Nationality, Toronto: W. Briggs, 1906, 133.

9. B. Carman, "The Friendship of Nature", The Kinship of Nature, Toronto: Copp Clark, 1903, 142-143.

10. J. DeMille, "Canadian Poetry -- A Word in Vindication", The Canadian Magazine, VIII (March, 1897), 437.

11. Editor, "Book Review of Hickman's Shannon, The Canadian Magazine, XXI (August, 1903), 382.

12. C. Mair, "The New Canada", The Canadian Monthly, VIII (August, 1875), 163.

13. Ibid, 162.

Compare "A Comparison: An Epistle to the Canadian People by a New York Journalist.", The Week, XIII (December 6, 1895), 31.

14. Ibid, 163.

15. Ibid, 163.

16. Ibid, 164.

17. Ibid, 164.

18. Daniells, Literary History of Canada, 201.

19. G. Roper, "New Forces: New Fiction (1880-1920)", Literary History of Canada, ed. C. F. Klinck, introduction by N. Frye, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965, 260.

20. P. Edgar, "Duncan Campbell Scott", The Week, XII (March 15, 1895), 370.

21 J. Cappon, "Roberts and the Influences of His Times", The Canadian Magazine, XXVI (January to April, 1905).

22. J. Cappon, Charles G. D. Roberts, Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1925, 73.

23. This article deserves republication if for no other reason than its successful combination of astute aesthetic criticism and poignant personal reflection.

24. J. M. McCallum, "Tom Thomson: Painter of the North", The Canadian Magazine, L (March, 1918), 376.

25. Ibid, 378.

26. B. Carman, "Of Vigour", The Friendship of Art, London: John Murray Publishing Co., 1905, 25.

27. T. G. Marquis, "The Art of Paul Wickson", The Canadian Magazine, XXIII (May, 1904), 4.

28. J. M. McCallum, "Tom Thomson: Painter of the North", The Canadian Magazine, L (March, 1918), 378.

29. W. A. Fraser, "Literature", The Canadian Magazine, XIII (May, 1899), 34.

30. Ibid, 35.

31. Ibid, 34.

32. F. Bodsworth, "Our Threatened Heritage", Wilderness Canada, ed. B. Spears, Toronto: Clarke Irwin and Co. Ltd, 1970, 17-18.

33. Ibid, 18.

34. B. Littlejohn, "Wilderness: Canadian Cultural Heritage", Why Wilderness, ed. B. Littlejohn and D. Pimlott, Toronto: new press, 1970, 34.

35. D. G. Jones, Butterfly on Rock, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970, 6.

36. Ibid, 33.

37. N. Frye, "Conclusion", Literary History of Canada, ed. C. F. Klinck, introduction by N. Frye, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965, 846.

## Chapter Two

1. L. Harris, Lawren Harris, Toronto: Macmillan, 1969, 48.

2. M. MacLure, "Literary Scholarship", Literary History of Canada, ed. C. F. Klinck, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965, 536.

3. These two works by Logan are deemed sufficient. Highways of Canadian Literature is a collection of most of his essays; and "The Literary Group of '61" considers the beginnings of Canadian Literature as Logan sees it.

4. J. D. Logan, Highways of Canadian Literature, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1924, 15.

5. Ibid, 15.

6. Ibid, 21.

7. Ibid, 21.

8. Ibid, 108.

9. Ibid, 21.

10. Ibid, 10-13: Logan divides Post-Confederation literature into the following sections: "The First Renaissance", "The New Genre", "The Decadent Interim", and "The Second Renaissance".

11. Ibid, 108.

12. Ibid, 15.

13. Canadian Literature is distinct from Charles G. D. Roberts on.

14. J. D. Logan, Highways of Canadian Literature, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1924, 27.

15. J. Cappon, Charles G. D. Roberts, Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1925, 76.

16. Ibid, 76.

17. J. Cappon, Bliss Carman, Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1930, 1.

18. J. D. Logan, "The Literary Group of '61", The Canadian Magazine, XXXVII (October, 1911), 555-563.

19. Ibid, 561.

20. Ibid, 560.

21. Ibid, 561.

22. J. D. Logan, Highways of Canadian Literature, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1924, 131.

23. See, for instance, Atwood's Journals of Susanna Moodie and Procedures for Underground (both 1970); Avison's "Neverness; or, The One Ship Beached on One Far Distant Shore"; and Macpherson's The Boatman.

24. J. D. Logan, "The Literary Group of '61", The Canadian Magazine, XXXVII (October, 1911), 561.

25. Ibid, 561.

26. L. Harris, Lawren Harris, ed. Bess Harris and R. G. P. Colgrove, introduction N. Frye, Toronto: Macmillan, 1969.

27. Ibid, 48.

28. Ibid, 11.

29. It must be noted, however, that Harris' paintings of the 1920's urban life, as he shows it mainly in his well-known "houses", are equally important.

30. L. Harris, Lawren Harris, ed. Bess Harris and R. G. P. Colgrove, introduction N. Frye, Toronto: Macmillan, 1969, 11.

31. Ibid, 48.

32. Ibid, 45.

33. Ibid, 7.

34. Ibid, 7.

35. Ibid, 109.

36. Ibid, 48.

## Chapter Three

1. B. Tempest, "The Northern Lover", The Week, VIII (April 10, 1891), 303-304.

2. These novels are chosen because they offer three different types of fiction, the novel of manners, the romance and the fictional "epic". By examining such a variety of novels, it is intended that the extent of the topic will be demonstrated.

3. F. P. Grove, A Search for America, Ottawa: Graphic Publishers, 1927, 435.

4. F. Kermode, The Sense of an Ending: studies in the theory of fiction, London: Oxford University Press, 1968, 74-75, 130.

5. S. J. Duncan, The Imperialist, Ed. M. Ross, Introduction by C. Bissell, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1961, 45, 52.

6. Ibid, viii.

7. Ibid, 16.

8. Ibid, 122. Please note that the underlining in this quotation and all others in this chapter is my own.

9. Ibid, 98.

10. S. Duncan, Cousin Cinderella, Toronto: Macmillan, 1908, 149.

11. S. Duncan, The Imperialist, 45.

12. Ibid, 45.

13. Ibid, 140.

14. Ibid, 70.

15. Ibid, 71.

16. L. Harris, Lawren Harris, Ed. B. Harris and R. G. P. Colgrove, Introduction N. Frye, Toronto: Macmillan, 1969, 48.

17. S. Duncan, Cousin Cinderella, 310.

18. S. Duncan, The Imperialist, 140.

19. Ibid, ix.

20. Ibid, 110.

21. Ibid, 111.

22. Ibid, 111.

23. S. J. Gamester, "The Man Who Invented God's Country", MacLean's (February 22, 1964), 21:

> "Curwood spent more time alone in the far north than any American and most Canadians. From 1908 to 1926 he spent at least nine months of each year in the woods ... "

24. J. O. Curwood, Flower of the North, Toronto: Musson, 1912, 43.

25. Ibid, 14.

26. Ibid, 249.

27. Ibid, 26.

28. Ibid, 150.

29. Ibid, 150.

30. S. J. Gamester, "The Man Who Invented God's Country", MacLean's (February 22, 1964), 21.

31. Curwood, Flower of the North, 150.

32. Ibid, 150.

33. F. P. Grove, A Search for America, Ottawa: Graphic Publishers, 1927, 248.

34. Ibid, 92:
In a footnote, Grove says, "I use the word ("Americanization") in the wider sense in which it includes what is commonly called Canadianization. America is a continent, not a country.

35. Ibid, 10.

36. Ibid, 30.

37. Ibid, 30.

38. Ibid, 150.

39. Ibid, 31.

40. Ibid, 17.

41. Ibid, 73.

42. Ibid, 149.

43. Ibid, 163.

44. Ibid, 237.

45. Ibid, 237.

46. Ibid, 238.

47. Ibid, 31.

48. Compare footnote 25 of Chapter Two, in which J. D. Logan makes the same point.

49. F. P. Grove, "Nationhood", It Needs to be Said ... , Toronto: Macmillan, 1929, 162.

50. F. P. Grove, A Search for America, 61.

51. Ibid, 237.

52. Ibid, 78-79.

53. Compare Margaret Atwood's "Departure from the Bush", The Journals of Susanna Moodie, Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1970:

> ...erased
> by fire ... crept in
> upon by green.

54. F. P. Grove, A Search for America, 431.

55. Ibid, 436.

56. Ibid, 113-114.

57. Ibid, 152.

58. Ibid, 269.

59. Ibid, 270.

60. Ibid, 436.

61. Ibid, 237.

62. Ibid, 272.

63. Ibid, 26.

64. Ibid, 371.

65. Ibid, 99.

66. Ibid, 99.

67. F. P. Grove, "A Neglected Function", It Needs to be Said ... , Toronto: Macmillan, 1929, 8.

68. F. P. Grove, A Search for America, 399.

69. Ibid, 400.

70. Ibid, 248.

71. F. P. Grove, It Needs to be Said ... , 158-159.

72. F. P. Grove, A Search for America, 249.

73. Ibid, 436:

> "I have since come to the conclusion that the ideal as I saw it and still see it has been abandoned by the U. S. A. That is one reason why I became and remained a Canadian".

74. Ibid, 112.

75. Ibid, 111.

76. Ibid, 262.

77. Ibid, 272.

## Conclusion

1. W. A. Fraser, "Literature", The Canadian Magazine, XIII (May, 1899), 34.

2. L. Harris, Lawren Harris, ed. Bess Harris and R. G. P. Colgrove, introduction N. Frye, Toronto: Macmillan, 1969, 48.

3. J. D. Logan, "The Literary Group of '61", The Canadian Magazine, XXXVII (October, 1911), 561.

4. Ibid, 561.

5. A. J. M. Smith, "The Lonely Land", Canadian Anthology, ed. C. F. Klinck and R. E. Watters, Toronto: W. J. Gage Ltd., 1966, 277.

# Appendix

## Appendix

Because there is no complete bibliography of John Daniel Logan's works, the following bibliography of his published writing is offered.

Books

1. Logan, John Daniel. Aesthetic Criticism in Canada. Toronto: McClelland, 1917.

2. ------. Confessio Amantis. An Epistle in Verse to Welcome Rt. Rev. Monsignor William Foley. Halifax: Author, 1926.

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