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A MAJESTIC STORY OF ORDERLY PROGRESS
ENGLISH CANADIAN NOVELISTS
ON CANADIAN SOCIETY
1896 - 1900

by

STEPHEN MARK BECKOW

M.A. thesis (History 599)

Carleton University

September 1969

The undersigned hereby recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies acceptance of this thesis, submitted by Mr. Stephen M. Beckow in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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THESIS ABSTRACT

This paper examines the novels of the latter 1890s with the object of recreating aspects of contemporary social controversy. To begin with the thesis observes that the idea of "progress" had broad appeal in the period and traces the reasons for this appeal. Two principal factors are investigated: (1) the impact of science, and (2) the impact of race theory. The latter area lends support not only to the contention that mankind is destined to progress towards fitter forms, but also to the contention that the Anglo-Saxon is destined to hold the foremost place among human races.

Turning next to human society in general and Canadian society in particular, the thesis outlines how many novelists viewed society hierarchically. The higher orders, in this outlook, correspond to the fittest, the aristocrats of "brain and heart," while the lower orders constitute the unfit, the mental, physical and moral degenerates.

The thesis also examines religious controversy, treating first the forces of dissent (the rationalists, Free Thinkers, atheists, etc.) and second the forces of organized religion. Many in the religious camp, it is shown, make their peace with "reason" and "progress" but many others turn upon the new order and accuse it of sanctioning cruelty and malevolence rather than charity and Christian love.

The thesis briefly examines feminist discontent before turning to depictions of the urban and rural environment. When one studies the value judgments implicit in the pictures of city and country, one sees that many novelists shed their superficial, progress-oriented optimism at specific times and on specific issues. But even those authors who cast a backward glance at simpler times are not prepared to renounce the view that mankind is constantly progressing towards more efficient, superior forms. The concluding chapter contends, finally, that the debate which appears in the novels of the period is a reproduction of the debate transpiring in contemporary society at large.

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Diamonds of Truth wrapped in Fiction's gilded setting
A nosegay of Facts tied with the ribbon of Romance

- Egerton Ryerson Young, Ocwikapun.

Like any other artist, the novelist is a maker. ... He is making, it might be said, a working model of life as he sees and feels it, his conclusions about it being expressed in the characters he invents, the situations in which he places them, and in the very words he chooses for those purposes.

- Walter Allen, The English Novel; a Short Critical History.

A MAJESTIC STORY OF ORDERLY PROGRESS
ENGLISH CANADIAN NOVELISTS
ON CANADIAN SOCIETY
1896 - 1900

CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION.

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the opinions of Canadian novelists, writing in English at the end of the nineteenth century, on a variety of social issues. In The House of Armour Margaret Marshall Saunders hints at one reason why this type of study can be rewarding. "Good novels," she wrote, "have a mission. Many a one preaches a sermon to people that never listen to a minister."[1] These obvious "sermons," together with the less obvious feeling overtones of a novel, the social assumptions which lie below an argument and the author's language are the elements from which the social historian can recreate a picture of how novelists view contemporary society.

The student familiar with contemporary Canadian fiction written in English will find that many of the most popular "Canadian" authors have been left out of this study. Before establishing who is "Canadian," the writer should point out

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1 Margaret Marshall Saunders, The House of Armour (Philadelphia: 1897), p. 151.

that the aim of this thesis is not to examine the most popular novelists. If that had been the aim, the majority of novelists treated would have been British and American. The writer proposes, instead, to pay special attention not to the novel's influence but to its "Canadian-ness." The novel becomes important in this view for intrinsic reasons: simply as an expression of opinion by an articulate Canadian.

That novels, then, are social and historical documents, few would deny. One may ask the next question: why was the period between 1896 and 1900 selected?

The answer to that question has its subjective and objective sides. It is up to the individual historian to decide which period he will study. The present writer finds the period between Confederation and the first world war to be of special interest for so many reasons, some historical and some not. To a degree, then, the choice of period reflects his interests. Yet, on the other hand, certain features of any one period will tend to attract a greater or a lesser number of historians across the board.

The period between 1896 and century's end falls within a span of years which has appeal to many types of historians. The political historian will be interested in the change of administrations at Ottawa marking the end of Macdonald centralism as it marks the beginning of the Laurier regime. The political historian, moreover, will watch the tension between the various axes of the North Atlantic triangle as a result of the Boer War and the desire for reciprocity, and so on. The economic historian will examine the lifting of the long depression, the opening of the West and the rise of the wheat economy as the

country is spanned by a second and then a third transcontinental railway. The social historian will examine the growth of optimism surrounding "Canada's century," as he will watch how Canadians adapt to the swelling numbers of foreigners in their midst, increasing Canadian nativism as it increases the non-Anglo-Saxon element in the population. In addition the social historian will note the rise of new social sciences and disciplines in Canada, resulting in the growth of pseudo-scientific racial doctrines and of militarism and missionary fervour. The social historian might agree with Roy Daniells who argued that "the Golden Age of high colonialism" was ending at this time. The boom era that followed induced Canadians to take stock of themselves and to begin to talk of a Canadian experience.[2] Arthur Lower called the phenomenon the demise of "provincialism" as Canadians transferred their centre of reference from "elsewhere" to their own country.[3]

The literary historian would point to the fact that in the period from 1880 to 1920, Canada's literary output increased sixfold over the total of all previous years together. He may, moreover, point to the international fame of such "Canadian" writers as Sara Jeanette Duncan Cotes, Gilbert Parker, Margaret Marshall Saunders, Charles G.D. Roberts, Robert Barr and Basil King - to choose from a larger list. From many slants, the period is of interest and remains all but untouched.

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2 Roy Daniells, "Confederation to the First World War," in Carl. F. Klinck, et.al, eds., Literary History of Canada; Canadian Literature in English (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), p. 199.

3 Arthur Lower, Canadians in the Making; A Social History of Canada (Don Mills, Ont.: Longmans Canada, 1958), p. 345.

What determined the sample of novelists used in this study? In the first place, because biographical material on the novelists was incomplete, the writer has had to use inclusive rather than exclusive criteria for selection. All novelists were included with the exception of those who did not appear "Canadian" for one of two reasons.

The two reasons were:

(1) That the author had to all intents and purposes left Canadian society and was writing from an extra-Canadian experience in the frame of refer- of another national group to a non-Canadian reader- ship with whom he identified.

(2) That the author was a late immigrant to Canada and was writing in the frame of reference of the society which he had lately left and writing to a non-Canadian readership with whom he partially or wholly identified, on problems of little interest or relevance to contemporary Canadian society.

The following authors were excluded under the first category: Grant Allen, Robert Barr, Isidore Gordon Ascher, Sara Jeanette Duncan Cotes, Annie Thomas Frechette, Gilbert Parker and Ernest Thompson Seton. The following authors were excluded under the second category: Lily Dougall, Julia Wilmotte Henshaw, Walter R. Nursey, Clive Phillipps-Wolley, Roger Pocock, Edward Roper and Cy Warman.

Another explanation should be added to this note on selection. One should not think that the sample that was arrived at was in any way representative of Canadian society as a whole. The sample shows a trend more towards social, economic, religious and educational homogeneity than towards heterogeneity. Virtually no other ethnic extractions than English, Scottish and a very few Irish

appear. Virtually all writers, moreover, are Protestant, and of the Protestant groupings, the sample is weighted towards Methodists, Presbyterians and Anglicans. Most authors, furthermore, are professionals engaged in journalism, the ministry, education, law or medicine. Their fathers tended to fall into the same types of occupational groupings. Of twenty-four authors for whom enough information is available, eight have completed college entrance requirements; fifteen attended university or post-secondary institutions, and at least eight have more than a single degree. This homogeneity does not, however, invalidate the sampling so long as the sampling's bias is kept in mind.

A note should be added to this introduction to summarize what the thesis surveys. Chapter II examines how the concept of progress was enshrined by contemporaries and traces one cause to the impact of "Triumphant Science." The revolution in technology dovetailed with the prevailing racial theories to heighten the progress-oriented sense of anticipation. Chapters III and IV look at racial theory and outline how commentators of the times maintained that the human race had developed to its highest point and was destined to evolve fitter, more efficient, superior forms. Chapter III looks at the prototype Saxon. This mythic super-Saxon is contrasted with his mythic American cousin and with real-life Anglo-Saxons with whom Canadians were familiar; eg., the remittance man. In Chapter IV, the prototype Saxon is contrasted with non-Saxon breeds, some distinctly "inferior," such as the

native Indian, the negro and the Chinese, and some merely "unassimilable," such as the Italian, Frenchman or Irishman.

Turning from the applications of the progress doctrine in relation to science and racial theory, Chapter V examines "The Higher Orders" of Canadian society. Contemporary authors viewed the social structure of the nation as they viewed the racial structure of the world. Each was a hierarchy with the fittest at the top and the unfit below. Although there was deemed to be social or vertical mobility, a neo-aristocratic principle, the social equivalent of "the struggle for survival," dictated that each individual would find his rightful place in society.

Chapter VI turns from the social heights to the victims of "Sin, Want and Poverty." To be poor was to rest in sin, to the neo-aristocrats of the turn of the century. If it was not said in public, it could nonetheless be written in fiction. Since man rose by dint of labour, many authors maintained, those who had not risen had not laboured.

Chapter VI also briefly examines the municipal socialism of Margaret Marshall Saunders' The House of Armour and the social-gospellism of Albert Carman's The Preparation of Ryerson Embury: A Purpose. Carman's book especially is a departure from the norm in the light of Carman's rounded characterizations of the poor and his sympathy for the labour movement.

Chapter VII and VIII examine religious division at the turn of the century. Chapter VII looks at "broad-minded sinners" who advocate an approach to morality through science

and reason and the "narrow-minded saints" who are made to represent the obscurantism and inertia in the churches of the day. Chapter VIII outlines the response of "Beseiged Religion." Some religionists advocate compromise with the new forces of rationalism while others resolve to meet "the new immorality" head on and challenge its godless rational assumptions.

Chapter IX looks at "Trouble in Eden." Feminist dissatisfaction centred on employment practices, on the woman's place in society, and on the way men were running the world. Against this picture of "the New Woman" is placed the male's picture of "the Old Woman." Chapter X explores the novelists' pictures of town and country in an attempt to isolate what values the novelists read into the rural and urban environments and what assumptions underlay these values. Chapter X, moreover, turns again to the central concept of progress, revealing the tension created by the new progressive urban environment and the resulting nostalgic longing after "Happy Valley" present in some contemporary novels. The nostalgia is not strong enough, however, to cause any but a few novelists to reject outright the urban environment. And, finally, the concluding chapter attempts to draw together the themes covered in the thesis in order to make a logical, comprehensible pattern out of diverse opinions.

CHAPTER II. TRIUMPHANT SCIENCE[1]

No society is monolithic. Yet in each society, at any point in time, a particular feeling, a sentiment, a ritualized and symbolic relationship, bound up in a word or phrase, may gain widespread acceptance to a degree that contemporaries take for granted that all of a nation's activities lead towards it.

During the latter 1890s such a word seemed to be "progress." J.B. Bury, writing in the thirties, maintained that by the latter 1880s "the idea of Progress was becoming a general article of faith."

> Some might hold it in the fatalistic form that humanity moves in a desirable direction, whatever men do or may leave undone; others might believe that the future will depend on our own conscious efforts, but that there is nothing in the nature of things to disappoint the prospect of steady and indefinite advance. The majority did not inquire too curiously into such points of doctrine, but received it in a vague sense as a comfortable addition to their convictions. But it became a part of the general mental outlook of educated people.[2]

The novelists, whether rationalists or religionists, individualists or collectivists, social evolutionists or social gospellers, accepted the idea that human society had reached a high level of development in the nineteenth century and could expect continuous, steady advance in the future. If they differed over "points of doctrine," they little questioned the central Idea of Progress.

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1 Novelists of primary interest: Dr. James Algie, Ida May Ferguson, Rev. LeRoy Hooker, Flora MacDonald, Charles G.D. Roberts, M. Marshall Saunders and Rev. Egerton Ryerson Young.

2 J.B. Bury, The Idea of Progress: An Inquiry into its Origin and Growth (New York: Macmillan, 1932), p. 346.

Novelists cited many indicators of progress. The efficient state and adaptability of British political institutions, for instance, appeared to reveal social evolutionary principles at work. The success of Anglo-Saxon empire-building, as imperium and as emporium, was simply the apotheosis of a people attuned to the dictates of progress. The physical vigour of the Anglo-Saxon race itself was due to the Anglo-Saxon's recognition of the laws of natural development and his consistent efforts to harmonize social organization with natural law.

But to most authors the achievements of science showed the promise of future human development most clearly. Not only had science contributed the idea of evolutionary progress in the first place; but science had also provided the technology and the theoretical tools which had enabled man in general- and Anglo-Saxons in particular - to realize a degree of harmony with the natural order of things. Triumphant science, then, had carried man to the apex of development which, in the novelists' minds, epitomized the nineteenth century.

To catalogue the scientific tools and theories that English Canadian authors wove into their narratives would be an extensive undertaking. The treatment in this chapter will be, of necessity, brief and selective.

Dr. James Algie, in his Houses of Glass, examined the theory of animal magnetism as an approach toward improving marital relations. "In these days of divorce," he wrote, "when incompatability of temperament and dissimilarity of religious faith are legitimate pleas for the severing of

sacred ties, it behooves us to cultivate more fully the spirit of benevolence and charity. The frequency with which 'lack of affinity' is brought forward, points clearly to the duty of investigating the magnetic relations of the sexes."[3]

As Algie saw it, "every individual was an electrical machine, attracting and repelling each other on fixed principles."[4] "Love, the divine passion, was simply a current of magnetism between the sexes," its strength dependent upon "both physical and mental conditions."[5] Not only did Algie speculate that a full knowledge of these "fixed principles" could allow a man to choose a wife, or a woman a husband, with whom he or she was assured of compatible relations, but also the knowledge might avert sickness and death. If, for instance, a person travels in a crowded railway car, he is likely, because of the presence of so many diverse magnetic fields, to become extremely ill.[6] If a husband's spouse has stopped loving him, the deflection of his magnetism could eventually bring, without replenishment of his natural force requirements, the husband's death.[7]

Variations on the theme of animal magnetism appear in the works of Saunders, Ferguson, Roberts, Hooker and Morton. Other authors investigate the possibilities of phrenology

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3 Dr. James Algie, Houses of Glass. A Romance by Wallace Lloyd, pseud. (Toronto: 1899; first published 1898). preface.
4 Ibid., p. 200
5 Ibid., p. 206.
6 Ibid., pp. 112-3.
7 Ibid., p. 199.

and electricity for solving marital problems.[8]

The increase of medical knowledge is widely reflected in the novel, sometimes with what seems in hindsight humourous effect. While Charles G.D. Roberts made the general assertion that nature had a purgative and vivifying influence on the human body,[9] Rev. Egerton Ryerson Young subscribed to the theory that nature "put in [man] the craving for the kind of food most essential ... for different parts of the world."[10] In the cold and windswept north, for instance, man would find himself craving the fattiest part of the meat because, as Young would have it, therein lies the most heat.[11] Dr. James Algie, himself a physician, proposed a theory close to the modern notion of "what you eat you are." Certain foods, claimed Algie, could change a man's disposition, making him happy or sad, or inspiring him to perorations. "If you wish to make a man ... savage," he wrote, as an example, "feed him

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8 See LeRoy Hooker, Baldoon. A Story (Chicago: 1899), chap. 3, for a tongue-in-cheek analysis of the value of phrenology in selecting a mate, or the words of Prof. Senger scattered throughout Algie's Houses of Glass on the potentialities of phrenology. Ida May Ferguson's Tisab Ting; or The Electrical Kiss by Dyjan Fergus, pseud. (Toronto: 1896) predicts some novel applications of electricity in regards to establishing marital compatibility. As well, Mrs. E.M. Mason in Faces that Follow (Toronto; 1898) has some advice against being "Mismated" in chap. XVI. See also Susan Morrow Jones, A Detached Pirate. The Romance of Gay Vandeleur by Helen Milicete, pseud. (London: 1900) and Algie, Houses of Glass, chap. LVII, for a picture of the prejudices and disadvantages under which a divorcee must labour and the consequent dread of divorce.

9 Charles G.D. Roberts, The Heart of the Ancient Wood (New York: 1900), pp. 41-2 and 190-1.

10 Rev. Egerton Ryerson Young, Winter Adventures of Three Boys in the Great Lone Land (New York and Cincinatti: 1899), p. 201. See also Roberts, The Heart, ibid., p. 219.

11 Young, ibid., p. 237

on meat."[12]

The increase in medical knowledge was a boon to temperance forces. In 1893 the education minister for the province of Ontario authorized for circulation a textbook on temperance and physiology which made many of the same points as James Morton did in his Polson's Probation.[13] Morton here describes the effect of one drink on a "moderate drinker."

> Through Uncle Nathan's nervous and bony system the fiery liquid crept with vivifying influence. Along that great sympathetic nerve, uniting the human stomach and the human brain, it telegraphed, "Down sense - up folly!" As the vapors formed into a rain of nonsense on the roof of the brain, the influence permeated his skull, and caused Uncle Nathan's ginger hair for a moment to stand up. Then it slowly flattened again, and the owner relapsed into weakness.[14]

Ida May Ferguson brings Tisab Ting over from China to Canada, in the year 1996, to tell of developments in the science of electricity. Tisab's father was "one of the ablest electricians of the century, a man of brilliant intelligence and deep thought."[15] His father had developed a healing stone of jade (jade being known to contain "great electrical worth").[16]

In addition Tisab's father pioneered the application of electricity in advanced transportation technology and in industry.[17] But by far the most interesting of his discoveries

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12 Algie, op. cit., p. 386.
13 Dr. William Nattress, Public School Physiology and Temperance (Toronto: 1893).
14 James Morton, Polson's Probation. A Story of Manitoba (Toronto: 1897), p. 106.
15 Ferguson, op. cit., p. 183.
16 Ibid., p. 194.
17 Ibid., pp. 89 and 289.

is"the theory of the electrical kiss."[18] Tisab explains this concept.

> He found that in many, not all, of the human race was a vein of electricity. This vein, when present, runs counter to the pneuogastric nerve, which supplies the heart with nervous energy from the brain. ... if one desiring the love ... of another ... can touch with the lips this electric vein on the occasion of the first kiss [he] may win ... the affection of the person kissed.[19]

"By the power of an electrical kiss," Tisab wins "the burning love of scientific affection" from the girl he wishes to marry.[20]

Flora MacDonald's science fiction novel, Mary Melville, the Psychic, explores the end of psychic investigation and psychic development, and forms a backdrop against which MacDonald expresses her optimistic fatalism in relation to man's future progress.

Mary Melville has been born with psychic powers including her ability to leave the body and travel in the world of mind. After one voyage Mary attempts to describe the world beyond man's senses.

> Ah, father, I wish you had been with me. It was such a grand thing to see and know things as they are. To see that all our works, all our endeavors are along progressive lines, to terminate never, but to get nearer and nearer to a state of perfect harmony, and perfect beauty. Oh, the music of the spheres! Oh, the beauties of the vari-colored and ever changing pictures of a universe![21]

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18 Ibid., p. 183.
19 Ibid., pp. 183-4.
20 Ibid., p. 284.
21 Flora MacDonald, Mary Melville, the Psychic (Toronot: 1900), p. 115.

When back among mankind, however, Mary sees class snobbishness, superstition and resistance to change. Carrying the martyrdom of the strange and non-conforming on her delicate shoulders, Mary soon wearies of the world. Mankind, MacDonald writes, is not yet ready for the visionary.

> The world, the motley crowd of people, trod along in beaten paths, day in and day out. Time and chance have placed them in a groove, and on they plod. Here and there someone takes exception to the pace at which they walk, and steps aside, and goes ahead. And then the crowd begin to pick up stones and hoot and hiss.[22]

Mary has become "the lonely traveller" who "cannot stand the strain, and blows out the candle [she] had thought to light for human feet."[23] She leaves her body to wander in the world of mind, never to return.

MacDonald and Ferguson illustrate the fascination with science and the search, which characterized the writing of all the authors previously treated, for the unchanging principles which determined the working of the cosmos. To a large number of the novelists at century's end, there was little caprice in the workings of the universe. If a divine organizer were not at work, then surely an equally omnipotent "natural law" existed which served to determine what should or should not be.

Joanna Wood, in Judith Moore; or, Fashioning a Pipe. captured the optimistic fatalism of the period and its fixation with the future when she wrote of man's ability to discover "the great open secret in the universe, that being

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22 Flora MacDonald, Mary Melville, the Psychic (Toronto: 1900), p. 221.

23 Loc. Cit.

deciphered will set all our jangling dreams in chime."[24]

> Everything will but subserve to show us how palpable the great Central Truth has always been if we could but find it, and some one will. ... Let a spark of the Divine Fire but once flame fairly up and we shall be gods indeed, moving in the glory of our own transfiguration.[25]

If the stage of development reached by mankind in the nineteenth century appears impressive, writes Wood, subsequent stages will so overshadow it that "all the wisdom of the ages [past] will seem naught as the howling of wolves."[26]

The physical and natural sciences, then, gave man a seemingly incontestable sanction for the notion of progress while it contributed the impressive technology which in the space of mere generations was transforming human society. The next chapter examines another source which leant authority to the progressive theory. That other source was racial theory, an area of thought which itself received support from the new social sciences.

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24 Joanna Wood, Judith Moore; or, Fashioning a Pipe (Toronto: 1898), p. 57.
25 Ibid., p. 58.
26 Loc. cit.

CHAPTER III. ANGLO-SAXONS AND OTHERS[1]

The idea that some races were stronger or superior and others weaker and inferior predated the advent of social Darwinism and the new social sciences. But the latter two influences served to bolster racial hierarchicalism. What is of interest to this thesis is the manner in which racial hierarchicalism reinforced the notion that mankind was involved in evolutionary development that would lead him to the heights.

The new racial theory extant at the turn of the century was framed in Darwinian terms, and ran something like this. The struggle for survival manifested itself within species and races as well as among them. Within the human race the Anglo-Saxon (or, in its larger context, the Teutonic or Aryan) race was particularly well-equipped. Anglo-Saxons, according to theorists, were active, labour-loving - a busy, enterprising race. They had been tempered by a rugged northern climate and tested amid unfavourable terrain, making them physically hardy. They had developed the quality of independence and cherished their heritage as "free-born" Saxons. Although sometimes slow, they were persevering; although domineering, they were wise and full of common-sense.

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[1] Novelists of primary interest: Ida May Ferguson, Rev. Charles W. Gordon, James Miller Grant, Robina and Kathleen Lizars, James Macdonald Oxley, James Morton, Charles G.D. Roberts, M. Marshall Saunders, Coll McLean Sinclair, Eva Rose York.

Many of the novels of the period recreate in whole or in part the prototype Saxon. In the novels of Algie, Dunlop, Ferguson, Gordon, Grant, Harris, Hooker, Jones, McAlister, Murdoch, Oxley, Petitt, Roberts, Saunders, Sheard, Sinclair, Tennant, Wilson, Wood, York, and Young, the hero tends to be a muscular, athletic, stolid, noble, manly six-foot-plus, blonde and blue-eyed super-Saxon.

George Anderson of Charles Roberts' A Sister to Evangeline serves as a representative prototype Saxon. Here he is described by Paul Grande, an officer in the French army with whom the English are at war. It is significant that all through Roberts's novel the French cannot resist paying tribute to their sturdy English adversaries, as Grande does in the following description of Anderson:

> He was a tall man, well over six feet in height, of a goodly breadth of shoulder.... He had beauty too.... His abundant light hair, slightly waving; his ruddy, somewhat square face, with its good chin and kind mouth; his frank and cheerful blue eyes, fearless but not aggressive; his air of directness and good intention - all compelled my tribute of admiration.[2]

Here is the female prototype Saxon, Stargarde Turner. Stargarde, who figures in Marshall Saunders' The House of Armour, is a striking woman, "strong and muscular," and "a trained athlete though she was a woman."[3] Stargarde is also more than passing fair. She was "a tall, magnificently proportioned woman with a white, firm, smooth skin like a baby's, a pair of

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2 Charles G.D. Roberts, A Sister to Evangeline. Being the Story of Yvonne de Lamourie (Boston: 1898), p. 41.

3 Marshall Saunders, The House of Armour (Philadelphia:1897), pp. 162 and 165.

deep blue eyes, and a crown of pale golden hair that lay in coils on top of her head and waved down in little ringlets and circlets over her neck."[4]

Not all prototype Saxons are blonde and blue-eyed and tall. Dark-haired, plain-featured Ezra Stubbs of The Dear Old Farm did not resemble either George Anderson or Stargarde Turner. Yet, though of medium build, he was stocky and rugged: in Sinclair's words, "a thorough going Englishman - a typical John Bull."[5] "Blunt and even coarse in speech, he had no delicate sensibilities and of course made no allowance for such in others."[6]

If Stubbs, however, was usually "stolid and unmoved,"[7] he still possessed a sense of fair play that was typically English. And he was fearless, as Sinclair points out in his rendering of Stubb's encounter with a savage, wounded bear.

> It had immediately seized him without giving him an opportunity to use his gun.... Not knowing with what he was engaged, nor caring much either, but aware from the fierce grip that it was some formidable opponent, he, Englishman-like, dropped his weapon and grappled with his foe in true Cornish fashion.[8]

In large measure, that which made the Englishman hardy, rugged and independent was the severe Northern climate under which the "race" developed. Canadians too lived under a rigorous climate and used this climatic theory of racial

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4 Ibid., p. 90
5 Coll McLean Sinclair, The Dear Old Farm. A Canadian Story by Malcolm, pseud. (St. Thomas, Ont.: 1897), p. 20.
6 Loc. cit.
7 Ibid., p. 8
8 Ibid., pp. 31-2.

development as a rationale for Anglo-Saxon superiority.[9]

Rev. Charles Gordon fashions his novel around the struggle against the severe western environment in which only the hardy types survive. "The West discovered the man in them," Gordon writes of new arrivals to the frontier, "sometimes to their honor, often to their shame."[10] In the Lizars sisters' Committed to His Charge, the remittance man with the unpronouncable name returns from the northwest, like the majority of his fellows, beaten by the rugged clime.[11]

Coll McLean Sinclair's The Dear Old Farm is a eulogy of "the English, the Scotch, the German, and in a lesser degree ... the Irish settlers" (all of them northern peoples and most "Teutonic" or "Aryan") who braved the climate to form "the nucleus of a hardy northern nation."[12] These Canadians never regarded the climate as a drawback. To recall "the keen, healthy, frosty air of winter, the long bracing drives over the moonlit hills ... must and will send the blood tingling through the veins of the dullest clod that ever drew breath among our glorious northern valleys and slopes."[13]

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9 See Carl Berger, "The True North Strong and Free" in Peter Russell, ed., Nationalism in Canada (Toronto, etc.: McGraw Hill of Canada, 1966). See also Dr. William Hingston, The Climate of Canada and its Relation to Life and Health (Montreal: Dawson Bros., 1884) and Alleyne Ireland, "Ruling Races and the North" in Canadian Club of Vancouver Addresses, 1906-8, pp. 150-2, for two interesting expansions of the northern climatic concept.

10 Rev. Charles Gordon, The Sky Pilot. A Tale of the Foothills by Ralph Connor, Pseud. (London: 1902; first published 1899), p.27

11 Robina and Kathleen Lizars, Committed to His Charge. A Canadian Chronicle (Toronto: 1900), pp. 278-80.

12 Sinclair, op. cit., p. 10.

13 Ibid., p. 45

Like genuine Anglo-Saxons, many fictional characters exhibit a love of labour, a sense of mission and a militaristic spirit. Chaon Orr, for instance, in Eva Rose York's book of the same name, takes as his creed, "Truth is salvation, and activity is heaven."[14] His college life points up the diligent way he applies this labour-worshipping maxim.

> Save for the earnestness and activity of my life I was as one in a dream. My last year at college was spent at a pressure, the remembrance of which now startles me. I worked day and night, making strides that overlapped all records....[15]

When, after graduation, Orr suffers a setback in love, his pace slows to a crawl, and the rate of activity becomes, as the book progresses, a reliable index of the state of his mental well-being.

Like Chaon Orr, two other characters raise activity to the level of a guiding principle. The child Robin, in James Miller Grant's The Fairy School of Castle Frank, a "strong, active and healthy" lad,[16] taught his fairy school the rewards that accrue to the industrious. In later life, entering the world of adults, Robin "saw many who, carrying up the craft and ignorance of earlier days, were utterly broken down in the business of the world."[17] Young Robin was convinced that the cause of their ruin lay "in shunning true and ennobling labor."[18]

Frederick Polson, in James Morton's Polson's Probation.

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14 Eva Rose York, Chaon Orr. Portions of His Autobiography (Belleville, Ont.: 1896), p. 9.
15 Ibid., p. 63
16 James Miller Grant, The Fairy School of Castle Frank by Grant Balfour, pseud. (Toronto: 1899), p. 7.
17 Ibid., p. 55
18 Loc. cit.

also asserts that "labor was God's universal law - that only in work would true happiness be found - that idleness was always punished by the curse of ennui, accompanied often by broken health and corrupted morals."[19] Polson took his belief that keeping busy is keeping happy from Tolstoi.[20]

A number of novelists point out the Anglo-Saxon's mission to spread "superior" civilization to the "inferior" races. Ralph Newton, young hero of James Macdonald Oxley's In the Swing of the Sea, consecrates his life to the work of spreading the gospel and tenets of Anglo-Saxon civilization to the South Sea Islanders. In Beth Woodburn, Beth and Arthur Grafton minister to and proselytize among the Jews at Jerusalem. Rev. Charles Gordon's heroes are missionaries among the rough frontiersmen of the Canadian west. Tisab Ting attests to the civilizing effect of Christian missionaries in China between the years 1895 and 1995. And finally, Rev. Egerton Ryerson Young propagandizes for the Methodist effort to wrest the Nelson River Indians from cruel superstitions and degradation.

While all prototype Saxons are fearless or plucky, three novelists exalt war and military men. James Macdonald Oxley's On the World's Roof focuses on the adventures of young Kent Stannard, who accompanies his father on military expeditions as the British army fights its way across India.

Stannard finds the value of being British when his life is imperilled in the course of numerous run-ins with the natives ("Don't you dare strike me; I'm English.")[21] and remains puzzled

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19 James Morton, Polson's Probation. A Story of Manitoba (Toronto: 1897), p. 11

20 Loc. cit.

21 James Macdonald Oxley, On the World's Roof (Philadelphia: 1897), p. 233.

to the end why the natives resist the British advance.

> "What a pity it seems, all this destruction!" said Kent to his father as they walked along together with the vanguard of the invaders. "Why did they do it? To keep us from taking possession?"
> "For some such reason, my boy," replied Mr Stannard. "They evidently have as poor an idea of us as they have of their native foes. They'll think better of us after they've got to know us better."[22]

Charles Roberts' A Sister to Evangeline, referred to earlier in this chapter, is set at the time of the Acadian expulsion. One might have noticed peculiarities about the previous description of the prototype Saxon, George Anderson. Anderson was a pacific man, by religion a Quaker, and not at all the man of brave deeds or warlike character that Paul Grande, the French army captain, was. Grande regards this as unnatural and resolves to divest Anderson of his unmanly attitude.

Grande gets his chance when he and Anderson are set upon by a band of Micmacs, henchmen of the evil Black Abbé. Grande exhorts Anderson to face the enemy and fight. When he does, Anderson shows his latent, natural capacities as a soldier and a killer. "Out of this big Quaker," muses Grande, "you have made a fighter, and he seems to like it."[23]

But only a certain ritualized type of killing appeals to Grande. War is not for the amateur of the bloodthirsty. Says Grande:

War, I cannot but think, becomes a gross and

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22 Ibid., p. 265
23 Charles Roberts, Sister, ibid., p. 133

> hideous thing whensoever it is suffered to slip out of the control of gentlemen, who alone know how to maintain its courtesies.[24]

Ida May Ferguson, as well, subscribes to this code, one that Oxley termed "the romance of war."[25] Ferguson's scenes in her Tisab Ting are rampant with the glory of national struggle. Here is her picture of a war between France and Russia, on the one side, and Great Britain, on the other, fought, supposedly in 1996, to contest British control of Egypt.

> The glittering panoply of war ... the awful spectacle of man fighting against brother man for supremacy! The roar of the cannon! The spontaneous flash of musketry! The wild cries of cavalrymen urging forward their frightened, maddened steeds! ... And underneath, yet mingling in the turmoil, the moans, the cries, and the fierce execrations of the wounded and dying. Ah, who can describe it in all its terror, majesty, grandeur, and awfulness - the field of battle![26]

The battle surgeons pass on the field of combat "dead faces upturned with the exultant glow of battle still on them, apparently fierce, even in death, for their country's greatness!"[27] Ferguson, exalting as she does "manliness", athleticism and fitness, manifests the tendency to romanticize struggle. The same tendency is exhibited in other novels

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24 Ibid., p. 30

25 James Macdonald Oxley, The Romance of Commerce (Toronto: 1896), preface. "There has been a romance of commerce no less than a romance of war. Men have shown an equal enterprise and daring in the pursuit of wealth as in extending the bounds of empire, and gold has run close rivalry with glory in adding brilliant pages to the world's history." Loc. cit.

26 Ferguson, op. cit., p. 257.

27 Ibid., p. 260.

whether rivalry takes the form of military combat as in Ferguson's Tisab Ting and Roberts' A Sister to Evangeline, or the struggle to survive in the wilderness as in Egerton Young's Three Boys and Winter Adventures, or the struggle to survive in the urban slum as in Wilson's A Star in Prison, and Sheard's Trevelyan's Little Daughters.

The Anglo-Saxon race, therefore, seemed the fittest human race and would prove most able to survive and to spread its influence over the globe. Progress, under these circumstances, would consist in minimizing the taint of inferior racial strains in pure Anglo-Saxon blood, minimizing the indigenous unfit within the Anglo-Saxon race, and maximizing the spread of Anglo-Saxon civilization and influence.

One cannot stop here, however, and say that one has covered the treatment of Anglo-Saxons in the novel. When one gets away from representations of Englishmen as prototype Saxons, and considers the picture of the individual Englishman in the novel, one sees the monistic approach to Englishmen break down. Some Englishmen are mercilessly caricatured: the remittance man, for instance. The remittance man represented to most novelists England short-changing the "colonies" by transporting her undesirables to far shores and dumping them.

Bill Aikens of Joanna Wood's Judith Moore is exemplary of the remittance man. His type is "brought out by one of the benevolent English societies, which gather up the scum of their own cities and trust to the more sparkling atmosphere of the New World to aerate it into 'respectable and useful citizens.'"[28]

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28 Joanna Wood, Judith Moore; or, Fashioning a Pipe (Toronto: 1898), p. 89

Bill Aikens "was a good worker, but lacked ballast, and was rapidly degenerating into a sot."[29]

In Committed to His Charge a vagabond earns the epithet remittance man from the citizenry of Slowford. He "had been dubbed 'the Remittance Man,' partly because when pressed for payment of current expenses he always spoke of an expected remittance from England, partly because he owned a name difficult to pronounce and in sound quite at variance with the arrangement of its letters."[30]

The community of Slowford looks with contempt on this type. Mrs. Forby would "put a tax of fifty dollars per head on every man like that coming into this country!"[31] The remittance man was typically shiftless and haughty. "It would have spoiled the beautiful consistency of this particular ... character had he done anything honest or straightforward."[32]

> Naturally, in the beginning of his emigrant life, he had taken to the north-west. Naturally, also, he had expended his capital on a ranch. His original kit contained three dozen pairs of socks .... In transit he had been invited to break his fast in but one Canadian home. With his English fellow-sufferers he had cursed his lot volubly, and sponged on his countrymen whenever there was opportunity; but, even when hungry, the Canadian he spurned. ... So, in ways inscrutable to the cisatlantic mind, ... the bit of English thistledown floated along till it settled in Slowford.[33]

Nor did the remittance man find himself any more willing to mix with that community, repeating, as he often did, that "I have no use ... for that wish-wash composite, the Canadian."[34]

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29 Loc. cit.
30 Lizars, op. cit., p. 278
31 Ibid., p. 224
32 Ibid., p. 279
33 Ibid., p. 279-80
34 Ibid., p. 302.

In the end, to supplement his remittance, he attempted to blackmail the popular Rev. Huntley, a turn of events which, combined with Huntley's burden, hastened the latter's death.

Other types of British immigrants were singled out. Georgina Seymour Waitt, for instance, lampooned British dandies who seemed to end up in Canada. Full of affectation these dandies contribute little, except to the amusement of permanent residents. On a canoing trip, Waitt's Three Girls run into one whose speech and affected manner repel them.

> "I sigh, don't cher know, let's all have bweakfast together. It'd be so deuced jolly, and all that sort of thing, don't cher know."
> We often get specimens like this out here. They say there is not room enough for them in England; but they never want for room here; they can always have the whole of outdoors, and lots of fresh air. Not that they want to be any fresher. They are often too fresh as it is; but they are no trouble to the regular inhabitants. There is plenty of elbow room around here.[35]

Many authors, as well, criticize British society or colonial traits in Canadian society. Marshall Saunders, for instance, upbraids snobbish Canadians who pander to British society by attempting to mimic English accents. Saunders also attacked British decorum which dictated that genuine and freely expressed emotion must be sacrificed before standards of what is "dignified" or "correct." Georgina Waitt poked fun at a British tar who would not sacrifice decorum even when a souvenir hunter snipped off a button from his coat-tail. "I was wondering ... how he would maintain the dignity of Her Majesty's Navy, for British sailors have died before now rather than make laughing stocks of themselves."[36]

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35 Georgina Seymour Waitt, Three Girls Under Canvas (Victoria: 1900), p. 112.

36 Waitt, op. cit., p. 147

Mrs. Lindsay, of Committed to His Charge, eyes the new rector, who has emigrated from England, suspiciously because he appears to be a man of independent means.

> "God keep us! He looks to me as if he might be an Englishman with a Past!"
> "Englishman with a fiddlestick," said Mrs. Forby; "why should an Englishman have a past more than any other man."
> "No reason in the world," was the reply: "they've all got 'em right enough; but an Englishman's is likely to be a trifle spicier...."[37]

Some Englishmen, however, come to the Canadian frontier in retreat from the qualities which they reject in English society and become an integral part of the Canadian "way of life." Colonel Talbot, founder of the Talbot settlement, is credited by Coll McLean Sinclair with coming to Canada in order not to be "cramped any longer by the hollow shams and conventionalities of aristocratic society."[38] Among the "Noble Seven" of Rev. Gordon's The Sky Pilot is at least one remittance man (The Duke) and other men who, though unsuccessful in England, have adjusted well to the environment of the Canadian West. In one passage Gordon relates the genesis of the "Noble Seven" and how they coalesced with frontier society, retaining the "superior" qualities of the English influence but dropping it's artificialities.

> The Company of the Noble Seven was the dominant social force in the Swan Creek country. ... Originally consisting of seven young fellows of the best blood of Britain, "banded together for purposes of mutual improvement and social enjoyment," it had changed its

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37 Lizars, op. cit., p. 16
38 Sinclair, op. cit., p. 32

> character during the years, but not its name. First, its membership was extended to include "approved colonials." ... Then its purposes gradually limited themselves to those of a social nature, chiefly in the line of poker-playing and whiskey drinking. Well born and delicately bred in that atmosphere of culture mingled with a sturdy common sense and a certain high chivalry which surrounds the stately homes of Britain, these young lads, freed from the restraints of custom and surrounding, soon shed all that was superificial in their make-up and stood forth in the naked simplicity of their native manhood. The West discovered and revealed the man in them, sometimes to their honor, often to their shame.[39]

The men, having fled the restraints of one society, were not prepared to let another, symbolized by the frontier missionary, "impose upon their freedom," as the Noble Seven phrased it, "the trammels of an antiquated and bigoted conventionality."[40]

Gordon's picture brings one back full circle to the image of Englishmen as self-reliant and forceful prototype Saxons. The novelists' agreement with the prevailing theories of racial hierarchicalism generates a sense of identification with Anglo-Saxondom even if this sense of identification does not carry over into the novelists' view of English society and individual Englishmen.

Two other groups fall under this chapter's scope: the Scots and the Americans. As many authors are Scottish as English in this period. Scottish authors, though outside the pale of Teutondom, identify with the Saxon and northern stock. Coll McLean Sinclair is a case in point. Earlier in

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39 Rev. Charles W. Gordon, The Sky Pilot, A Tale of the Foothills by Ralph Connor, pseud. (London: 1902; first published 1899), pp. 26-7.

40 Ibid., p. 39.

this chapter his picture of Ezra Stubbs was examined as an instance of prototypical Saxonism. Yet Sinclair was Scottish. Though Sinclair, in his The Dear Old Farm, does not refer to his Scottish figures as "stolid," they are nonetheless rugged and disciplined. Rev. Gordon's Scottish figures in The Sky Pilot and Black Rock are equally able to hold their own with their English counterparts.

While Gordon presents the prototype Saxon in his narratives, however, his prime emphasis falls on the Western environment as a stern test of manhood. His characters, therefore, succeed in relation to their ruggedness. Since the Scots are identified as a northern people, tried and tested in the rugged Scottish environment, most, who have the will to resist temptations like alcohol, will succeed. Most, in other words, have the native virility to stand the test of the northern climate of the Canadian frontier.

Other Scottish writers like Lottie McAlister, Flora Macdonald and John Murdoch see no conflict of interest in using the Saxon frame of reference to delineate Scottish characters. It becomes clear, therefore, that there is no conflict between the Saxon racial myth and Scots. There is no defensiveness in the writings of Scottish authors, no sense of being amongst "the others" vis-a-vis Anglo-Saxons. Scottish writers, on the other hand, class French Canadians and Irishmen among "the others."

Celts and Anglo-Saxons are clear "racial" groupings. Americans, on the other hand, form an interesting body in

contemporary racial theory in English Canada. Possessing a national character, they are not accorded "racial" status. They are neither "sons of England" as are Scottish and English Canadians nor a clear-cut, new race. Nevertheless, one cannot simply consign them to "the others," who are to be discussed in the following chapter. In contemporary terms, the Americans are "our Anglo-Saxon cousins," and hence fall under this chapter's scope.

Do English Canadian novelists, by and large, identify with the American national character? To answer that question one must examine the character itself and see whether it differs from that of the Anglo-Saxon as defined in the preceding pages.

Marshall Saunders, in her Deficient Saints, would seem to provide a clue to the question whether Canadians see Americans as indistinguishable from Anglo-Saxons proper. Her description of Justin Mercer separates his American qualities of pragmatism and materialism from his English qualities of physical hardihood and discipline.

> He was a curious combination, this boy ... -half Englishman, half Yankee. His tall, firmly built figure, his reserve, and his pale face were a legacy from his father, who was of direct English ancestry; his business ability and calculating ways, and his granite-coloured eyes, that so swiftly and unerringly measured his fellow men with respect to their usefulness or uselessness to him, were direct gifts to him through his mother from a generation or two of New England traders.41

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41 Marshall Saunders, Deficient Saints. A Tale of Maine (Boston: 1899), pp. 13-4.

One might investigate this initial difference, then: the American national character seems to be derived from the quality of pragmatic materialism while the English national character is not.

A significant number of authors who incorporate references to the United States into their narratives, discuss America's "vaunted" democracy, in their words, while pointing up the inequalitarian makeup of American society. Many compare the American experience in this regard with that of the English. In James Algie's Houses of Glass, for example, David Gordon remarks that American society seems status-oriented, as one sees by the way Americans are impressed with titles - much more impressed than are the English.

> This is the kind of thing that we Americans laugh at, but, at the same time we are willing, with all our bags of dollars, to buy titled paupers for our sons-in-laws. In spite of our boasted democracy ... the Duke of Debits receive[s] a thousand times more homage in New York than in London. ... The Americans are democratic in theory, and the English in practice.[42]

Marshall Saunders was not so critical of American naivete in relation to the "titled tribe" as she was of the callousness of the American "aristocracy." In Deficient Saints Miss Gastonguay turned to Chelda to berate a "cold-hearted moneybags, nourished on the milk of Wall Street."[43]

> "Chelda, do you believe that among foreign aristocracy there is half the scorn for the lowly born, the toiling poor, that there is among our so-called

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42 James Algie, Houses of Glass. A Romance by Wallace Lloyd, pseud. (Toronto: 1899; first published 1898). p. 494.
43 Marshall Saunders, Deficient Saints, op. cit., p. 79.

> American aristocrats? ... You have met them travelling, - those counts and countesses, dukes and duchesses, - you have seen that they have some bowels of compassion; but our rich people here, - they are grossly material. It is money, money, how much have you? What is the biggest piece of foolery you can perpetuate with it?"[44]

Miss Gastonguay goes on to say that "the trouble is not poverty, but abundance."

> "We are too materialistic, too luxurious in our tastes.... I think of this great nation and tremble, so young, so prosperous, - what is to be the end of us? Are we to follow Greece and Rome?"[45]

Miss Gastonguay was not the only fictional figure to predict class warfare and ruin for America. Mary Melville also dwelt upon the future of America and came to pessimistic conclusions.

> Despite the sentiment that all free born Americans are equal, the truth is, that there never was in any nation such inequality. A Vanderbilt, a Gould or an Astor, is born heir to multi-millions, while thousands are born in the slums, heirs to sickness, to vice and to crime.[46]
> Justice and Equality! How absurd it seems that the Goddess of liberty should be displayed here, there, and everywhere among the white slaves of toil, with her flaming torch-light showing ... a seething struggle in which the laboring man is seen, anxious and worried, ..[with] no bright past, with little hope of better days in the future.[47]

A number of other authors picture Americans as rough-mannered, scheming, ambitious, unprincipled individuals. When the American consul, in Committed to His Charge, ventures to "opine" on a matter about which he has no knowledge and which is none of his business, Mr. Forby "opines" in retort

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44 Loc. cit.
45 Ibid., p. 101
46 Flora MacDonald, Mary Melville. the Psychic (Toronto: 1900), p. 185.
47 Ibid., p. 186.

that the consul is "a thundering idiot."[48] In Eleanor Stredder's Lost in the Wilds, Americans smuggle spirits into Canada, keeping the frontier police of Manitoba busy. "Wintering among the Yankee roughs on the other side of the border," remarks Stredder in another passage, was " a proceeding ... synonymous in the North-West Dominion with 'getting out of the way.'"[49] When young Wilfred went to name the dogs which formed his team he named the sturdiest "English Boxer," but he named "the little schemer with the party-coloured face ... Yankee-doodle."[50]

In Polson's Probation Silas Pancrack (alias Julius Hatton) calls the United States "a nation of lynchers, swindlers and political rogues."[51] Frederick Polson rushes to correct this impression, but his own interpretation of American character is only slightly less damning.

> "The American people, as a whole, are the very opposite of what you have described. Though sharp in their dealings, they are honest; and though a strong but misguided sense of justice sometimes drives a mob to rash acts, it would be grossly unfair to take the composition of this mob as representative of the majority of the people. As for political roguery, though I cannot deny that it exists, and perhaps in a large degree, there is yet hope for its eventual extermination...."[52]

Not all novelists, however, felt Americans were rogues and schemers. On the contrary, most have nothing but admiration (verging on envy) for American growth and prosperity.

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48 Lizars, op. cit., p. 302
49 Eleanor Stredder, Lost in the Wilds. A Canadian Story (London, etc.: n.d.; first published 1896), p. 22.
50 Ibid., p. 141
51 Morton, op. cit., p. 48
52 Loc. cit.

Many, moreover, look to New York or Boston or San Francisco as the metropolis.

James Algie, though he struck out at American status-consciousness, praised the country as "the land of freedom and progress."[53] The ordinary man of America, unlike his wealthy, class-conscious brother, was a sociable, fun-loving type.

> In America every man talks to his neighbour in car, boat, or hotel; each finds out about the other as much as he cares to know, and people in this way pick up acquaintances with the most astonishing rapidity.[54]

This is sometimes puzzling to the visitor in America, like Maurice Fletcher of Houses of Glass.

> Several of his fellow-passengers had the audacity to quiz him as to where he came from, where he was going, and what his business was, just as if they had a right to know. But these Americans seemed to like that sort of thing. People who never saw or heard of each other before, and probably would never meet again in this vale of tears, mingled and chatted with the familiarity of old acquaintances.[55]

All of this is enough to change Maurice's impressions of America. When his travelling companions ask him for his opinion of Americans Maurice obliges enthusiastically.

> So far I have been astonished by the enterprise, sociability, and self-reliance of your people. Before I came here [from England], I fancied that America was largely a howling wilderness, but when I saw your great metropolis, New York, I had to confess to myself that even London seemed dull and dingy compared with it.[56]

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53 Algie, op. cit., p. 310.
54 Ibid., p. 237.
55 Ibid., p. 226.
56 Ibid., p. 240.

The qualities that Maurice Fletcher praises are exactly those which, when taken to an extreme, other characters disparage. It becomes apparent then that novelists form their opinion about the United States (and a rather stereotyped opinion it is) with the principal variable being whether Americans, in a democratic or libertarian environment, do things in an unbridled, excessive fashion or with moderation and discernment. The difference between the two becomes the difference between "mob rule" or "democracy," "scheming" and "greed" or "enterprise," "rudeness" and "inquisitiveness" or "sociability."

What seemed to be the most significant difference between Americans and Englishmen in the eyes of the English Canadian novelists? What made the novelists feel optimistic about the future of the English "race" yet not as optimistic about the ultimate success of Americans? In the first place, the Anglo-Saxon (i.e., Englishmen) had aligned himself with the dictates of progress more successfully than had the American. The American had chosen, it appears, the chimera of material abundance and soft living, while the Saxon men of the north had chosen the path of discipline, hardihood and sacrifice in the interests of the promotion of the race.

In the second place, Americans had an undeveloped sense of "progress" and "race." Americans subordinated the life of the mind, for instance, to the life of the body. Anglo-Saxons, on the other hand, kept a sense of balance in this regard. While not forgetting technological progress, they placed

highest value on ideas, such as "loyalty", "excellence", "duty", and so on. Anglo-Saxons, moreover, felt their sense of mission, in their own opinion, more keenly than did Americans. Englishmen were spreading civilization and Christianity and "progress" over the globe while Americans were domestically preoccupied. Certainly in regards to the doctrine of race, Americans showed no inclination to observe primary rules. They welcomed the "huddled masses" from all parts of Europe, without differentiation. And an assorted collection of specimens they received - Slavs, Italians, Jews, Puerto Ricans and so on. Israel Zangwill was to call it "the Melting Pot," and it was decidedly not the formula that could result, so the novelists imply, in a racially superior strain.

English Canadians, on the other hand, stressed their sense of loyalty, duty and affinity with the rules of progress. Canada was racially purer, being viewed (before the effects of the great immigration settled into the public comprehension) as a direct transplant of British stock. Mrs. E.M. Mason, in her Faces that Follow, conveys this English Canadian sense of identification with Anglo-Saxondom and English Canadian belief that Anglo-Saxondom and the well-springs of progress are inseparable, each serving the other in turn.

> In the Jubilee year the eyes of civilization were focused upon the little isle of Britain. The Empire had her navy in line, her standing army on parade; her commerce showed to the world its balance sheet. The Victorian era is replete with the achievements of science, art and literature. The free-born Saxon finds his pulsations quicken because all centres around and is conducive to the well-being of that sweetest and happiest spot under the blue azure of God's skies, known to him as home. The army and navy are

its defences; commerce enriches it; science serves its interests faithfully; art beautifies its walls; literature ennobles, educates, entertains the beloved inhabitants.[57]

57 Mrs. E.M. Mason, Faces That Follow (Toronto: 1898), p. 86.

CHAPTER IV. ANGLO-SAXONS AND OTHERS[1]

Though contemporary manuals such as Benjamin Kidd's Social Evolution (1894), Aline Gorren's Anglo-Saxons and Others (1900) and Nottidge Charles Macnamara's The Origin and Character of the British People (1900) are explicit in their racial views, few novelists of the time develop their own thinking on the question explicitly. This chapter will offer some illustrations of implied attitudes from which treatment a total picture will emerge. That picture will conform to the picture discussed in chapter III of a racial hierarchy in which Anglo-Saxons occupy the most prominent place.

The present chapter will devote considerable space to the treatment of the native Indian in the novel and pass on from there to treat the negro, Chinese, Italian, French and Irish figures in the novels. These groups together form the inferiors and unassimilables, or simply the "others." Some, like the Italians, are a southern race and, hence, unindustrious and unambitious. Others like the negro derive from southern and uncivilized ancestry and, if not excluded by colour prejudice, are dismissed for their backwardness. Still others, like the Irish and French, may come and go in Anglo-Saxon society but possess a trait of national character which

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1 Novelists of primary interest: Dr. James Dunlop, Ida May Ferguson, Rev. Charles W. Gordon, James Miller Grant, Rev. LeRoy Hooker, Susan Morrow Jones, Marshall Saunders, Virna Sheard, Eleanor Stredder, Georgina Seymour Waitt and Rev. Egerton Ryerson Young.

is regarded as an inherited disability - the French are "hot-blooded" and simple while the Irish are stiff-necked and quarrelsome.

The native Indian occupies a unique position among racial groups in Canada, being the original inhabitant of the country and yet being regarded as a guest in his own house. The Indian is the"foreigner within". The treatment of the native Indian in the novel falls into one of two categories. Either the Indian is brought into the narrative as an intrinsically remarkable phenomenon or else is incorporated as an extrinsically functional figure.

The novelists, in regarding the Indian as an intrinsically remarkable phenomenon, introduce Indian characters to add ethnic or local colour by describing strange customs and legendary occurences. The range of impressions of the Indian as phenomenon is wide and takes in, on the one extreme, the Indian as mythic, romantic figure, and, on the other extreme, the Indian as benighted heathen, offensive, disgusting, degrading and a blight on the Canadian landscape.

Examples of the first extreme seem to occur most frequently in fables designed for children and in books, generally, which are intended to provide light entertainment. Thus, in James Miller Grant's The Fairy School of Castle Frank, the child Robin dreams of being rowed with a fairy queen through an idyllic Canadian landscape in a canoe manned by strong Indians. What brings on these dreams is Robin's reverie in his father's study where an awesome collection of weapons

adorns the wall, included in which are "Indian spears and bows and arrows."[2] Because the child dwells so much in the imaginative realm of "tales of Indian life, and the stories of mighty giants and magic-working fairies,"[3] his mother gives him the pet Indian name, "Inabandang" or "dreamer of dreams."[4]

Also in this mythic vein Susan Morrow Jones works the Indian into her story of A Detached Pirate to inject a magical quality into the Nova Scotia countryside. Morrow's rendering of the old Indian legend is standard fare: the daughter of the chief is forbidden to marry her lover and instructed to give herself to another of her father's choosing.

> The Indian girl ran away on her wedding morning and met her lover here, and together they jumped into the water by the rocks. Their bridal star shone only for one minute, and now the Indians believe that at night a dark canoe shoots out from the rapids, and in it are the girl and her lover, returning for an hour from the Spirit Isle.[5]

In much the same manner Ida May Ferguson incorporates the tale of the "dancing rock" into her Tisab Ting[6] and Charles G.D. Roberts laces his tales of old Acadie with tales of Indian life and customs.

If these illustrations are exemplary of one extreme Georgina Seymour Waitt provides a version of the other. The Indians she depicts are typically lazy (clever enough, but lacking zeal), degenerate, insular and offensive to sight and smell. Waitt's picture is one of unglorified realism, in which

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2 James Miller Grant, The Fairy School of Castle Frank by Grant Balfour, pseud. (Toronto: 1899), p. 6.

3 Ibid., p. 8.

4 Loc. cit.

5 Susan Morrow Jones, A Detached Pirate. The Romance of Gay Vandeleur by Helen Milecete, pseud. (London: 1900), pp. 71-2.

6 Ida May Ferguson, Tisab Ting; or, The Electrical Kiss by Dyjan Fergus, pseud. (Toronto: 1896), pp. 58-9.

she brings out those features of the Indian character which have most offended her white Anglo-Saxon sensibilities.

> I wonder why it is that people have such an exalted idea of the Indians of the [West] coast, and sketch them in the English papers as tall, beautifully developed and always wearing fringed moccasins, and a wonderful head-piece of feathers. While, in reality, they are rather under medium height, dressed in any old clothes they can buy, borrow or steal. They are generally dirty, unkept, bescarred creatures, with small bleary eyes, and matted, filthy hair. Of course, as they have been exposed to the temptations of civilization that may account for their dilapidated condition.[7]

Nothing romantic or mythic comes to Waitt's mind when she regards Coastal Indians - no image of the noble savage. In fact, as she goes on to say in the same querulous tone, she finds it hard to regard them at all - except at a comfortable distance - because of a certain "custom" which she finds inexplicable.

> I wonder why it is all Indians consider it the correct thing to smell so strongly of fish oil. Everything they touch has the same disgusting odor. I believe they think they could not be healthy unless saturated with it, and I am sure even germs never tackle an Indian if they could help it.[8]

Many novelists - less carried away with their subjects than these writers - recorded glimpses of the Indian which, together with characterizations in newspapers, journals and other media, became the stuff from which impressions were made. Most authors adapted their portraits from first-hand experience of a local band, but all injected extraneous values which contributed to a lack of fidelity in characterization and brought about a misunderstanding of the Indian's style of

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7 Georgina Seymour Waitt, Three Girls Under Canvas (Victoria: 1900), pp. 24-5.

8 Ibid., p. 23.

living and his system of values.

In very few novels does the Indian appear prominently. Outside of his rare intrusion as a phenomenon of the Canadian landscape, the Indian enters the novel most frequently as a functional figure. Functional figures are usually mechanical help-meets, foils or background figures who, unlike the intrinsically important hero and major figures, are important for extrinsic reasons. Like the "ragged multitude" in Anna May Wilson's A Star in Prison they provide the cheering when cheering is called for, the weeping when tears are in order, and the occassional death when a death serves the plot.

One such functional role for which the Indian is used is to elevate the major white characters in the reader's eyes. The Indian is depicted as doing or saying a number of things which the white character points to as wrong, unwise, immoral or misguided. The effect is to enhance the moral stature of whites, white values and white civilization.

Examples of this type of characterization abound. In Rev. Young's stories of missionary work among the Nelson River Indians, the novelist offers this picture which identifies the Indian with the baser, and the white with the nobler or civilized instincts. Young Frank, an English schoolboy visiting the Hudson's Bay area, is attempting, with the assistance of an experienced Indian driver, to break in his new sled dog.

> Seeing (the dog) beginning to act ugly and obstinate, the Indian driver drew his heavy dog-whip and was about to strike him. This Frank hotly resented, and so the Indian waited

> to see what the young white master wanted to do. Frank's quick intellect was at work. He was a wide-awake, kindly lad, with a love for as well as a knowledge of dogs .... he instantly made up his mind that (the dog) could be broken in by kindness and persuasion.[9]

Again in LeRoy Hooker's Baldoon a Potawatomie Indian by the name of Peewee provides the foil to show up the manliness of the white hero, providing, a propos, the means by which the hero and his life's love first meet.

> Debby was abroad that evening in one of her long walks down the river from The Forks. She had wandered farther and later than usual, and on turning homeward came face to face with Peewee, the Potawatomie Indian, and he was drunk.
>
> The place was lonely, and the Indian was in a mood that made it dangerous for an unprotected maiden to meet him.[10]

Peewee, "with a leer part savage, part maudlin,"[11] rushed at Debby, intending to kidnap her, but her screams brought Tom Brimmicom, also abroad that night, to her rescue.

> When Peewee found himself confronted by a man his surprise and rage broke out in the snarling expression, "Ta-a-a-ya!" - which I have reason to think is the wickedest kind of Potawatomie profanity, feeling, meanwhile, for the handle of a long hunting knife that stuck in his belt. But Tom's right hand had been trained for emergencies of that kind. It shot straight out from the shoulder, and delivered a blow that made a very good Indian of Peewee for the next hour or two.[12]

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9 Rev. Egerton Ryerson Young, Winter Adventures of Three Boys in the Great Lone Land (New York: 1899), p. 41. Frank had only two days' experience in working with sled dogs who, Young notes earlier, are traditionally suspicious of and unmanageable by whites. Yet "the young white master" and not the experienced, familiar Indian driver proves able to subdue the dog. Young's books repeatedly contradict themselves where Young feels necessary to sacrifice consistency for effect.

10 Rev. LeRoy Hooker, Baldoon. A Story (Chicago: 1899), p. 103.

11 Loc. cit.

12 Ibid., pp. 103-4.

Marshall, Saunders, on the other hand, employs a more subtle device in her Deficient Saints. Miss Gastonguay is a wealthy spinster who is remarkable, among other things, for her exceedingly masculine bearing and demeanour. The mystery of the origin of this masculinity is solved when one of her friends finds a picture hanging in one of the rooms of the Gastonguay chateau, a rendering of one of her ancestors - "Kanawita, a great Tarratine chief."[13]

Kanawita, her grandfather, was "a magnificent specimen of physical manhood," and it is to him that Miss Gastonguay traces her physique. But the Indian suffers in the treatment because his build is all that he can pass on to Miss Gastonguay. A shrewd businesslike sense or an imaginative or literary bent are not his to give; he lends his physical hardihood, but retains the impairments that attend his "benighted" native condition.[14]

Indians serve in another way as a means of contrasting cultures and elevating that of the white. In both Marshall Saunders' and Rev. Young's novels, Indians are pictured as being prepared to move mountains for trinkets and divulge the deepest secrets for a bolt of gaudy cloth. In Marshall Saunders' The House of Armour, for example, Dr. Camperdown asks Joe Christmas, a Micmac Indian, to watch over Vivienne Delavigne. "Joe was a faithful servant to the House of Armour" and "would have had not the slightest hesitation in

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13 Marshall Saunders, Deficient Saints. A Tale of Maine (Boston: 1899), p. 102.

14 Ibid., p. 103.

in giving Dr. Camperdown the pledge he required."15

When Joe gives Camperdown his word, Camperdown observes that "being only a poor Micmac and not a clever white man, you won't break it."16 Yet Camperdown feels the necessity of adding a roll of tobacco to the bargain, seeming to indicate that Joe's word can be secured more easily and made firmer by the giving of a trifle.

In Rev. Young's novels, old Indians are induced to relate tales of brigade adventures and Indian life by the gift of a pocketknife, a gaudy red handkerchief, a shirt and so on. Young Indians, competing in games of skill held at the mission centre, are offered various prizes of little worth, concerning which Young has this comment.

> It is true that from a civilized standpoint these prizes would not be considered of much value, but by these young Indians they were much valued.17

The prizes for winter games held at the mission centre include "little handkerchiefs, strings of beads and other trifling things" which young Indians delight in.18

The implication is clear. Indians have an inferior sense of value; their culture is less able to generate standards by which beads and trinkets can be set against articles of utility or genuine worth. Childlike they are fascinated by bright colours and shiny objects. They are made

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15 Marshall Saunders, The House of Armour (Philadelphia: 1897), p. 192.

16 Ibid., p. 193.

17 Rev. Egerton Ryerson Young, Three Boys, in the Wild North Land. Summer (New York: 1896), p. 119.

18 Young, Winter Adventures, ob. cit., p. 130

happy by "trifling things"19 which the white man, in his superiority, spurns. Through these depictions the higher development or superior values of white society are underlined.

Besides serving the function of elevating white society through contrast, the Indian in the English Canadian novel of the latter 1890s also provided comic relief. The technique needn't be offensive, as when children serve the comic function by being cute. But it can be insidious and debasing.

The picture of Peewee, the Potawatomie, stretched out on the ground "like a very good Indian," is designed to provide light relief.[20] Joe Christmas provides a comic touch in a number of scenes of The House of Armour, and particularly when Joe lures a bothersome Irish drunkard, who is upsetting Vivienne Delavigne, to the river's edge, grabs him and proceeds to dunk him repeatedly. Joe's superstitions about "the ghost flower" which, if uprooted, would bring harm to those who disturbed it, is the subject of banter. Moreover Joe's dialect -like the Indian-English jargon that Peewee speaks - with it's stereotype "ugh's" and "how's" and "-um" suffixes, is designed to lighten the melodrama of the plot.[21]

The picture of Indians dancing for their lives in front of French soldiers is used as light relief in Tisab Ting. The Indian medicine man is made the subject of scorn in Rev. Young's Three Boys, and all agree that he gets what he deserves when

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19 Loc. cit.
20 Hooker, op. cit., p. 104
21 Saunders, House of Armour, op. cit., pp. 376-7, etc.

Mr. Ross's servant shoots the finger off one who claims he is bullet-proof. Again in Rev. Young's Winter Adventures, Pasche, a Metis misfit, is made the butt of everyone's humour when he is treed for a number of days by a bull moose. Pasche has sought such a secure refuge that the rescuers are obliged to construct an elaborate pulley system and haul Pasche up like a sack of flour, then lower him to the ground.

A third function of the Indian in the novel is to attend to work that is beneath the dignity of the whites. Rev. Egerton Young, in this regard, depicts the Indian doing unpleasant tasks that the white man is emotionally unequipped to do. In this example, Rev. Young does a turnabout and claims, in contradiction of the earlier scene cited in this chapter, that some dogs won't respond to affection and must be whipped - yet no white man will do it.

> Generally this work was done by Indian servants, as many kind-hearted masters cannot bear to inflict the punishment themselves, which seems to be necessary for some dogs to receive ere their wills are conquered.[22]

In Rev. Young's books, moreover, Indians attend to all menial tasks around the Ross homestead and at the missions. In The House of Armour it is Joe Christmas who attends to "the bidding of any members of the family, no matter how dishonorable a thing he might be required to do."[23] Apparently Joe lacks the discernment to see when he is being exploited.

In some novels Indians serve as the henchmen of evil

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22 Young, Winter Adventures, p. 39. Cf. Young's remarks regarding Frank and the Indian driver; this chapter, footnote 9.

23 Saunders, House of Armour, op. cit., p. 193

figures. In Charles G.D. Roberts' books, wherever the Black Abbé figures, there will be found his Indian attendants, carrying out his orders to burn and kill. In Hocker's Baldoon Peewee belongs to a gang of smugglers. Also in that novel the heroes enlist the support of the "pagan" Potawatomies[24] in a plan that is a shade outside the law, never considering that they might be endangering the band. And finally, in The House of Armour, Joe's resort to violence to convey his message to his Irish friend is an example of the use of the Indian for those activities which, to the white, would be infra dignitatem.

In Rev. Young's Three Boys, as well, the British lads arrive with the misconception of the Indian as violent savage and evil-doer. "They expected," Young writes, "to meet with tomahawks and scalping knives ... they expected to hear war-whoops."[25] Instead they met pacific Christians who pray twice a day.

If they did not meet screaming, painted natives, however, little doubt was left of their existence further inland, where Christian missionaries had not established religious centres. The trip-men of the Hudson's Bay Company, most of them Indian and Metis, told the three boys "stories of war parties and scalping scenes, as well as of thrilling horse-stealing escapades."[26]

> The men of these Saskatchewan brigades were warriors who had often been in conflict with hostile tribes, and could tell exciting stories of scalping parties, and the fierce conflict for their lives when beleaguered by some relentless foes. Some of them bore

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24 Hooker, op. cit., p. 164
25 Young, Three Boys, op. cit., p. 37.
26 Ibid., p. 146.

> on face and scalp the marks of the wounds received in close tomahawk encounter, and, for the gift of a pocketknife or gaudy handkerchief from our eager boys, rehearsed ... the story of the fierce encounter with superior numbers of their bitterest enemies, how they had so gloriously triumphed, but had not come off unscathed, as these great scars did testify.[27]

Young, of course, contrasts this picture of internecine inter-tribal blood-feuding with the picture of peace and development in areas where missionaries have penetrated. Even if Indians in a missionary area do not become Christians they still benefit from the peace, prosperity and progress which the white man brings. If Indians do become Christians, however, they share in the development of their personal character which living according to Christ's precepts can bring to them. Some may even prove their usefulness to the white man to a degree where they are permitted to practice professional skills in areas where white professionals are unavailable. Memotas is a case in point. A Christian Indian, Memotas was chosen to see to the cares of the sick in the far North where white doctors would not go. Memotas is not degraded or debauched like his Indian brothers, nor is he in a state of cultural shock as a result of being submerged in a strange new civilization. Memotas takes to heart the lesson that only the strong and adaptable survive and he becomes "the Christian Indian doctor, whose fame was in all the land, not only for his marvellous skill, but for his noble, upright character."[28]

Yet the figure of Memotas is only Rev. Young's image of

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27 Young, Three Boys, op. cit., pp. 31-2
28 Ibid., p. 98

what the Indian can become should he mould himself to white society's requirements. In the novels, the position of Big Tom is usually the reality, the apex of success which the Christian Indian can reach. Big Tom was headman of a Hudson Bay Company trip brigade.

About all the reader learns of Big Tom is not that which makes him Indian, but that which makes him Christian and, in social orientation, Anglo-Saxon. Big Tom, for instance, has dropped "the old picturesque style of dress."[29] Big Tom, furthermore, does not work his men seven days a week as do other headmen, but rests on the Sabbath; the crew's rest on the one day so invigorates them that they are still first at the end point of the voyage. And, finally, Big Tom practices his Christianity more fervently than do the three British lads, around whom the story revolves. The Christian headman leads not one but two services a day, even while racing to beat the other brigades homeward.

From this perusal of pictures of the Indian in the novel, one can isolate a number of social assumptions of the novelists. First, most authors regarded Indian society of a lower order than white society. Second, most regarded Indians as individuals inferior to whites as individuals. Third, most contended that Indians were destined to remain servitors to white leadership. And fourth, most argued that little choice presented itself in this situation since Indian culture and ways of survival were losing the vigour they possessed before the

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29 Ibid., p. 57.

onward progress of Christian, enlightened and civilized white society.

In this context, it was fitting that the character of one novel, James Dunlop's Forest Lily, could not differentiate between negroes and Indians. Both were to him "nagurs" and "black haythens."[30] The picture that emerges from the novels of the latter 1890s seems to indicate that contemporaries viewed the Indian exactly - as modern writers are wont to phrase it - as "Canada's negro."

And what, meanwhile, of Canada's real negroes? The treatment of the black in the novel is similar to that of the Indian in form. Negroes are included as intrinsically remarkable phenomenon or extrinsically functional figures. In treatment under both headings the novelists make it clear that the black occupies a position at the bottom of the human scale.

Blacks are brought into LeRoy Hooker's Baldoon as liberated slaves residing in a nearby southwestern Ontario colony referred to as The Institution. Hooker's freedmen serve the function of reinforcing the depth to which two white figures have fallen in that the two whites are placed lower than the freedmen. Andy Harris, in the novel, plans a celebration but, though he asks the negroes from The Institution, he leaves out the two whites.

> "I want ye to ask all the folks from The Forks to the Institooshun ... an' be sure to ask old Henson an' some of his niggers.... But Frank Somers an' Mary Jane ain't to be ast. I've got some settlin' to do with them. ... fer now let 'em chaw on bein' counted below the niggers."[31]

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30 James Dunlop, Forest Lily. A Novel (New York: 1898),p.13.
31 Hooker, op.cit., p. 47

Marshall Saunders weaves the negro into her narrative for two purposes: to provide comic relief and to enhance the stature of whites. Saunders' picture of the black marketplace, in The House of Armour, is a lively, comical, colourful tableau, accomplishing its humourous effect by casting the black as an impish child, a buffoon, or a quaint, mystic and pathetic figure, aloof from white society.

Saunders' relation of the exiling of the "maroons" from the West Indies leads the reader to believe that the blacks were indolent, immoral and, worst of all, unwilling to submit to British designs.

> "They were a fierce and lawless people living in Jamaica," said Vivienne; "and they fought the English and would not submit till they heard that they were to be hunted with dogs. Then they gave in and were transported here. They disliked Nova Scotia because they said there were no yams nor cocoanuts and bananas growing here, and no wild hogs to hunt; and the men couldn't have as many wives as they chose, nor have cock-fighting; so the government sent them all to Africa."32

In both The House of Armour and Deficient Saints blacks appear as domestics. Mammy Juniper is the half-crazed, half-possessed Cassandra of The House of Armour, who castigates the enemies of the Armours with Biblical invective. Her oracles are fulfilled by the end of the book and she is released from the trance-like state in which she has been held for twenty years.

Mammy Juniper liberated would likely resemble old black Rebecca of Deficient Saints. Like Mammy Juniper, Rebecca is the archetypal corpulent, affable domestic, careless of dress

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32 Saunders, The House of Armour, op. cit., p. 116

and devoted to her white charges. One sees little that isn't stereotyped in Rebecca. She divulges her master's secrets for a rolled-up dollar bill, her thick lips moving greedily as she stares at the money.[33] After the family has left the table, Rebecca is depicted "phlegmatically disposing of the remnants of the beef and potatoes."[34] And even in the planning of dinner, Rebecca's position is re-emphasized: she is considered last, after the cat and dog.[35]

Assuredly contemporaries winked at the condescending sketch; blacks were an object for light relief in this period, whether through the medium of the "nigger show" (i.e., minstrel show) as in Rev. Charles Gordon's Black Rock [36] or individually as the butt of all manner of newspaper articles and literary sketches.[37]

The position of the Chinese "race" in the novel appears somewhat different from that of either the negro or the Indian. The Chinese, although regarded as inferior to the Anglo-Saxon, could not as easily be discounted as uncivilized. Chinese civilization pre-dated European. Novelists attack the Chinese, therefore, on two grounds. The first ground is that of physical repugnance. The second ground is that Chinese

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33 Saunders, Deficient Saints. op. cit., p. 210.
34 Ibid., p. 209.
35 Ibid., p. 207.
36 Rev. Charles W. Gordon, Black Rock. A Tale of the Selkirks by Ralph Connor, pseud. (Toronto: 1898), p. 201.
37 See, for example, John Charlton, Speeches and Addresses, Political, Literary and Religious (Toronto: Morang, 1905), pp. 469-93 for a liberal use of the negro as "an ever fruitful source of oddity and humour."

civilization is not in step with the dictates of progress. Because Chinese civilization is retrograde, the Chinese must be brought under the influence of white European Christian civilization.

In Georgina Seymour Waitt's Three Girls Under Canvas set in British Columbia, Eileen "hated Chinamen and was always distrustful of them."[38] though the author does not elaborate on the reason's for Eileen's dislike. In Ida May Ferguson's Tisab Ting, set in Quebec, Petra Bertram and her cousins harbour the same "instinctive dislike" for "the horrid narrow-eyed nation."[39] and one of Petra's cousins elaborates. The cousin, Nan Harrington, speculates on the features of an expected Chinese visitor, Tisab Ting.

> "I do not suppose he will be at all nice looking, for, all the civilization in the world would not take away the tawny, parchment-colored skin, oblique eyes, high cheek bones, coarse, oily hair, characteristic of his nationality. And the way he will grunt when you speak to him. Oh! I shudder at the sight of my mental picture."[40]

If Tisab does not disappoint Nan in physical appearance, he is able to surprise her with his account of Chinese civilization in the year 1996, the year in which the novel is set. White European influences have "nearly cured our race of superstition,"[41] he notes, and have shaken the people of their "retrograde" attitude. The Chinese people now have made "progression" their motto.[42] Tisab speaks enthusiastically of the change in Chinese society which has brought it into line with the modern outlook.

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38 Waitt, op. cit., p. 51.
39 Ferguson, op. cit., p. 17.
40 Ibid., p. 25.
41 Ibid., p. 71.
42 Ibid., p. 267.

> Tisab Ting spoke ... in such vivid language ... of his country and the cause of its meteor-like course towards civilized greatness, and the grand education and advantages. "Our educational system has been proved the best in the world[.] (U]nder Confucianism education permeated Chinese society from top to bottom, but not with the beneficial result that walks hand in hand with Christian civilization. You see, we are no longer a nation of retrograde movement, we are no longer a people who think and live in the past, we now look to the future."[43]

Tisab is himself the personification of "what a century of[European] civilization and education has done for the Chinese nation."[44] His dress and manners are indistinguishable from those of his Canadian fellows; he is an eminent scientist and a businessman worth "one thousand million dollars."[45] Tisab's activities are in such varied fields as medicine and transportation technology. All this, Ferguson implies, has come about because the Chinese have learned their lessons well and have "reformed" their national character.

The preceding peoples - Indian, Negro and Chinese- are all non-white and non-European. When the novelists focus on the people of Europe, who ostensibly share in the European heritage of Christian civilization, they invoke different criteria to rank the various "races." In the first place, the authors refer to the climatic theory of racial development, placing "hardy" northern races above "indolent" southern races. In the second place, novelists refer to distinguishable national or "racial" characteristics which either help or else impede a nation or "race."

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43 Ibid., p. 85.
44 Ibid., p. 75.
45 Ibid., p. 45.

For the most part the novelists of the late 1890s were of English or Scottish extraction and use, by and large, English or Scottish characters in their work. The "unassimilables" to them among European nations - that is, the unassimilables that are treated in the novels - are Italians, Frenchmen and Irishmen. A look at each of these national groups may point up the rationale behind their lower position vis-a-vis the Anglo-Saxon races.

Virna Sheard, in an unusual turn of events, has her hero find his bride in Italy. This is unusual because Italy is, after all, a southern European country and the bride is from the south of Italy. That region was not known, in contemporary racial theory, as one that produced stable, rational and industrious people (like Anglo-Saxons). Sheard, however, does not assert otherwise. Far from maintaining that Italians have superior qualities resembling those of Anglo-Saxons, Sheard relates that her hero's bride was unusual in character, especially considering the character of the rest of her family. In describing the father and brother's characters, Sheard subscribes to orthodox racial views of Italians as unbalanced, passionate, indolent and so on.

> Antonio Reggeoletto, the elder, a man of wealth, had the name of being avaricious and disagreeable past all believing. Antonio, the younger, though distinctly a scapegrace, was his father's idol, and able, by means unknown to others, to wile money out of his pockets and forgiveness out of his heart.[46]

There are no saving qualities about the Reggeolettos and the Italian branch of the family meets a tragic end and is

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46 Virna Sheard, Trevelyan's Little Daughters (Toronto: 1898), p. 15.

heard of no more.

Marshall Saunders also depicts Italians in her The House of Armour. Saunders, like Sheard, pictures Italians as cruel, passionate, revengeful and unreliable: a nature which they shared with more than one "Latin" people. Stargarde Turner, in the novel, visits a tenement which houses a family of Italians on the third floor. Most other tenants are filling the night air with the "sound of laughter and rough merry-making" but from the third floor there comes not a sound.[47] Stargarde is acquainted with the family and explains the silence inasmuch as they are "foreigners" and "queer in their ways."[48]

Seated around the table, as Stargarde enters, the Italians are having "a quiet carousal" with cards and steaming liquor.[49] Contrasted with the fair-haired, blue-eyed Stargarde, the Italians had "swarthy faces and plentiful supply of silky, black hair."[50] Each "eyed Stargarde in insulting, brutish curiosity, hurling interjections, remarks, and questions at her in a gibberish which she fortunately could not understand."[51]

One of the men makes an advance at Stargarde, but a tall Italian woman drags him away and begins systematically to reduce him with a flat club. Because the man is puny and too drunk to resist, Stargarde - herself a "strong and muscular" woman- rescues him and drags him off down the corridor to safety.[52]

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47 Saunders, House of Armour, op. cit., p. 158
48 Loc. cit.
49 Ibid., p. 160
50 Loc. Cit.
51 Loc. cit.
52 Ibid., p. 165.

One can see that there is nothing admirable in Saunders' portrait of the Italians. They are "recidivists," or habitual back-sliders.[53] The men are humiliated by the women, neither being the epitome of, on the one hand, manliness, or, on the other, womanliness. They move and speak consistently with the popular conception of "Latins," proud, secretive, passionate and unreliable. To lend an air of suspiciousness to the family of Italians, Saunders casts Frispi, the "miserable foreigner" who is nominally head of the family, as, not only a member of the Halifax Mafia underworld, but also a member who has treacherously turned upon and murdered one of his own "brothers" in the organization.

When French Canadians enter a novel, what is stressed is not their "Canadian-ness" but their "French-ness." Therefore, initially, the portraits of native Frenchmen and French-Canadians can be examined together.

Pictures of Frenchmen and French Canadians in the novels differ somewhat from those of Italians. Neither of the former groups falls under the criticism of being a southern people and, hence, of being indolent. Rather they are criticised for lacking the quality that distinguishes their stern Teutonic neighbours - discipline.

Characters of French origin, such as Vivienne Delavigne of The House of Armour, are stereotypically "all fire and suppressed passion."[54] Those few from France, like Marie de

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53 Ibid., p. 162.
54 Saunders, House of Armour, op. cit., p. 305.

Vere of Beth Woodburn, may hide their emotional nature under a veneer of culture and sophistication, yet at some point in the novel the lack of discipline snows and the French figure erupts emotionally, irrationally. The spectrum of characterizations runs the gamut, then, from the cultured Marie de Vere through the genteel yet provincial Vivienne Delavigne to, on the furthest extremity, the habitant Baptiste of Rev. Charles Gordon's Black Rock. Baptiste of course is as fiery as any fictional Frenchman, yet with Baptiste the reader has arrived back at the familiar level of the functional figure. Baptiste's ways, unlike those of Vivienne Delavigne or Marie de Vere, are burlesqued and lampooned in the interests of comic relief and Baptiste himself is used freely to think, say and do things which are below the dignity of the prototype Saxon heroes. In Black Rock, also, Annette Slavin, French Canadian wife of the local Irish saloon-keeper, is the epitome of simplicity and child-like faith and unsuppressed emotion. All the French Canadian characters in Black Rock are alike described as "little" Frenchmen, powerful in rage if diminutive in stature. This picture that Rev. Gordon paints, then, while not overtly offensive, assigns French Canadians the role of following the lead of firm, stolid and disciplined Anglo-Saxon leaders.

English Canadian novelists also put their French Canadian characters into queer, inconsistent postures. The latter 1890s were not years of complete accord between French and English in Canada, especially with the spectre of rising English Canadian imperialistic militancy before the country. Perhaps

this explains why so many French Canadian characters are made to go through uncharacteristic actions and say uncharacteristic things. Paul Grande, for instance, Charles Roberts' captain in the French army fighting against the English in Acadia, cannot restrain himself from praising on every occasion, to the point of slavishness, the English foe, whose techniques he copies and whose officers he forgives for each victory. Though this is Anglo-Saxon propaganda on Charles Roberts' part, it is part of a pattern in the novels. Vivienne Delavigne, again, is a rather improbable fan of Francis Parkman whose histories she "adores."[55]

In another passage, moreover, Vivienne is asked if she wishes to live in Paris and she replies passionately:

> "Never, never! France is beautiful, but this is my home," gazing about her. "This Canada, that France so basely deserted. The English conquered us, protected us, and now the British flag is mine. We are Canadians, Stanton, you and I; do not talk of France..."[56]

Nor is Vivienne the only French Canadian to deny vehemently any feeling for the land of her ancestors. In Lost in the Wilds M. De Brunier, French Canadian factor of a Hudson Bay Company Outpost, had these words to say against "shameless France."[57]

> "Do you know old Cumberland House? A De Brunier built it.... It was lost to us when the cold-hearted Bourbon flung us like a bone to the English mastiff. Our homes were ours no longer. ... What did we do?... We braved our trouble; and when all seemed lost, help came. Who was it felt for us? The men who had torn from us our colours and entered our gates by force. Under the British flag our homes were given back, our rights assured. Our Canadian Quebec remains unaltered, a

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55 Ibid., p. 259.
56 Ibid., p. 391.
57 Eleanor Stredder, Lost in the Wilds. A Canadian Story (London: 1896), p. 122

> transplant from the old France of the Bourbons. In the long years that have followed the harvest has been reaped on both sides."[58]

"The broader name of Canadian," continues De Brunier came to possess significance.[59] Britain gave French Canadians "peace, security, and freedom, whilst the streets of Paris ran red with Frenchmen's blood."[60]

> "The last De Brunier in France was dragged from his ancestral home to the steps of the guillotine by Frenchmen's hands. ... When my father saw the hereditary foe of his country walk into Cumberland House ... they met with a bonjour.... We kept our honour and laid down our pride. Content. Your British Queen has no more loyal subjects in all her vast dominions than her old French Canadians."[61]

The picture that emerges, then, is one of an unassimilable French Canadian minority in Canada that, nevertheless, accepts British predominance and refrains from strong objection to or interference in the running of the country.

The last group of "unassimilables," the Irish in Canada, are again not a southern race. They are not condemned as lazy but rather as inalterably headstrong, mischievous, pugnacious, and unreliable. In some Irishmen in the novels, such as Tim Lafferty of James Dunlop's Forest Lily or Tom Brimmicom of LeRoy Hooker's Baldoon, the mix of national characteristics has a harmless effect. Tim and Tom seem to be harmless, impish, strong-willed but self-controlled, and able to distinguish right from wrong. But Tim Lafferty and Tom Brimmicom are rounded characters, put in the novel to be characters, intrinsically interesting. Two other characters reveal the extremes

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58 Ibid., pp. 123-4.
59 Ibid., p. 125.
60 Loc. cit.
61 Ibid., pp. 125-6.

to which Irish characterization is taken in the novels: Derrick MacDaly and Michael Slavin.

Derrick MacDaly is the Irishman as buffoon. MacDaly, is the "old soldier, Irish Nova Scotian, loafer, drunkard, lecturer, merrymaker, and character well known about the town,"[62] in Marshall Saunders' The House of Armour. MacDaly provides light relief to the plot. The Irishman is assisted in that book, as the reader will recall, by Joe Christmas, the superstitious Micmac, Mammy Juniper, the black half-crazed domestic, and the family of coarse and indolent Italians.

MacDaly is typically Irish, yet instead of being pugnacious, he is depicted as a "lecturer" on morality and a busybody; instead of being hot-headed, he is impulsive, unthinking, and ends up in hilarious dilemmas; instead of being mischievous, he is blundering and bathetic. The Irish "national character" is kept but the mix is tempered to suit the purposes of the author.

Michael Slavin, on the other hand, is the Irishman as villain. In Rev. Gordon's Black Rock, Slavin operates the most despicable enterprise, the frontier saloon and gambling house. His way is not impish, but malicious; not merely stiff-necked, but bullyish. He himself is not filled with Irish pride, but with greed and egotism; he does not emerge as the Irish prankster, spouting "blarney," but as the ruthless, ambitious gangster. But what is significant is that these traits in Slavin are simply the normal, archetypal Irish national traits, taken to an extreme.

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62 Saunders, House of Armour, op. cit., p. 197.

That the Scottish and English emerged in English Canadian racial theory as "the white knights," blonde, blue-eyed and big-shouldered, is surely related to the fact that the number of authors writing who are not Scottish or English is extremely small. To many of the authors, then, Irish characters, along with the other characters discussed in this chapter, probably were "unassimilables" simply because they were "the others."

CHAPTER V. THE HIGHER ORDERS[1]

The preceding chapters discussed the progress doctrine as it applied to science and technology and as it applied to the racial views of English Canadian novelists of the latter 1890s. This chapter focuses on the novelists' view of society and isolates the view of one group which felt that society would progress if the fittest were allowed to rise to a place of social and political leadership.

As was noted earlier, it was a superficially optimistic age and the novels reflected it. English and American fiction, as well as Canadian, was characterized by a fascination with the superlative. The novelists searched out the fittest, the noblest, the manliest, the most gallant or the most pious. Characteristically, then, most novelists took for their milieu the higher orders of society.

In fact, nowhere, with the exception of Carman's The Preparation of Ryerson Embury and Dalziel's Jews and Gentiles, are the representatives of the lower orders given faces or personalities (or, oftentimes, even names). Certainly nowhere do the lower orders appear in the novels as exemplary figures or standards of quality. One is treated, in the words of Ida May Ferguson, to a picture of "'fair women and brave men,' a

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1 Novelists of primary interest: James Algie, Albert Carman, David Dalziel, Ida May Ferguson, Rev. LeRoy Hocker, Robina and Kathleen Lizars, Flora MacDonald, James Morton, Maud Petitt, Charles G.D. Roberts, Marshall Saunders, Virna Sheard, Anna May Wilson and Joanna Wood. The Albert Carman referred to here is not Rt. Rev. Albert Richardson Carman.

splendid pageant of a country's greatness."[2] One is not treated to the corresponding display of a country's ills, except insofar as a glimpse or two suggest a backdrop against which to illustrate the nobility and altruism of the novel's hero and heroine.

The novelists of the latter 1890s in Canada did not write in social egalitarian terms. Whether or not social egalitarianism existed in English Canadian society - or to what degree it existed - is not readily discernible through the veil of fiction. There was ample reason for this. Not only was the literature of imagination under no constraint to portray the world as it was, it was also under considerable pressure, as has here been discussed, not to examine the real world.

The distortion in the picture of society caused by the readers' demand for didactic exemplars laced with melodrama, gallantry and high adventure does not negate the novel's value as a social document. The situations depicted are worthy of study exactly because a readership called them forth and accepted or rejected them. Even if society does not resemble Petra Bertram's Montreal, Dorothy Cameron's Ottawa or Stargarde Turner's Halifax, Ida May Ferguson, Anna May Wilson and Marshall Saunders felt so moved to depict them. Examining the pictures gives clues to their meaning.

As one moves away from the fictional metropolis one encounters less and less emphasis on social gradations. "Sets" existed in the fictional village - such as the Lizars' Slowford- but "castes" were absent. Sets were defined in terms of

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2 Ida May Ferguson, Tisab Ting: or, The Electrical Kiss by Dyjan Fergus (Toronto: 1896), p. 104.

political and religious affiliation while castes were defined in terms of wealth, prestige, membership in status-producing clubs, etc. In the fictional village, though each individual could be different, few could claim the epithet "superior" and make it stick. On the fictional frontier, even sets were little in evidence. What determined one's worth depended on one's ability to adapt to the environment, the worth of one's word, and so on. A qualitative lessening, then, in the gradations of society was observed when one moved from the fictional metropolis to the fictional frontier.

This chapter will deal primarily with the views of those authors who set their novels in the metropolis. Here the authors depict society, like the races of the world, hierarchically. Individuals are pitted one against the other, the fittest occupying the higher orders and the unfit the lower orders.

This hierarchical pattern, however, should not be considered the representation of aristocracy in the English sense of the term. Aristocracy, per se, tended to be disparaged as being static, thwarting progress by impeding the free play of rivalry. Although individual aristocrats were praised for their "manly" qualities, few authors seemed even to consider a return to aristocracy as a viable possibility.

On the other hand, there seemed little kinship between most of the authors and forces advocating democracy. Most authors regarded the United States as a country which had gone overboard in the direction of mob-rule. Only those fit for

governing should rule; only those with discernment should elect the governors. And there is little indication that many urban authors felt the lower orders possessed the qualities of fitness.

One cannot mistake social mobility for democratic theory. The novelists felt that society should be vertically mobile in order that the fittest would have the opportunity to rise. An individual is recognized as possessing the natural marks of a "gentleman" or a "lady" and rises gradually (or sometimes abruptly) to take his place in the higher orders, but nowhere is there an example of an unfit outcast or a socially indistinguished individual placing his foot on the bottom rung of the ladder. Nature has a social "water table" by which each finds his rightful level in society.

Neither did the authors, with a few exceptions to be noted in another chapter, favour combinations which would impede the competitive struggle. In the dynamic society, the fit rise, and no combinations should be allowed to hold them back or to buoy up the unfit. Government policing of industry would be an example of the former and trade unions of the latter.

The combination of an hierarchical outlook together with social mobility will be referred to, for convenience, as "neo-aristocracy." It was an aristocracy of the fittest, in which one held his place so long as he was able. A number of novelists underscore the fact that a gradated concept of society existed during this time. The greatest fear of many of the fictional characters, for instance, is that "bald, black, nasty disgrace"

should attach to their "unspotted" names.[3] Reputation untainted, honour bright, dignity upheld - these are what each character strives to maintain. The pitfalls in such a genteel, polite society are "losing caste" amongst one's peers, as did Professor Grisdale in Baldoon,[4] stooping to that which is infra dignitatem as did Col. Armour in The House of Armour,[5] or making of your soiree an omnium gatherum as did Jamieson, the social maverick of Houses of Glass.[6]

The social critics resembled Mrs. Lindsay of Committed to His Charge. "Like all people who have climbed over the wall, she was very particular as to those who should follow her that way, by the gate, or indeed by any way."[7]

Stargarde Turner stands as an example of the consequences of "mean" birth or uncertain background. When Vivienne Delavigne - herself to suffer from her own background - discovers that Stargarde is an orphan, she looks pityingly at Stargarde and asks who her real parents were.

> "I can't tell you, child," said Stargarde gently.... "Would it make any difference to you if I were to tell you that my father had been - well, say a public executioner?"
>
> "I do not know; I cannot tell," said Vivienne in bewilderment. "I could never imagine that you would spring from such a source as that."
>
> "Suppose I did; you would not punish the child for the father's dreadful calling, would you?"

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3 Marshall Saunders, Deficient Saints. A Tale of Maine (Boston: 1899), p. 144.

4 Rev. LeRoy Hooker, Baldoon. A Story (Chicago: 1899), p. 73.

5 Marshall Saunders, The House of Armour (Philadelphia: 1897), Chapter XXXVIII et seq.

6 James Algie, Houses of Glass. A Romance by Wallace Lloyd, pseud. (Toronto: 1899; first published 1898), p. 159.

7 Robina and Kathleen Lizars, Committed to His Charge. A Canadian Chronicle (Toronto: 1900), p. 159.

"Most persons would."
"Yes, they would," said Stargarde. "We punish the children for the sins of the fathers, and we are always pointing our fingers at our neighbors and saying, 'I am better than thou,' as regards lineage. And yet, in the beginning we are all alike."[8]

Stargarde, of course, represents the generation who will shatter the caste mentality. "To Stargarde all men were brothers."[9] Yet the fact that Stargarde herself must be the archetypal genteel lady and that the other characters against whom she is contrasted are "noble" representatives of the higher orders confirms that, although a new order is on the verge of asserting itself, it is still at least the twilight of the old.

In the same novel, The House of Armour, Vivienne Delavigne suffers when her father is accused of petty embezzlement. Vivienne's lover, a dashing army captain, defers pressing his suit upon her, not wishing to associate the taint of crime with his unsullied name. One of the women at a grand ball points at Vivienne and remarks that "a little more humility of deportment, would be befitting to such a very young person who has so broad a bar sinister across her escutcheon."[10] Vivienne, herself, whether or not the daughter of a criminal, still remains the daughter of a common clerk, and asserts to her rich patron, Stanton Armour, that "we cannot be friends because ... we are not equals."[11]

Canadian readers must have demanded stories of life among the beau monde or else Canadian writers, especially female

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8 Saunders, House of Armour, op. cit., p. 135.
9 Ibid., p. 195.
10 Ibid., p. 335.
11 Ibid., p. 333.

writers, must have found the most enjoyment in writing about the charmed circle, because along with the religious novel, the society novel forms one of the largest subject groupings. Ida May Ferguson's Tisab Ting was another that spun its plot in the reception room and at the grand ball. Caste is strictly observed by the figures in this novel as well, yet the reader again witnesses that the charmed circle allows those to enter who possess certain requisites.

One can trace the fashion in which the "neo-aristocracy" operated by examining the career of Jerry Arnald in Ferguson's novel. Arnald is the Harrinton's "under-gardener"[12] who has fallen in love with the youngest daughter, Nan. Tall, "strong and broad shouldered,"[13] he is the prototype Saxon.

Ferguson explains his dilemma.

> Jerry Arnald was one of nature's gentlemen. From a worldly point of view he and Nan Harrington were far apart. But he did not think thus; he felt himself to be her equal in all else but position, and this he would gain in the future. Nan would have been dismayed had she known his thoughts. She was proud, she dreamed of worldly rank, ... so Jerry Arnald had no place in her dreams.[14]

When Jerry proposes to Nan, Nan is by turns thunder-struck, horrified and indignant. Her concern is that she will have to "wash the dishes in your small, paltry cottage, darn your socks, cook your meals! No, it would require love to do that."[15] And the thought of such prospects, beneath Nan's dignity, simply do not bring out the loving instinct in her.

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12 Ferguson, op. cit., p. 27.
13 Ibid., pp. 22-3.
14 Ibid., p. 23.
15 Ibid., p. 27.

Jerry replies:

> "I consider it no insult to you [to entertain the thought of marriage]. Social position as yet I have none to offer ..., but I did not think that you would discard my love because you were rich and I poor. While dreaming of winning you I have not dreamed only. I did not think of asking you, the delicately-nurtured daughter of a wealthy woman, to join in my social state as it is at present. I have been working, studying, I have now enough saved to take me through the course of medicine at McGill University....[16]

Nan perks up at this, but she waits to see the results. Jerry's career is meteoric; he skips second year and collects all honour awards the university can offer. The professors recognize in "this youth of grand intellect, clear-cut feature and manly bearing, ... a leader, a bright star in the firmament of medical science."[17] All Jerry lacks is wealth, but he has not long to wait. An admirer dies and leaves him a furtune and Jerry is back to claim his now eager Nan.

Jerry Arnald's pluck-and-luck career was no lone phenomenon in the Horatio Alger generation. In fact it tended to be standard fare. And it goes far towards explaining the composition and membership qualifications in the fictional higher orders.

Before analyzing it, however, one should note the distinction which Anna May Wilson makes concerning fictional "society"[18] in A Star in Prison. When her daughter suggests that a career in a respected order of nuns would be fulfilling, Lady Cameron advises her that " 'respected' is scarcely the term I would

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16 Ibid., pp. 28-9.
17 Ibid., p. 164.
18 And society here refers to everyone above the lower orders since they counted for little when one wasn't bringing them baskets of fruit or buckets of coal.

care to hear applied to the daughter of Sir Allan Cameron." "One speaks of tradespeople and such as respectable."[19]

Lady Cameron is quite correct in making the distinction between the two orders of "society." The lower of the two was the order of respectability to which Lady Cameron refers; the higher of the two was the order of gentility, the beau monde to which she belongs. It was a breach of etiquette to confuse the two.

Membership in the order of respectability depended primarily on whether or not, as Algie put it, the individuals "earned their living in a genteel sort of way, irrespective of family history."[20] Membership in the order of gentility, however, depended, on the one hand, on some degree of gentility of background, or, on the other hand, on abundant wealth, an element which had the power, in Canada and the United States, of opening doors that would otherwise be shut tight.

When Jerry Arnald's career is considered, one is talking of the order of gentility, Canada's "neo-aristocracy," the beau monde. Like Jerry Arnald, Raphael Regeoletto of Trevelyan's Little Daughters, Vivienne Delavigne of The House of Armour and "Bunny" Hare of A Star in Prison had family backgrounds which militated against their quick entry into the charmed circle. Stargarde Turner would have suffered had she attempted to seek entry to Halifax's social world, but Stargarde had no yearning

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19 Anna May Wilson, A Star in Prison. A Tale of Canada (Elgin, Ill.: 1898), p. 63.

20 Algie., op. cit., p. 280.

for distinctions. Eve Mortimer of A Modern Evangeline, the Langtrys of Houses of Glass, and the Mayfairs of Beth Woodburn suffer material losses which temporarily exclude them.

Also like Jerry Arnald, most rising males have university educations. Most also have professions, though a few of their fathers are industrial captains in the self-made tradition. Ida May Ferguson outlines fairly completely the composition of the order of gentility. "The different grades of society, [are] the professions, legal, theological, scientific and medical, the votaries of music, literature and art, [and] representatives ... of the various political departments of the country."[21]

Women of the higher orders did not generally pass on to university, though a few like Beth Woodburn and Mary Melville did. Flora MacDonald explains that "here and there a brave pioneer demanded to stand beside her brother, and show what quality the white and grey matter of her brain was." Queen's University and Toronto University each had "one intruder" and Mary Melville becomes the first student at the fictional Prince of Wales University.[22]

Since there seemed little market for female college graduates, the old breakdown persisted of three career channels: religious work, social leadership and philanthropy. Very few fictional characters chose religious work. When Eve Mortimer joined a convent, she removed herself from the action of the book.[23] When Dorothy Cameron opts for convent life her mother,

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21 Ferguson, op. cit., p. 104.

22 Flora MacDonald, Mary Melville, the Psychic (Toronto: 1900), pp. 118-9.

23 Carrie Jenkins Harris, A Modern Evangeline (Windsor, N.S.: 1896).

who had charted a life of social leadership for her, is appalled.

> "Dorothy," Lady Cameron said, "I am astonished at your want of good sense. Here you are, just grown up and ready to enter society. You are considered very pretty, my dear, and may associate with the best in the land. There is nothing to prevent your having a brilliant social career. Instead you prefer to don a hideous black costume and bury yourself like a nun."
>
> "But, mother," Dorothy ventured, "I have no objection to society - I think it's lovely. But - but I'm afraid that I shall have to give all my time to it, by and by, and - I couldn't be happy then, I know."
>
> "Why not, then, keep as you are, prowling about in the slums occasionally, without making yourself ridiculously odd by wearing that ugly dress."[24]

Many women, like Dorothy, combine social activities with philanthropy, since society life is too suggestive of living only for "self." To few, however, is the combination of a life of gay rounds and ease incongruous with work in the slums.

If one had reached this plateau - i.e., possessing respectable birth and background, education and a profession - one has cleared major hurdles. Jerry Arnald had to clear a final hurdle which might not have faced others. The last hurdle was acquiring means. Aspirants to the order of respectability would not need abundant wealth; only those would who aspired to the creme de la creme. A substitute for wealth might be title, but few Canadians, with the exception of the fictional Sir Allan Cameron of A Star in Prison, could claim a title.

Such are the qualifications for the fictionalized higher orders of the period. Some authors bolster their arguments

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24 Wilson, op. cit., p. 63.

for a gradated society by endorsing a form of rule by the fittest. James Algie toys with the idea of an aristocracy of natural genius and ability. His Dr. Bennet, Algie's fictional alter ego, talks with David Gordon about the ideal system of government.

> "You are very democratic, Doctor, you think that one man is as good as another, provided the [environmental influences] are equal."
> "No, [said Dr. Bennet] you have mistaken me. You might as well ... say that one horse is as good as another. No, no. If we are to have an aristocracy, let it be one of heart and brain. Instead of hanging orders and stars on some titled booby, like jewelry on a gypsy, let mother nature put her stamp upon him. Her stamp of gentility is the only genuine one.[25]

David Gordon finds, on a trip to England, that the aristocracy there has produced a fit breed of men.

> "I have just returned from a stroll in Hyde Park, where I found an object-lesson which gave me food for thought. I have never seen such a collection of splendid-looking men and women as were driving and riding about the park this afternoon. The splendid physiques, robust health, and refined looks of the women were simply astonishing, while the men were strong, active, clean and wholesome-looking,... It is enough to give one confidence in the future of our race."
>
> "I was going to suggest to you that the English nobility have done one good thing for the race if they have preserved such splendid specimens of the genus homo. You can't go down to the (tenement) district and then stand in the park, saying that one man is as good as another.[26]

Though Bennet and Gordon disagree on the structure of the ideal society, both agree on elevating the fittest. Algie, in a later passage, attacks democracy because it works against the raising of the fittest to posts of government.

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25 Algie, op. cit., pp. 210-11.
26 Ibid., pp. 306-7.

> In this age of democracy the masses prefer a man who does not appear to look down on them. For this very reason, the people's candidate, the man of the mud strata, will often defeat at the polls the gentleman of education and refinement.[27]

If the atmosphere of Hyde Park created elevated, refined and robust specimens, what was the corresponding effect of life in the slums? Ida May Ferguson claimed that the poor, living in squalor and vice, were "perverted by a brute-like existence."[28] The longer the poor remained in this environment - and there seemed few means of escape - the more they will sink "deeper and deeper into degradation and sin."[29]

The rationale, then, is clear. The young man on the borderline of the higher orders can, with enterprise and natural ability, rise. Once he has kicked the mud off his boots, the persevering, promising individual can rise to the heights. However, for those in "sin,want and poverty"[30] the reverse holds. There is little danger that they will challenge the higher orders of society since their surroundings work against their "progress" and, as the generations pass, they become the antithesis of those noble and robust "specimens of the genus homo." Such is the method by which the fit are elevated and the unfit are kept from polluting the racially superior strains.

Two factors make it reasonable to assume that the "neo-aristocratic" outlook prevalent in the contemporary period was the accepted doctrine of the times. First, unlike the doctrine of social egalitarianism, neo-aristocracy as a pattern of social

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27 Ibid., p. 274.
28 Ferguson, op. cit., p. 253.
29 Ibid., p. 254.
30 Ibid., p. 240.

organization is presented without an accompanying justification. Second, those who express dissent over the neo-aristocratic outlook fashion their novels within the frame of reference of neo-aristocracy. Those promoting the doctrine of the brotherhood of man, for instance, demonstrate that their characters are more noble, more manly or more pious than their neo-aristocratic counterparts, as if to prove that the new doctrine will not mean the decline of civilization. This reflex action is a common response of those propounding a newer doctrine than the currently accepted one.

Marshall Saunders writes her Deficient Saints and The House of Armour in terms of the neo-aristocracy of Maine and Nova Scotia. In the former novel Saunders examines the upper stratum of Rossignol, where the Potts form the only "society," and the Gastonguays are cast as the democratic levellers. Yet Chelda Gastonguay "is an aristocrat,"[31] according to her chiding introduction, as is Rev. Bernal Huntingdon, her lover, distinctly superior to the "undesirables" in the town, of whom there are many.[32]

In The House of Armour, as well, Stargarde Turner is the evangelical slum-worker to whom "all men were brothers."[33] Yet it is clear that Stargarde has chosen as her life's work the typically neo-aristocratic task of raising the poor, not levelling social distinctions. The same criticism can be aimed against Stargarde as against Vivienne Delavigne, the "aristocrat"

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31 Saunders, Deficient Saints, op. cit., p. 77.
32 Ibid., p. 76.
33 Saunders, House of Armour, op. cit., p. 195.

of the plot, that she practices the paternalistic"habit of treating dependents kindly, and yet rather as if they belonged to a different order of beings from herself."[34]

James Morton also recognizes that the social structure needs alteration but he too is unable to shake free of the framework of noblesse oblige in presenting his pictures of change. In Polson's Probation, Frederick Polson expresses his anxiety.

> "Yes," he murmured, "the system is surely wrong. The world is full of error, and too often we mistake the falsehood for truth. ... For centuries we have been groping in the darkness, and even now we have but a very faint glimmer of the dawn. Our social, religious and political structures are all alike swarming with error, and he who attempts to cleanse them is branded with the stigma of 'mischief maker' or 'fanatic.'"[35]

But Polson resolves to change them. He will not sanction a leisure class. "He had come to recognize with Tolstoi that labor was God's universal law."[36] The effect of a year spent in Manitoba among farmers and labourers worked wonders on Polson. "His sleep was sound, his appetite keen, and he could stand forth at last, a true brother among earth's noblest sons - 'the laboring men.'"[37]

Polson's stance is not that of the egalitarian, yet he pays tribute to the lower orders and disparages the lack of industry in the higher strata. What are the changes which Polson, now married, envisions to benefit "the ordinary men" whom he has grown to admire? Here is a picture of Polson's estate

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34 Ibid., p. 378
35 James Morton, Polson's Probation. A Story of Manitoba (Toronto: 1897), p. 21.
36 Ibid., p. 11.
37 Ibid., p. 40.

incorporating the changes. One can see that "labour" to Polson has not quite the connotation of identification with a class, and that in "loving labour" Polson still maintains an orthodox neo-aristocratic outlook.

> No pampered menials clad in gaudy livery tread those spacious halls; no sleek, well-groomed steeds snort through idle hours in the roomy stalls; no dainty-faced lady's-maid trips down the oaken stairs, or coquets with the lily-fingered page.... Yet think not that the place is wholly desolate. Of laborers there are plenty; idlers there are none.
>
> I do not say that all Fred Polson's plans for the improvement of his people were entirely successful. He met with many disappointments, as all true reformers must.... Yet ... the rhetoric of a noble life and virtuous actions must always find its hearers, nor can its teaching ever be wholly futile.[38]

Even more than Stargarde Turner, Fred Polson is a gradualist. He recognizes that some reform is necessary to alleviate suffering. His wife, in whose special domain traditionally is humanitarian work, tends to the ills of her flock. "When she goes among the afflicted ones whom she welcomes to her home, the groans of anguish become faint, and murmuring lips cease to complain, and a gentle smile, rests upon the sufferer's face."[39] By caring for the poor and sick and by "disdaining not the meanest work" does Mrs. Polson "live in fellowship and sympathy with those whom Providence has placed beneath her."[40]

What Polson calls reform, then, is reform of character, not of social structures. His is the same type of renaissence of compassion which Anna May Wilson portrays in A Star in Prison, but it shows little evidence of stepping beyond paternalism and noblesse oblige.

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38 Ibid., p. 367.
39 Ibid., pp. 367-8.
40 Ibid., p. 268.

Likewise Virna Sheard attempts to reform attitudes in Trevelyan's Little Daughters, but does not get a significant step beyond the prevailing rationale of neo-aristocracy. In that novel Gwyneth Trevelyan asks her uncle, Edwin Van Norman, what a gentleman is. Van Norman replies that "a gentleman is one who is faithful, honest, gentle and brave."[41] Gwyneth has in mind young Raphael Reggeoletto whom she will prove is a gentleman. In this she succeeds but before Reggeoletto can take his place within the charmed circle Sheard feels the necessity of allowing him to acquire a sizeable inheritance and a hitherto unknown bond of kinship to young Gwyneth. It is still necessary, then, to temper appeals aimed at widening the charmed circle by staying within the frame of reference of neo-aristocracy. The examples of Saunders, Morton and Sheard point up the gradualist approach to social reformation. David Dalziel and Albert Carman illustrate the radical approach. Both novels, Jews and Gentiles and The Preparation of Ryerson Embury, are written from the viewpoint of characters who do not identify with the neo-aristocracy, yet are themselves not strictly from the lower orders. Dalziel and Carman demonstrate that different life styles can exist between a labourer and a lawyer without distinguishing between "inferiors" and "superiors." Both accept, that is, horizontal or occupational differences without vertical or social gradations.

Dalziel's Francis Ferryfault surveys the wonders of the universe and feels insignificant in the scheme of nature.

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41 Virna Sheard, Trevelyan's Little Daughters (Toronto: 1898), p. 90.

He criticizes those who would be so presumptuous as to construct a homocentric philosophy when man counts for so little. Self-conceit, according to Ferryfault, mars the human contribution to the order of things.

> "There is one evident failure in all these works of mystery, viz., the human mind. Think of the conceit, selfishness, contempt, and filth that are nurtured there. Think of the pride; think of one imagining that he is better than another. And think of the misery that one being causes another in consequence of his disposition. ... all this is caused by the human mind."

> "Look at the misery and wretchedness," he continued, ... "which some people suffer through hunger and nakedness through the entire days of their lives, while others loll on couches dressed in silk, surrounded by every comfort. Are we not all born on equal footing - ignorant and naked? We come into the world in the same manner, and we leave it in the same way. Why should such things be allowed to continue?[42]

Dalziel works from the general to the particular. Albert Carman, on the other hand, focuses on the problem of inequality by working from the particular to the general. A strike in the city of Ithica provides the setting for an examination of the values of the higher orders.

Mr. Masterson, owner of the struck plant, feels that the issue is one of property rights. In the words of his wife, "William says he's going to find out who owns the factory - himself or the men."[43] The men claim that they complied with a pay decrease when times were bad and should enjoy an increase now that times are better.

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42 David Dalziel, Jews and Gentiles; or, Life in Sittisville (Toronto: 1898), pp. 100-2.

43 Albert Carman, The Preparation of Ryerson Embury, A Purpose (Toronto: 1900), p. 75.

The real fight, however, is aimed at the doctrine which holds that, in the words of a proponent, "'the submerged tenth' ... could emerge if they had the right ambition and determination."[44] Allan Nichol, a young law student whose father is a striker and who must quit his studies to support the family, refutes this assertion and argues the other side.

> "Oh, you fellows don't know, can't know anything about it," burst out Allan in a sudden passion that was more like an agony. "I live among these people and I know. The best workingmen do get their heads above the water a bit and begin to cherish some ambitions. But for the rest, there is nothing. ... [The rest] would have done as I did [i.e., study law], ... if the very root of ambition had not been stunted within them by the conditions under which they grew up. It's not so much the physical hunger suffered by the poor that appeals to me. ... But to be maimed in one's soul - to be turned from an aspiring man into a grinning, coarsened animal - yes, animal in whom even a divine sense of humour has soured into a cruel thing - and - and - rotted into something obscene, and still to live on, content - sardonically content - that is hellish!"[45]

When Ryerson Embury objects to the parish Charity Board cutting off assistance to the strikers' families, one of the men asks "What else would you expect?"[46]

> "Charity," he exclaimed, suddenly straightening up. "Charity is the chloroform that the rich administer to their victims. They oil the social machine with it in order that it may carry them with less unpleasant squeaking. It is the bounty with which they buy soldiers out of the army of labour."[47]

One of the characters, in an extended metaphor, casts the rich and their clergy as modern pharisees. Embury's proposals for change come from a study of Henry George and are the traditional Georgian program. Management and labour should

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44 Ibid., pp. 154-5.
45 Ibid., pp. 130-2.
46 Ibid., p. 142.
47 Loc. cit.

explore areas of co-operation instead of confrontation. Land should be common property and the overflow of labour should be directed to the farm. Workers should use their votes to force politicians to heed their demands; to this end labour should organize into trade unions, but not for the purposes of industrial warfare.

The ramifications of Carman's novel vis-a-vis the lower classes and the labour question will be discussed in another chapter. What is here noteworthy is that Carman's frame of reference, in terms of that of other novelists during the period, was a clean break from neo-aristocracy. The transitional phase which Saunders best typifies reaches a conclusion in Carman. Carman lays out a new order independent of the old.

The next chapter will discuss the place of the lower orders in society, the individuals resting in "Sin, Want and Poverty." Here the superficial optimism which the authors bring to their discussion of the future of the race and the face of society will be seen to falter somewhat, and some authors will be seen to cast it off altogether to tackle what they feel to be pressing problems which "natural law" or the Divine Order will not cure automatically. Progress, for the latter group, still promised safe harbour, but the way to safe harbour was filled with danger and guides were needed.

CHAPTER VI. SIN, WANT AND POVERTY[1]

If one examines the novels with the hope of finding many enlightened approaches to the problem of poverty, one will be, largely, disappointed. Whereas a problem appears to exist, most authors share Herbert Spencer's attitude towards it. Spencer "was not opposed to voluntary private charity to the unfit, since it had an elevating effect on the character of the donors and hastened the development of altruism; he opposed only compulsory poor laws and other state measures."[2]

The novelists, then, are interested in the poor for extrinsic reasons which grow out of the Spencerian rationale. The "submerged tenth" form a backdrop against which to point up the virtuous, noble character of the fictional philanthropist. Even in Marshall Saunders' work - though not in that of Albert Carman - the poor are functional figures. Saunders' advocacy of municipal socialism is a departure from the neo-aristocratic picture in other novels, yet it is one change which protrudes from an over-all, orthodox depiction.

In discussing poverty the novelists turn their attention to the urban slum. The urban slums of London, Boston and New York, however, form the backdrop of many more discussions than do those of Canadian cities. The Canadian experience seems to be of run-down sections of town, such as Lower Town, Ottawa

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1 Novelists of primary interest: Albert Carman, Ida May Fergusen, James Miller Grant, Lottie McAlister, James Morton, Maud Petitt, Marshall Saunders, Virna Sheard, and Anna May Wilson.

2 Richard Hofstadter, Social Darwinism in American Thought (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967; rev. ed.), p. 41

(A Star in Prison) or "Poverty Row" in Montreal (Tisab Ting) or lower Halifax (House of Armour). Rameshackle areas these may be, but they lack the magnitude and the isolated and homogeneous character of American slums. Mostly the inner core of the metropolis, these poorer sections are blights but they are not the trouble-spots, the festering no-man's-land which their American counterparts, like Harlem, are.

This seems to suggest that, if the novelists show less alarm over the growth of the slum, it is because they are not writing from a Canadian experience. Their concern is the reflected concern of Britons and Americans, gleaned from British and American press reports and contemporary literature. While the slum question is a part of Canadian vocabulary, Canadians speak largely with little expertise on the question; much as modern Canadians would on a question of black-white race relations.

The explanation as to why the poor are poor has not changed from the previous decade. Agnes Maule Machar, writing in 1892, tendered an explanation which is more or less tenable in 1900. Marjorie Fleming, in Machar's Marjorie's Canadian Winter, sums up the prevailing attitude when she replies to Ada West's observation.

> "But if people, [says Ada] loved their neighbours as themselves, there wouldn't be any poor people in the world, and that poor boy wouldn't have so little, nor his mother to work so hard, when we have so much."
> "...I don't know if there would be no poor people. [replies Marjorie.] My father says there will always be, so long as some folks are idle and lazy."[3]

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3 Agnes Maule Machar, Marjorie's Canadian Winter. A Story of the Northern Lights (Toronto: Briggs, 1906; first published 1892), p. 333.

Ida May Ferguson equates poverty with sin when she talks of the victims of "sin, want and poverty" in Tisab Ting.[4] Anna May Wilson reinforces this view in her depiction of Octavia Edgar's abhorrence for "those filthy poor people."[5] It is true that Octavia is one of the "non-Christian rich" whom Wilson disparages, yet Wilson's own lack of sympathy with the poor is only barely suppressed in her description.

Octavia is horrified by her visit to the poor of Lower Town, Ottawa.

> She showed her disgust in her face and in her actions, much as she tried to conceal it. She could not refrain from lifting her silken skirts about her in dainty horror and keeping her filmy lace handkerchief at her nose. In a way she pitied these people, but she blamed them far more even for their poverty.[6]

What Octavia lacks which Dorothy Cameron has is not a sense of the injustice of what she sees, but a too greatly developed sense of "self." Octavia lacks altruism. It is altruism which sends her friend Dorothy on visits to the poor, a paternalistic and rather condescending desire to elevate others. Dorothy is not concerned to help "the people" in the way which they want but is concerned to find "the best way possible,"[7] depending upon her own instincts to guide her. In this passage Dorothy enumerates what form these alternatives ways might take. Octavia asks why they are not carrying provisions to the poor.

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4 Ida May Ferguson, Tisab Ting; or, The Electrical Kiss by Dyjan Fergus, pseud. (Toronto: 1896), p. 240.

5 Anna May Wilson, A Star in Prison. A Tale of Canada (Elgin, Ill.: 1898), p. 73.

6 Ibid., p. 62.

7 Ibid., p. 61.

> "They don't want things, [replies Dorothy] so much as sympathy and encouragement in a great many cases. Many of these people would be deeply offended if you went in bluntly with a filled basket. Others would take all you could give them, and look for more, without stirring a finger to earn anything for themselves. ... We have to consider all the circumstances of every case before acting...[8]

Wilson does not recognize poverty as anything but the fault of the poor. The rich are not bound by any convention to help, except the dictates of noblesse oblige. One should overcome one's revulsion of the squalor in which the poor live, show compassion and pity, and relieve the most obvious suffering.

A Star in Prison, then, is a novel in which the poor are manipulated in order to illuminate the noble virtues of the principal characters. To fix this point firmly in the mind, one should examine the reaction of the poor to the charitable work of Dorothy's brother, Dr. Keith Cameron. Not only does the example show the paternalism and lack of concern for the poor per se, but it also shows the barrenness of some authors' approaches. For Wilson forms a model of conduct based on a Biblical pattern of sheep and a shepherd. The poor are Cameron's flock and, as their shepherd (or patron), it is his duty to watch over them. Cameron exemplifies the teachings of Christ in his activities and in his words, but he is of little direct assistance to the poor.

The picture of his flock's reaction upon his death brings out the suppressed revulsion which Wilson feels for the "ragged multitude."[9] Aware that he will die, Cameron

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8 Loc. cit.
9 Ibid., p. 79.

tells a friend, "Tomorrow send for all my poor."

> "I want to see them all once more. Doctor says - nobody - can come in, but someone can run my bed to the window - and I'll look down on them all."[10]

A lengthy passage describes the visitation. The passage, however, is of enough significance to quote at length.

> Ere the sun arose, a swift messenger was speeding on horseback from house to house among the flats of Lower Town. The people, unaccustomed to controlling their emotions, gave full vent to their grief.
>
> A little before two o'clock a wondrous concourse of people began to gather on the broad pavement that led up to the steps of the Cameron home - ragged people, lame people, people with the marks of vice and dissipation in their countenances, but all with sorrowful faces.
>
> The blind was drawn up. Every one could see clearly the beloved face of their mutual friend and benefactor, white and wan, in the dark setting of the window.
>
> A momentary swaying took hold upon the people. Uncouth faces changed instantaneously. Pity, pain, anguish, were written on every countenance. Some nearest the window knelt as if beseeching his blessing. ...heavy sighs and sobs burst forth from the woe-stricken multitude.
>
> Keith looked over the faces, as though he would gaze, at each one separately; then he smiled and pointed upward. ... He smiled once, and wafted a kiss from his fingers to them. Then the blind went down and they saw him no more.
>
> A few days later Keith Cameron was laid away to his rest in a pure white mausoleum, sheltered by a spreading tree. But, though he was gone, his life lived after him.
>
> Nor did the ragged multitude, with the memory of that last kiss treasured in their bosoms, ever forget Keith's last, mute sermon. His death appealed to them more strongly than his life had

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10 Ibid., p. 76.

> been able to do, and many began from that hour to lead more honest, sober and better lives.[11]

The poor, then, are undisciplined, weak individuals who want to shake free of their vices but lack the sticking power. Keith shows them the way and supports them against temptation, and with his help they leave behind their "low-down ways," to rise above the squalid life of sin, want and poverty.

These pictures of faceless automatons, who wail or cheer on command, suggest that the poor lack emotional stability, a sense of purpose and individuality. A number of authors reinforce this picture of the poor as mental and physical degenerates. Ferguson's Petra Bertram (who assumes the pseudonym of Madame Noris), on her visits to the slums, encounters a desolate scene whose participants stand as a terrible contrast to Algie's robust and aristocratic "specimens of the genus homo."

> Men and women in every stage of human decay, debauched, sodden creatures, standing in the passage-ways, squabbling, drinking, smoking, spitting - such a direful scene, and one mournful in its likeness to those of surrounding houses and streets.[12]

A young girl, "twelve or thirteen, yet her old wizened-looking face" appearing thirty, lay in one room, her hair "a moving mass of vermin."[13] And the picture gets grimmer as Madame Noris proceeds through the tenement.

The poor, according to Ferguson, are "perverted by a brute-like existence,"[14] "brought low by want, ill-usage, or

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11 Ibid., pp. 77-9.
12 Ferguson, op. cit., p. 245.
13 Loc. cit.
14 Ibid., p. 253.

sin."[15] Ferguson contrasts the poverty stricken worshippers in the Temple of Song, donated by a "Mr. Morgan" of Boston to the city's paupers, with the manly and noble higher orders. "Misshapen and deformed - nearly all bear the stamp of pinched poverty in their faces, dress and attitudes."[16] It is clear that the poor are living dead, bound to sink lower until they eliminate themselves from human society.

Coll McLean Sinclair, moreover, relates that there is no sense of community in the slums of New York, and that the poor are openly hostile to each other.

> I had read that there was a feeling of mellow good-fellowship, running like a fine thread throughout the relations of the slum-dwellers, but I saw no evidences of such. Instead of this, I saw drunken, ruffianly brothers strike their sisters with closed fists, I saw fathers pound their weakly children like if they were fighting with men, till I had to interfere to save life, I saw everywhere in the slums a systematic and cruel tyranny of the strong over the weak. ... The reign of brute force was everywhere in the slums, civilization had dropped off like a useless mask.[17]

Altruism alone is not enough on which to base a program aimed at eliminating poverty. Noblesse oblige leads to a hit-and-miss approach. The religious authors, as shall be seen shortly, maintained that the upper orders must change their attitude as well. The trap which one falls into, the trap of inconsistancy, when one approaches poverty merely out of noblesse oblige, is visible in the writing of Virna Sheard. Sheard's Edwin Van Norman, of Trevelyan's Little Daughters, contributes to the funding of soup-kitchens, refuges and hospitals for the poor. But his actions are not part of an over-

15 Ibid., p. 165.
16 Ibid., p. 276.
17 Coll McLean Sinclair, The Dear Old Farm. A Canadian Story by Malcolm, pseud. (St. Thomas, Ont.: 1897), p. 192.

riding concern. They are, as the actions of many characters appear to be, automatic, reflex gestures, corresponding to a notion of what is expected of a man of Van Norman's stature and not what his "duty" or responsibility should be in the light of a code of ethics.

The lack of depth in Van Norman's attitude comes clearly through in two passages of Sheard's novel. In the first, as Van Norman returns from lunch, he muses on the return of spring and its meaning for the poor, whom he obviously cannot understand.

> In the city squares were immense beds of blue and white hyacinths. Sitting on the park benches at noontide might be seen those whose faces told the story of illness, trouble and want; of the struggle for existence during the long bitter months just over. Now some of them at least could say, "Gone is 'the winter of our discontent!'" for with such a blue sky above, such a soft and tender green on every side, such a warm velvety air, fresh from the sea, blowing in their faces, who could be entirely sad?[18]

In the second passage the juxtaposition of actions destroys Van Norman's credibility as a concerned citizen and, also, points up the use of the poor as a backdrop to enhance Van Norman's stature.

> He gave of his abundance always to those who came his way and needed help. Old Mr. Browning alone knew where the immense sum of money went that was set aside each year for the unfortunate.
>
> But the man was thinking to-day, as he saw about him the faces of those who had been prisoners in hospitals, and sojourners in dark and dismal places of the city, how little could be done for so many, so many; and of how good a thing it was that spring and summer come back to the earth.[19]

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18 Virna Sheard, Trevelyan's Little Daughters (Toronto: 1898), pp. 145-6.

19 Ibid., p. 146

With these sobering thoughts in his mind, Van Norman arrives home and, it being his wife's birthday, presents her with a small box.

> He handed her the box, open - "Emeralds, what wonderful emeralds!" she cried enraptured, "You are so good to me, so very, very kind. Emeralds for May! I am glad my birthday is on May-day."[20]

Van Norman's philanthropy is of the species, as James Morton calls it, "which costs no jot of self-denial."[21]

The depictions of religious authors resemble those of neo-aristocratic authors insofar as both looked to "elevate" the victims of sin, want and poverty. But the motivation was different in each case. Philanthropy, in the case of the neo-aristocrats, sprang from noblesse oblige, the dictates of finer sentiment consistent with nobler, superior character. Philanthropy, in the case of the religionists, sprang from a desire to lift the downfallen, even as Christ lifted them, because of brotherly love. The former sentiment left the time and manner of giving up to the philanthropist; the latter decreed that the time was always and the manner any manner which was most efficacious.

With neo-aristocrats, as Albert Carman noted in The Preparation of Ryerson Embury, there was a limit to raising the poor, a certain level which, when the lowly reached it, meant an end to charity. "Charity should pause," remarked the pharisee of the plot, "before it leads to pauperism."[22] Not

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20 Ibid., p. 150

21 James Morton, Polson's Probation. A Story of Manitoba (Toronto: 1897), pp. 323-4.

22 Albert Carman, The Preparation of Ryerson Embury. A Purpose (Toronto: 1900), p. 189.

only, in other words, was there danger that the poor would cease to work if charity was too liberal, but there was also the danger that the fit classes would buoy up the unfit, thereby promoting the survival of inferior individuals and bringing regression to the whole "race."

Yet religionists had their difficulty too: they wished to save the soul and neglected the body. Beth Woodburn illustrates the yearning of religionists to help mankind, the sense of mission and the feeling of brotherhood that characterized many religious authors. Beth had been inspired by reading Walt Whitman.

> She thought of Whitman's rugged manliness, of the way he had mingled with all classes - mingled with them to do them good. And Beth's heart cried out within her, only to do something in this great, weary world - something to uplift, to ennoble men, to raise the lowly, to feed and to clothe the uncared for, to brighten the millions of homes, to lift men - she knew not where. ... She was growing weary of the narrow boundaries of self.[23]

The activities which religious authors engage in often show a lack of imagination, a ritualized program and a degree of paternalism which points up how they too, oftentimes, are concerned with enhancing the pious hero rather than outlining new approaches to poverty. Almost every author sends his fictional benefactor on visits to the poor. It was a ritualistic act, the only variable being whether the benefactor came laden with material goods or wise counsel. The visits, however, point up the essentially negative, mitigating role of charity in this period which predominantly favoured the Spencerian

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23 Maud Petitt, Beth Woodburn. A Canadian Tale (Toronto: 1897), p. 63.

individualistic attitude toward charitable activities.

Some make their visitations regular, and one, at least, Stargarde Turner of The House of Armour, resides in the slum area, but few others are that devoted to their work. The case of James Miller Grant's Pathema is here a relevant commentary on the place and form of charitable activity. Pathema, The Mother of St. Nicholas apparently, divides her time between "a beautiful residence" in the Patara of Roman times and a "rural retreat" on the river Xanthus.[24] When in the city she carries on charitable work among the city poor and when in the country she offers counsel and hospitality to the country folk.

With Pathema, however, one senses that charitable endeavour is more a way of passing time. There is no permanence or continuity to her work; she does not feel accountable to the poor to whom she has supposedly dedicated her life. Her charity is the charity of whim, of inclination. This same element of caprice is present in the attitudes of Frederick Polson and his wife (Polson's Probation), Edwin Van Norman (Trevelyan's Little Daughters) Frank, Alec and Sam (Three Boys series), Agnes Weeks (Clipped Wings) and other fictional benefactors.

Marshall Saunders' portrait of Stargarde Turner is marred by the paternalistic outlook of her heroine. Stargarde's program of municipal socialism is relatively ambitious and

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24 James Miller Grant, The Mother of St. Nicholas (Santa Claus). A Story of Duty and Peril by Grant Balfour, pseud. (Toronto: 1899), p. 87.

includes the building of model tenements (public housing), and the setting up of public playgrounds and supervised playrooms, adoption bureaus and relief for the victims of want. In Stargarde's estimation, "the city should be a tender nurse to the children of the poor."[25] Certainly Stargarde has broken with the Spencerian school of individualists. Yet Saunders, in her attempt to make Stargarde something for every reformer, descends here into the melodramatic, there into the paternalistic and later into the ludicrous (cf., her "cripple tea").[26]

In one scene Stargarde shows that she regards "the people"[27] as unlettered, temptation-wrent, suspicious and wrong-headed. That scene occurs when Zeb Frispi, who in all her faults is the mirror image of her mother and father, comes to visit Stargarde. Stargarde, paternalistically, guides Zeb straight for the washroom, past Dr. Camperdown, who has come to visit Stargarde as well.

> "Will you wash your face, dear?" said Stargarde,... "Here is a clean towel and some of the nicest soap. Just smell it. Somebody sent it to me from Paris."[28]

While Zeb washes - a relatively new experience for one of her set - she expresses her distrust to Stargarde of her gentleman caller. Camperdown is one of the higher orders. "Them dirty swells, I hate 'em," says Zeb.[29]

> Stargarde was silent. To try at the outset to reform the vocabulary of a child of the gutter was,

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25 Marshall Saunders, The House of Armour (Philadelphia: 1897), p. 241.
26 Ibid., p. 268.
27 Ibid., p. 91.
28 Ibid., p. 101.
29 Ibid., p. 102.

> she knew, a mistake. The girl had been brought up in an evil atmosphere, and her little perverted mind was crammed with bitter prejudices against all who were better off in regard to this world's goods than she was herself. Stargarde watched pityingly the sullen face bending over the basin.[30]

Like most reformers, Stargarde felt no guilt about conditions in the slums and therefore did not feel that there was anything morally wrong with the unequal distribution of wealth in the country. Zeb too overcame her "bitter prejudices" against Dr. Camperdown, enough so to allow him to adopt her.

Like Zeb too (now reformed in name as well, and called Zilla) other "children of the gutter" show the effects of Stargarde's lessons on personal hygiene. In a later passage of the book, two boys converse at the door of the Pavilion or model tenement. The doorkeeper insists that his friend wash before he comes in.

> "Can't I smell?" said the other indignantly.
>
> The doorkeeper stood his ground. "You don't need fine duds to come here," he said eloquently; "Miss Turner'll stand rags or anything, but you've got to be clean. She hates dirt."
>
> The boy silently withdrew, but presently came back his face shining with a cleanliness that was evidently unusual and painful to him.[31]

Stargarde Turner appears to be something of a social safety valve which allows the pressure building up in the slums to escape harmlessly without correcting the real problem.

In The House of Armour Saunders' lower orders are manipulated in the same way as are Wilson's in A Star in Prison. When one female slumdweller tosses a rough comment at Stargarde

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30 Loc. cit.
31 Ibid., p. 417.

and Camperdown as they stroll through the tenement area, a workman cautions her and praises Stargarde in an obsequious fashion.

> "Hist," said the man angrily; "you're new here, or you'd know who that is," and he took off his cap as Stargarde passed by. "There's hands as'll be raised to slap your mouth, woman as you be," he continued half apologetically to the girl as the two people went by, "if you dares to pass a word agin her. She's the poor man's friend. She's always with 'em, sick an' dyin' and dead. She put my old mother in a handsome coffin -" and he broke off abruptly.[32]

Another figure comments on the value of Stargarde's work and the implication in his remarks suggests that Stargarde is acting exactly as the anaesthetician Carman refers to.

> "One woman can't reform a city; but she's done a powerful lot. Since she came and the Salvation Army followed, they say the badness has dropped off wonderful, and there's been less for the police to do."[33]

Though it may seem that Stargarde didn't mind poverty - just dirty poverty - yet the seeming pettiness of her actions cannot be so easily explained away. It was a far more profound altruism than was to be found in neo-aristocratic circles. It was a more imaginative program of action against poverty. And it was a bolder, firmer committment toward social egalitarianism and the welfare of the unfortunate than appeared in other novels. Saunders' novels represent a good stride beyond the neo-aristocratic focus of some of her colleagues (viz., Ferguson and Sheard) and the unimaginative, paternalism of others (viz., Wilson and Grant). Though many authors used the poor as functional figures, some far-reaching schemes were being

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32 Ibid., pp. 172-3.
33 Ibid., p. 474.

entertained in the novels of the latter 1890s, as some of the older Social Darwinian beliefs were being superceded. The effect of Social Darwinism appears to have been to retard the process of treating the problem of poverty. Yet, in the general struggle between rational social evolutionists and religionists, some, at least, are presenting alternatives to the "survival of the fittest," with its negative, individualist, non-interventionist outlook on poverty.

Frederick Polson, in Polson's Probation, illustrates the prevailing attitude towards labour. Polson feels, with Tolstoi and Carlyle, that "the laboring men" were "earth's noblest sons."[34] But it is clear that Polson is simply endorsing the concept of enterprise or activity as a virtue, and idleness or slothfulness as a vice. His "laborers" are, typically, poor(though not paupers) and of an inferior order as the following recollection points out.

> [Polson] thought of how he used to ride with his rich squire-uncle in a carriage, visiting the poor of the village, his uncle yawning with ennui, and complaining of gout, indigestion, and the socialism and ingratitude of the poor, whilst he half-envied the cheerfulness of the coarsely-clad workingmen who doffed their hats as his carriage rolled by. Strange anomaly - they whose labor supplied this man with the means of living in corrupting idleness, empty pomp and enervating luxury, bowed to the receiver of their labor's efforts.[35]

Saunders, as well, does not get farther than the "army of honest toilers" concept. Yet she predicts that a problem will arise if inequity is not halted.

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34 Morton, op. cit., pp. 41-2.
35 Ibid., pp. 40-1.

> Our rich people here, [observes Miss Gastonguay] - they are grossly material. It is money, money, how much have you? ... Some day we shall have a labour war; the poor will rise up against them.[36]

Saunders, as well, illustrates the suspicion in which socialists are held. Stargarde Turner must defend her loyalty to the crown when Vivienne discovers that she is a socialist. Vivienne becomes suspicious when Stargarde begins to talk of the brotherhood of man.

> An alarming suspicion crept into Vivienne's mind. "Are you an anarchist?" she asked anxiously.
> "Oh, no, no," laughed Stargarde; "a socialist if you will, in the broad sense of the term, a Christian socialist; but an anarchist never."
> "Are you a loyal subject to the Queen?"
> Stargarde bent her beautiful head. "I am, God bless her! Not loyalty alone do I give her, but tender love and reverence. May all her descendants rule as wisely as she has done."[37]

Albert Carman's "labourers" on the other hand are not a rough approximation of the poor, nor are they a faceless mass, and nor do they need the dignity of the title, "the aristocracy of muscle" or "the army of honest toilers." To Carman they are "the Sinned Against."[38] Each has a face and a character and each has a grievance. Carman, unlike other authors with the exception of Susan Morrow Jones, does not cloak his view of the lower orders under a veil of pity or disguised revulsion. He openly condemns conditions which lead to poverty, because poverty is an ugly thing, not the poor. It is poverty that debases. These elements come out in his evocation, drawn with honesty, of the fighting spirit of the working class.

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36 Marshall Saunders, Deficient Saints. A Tale of Maine (Boston: 1899), pp. 79-80.
37 Saunders, House of Armour, op. cit., p. 136.
38 Carman, op. cit., pp. 238.

> They may be Sansculottes, and their women may be Maen ads when the sins of the oppressors have forced them far enough, but, for all that, they are but men and women, fighting chilled steel with bare knuckles, and opposing to the satin politeness and the lightning word-play of the practised and the powerful what jagged repartee has been permitted them. But the first sight of les miserables to the tenderest eye is not always certain to evoke sympathy - much less understanding; it may bring horror or even superficial condemnation.[39]

Carman shows the cost of Embury's choice to join with the workers in promoting their cause. Embury has just visited one of the wealthier families of the community and his confidence in his choice is shaken. The words of his employer in the law firm ring in his ear. "The best clients of both preachers and lawyers are, you know, the men with the long purses ... and they do not care for anarchy or arson or any of these exciting amusements."[40] Surely, Embury reasons, to join with the strikers is no right-minded choice.

> To fellowship with them, to risk sharing their poverty, to be classed as one of them and be barred thereby from the soft carpets and rich hangings of refinement, surely it was not he with his passion for the beautiful who had ever thought of making such a choice. Mental pictures of the strike leaders came into his mind, and he laughed at the idea that he should choose their companionship rather than that of - well, names did not matter.[41]

And when he is requested to address the workers' meeting and thereby jeopardize his career, Embury is thrown into the dilemma anew. If he does not speak, says "Tommy" Tracy, he will lose more than a career; "it may cost him his soul."[42]

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39 Ibid., pp. 238-9.
40 Ibid., p. 192.
41 Ibid., p. 202.
42 Ibid., p. 206.

Crawford, the Free Thinker, contends that he must speak "because of the noblesse oblige of the aristocracy of truth."[43] When he does speak, he is released from the law firm. Yet his employer sums up his choice in this manner.

> "Embury has chosen the better part. We will get more strawberries and cream in life than he; but he - well, men will be loving him yet when they can't read our names on our gravestones."[44]

Carman's book fits into the quickening pace of labour activity in Canada and looks at a problem that Agnes Maule Machar, John Galbraith and Robert Barr examined before him. Like Agnes Machar, Carman tries to keep the Christian element in his labour protest, even though he felt that the leading spokesmen of Christianity were siding with the "oppressors." His attack became, then, not only one against an economic system which he thought to be inequitable, but against a religious structure which he felt to be pharisaic.

Albert Carman was a social gospeler, working towards making Christianity a force relevant to the society in which he lived, a force which concerned itself "when the misunderstanding of the ages was stripped away, with the quality of human relations on this earth."[45] Rejecting the clergy who minister to the upper orders, he nonetheless felt clergy had a foremost place in the social order, if a Christian renaissance could be realized - a renaissance of concern.

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43 Ibid., p. 226.
44 Ibid., p. 235.
45 Richard Allen, "The Social Gospel and the Reform Tradition in Canada, 1890 - 1928," Canadian Historical Review, XLIX, No. 4 (Dec. 1968), p. 382.

It is time to leave this survey of the social hierarchy and to examine the state of religion as pictured by the novelists. Since there were two dominant schools of thought on the subject - the rationalists and the more orthodox religionists - the next two chapters will examine each in turn. The rationalists, on the one hand, concentrated on influencing the evolution of society along lines consistent with the dictates of progress. They invoked science and reason to justify their break from orthodox religion. The forces of organized religion, on the other hand, cried out against the harshness of a "rationalist" and social Darwinian code which could embrace the concept of survival of the fittest and subordinate Christian compassion, sympathy and altruism.

CHAPTER VII. NARROW-MINDED SAINTS AND BROAD-MINDED SINNERS[1]

Rationalists and religionists could not long dwell in the same ideological house. The debate which appears in the novels between the forces of "science", "truth", "reason", and "technology" and the forces of "spirituality", "compassion", "concern"and"divine order" is not a new debate. Yet its scope is constantly widening.

The debate is not primarily one of conflicting morals, but one of conflicting modes. Both sides hold that there is some form or order in the universe. Both hold that mankind is influenced to a degree by the order, and yet holds some power over his own destiny and some power to do good and to do evil. Both agree that man must seek out standards of good and evil. The form that the search shall take, the rules of the inquiry, and so on, are the grounds upon which the two camps differ.

Religious dissent was not a fashionable position in contemporary society. Only a handful of novelists claim to be unrelenting, unrepenting atheists and agnostics. More claim to be sceptics. But the camp of the sceptics and rational dissenters, still, is handily outnumbered by the orthodox religionists. Some authors have a foot in both camps: James Morton, Marshall Saunders and Albert Carman, for instance. Though all three work out a religious solution to their dilemmas, their travail is so close to the efforts of the

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1 Novelists of primary interest: Dr. James Algie, Albert Carman, David Dalziel, A.E. Greenwood, Robina and Kathleen Lizars, Flora MacDonald, James Morton, Marshall Saunders, and Joanna Wood.

rationalists that these authors warrant a place in both chapters.

If morality is not the central issue, what is? The forces of science and reason would have the reader believe that it is the inertia and authoritarianism of the church. In their estimation, the forces of organized religion are quaint, static, other-worldly, obscurantist, opposed to anything but superficial self-examination, out of touch with the dictates of progress and striving to preserve a fossilized conception of the world. If, on the other hand, the church remains static and suffocating, science is progressive and liberating. Humanity, the forces of reason would say, with vision set on the heights, should allow no idea to be sacrosanct. Everything was the proper subject of human inquiry. To discover the tenets of the natural cosmic order, man must shake off the restraints of Biblical interpretation and search out new, scientific explanations. The untenable ideas which still escaped man's eye would surely be rooted out by precise, irresistible natural progress. "If what I said be true," said Flora MacDonald's hero fittingly, "it will live."[2]

To call the novelists examined in this period by one name would be misleading. Rationalists, sceptics, atheists, agnostics, higher critics - they were of several bents of mind. Yet all were the same in that all were dissenters, and all were dissenting at a time when religious heterodoxy was viewed somewhat askance.

Organized religion had been under fierce attack since

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2 Flora MacDonald, Mary Melville the Psychic (Toronto: 1900), p. 57.

science had shaken the Biblical genesis, and a middle ground was only now being found. Rev. Thomas Huntley of Committed to His Charge relates the rapprochement of religion and science when he remarks, "Science is our latest gospel."[3]

> Surely no thorough believer in Christianity can maintain that the study of God's word in nature can tend to disbelief or generate infidelity? Properly followed, it should strengthen - not weaken. The trouble with the materialist is that his mind dwells upon matter and concentrates thought until his theory becomes limited by it. By degrees the moral and spiritual fall back until they are forgotten or denied. But that is the abuse, not the use.[4]

Harold Harmon of The Light and the Lure and Professor Senger of Houses of Glass outline the middle ground from the point of view of the rationalist. Harmon rejects literal inspiration of the Bible and the miraculous side of Christianity. "Humanity is, broadly, my religion, the happiness of others now my life's aim, and ... I would have love the priest, and my home far from the discord of earth's warring creeds."[5] Like Harmon, Professor Senger preaches the universalism of knowledge, taking from religion what knowledge it can contribute and leaving the supernatural, mystic and unreasonable. Like Harmon also, Professor Senger raises altruism to a guiding principle.

> "No philosophy based on selfishness can ever be good for humanity. True happiness can never come to the man who lives only for himself. ... The man of pleasures is the man of pains."

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3 Robina and Kathleen Lizars, Committed to His Charge. A Canadian Chronicle (Toronto: 1900), p. 92.

4 Loc. cit.

5 A.E. Greenwood, The Light and the Lure by Marx Hawthorne, pseud. (Toronto: 1897), p. 101.

> "Happiness, ... must consist of something more than relates to ourselves. Our lives must reach over into those of others and be influenced by them. ... Our purest and most lasting joy is in giving to others, in throwing the sunshine of sympathy across their paths."[6]

Yet many aspects of organized religion were criticized in the novels of the latter 1890s, including denominationalism, the insincerity of Christians, out-of-step clergymen, the church's resistance to progress, the church's role in society and irrational doctrine. Many critics sought, as well, to establish the primacy of reason and the right to disbelieve.

Flora MacDonald, David Dalgiel and the Lizars sisters levelled criticism against the spite and rivalry that existed among and within Christian denominations. In MacDonald's Mary Melville, the Psychic, Robert MacDonald and Robert MacTavish, who were usually to be found leaning upon the fence between their properties arguing doctrinal points, enter the Roman Catholic Church, in opposition to the doctrine of Calvinism, but soon find Catholicism equally rigid. In the end MacTavish leaves behind all "gloomy creeds" and finds himself "at last, in touch with nature and nature's laws."[7]

In the same book, George Melville finds the lists of proscribed activities among sects totally divorced from reason and consistency. Moreover community bodies, such as the school board, were rendered unfunctional through denominational

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6 James Algie, Houses of Glass. A Romance by Wallace Lloyd, pseud. (Toronto: 1899; first published 1898), p. 148.

7 MacDonald, op. cit., p. 267.

feuding. Melville too turns away from rigid, "musty" creeds.[8]

In David Dalziel's Sittisville, "each denomination ... formed it's opinions ... concerning each other. They pitied, they hated, they despised some; and they acted totally indifferent to others."[9]

The Lizars sisters, on the other hand, examine intradenominational conflict in the village of Slowford. The High Anglicans wanted a new rector who would support "soup kitchens and Dorcas meetings" and "a floral cross on the altar at Easter."[10] The Low Anglicans, on the contrary, were "for a man of purely evangelical type" and watched for any signs of Romanism and ritualism.[11] Between the two sets, nothing in Slowford was happily done.

Oftentimes, argue a number of authors, interdenominational conflict pointed up an underlying problem of insincerity on the part of many "practicing Christians."

A.E. Greenwood maintains that the churches serve a purpose: they exist to relieve the consciences of "the wicked." "The good don't go."[12] When Harold Harmon finally brings himself to attend church, he is horrified by what he sees.

> As he saw the worshippers in gay attire pass him by, (he) was incensed to rebel. Nor did the feeling leave him when within the church. The array of dresses, of every varying shape and shade, he thought more fitting for a State reception; the encased name, all too conspicuous on every pew, rebuked his sense of freedom; the pompous manner of the ushers, the secret whisperings about him,

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8 Ibid., p. 44.
9 David Dalziel, Jews and Gentiles; or, Life in Sittisville (Toronto: 1898), p. 93.
10 Lizars, op. cit., p. 3.
11 Ibid., pp. 3-4.
12 Greenwood, op. cit., p. 15.

> and the sad want of earnestness in look and manner, spoke of a worldiness all would conceal, and of a holiness they would assume for a brief hour.[13]

In James Algie's Gowanstone, the most charitable and tolerant man is an atheist. He is also the wealthiest individual, and, inasmuch as his wealth sustained many a debt-ridden social institution, among them churches, "bigotry had its mouth shut by greenbacks."[14] David Gordon's father, on the other hand, who was a poor agnostic, was not so fortunate; losing his shoemaking shop as the result of church-instigated persecution.

Saunders argues that all are Deficient Saints, some, like Miss Gastonguay, unable to accept doctrine but practicing their unique brand of religion, and others, like Rev. Bernal Huntingdon, repressing personal guilt by shouldering a new orthodoxy.

David Dalziel cannot find even deficient saints in Sittisville. In all the city he confesses himself unable to find a half-dozen virtuous souls. Particularly, says Dalziel, is this so among practicing Christians. The "castaways from respectable society" are happier.[15]

> In all probability, in some cases at least, those miserable castaways had purer hearts than those apparently refined ones who passed them by. The one probably sinned unknown to the world, while the other made no pretence at hiding his wickedness.
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> Yes, they were a great deal happier than all those Christians who attended church every Sunday, with bitter hearts hidden under a garb of concealment.[16]

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13 Ibid., p. 69.
14 Algie, op. cit., p. 85.
15 Dalziel, op. cit., p. 11.
16 Loc. cit.

The "Sunday" Christians, asserts Dalziel, attempt to sin all their lives and repent in the last minute to gain access to heaven. What they never will understand about their "inferiors" is that "there is beauty in the souls of the most barbarous ...; there is poetry to be found there, and pathos in their hearts."[17] What they never will admit is that there is only selfishness and deceit in their own souls.

> Get down into the roots of almost every Christian soul, and you will find rot there. Faith, fidelity, benevolence, self-sacrifice, beam forth superficially, and deceive a blind, thoughtless world..., while beneath hypocrisy rules with ... impunity.[18]

A number of novelists criticize the clergy for various reasons. David Gordon, in James Algie's Houses of Glass, contends, in a fit of temper, that "when a fellow is of no use for anything else they make him a preacher."[19]

> "They're sure to tell you how they were saved and, while they incidentally give the credit to Christ, they are careful to impress upon you the fact that their souls are bleached white, while yours is black as ink. They are purity and you are pollution."
>
> "They are not all like that, David. [replies Mrs. Gordon] Take them here in Gowanstone, ... while one may be a little bit narrow, or another a little bigoted, and yet another very ignorant, they are all, as far as I can judge, inspired by very good motives."[20]

Mrs. Gordon's reply, of course, does little to detract from David's criticism.

Algie posits an example of what preachers should be like

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17 Ibid., p. 73.
18 Loc. cit.
19 Algie, op. cit., p. 187.
20 Ibid., p. 186.

in the form of Rev. Charles Langtry, the husky, blonde and blue-eyed prototype Saxon of the plot. Langtry is tolerant, patient, dedicated, a man who gave up a brilliant career in musical interpretation to wear the cloth.

Langtry resembles Rev. Bernal Huntingdon of Deficient Saints. Miss Gastonguay, in assessing Huntingdon's worldliness, attacks ministers who are all "the same type: men old in the work, or fledgelings, fresh from the theological seminaries, - strict, narrow-minded, uninteresting, knowing nothing outside their denomination, ... and yet dripping with conceit."[21] Of this type Huntingdon is the opposite. He is handsome, strapping, self-deprecating, urbane yet no longer as wild as in his youth, and versed in all fields of study and culture.

Flora MacDonald strikes out against inconsistency in clergyman. The Catholic priest loves his glass of wine and his Presbyterian counterpart is overly fond of horses. Neither want to "think too much" about troublesome doctrinal objectors, like George Melville: both are accused of leaving reason at home and parroting Biblical material about which they have no substantial knowledge.[22]

A.E. Greenwood also assails the lack of principle in the clergy in his The Light and the Lure. Rev. Wernor, once thought a liberal, delivers a sermon supporting orthodox principles which his followers believed were anathema to him. One of his orthodox colleagues explains the sudden turnabout.

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21 Marshall Saunders, Deficient Saints. A Tale of Maine (Boston: 1899), p. 185.

22 MacDonald, op. cit., pp. 57-60.

> "He came nearly being led astray with his study of the 'higher criticism,' and with his efforts to explain away this doctrine and others to please the worldly worshippers of his church. Many of the clergy, in fact, thought he was simply trying to make a name, and charged him with insincerity. He only escaped a trial for heresy by retracting."[23]

The church's resistance to progress and the conservatism and narrowness of mind inherent in rural fundamentalism are scored by a number of authors. Albert Carman's Ryerson Embury rejects the advice of the minister of Fordville who urges him, while at college where dissent was contagious, to "stick to the good old faith of your fathers."[24] Embury finds that the "good old faith" supported entrenched privilege, collecting "the war-chest for those who grind the faces of the poor."[25] A radical workingman's priest and a sceptic help Embury find a more consistent faith than his unprogressive, unquestioning minister could offer.

MacDonald assails the church's resistance to change. George Melville, in Mary Melville, the Psychic, senses that the church is behind developments in other realms of human thought.

> "It seems strange that while improvement is lauded along almost any line - mechanics, art, literature - a corner is placed upon religion, and emblazoned on every church door seems, 'He who enters here shall not change, neither broaden nor grow.'
>
> While development seems the natural order of things, religion must stand still. The brain that had no conception of the rotation of the earth, the brain that knew naught of the attraction of gravity, is not enough of a brain to

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23 Greenwood, op. cit., p. 83.

24 Albert Carman, The Preparation of Ryerson Embury. A Purpose (Toronto: 1900), p. 69.

25 Ibid., p. 143.

> mould my ideas about the origin and destiny of my soul."[26]

But the situation cannot long remain static. "Catholics and Protestants have creeds of a musty past, which will no more withstand the search-light of scientific investigation and the onward march of advanced thought, than did Joshua's astronomy."[27]

A.E. Greenwood argues that no religion has withstood the pressure of time and change. "The religion of one age is the literary entertainment of the next .... Those that we call false were once true, they also were affirmations of the conscience correcting the evil customs of their times."[28] Greenwood's hero, a progressive rationalist, has "sworn allegiance to Science and Truth."[29] His search for Truth leads him away from organized religion.

Albert Carman, however, is the only novelist who prepares a class critique of the church. Carman charges that too many of the clergy opt to serve the rich parishes and neglect the poor.[30] When a leading manufacturer is struck in the town of Ithica, the priests - with the exception of one, the Rev. "Tommy" Tracy - line up behind the wealthy factory owners, refusing to extend the assistance of the Charity Board to needy families of striking workmen.

The churches, charges Carman, attempt to bribe the worker into passiveness with the promise of alms to those who

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26 MacDonald, op. cit., pp. 44-5.
27 Ibid., p. 44.
28 Greenwood, op. cit., p. 61.
29 Ibid., p. 30.
30 Carman, op. cit., p. 144.

do not agitate. The churches "stood aside with alms in hands which should have borne a sword - they distracted our attention to the next world."31

When a priest delivers an apologia for the owners of capital and condemns Rev. Tracy for stirring up people "who will not work,"32 Tracy caustically observes, "and a certain priest ... passed by on the other side."33 Religious leaders, asserts Carman, play the part of the pharisee, siding with the strong to keep the weak underfoot.

More authors take issue with the church over doctrine, their cases ranging from the expression of doubt to the justification of atheism. Three reject the doctrines of hell and eternal damnation: David Dalziel, James Morton and Flora MacDonald. Marshall Saunders rejects inflexible doctrine which directs "saints this way, sinners that."34 Flexibility must be maintained, says Saunders, to account for Deficient Saints like Miss Gastonguay, who can claim that "I am no saint, yet I am not an out-and-out sinner."35

Albert Carman, James Morton and A.E. Greenwood warn against taking the Bible literally. Harold Harmon, protagonist of Greenwood's The Light and the Lure, finds himself unable to attach credence to the "rib-flood-tower-temple-tale."36 The vengeful Jehovah of the Bible appears to Harmon to be "but the fossilized nightmare of a barbarous brain."37 His

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31 Ibid., p. 158.
32 Ibid., p. 189.
33 Loc. cit.
34 Saunders, Deficient Saints, op. cit., p. 176.
35 Loc. cit.
36 Greenwood, op. cit., p. 59.
37 Ibid., p. 47.

remark is reminiscent of George Melville's rhetorical question "Was it not rather true that God was made in the image of man, than that man was made in the image of God? Was not the Old Testament Jehovah the conception, pure and simple, of minds acting through undeveloped human brains?"[38] The resolution of Harold Harmon's religious scepticism resembles that of Morton's Frederick Polson, Saunders' Miss Gastonguay, Algie's David Gordon and Carman's Ryerson Embury.

It appears yet unfashionable to claim the title "atheist" and many characters stay on safer ground by referring to themselves as "free thinkers," "sceptics" or "agnostics." After admitting their scepticism, however, most characters devote a number of pages of justification or face perils which demonstrate that they are as moral, if not more moral than true believers.

Harold Harmon must prove that although he is a sceptic, he is still a Christian before he can marry the girl he loves. Her father, a minister, puts this condition on Harmon, throwing Harmon into the search for a rational religion which occupies the bulk of The Light and the Lure. Ryerson Embury must fight such notions as the teaching that "infidelity coarsens and depraves the victim."[39]

David Gordon's father suffered persecution at the hands of the community for his beliefs; his son still feels the disapprobation of those with whom he deals and amongst whom

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38 MacDonald, op. cit., pp. 150-1
39 Carman, op. cit., p. 96.

he lives. At one point in the novel, Gordon is accused of being an infidel and denies it, rationalizing that infidelity does not describe his state of mind and that the term itself is purely relative.

> "An infidel says Gordon is a man who is unfaithful either to himself or to others, and you can ask ... if David Gordon's word is not as good as his bond."
>
> "You, yourself would be called an infidel, if you lived in Constantinople," retorted David. "It is only a matter of geography."40

David continues that there is meaning in the Bible for a man of his convictions.

> "I don't wish to make light of the lessons in the Bible, Mrs. Halford. Even a fable ... which contains a lesson or moral for the good of mankind is worthy of respect. It is only narrow minded dunces who do not know the meaning of allegory, who shout infidel at a man who is not hypocrite enough to pretend that he believes impossibilities."41

David Dalziel's Francis Ferryfault, James Algie's Jamieson, and Flora MacDonald's George Melville claim to be atheists. More so than the agnostic, the fictional atheist labours under the necessity to build a case for his position. Jamieson establishes his position in the community through the liberal use of his wealth with which he buys approbation. Francis Ferryfault does not have wealth to buy respectability, and lashes out at a world which hearkens to money and status and pays little heed to character. Ferryfault is sensitive to the wrongs, misery and inequity he sees around him and rejects a divinity whose plan includes such injustice. The

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40 Algie, op. cit., p. 68
41 Loc. cit.

just God, says Ferryfault, would construct a scheme that would tend to promote the happiness of mankind, a scheme based on tolerance, love and happiness.

> Which would be the most benevolent God, the one who would say: "I give thee a beautiful land to live upon, go enjoy thyself in the manner which best pleases thee during the time which is allotted thee to live thereon," or the one who would command thus: "I give thee a beautiful land to live upon, take these instructions with thee, live accordingly, and if you keep My commandments you shall be crowned with everlasting glory and happiness; disobey Me and you shall be condemned to everlasting punishment and torture?"[42]

"Some might bother themselves about a future, he wouldn't."[43] Ferryfault takes as his creed altruism, love and carpe diem. "Laugh while you can, boys; laugh while you can. We'll be a long time dead!"[44]

Though Dalziel shows that even Ferryfault cannot live a life of purity and compassion, the novelist does not attribute this to Ferryfault's atheism. In a passage frought with contradiction, Dalziel defends atheism.

> Atheism does not necessarily mean hard-hearted scoundrelism, and it does not kick everything from its path as it struts along without feeling and without pity. God made the infidel as he made the Christian, and gave them one heart and equal privileges. If there is a God he is a just God, and not one such as Christianity represents him to be.[45]

George Melville arrives at his atheistic position not experientially, but through an application of reason to religious propositions. Religion, with its miracles, authoritarian dogma and inconsistencies, fails, in Melville's

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42 Dalziel, op. cit., pp. 19-20.
43 Ibid., p. 20.
44 Ibid., p. 12.
45 Ibid., p. 15.

estimation, to stand the test of rational inquiry.

> A few more decades, a century at most, and in Christendom a queer story will be told, of how the Christian of former times used to teach his small child of a lake of fire and brimstone, where the poor naked soul would burn to all eternity, and then it will be explained that these Christians formed the missing link between superstition and reason, and perhaps had to be, till reason should be evolved and placed upon a throne never again to topple.[46]

At a later point in the novel George Melville remarks on the uprooting of false doctrine that will have to take place before the world is free to embrace the truths of science.

> So much iconoclasm is necessary before men will think along right lines. The old crazy superstitions must be torn down. Dogmas and creeds must topple and be pigeon-holed, before science can get a public capable of reasoning out her truths.[47]

Perhaps fittingly, Professor Senger, a man of science, lays out a broad plan for capturing the "spirit of Christ"[48] without falling into the obscurantism of Christianity. Senger's plan is akin to that that Crawford, the sceptic, offers Ryerson Embury and that Gerard Balfour offers Harold Harmon. In Houses of Glass David Gordon accepts Senger's view that in Christ's life can be found as perfect an example of moral righteousness upon which to develop one's own creed or world-view, as is anywhere to be found. And, says Senger, one cannot maintain that merely striking out in the defence of "free thought" is enough. "Indeed, the most bigoted man I ever met was an atheist." "Bigotry and narrowness are qualities of mind independent

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46 MacDonald, op. cit., p. 79
47 Ibid., p. 214.
48 Algie, p. 375.

cntirely of religious beliefs."[49] Senger then turns to Christ as an exemplary figure.

> "We use the word Christian to represent moral perfection, because, so far as we are concerned, Christ was the only living example. ... He little cared for praise and lip-service, so long as his teachings, his truths, were accepted and practiced."[50]

> "Christ shows us that the man who professes to believe in him and does not endeavour to follow his precepts is a liar, a thief, and the truth is not in him. ... Faith without works is only a mockery."[51]

> "When you extend ... loving sympathy to all mankind, from the drunkard in the ditch to the tyrant in purple robes; from the prisoner in the cell to the savage in the wilderness; then you have the spirit of Christ in your heart no matter whether you call yourself agnostic, atheist or materialist."[52]

What characterized dissent during the period, then, was a rejection of the concept of a good and just God in the face of the existence of evil and a growing tendency, steadily rising for decades prior to century's end, to submit the tenets of Christianity and the Word of God to the test of reason. The resolution for some fictional characters is "rational religion"; for others, like Ryerson Embury, a humanistic Christianity or social gospel; and for still others a rejection of the modes and values of contemporary religion and a committment to reconstruct an atheistic credo for mankind based on experience and on reason.

The next chapter will examine the reverse side of the debate over religion; in other words, the process of self-examination within the camp of "beseiged religion" and the alternative courses of action which are suggested to answer the challenge of the rationalists.

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49 Ibid., p. 143.
50 Ibid., p. 358.
51 Ibid., p. 359
52 Ibid., p. 375.

CHAPTER VIII. BESIEGED RELIGION [1]

Forever constant to the good
Still arm our faith, thou guard sublime,
To scorn, like all who've understood,
The atheist dangers of our time.[2]

Long before the latter 1890s the forces of organized religion had recognized, with Marshall Saunders, that the citadel of God was under a state of siege. There is a feeling of urgency in novels which uphold organized religion at the turn of the century, a feeling of crisis which, if left unresolved, would end in moral and religious decline.

The religious response is at times militant, resulting in the rise of such organizations as the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and the Salvation Army (whose propaganda organ was appropriately called the Warcry). Work in temperance, especially, reveals the feeling of religious forces that immorality was on the increase and that religion must double its evangelical efforts to bolster the morale of weak men who, without assistance, would yield to temptation. But in other fields as well, such as the fictional depiction of work in the slums and among criminals, the forces of religion act with forcefulness, vigour and vigilance. Certainly the opponents of religious primacy had never before the strength and appeal that they possessed at the turn of the century. One detects

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1 Novelists of primary interest: Albert Carman, Rev. Charles W. Gordon, James Miller Grant, Lottie McAlister, Mrs. E.M. Masnn, James Morton, James Macdonald Oxley, Maud Pettit, Marshall Saunders and Eva Rose York.

2 Marshall Saunders, The House of Armour (Philadelphia: 1897), p. 543.

the response of a displaced ascendancy attempting to recover moral leadership in much of the religious writing of the latter 1890s.

Those who respond to the challenge of materialism, social evolutionism and scepticism take two approaches. The first is to modify religious structures and doctrine in order to eliminate the friction between religion and the natural and social sciences; and the second is to face squarely about and contest the validity of the new scientific disciplines.

Those who seek a synthesis between the views of the rationalists and religion explore areas in which the two can meet, or else match structure and teaching to the new spirit of the age. Theirs is fundamentally the work of proving the relevence of the older system to the newer outlook.

The inroads of the newer outlook are apparent. The "new" preacher, for instance, resembles the prototype Saxon. He is strapping, like Rev. Bernal Huntingdon of Deficient Saints, manly and voluble like Rev. Horace Harding of Clipped Wings, versatile and active like Rev. Arthur Wellington Moore of The Sky Pilot, energetic and courageous like Ralph Newton, the ministerial aspirant of In the Swing of the Sea, or tall, robust and single-purposed like Rev. Arthur Grafton of Beth Woodburn.

Not only does the cult of athleticism affect the fictional minister, but the cults of respectability and gentility influence his fictional rendering as well. Because the ministry offers a modest salary, not commensurate with

membership in the higher orders, many ministers have their status guaranteed through the device of the unexpected inheritance. In Beth Woodburn, Rev. Arthur Grafton is granted independent means through the benevolence of a deceased uncle. In Clipped Wings, Rev. Horace Harding, also through the generosity of a deceased uncle, is not only relieved of material cares, but enters "the titled tribe" as well.

> Accompanied by so many winks and nods, the inheritance got an excellent send-off with the definite amount of ten thousand pounds; and being in English currency, by the time it had quadrupled, included a title, estate, perquisites, etc.[3]

In Deficient Saints Rev. Bernal Huntingdon's father, who disowned his son when he entered the ministry against his wishes, relents on his deathbed and leaves his son comfortably established.

Marshall Saunders, in Deficient Saints, expresses the desire to see all that is out of date reformed until it fits the spirit of the newer age - providing reformation does not change the basic religious character. Doleful hymns, for instance, are out and happy, uplifting hymns are in. The practice of herding sinners into the fold with promises of salvation and threats of damnation, says Saunders, will not work in this age of rationalism and dissent.[4]

Lottie McAlister warns against fundamentalist distortion in religious doctrine which is as bad as rationalist distortion

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3 Lottie McAlister, Clipped Wings (Toronto: 1899), p. 151.
4 Marshall Saunders, Deficient Saints. A Tale of Maine (Boston: 1899), p. 155.

of the Word of God. McAlister argues, in opposition to the majority of the residents of Hillsdale, that God had no scheme that called for all work and no relaxation. The divine plan encompassed not only rest from toil, but also change to prevent monotony.[5]

James Miller Grant, on the other hand, depicts the synthesis of the neo-aristocrat with religious doctrine in the form of Pathema, The Mother of St. Nicholas. Though rejecting the life of fashion, Pathema is nevertheless an "aristocratic" figure.

> Pathema might have spared herself a life of labour and risk and self-sacrifice. She might have enjoyed a life of fashion and pleasure and ease. Besides this, her beauty and accomplishments could have easily secured for her a home and affluence, had she so desired. But she had cast in her lot with One who had lived a higher life, which in working-out had made him a man of "no reputation." ... Though a lover of knowledge and fond of reasoning, she wasted no time in a vain jangle about faith and works, but illustrated both in her daily life.[6]

Though Pathema remains a flat figure through much of Grant's novella, it is easy to see that Grant designed her to be something for everybody. And Pathema is not long deprived of "a life of fashion and pleasure and ease" but marries an equally noble, robust and active Christian and conducts her impossible schedule of social activities and philanthropy from their summer mansion or winter retreat.

Many religious novelists found a degree of comfort in the new spirit of the age of progress. Rev. Egerton Ryerson Young,

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5 McAlister, op. cit., p. 15.

6 James Miller Grant, The Mother of St. Nicholas (Santa Claus). A Story of Duty and Peril by Grant Balfour, pseud. (Toronto: 1899), pp. 10-1.

for example, accepts the doctrines of progress, racial hierarchicalism and the supremacy of the fittest. In his series on Three Boys, Young praises the work of Christian missionaries who bring "superior" civilization and religion to the unenlightened, "degraded" and "inferior" Indians of the Nelson River area.[7] His novel is laced with Anglo-Saxonism and the cult of athleticism and reveals a comfortable reconciliation between the teachings of the social sciences and those of the church.

Beth Woodburn admired the "Varsity maid," who seemed so "gentle and kindly and (possessed) such a broad progressive mind."[8] Beth welcomed the new minister of her parish as "a man of progressive ideas. I think we shall have bright, interesting sermons."[9] No unbridgeable gulf yawns between the religious philosophy of this pious author and the new progressive doctrines.

Rev. Charles Gordon also affirms the constancy of change and the need for continual re-examination. His Black Rock and The Sky Pilot are blueprints not only for physical adaptation to environment, but for mental and spiritual adaptation as well.

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7 Young points out the degradation of the Indians and the worthlessness and barrenness of their language and religion on six different occasions. See Three Boys in the Wild North Land. Summer (New York: 1896) pp. 118, 127, 259; and Winter Adventures of Three Boys in the Great Lone Land (New York: 1899), pp. 79, 224, 377. It is understandable that Young should feel that the Indian religion was "degrading, superstitious" and "abominable" (Winter Adventures, 224) since his purpose in writing the books was to boost the missionary effort to the Nelson River Indians.

8 Maud Petitt, Beth Woodburn, A Canadian Tale (Toronto: 1897), p. 58.

9 Ibid., p. 66.

"In this world, where it is impossible to reach absolute values," he writes, "we are forced to hold things relatively."[10] Rev. Arthur Wellington Moore is Gordon's exemplary figure, a man who does not invoke divine wrath against frontiersmen for their deviations. Moore's way is that of tolerance; the minister attempts to understand the unusual cultural environment of the frontier before suggesting how the church can be moulded to suit the needs of the cowboys - and not the reverse.

While James Morton's Polson's Probation is a plea for the right of private judgement, it is nevertheless a plea made from inside the church. Polson is never happy in his scepticism and wishes to avoid infecting others with it. He proceeds no further than rejecting some of the miraculous or irrational elements in the Bible. Not only his character, however, but also his spirit or soul develops during his "probation," and Polson finds that his soul still responds to the message of religion. On trial for his life, Polson finds himself calmed by and reinforced in the love of God, which he has found has always existed in his heart.

> Not by sermons, homilies or readings was this alteration being wrought, but by the working of an inner consciousness which, tried in the furnace of affliction, set the noble spirit trembling toward the throne of God.[11]

Marshall Saunders, who argued for revision in church structure, made her peace with the new spirit over doctrinal issues as well. Her Deficient Saints echoes Gordon's plea

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10 Rev. Charles W. Gordon, The Sky Pilot. A Tale of the Foothills, by Ralph Connor, pseud.(London: 1902; first published 1899), p. 20.

11 James Morton, Polson's Probation. A Story of Manitoba (Toronto: 1897), p. 205.

for flexibility and Morton's defense of private judgement. Saunders appeals to reasonable counsel over fire- and-brimstone sermons. Science has a place, as she admits, when she outlines the shaky truce reached by her fictional characters with Higher Criticism. Rev. Bernal Huntingdon relates the position which he takes on this issue. He used to feel that "the Scriptures were an admixture of truth and error, and [that] it was the work of the Higher Criticism to separate the one from the other."[12]

> "But, thanks be to God, I now know that the light that was then in me was darkness; my natural man did not discern the things of the Spirit.... Now I am spiritual."]
>
> "Now all the books of the Bible are a symmetrical whole - God's revealed will to man."]
>
> "And, with our great President Abraham Lincoln, I accept all - what of it I can by reason, and the balance by faith."]
>
> "Enlightened scholars will weed out any errors that may have crept in by successive translations, and help us in parts difficult of interpretation; but they must leave to us the grand old Bible."[13]

These writers, then, were presenting a synthetic approach, one of making the church match the new spirit of the times. Other novelists, however, felt the new spirit could not be reconciled with Christianity and raised objections that the spirit of Christianity was the antithesis of neo-aristocratic, social evolutionary dogma.

Mrs. E.M. Mason attacked the structure of and snobbishness in neo-aristocratic society. Because the poor and the

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12 Saunders, Deficient Saints, op. cit., pp. 426-7.
13 Ibid., p. 427.

undistinguished had no place in the world of fashion the higher orders ignored their existence. "To some," Mrs. Mason charges, the word society "means an elevation of the nostrils, and sudden but not serious loss of eyesight, in the accidental proximity of poor relations."[14] Unlike the style of life of many of society's "better" citizens, Christian society "is free from ostentation or pride of birth."[15]

In Mrs. Mason's scheme of things the nobler orders are counterbalanced by the "aristocracy of muscle," "the great army of honest, hard-working toilers. They are of the common people who heard Christ gladly."[16] While each "aristocracy" is different in function, none is superior to the next. Christian compassion is what should make each sensitive to the other's welfare.

Eva Rose York turns from the structure of society to lash out at the materialist doctrine which is gaining ground. Her Chaon Orr finds himself torn between materialism, rational intellectualism and spirituality - the heart, the brain and the soul. Initially Orr chooses the physical world, the world of strength, courage and self-reliance. But he rejects this as being unfulfilling, in a larger sense, and ephemeral. When he turns to the world of intellect, he is disappointed to find that the mind can rationalize any kind of action, moral or immoral. The resolution of the novel finds Orr firm in his spirituality, his faith restored and a sense of purpose come back into his life.

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14 Mrs. E.M. Mason, Faces that Follow (Toronto: 1898),p. 129.
15 Ibid., p. 140
16 Ibid., p. 141.

But it was not in attacking neo-aristocratic snobbishness or in pointing to the insufficiency of materialism that the strongest blow was delivered against the neo-aristocratic, evolutionary and rationalist spirit of the times. Albert Carman pointed up where Christianity and Darwinian evolutionism, which formed one of the bases of the gradated breakdown of society, were unalterably opposed. That area turned on the relation between strong and weak.

To demonstrate that Christianity alone promised protection for the weak, Carman turned to picturing the strike in Ithica, mentioned in Chapter III. In his The Preparation of Ryerson Embury Carman describes the debate of the Free Thought Club over the issue of whether or not to support the workers. The President of the club states the doctrinaire case when he reminds his fellow social evolutionists of their duty to the fittest.

> He argued that the present is a stage in a great evolution which has been in progress for countless ages, the central law of which always has been and is yet the good old rule of the "survival of the fittest." It was only natural that everyone - including the "under dog" - should strive to survive. Thus working men combined for that purpose. But the other classes have an equal right to strive to survive. And as the survival of the lion means death to the lamb, so the survival of the strong often means death to the weak. To interfere with the working of this law would be unscientific; and such interference, if successful, would retard by just so much the evolution of the race.[17]

Ryerson Embury, though he sympathized with the cause of the strikers, "could make no headway against this unimpassioned

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17 Albert Carman, The Preparation of Ryerson Embury. A Purpose (Toronto: 1900), p. 169.

reasoning."[18] But the Rev. "Tommy" Tracy argues how diametrically opposed Christianity should be to the survival of the fittest. "A Christian," says Tracy, "is a man who fights for the weak and not against them."[19] Embury, after discussions with Tracy and the Free Thinker Crawford, comes to agree with Crawford that religious instinct is "always properly a force seeking to compel the strong to deal justly with the weak and to lead us all to love one another."[20]

Embury's new image of Jesus is one that is uncluded by the embellishments or inconsistent interpolations of latter-day interpreters. Embury sees Jesus now as the greatest social reformer, in the same way as Crawford persuasively argued.

> "He attacked privilege at a time when privilege was impregnable. He fought for the poor when they were so little able to fight at His side that there was no uprising at the Crucifixion. He preached a system that meant food for the hungry, and clothes for the naked, and liberty for all."[21]

In contesting the necessity behind the concept of "the struggle for existence" in human society, and in positing the alternative of Christian brotherly love and co-operation, the forces of organized religion were fighting on their own ground. These religious critics, siding with the weak, posed a thornier problem to doctrinaire evolutionists than did those who retreated into the Bible and threw out scriptural threats and prophecies.[22]

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18 Ibid., p. 170.
19 Ibid., p. 190.
20 Ibid., p. 231.
21 Ibid., p. 227.
22 Ironically, evolutionism and religion were fighting against the same problem. For religion it was the viability of a theodicy; for evolutionism the fate of the weak. Both systems seemed to sanction too much evil, in the minds of some critics, to present an attractive philosophy.

(11)

Albert Carman and Marshall Saunders were to be the most strident critics of rationalism and social evolutionism. As past chapters have shown Carman turned to Edward Bellamy, Henry George and the social gospel for his solutions to the problems facing society while Marshall Saunders turned to municipal socialism. Compared to their imaginative proposals, the ideas of many of their comrades appear naive and adrift.

CHAPTER IX. TROUBLE IN EDEN[1]

Woman as a docile hearthside ornament is absent from the novels of the latter 1890s written by female authors. The active woman, the career woman, the intellectual woman - the New Woman, is very much present in the fiction of the times.

There seem few areas, traditionally closed to women, on which the New Woman does not fix her sights. Susannah Ordinary of Faces That Follow and Dulcie Sweeting of Committed to His Charge question the exclusion of women from church affairs. Rosa Portlock's heroine of The Head Keeper, Petra Bertram of Tisab Ting, Agnes Weeks of Clipped Wings, Stargarde Turner of The House of Armour, and Dorothy Cameron of A Star in Prison, as missionaries, enter the city slum. Beth Woodburn accompanies her missionary husband to Jerusalem where she writes novels of work among the Jews, novels which, supposedly, influence the world's thinking on Jews and on missionary work.

Some fictional New Women carve out business careers, like Gay Vandeleur of A Detached Pirate. Eve Mortimer of A Modern Evangeline "toiled daily in a Boston factory ... to complete her education" at an art school.[2]

Agnes Weeks of Clipped Wings wearied of the "liberal education" which she was "so unfortunate to have received"[3]

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1 Novelists of primary interest: Dr. James Algie, Ida May Ferguson, Susan Morrow Jones, Robina and Kathleen Lizars, Lottie McAlister, Flora MacDonald, Mrs. E.M. Mason, Georgina Seymour Waitt, and Joanna Wood.

2 Carrie Jenkins Harris, A Modern Evangeline (Windsor: 1896), pp. 38-9.

3 Lottie McAlister, Clipped Wings (Toronto: 1899), p. 13.

and worked first in a hospital and later a shirt-waist factory before pledging herself to a minister whom she had converted to the suffragette cause. Nurse Athol of Tisab Ting entered military service as a field nurse and gave her life on the battle field. Judith Moore scaled the artistic heights as the prima donna of American opera. Mary Melville, after braving the derision of her classmates as a pioneer female student at an all-male university, went on to attract world attention in the field of mathematics. None of these figures, then, are the traditional picture of "the womanly woman," cooking the biscuits and spooning out the sugar for the tea.

Before examining in detail portraits of the New Woman as presented by female authors, it might be of interest to look over the male's view. Few male authors concern themselves with the awakening woman. Portraits range from the aristocratic Yvonne de Lamourie of Roberts' A Sister to Evangeline through the genteel and moral Mrs. Ross of Rev. Young's Three Boys series, ending with the unnatural and unwomanly Mrs. Halford of Algie's Houses of Glass.

Mrs. Halford is a male's view of the New Woman and represents woman's attempt to invade man's domain of business and finance, albeit on the village scale. Her success is purchased at the price of her femininity. "The frivolities of fashion," writes Algie, "had little attraction for her. She preferred a chat with her banker or man of business to a gossip with one of her own sex."[4]

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4 James Algie, Houses of Glass. A Romance by Wallace Lloyd, pseud. (Toronto: 1899; first published 1898), p. 45.

Mrs. Halford, as well, rules in a no-nonsense fashion at home, claiming and exercising indisputable authority - until her daughter rebels and elopes with a "beggarly miller."[5] Mrs. Halford is shocked by her daughter's challenge. "For the first time in her life, Mrs. Halford questioned herself."[6] She realizes too late that she has "given her daughter everything, but that sweet motherly sympathy and affection, which is surely the very refinement of woman's noblest emotions."[7]

The change in Mrs. Halford's character brings her more closely in line with the personalities of her daughter and of Mrs. Gordon, her son-in-law's mother. Each is essentially the "Old Woman."

> Mrs. Gordon was one of those comfortable looking women, whose kindly face and generous figure, give them a motherly appearance. She had the kind of countenance that one instinctively trusts. All simplicity, candour and common sense. ... Her face did not dencte any great mental power, but a nice balance between the rational and the emotional, the kind of woman from whom you would expect wholesome companionship and sound advice.[8]

The female authors bluntly reject this picture of womanhood growing old and grey and nodding at the fire. Yet male ignorance of feminist aspirations seems not as much a problem to two female authors as does the resistance of those women who, along with Mrs. Gordon, prefer the passive view from the rocking chair.

Robina and Kathleen Lizars portray the struggle of the New Woman in Slowford-on-the-Sluggard, a fictional Stratford,

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5 Ibid., p. 61.
6 Ibid., p. 133.
7 Ibid., p. 66.
8 Ibid., p. 77.

Ontario. The Lizars' focus on the Anglican parish in Slowford, and, particularly, the Ladies Guild. The Guild has no direct influence in parish affairs; the Slowford parish was not "advanced enough to wish that its women had votes in the vestry, far from it."[9] The Guild attended to fund-raising teas, bazaars, concerts and so on, "but with working and giving the woman's privilege ceased."[10] Yet the indirect power or influence they wield is great.

The Guild women themselves do not bend in the direction of feminine equality, so, were there no New Women in Slowford, the situation would remain placid.

But there are New Women in Slowford - and what might be termed one New Man. The New Women attempted only hesitant inroads, such as exercising the widow's political vote or asserting the woman's right to pursue intellectual readings. And these forays were met by quick ostracism from the Old Women who declared that the renegades had "unsexed" themselves. Nothing succeeds until the arrival of the New Man.

Rev. Thomas Huntley, recently engaged as rector of the Anglican parish, is the New Man. His wife, Helen, fits less into the Slowford mould than he does. She is faddish, intellectually keen and active. She doesn't revel in knitting and hasn't very much time at all for gossip. In short she simply doesn't strike the Guild as a "womanly woman."

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9 Robina and Kathleen M. Lizars, Committed to His Charge. A Canadian Chronicle (Toronto: 1900), p. 4.

10 Ibid., pp. 4-5.

Rev Huntley, on the other hand, is ultimately culpable because he encourages her. He "referred nearly everything to his wife and consulted her convenience before committing herself to any plan; ... and altogether ... conducted himself in a manner new to Slowford, doubly disconcerting in a clergyman."[11] The final, inexplicable innovation occurs within full sight of the archetypal Old Woman, Mrs. Forby, when the rector takes the breakfast tray from the maid and carries it himself to his wife upstairs. "The last was too much for Mrs. Forby."[12] All the fads and innovations that had gone before "were as nothing to the breakfast. In her eyes [the rector] was as much unsexed by the part he took with the tray as Mrs. Lindsay was when she upheld the voting of women."[13]

The Rev. Huntley and his wife are martyred to the cause, but the Slowford Ladies Guild in the end emerges from its suspiciousness. An unabashed show of emotion between the flint-hard Mrs. Forby and her long quiescent husband is a harbinger of winter's end and spring's arrival.

Georgina Seymour Waitt, in her Three Girls Under Canvas, makes a plea to women to root out immorality. Sadie's soliloquy reaches oratorical pitch as she strikes out at the fate of "lost souls" in a man's world.

> They float on and on in the maelstrom of vice, forever on the move, yet never stirring from the spot where they are anchored. Chained about with hell's corruptions, held in vice by drink's strong grasp, every effort to rise is checked

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11 Ibid., p. 7.
12 Ibid., p. 207.
13 Loc. cit.

> by the tide of those about them; on, on, but never moving, just the length of their own height; victims ever to the evil of men's depraving avarice. How I pity you, my sisters. How I long for the day when women shall stand together and turn the tide they now let flow on into their own homes and lives; the strong lustful tide of bad men carrying all before them to satiate their greed; the lesser tide, in shore, of young men yielding to temptations held before too willing eyes. When, oh, when will women make it an impossibility for man to so degrade himself, that the brute beasts are his superiors?[14]

Waitt descends to lighter commentary when she depicts Sadie arguing with her companion Eileen over her desire for a mode of dress, like that of the male, which would allow more freedom of movement. Eileen argues that "women would lose all their attractiveness" if they mimicked men's styles; "it was her very secludedness that caused [the woman] to be sought after."[15]

> "Then I don't want to be attractive," [Sadie] broke in, "if it depends upon drabby skirts, and a caged-in mode of living. They distinctly belonged to the last generation; and although men wooed women longer, and fought harder for favors, still the majority of those women did not retain their husbands' affections. It was only the extreme delicateness of the woman that appealed to him, the dainty, languid ways, the shell-like complexion.... Now when men condescend to marry, or women consent to trust their future to a mere male man, they do so for a decided liking they each have for the other, and if she proves capable of discussing matters with him, practical and with sensible views of her own, she retains his affections, ... not for the mere scent of her hair, ... but for the light that shines out of her eyes, and the developed being he knows lies within her depths."
>
> I glanced at my companions.
> They were both asleep.[16]

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14 Georgina Seymour Waitt, Three Girls Under Canvas (Victoria: 1900), pp. 26-7.

15 Ibid., p. 46.

16 Ibid., pp. 46-7.

Mrs. Bunder, in Ferguson's Tisab Ting, echoes the same argument that Sadie touches upon - viz., woman's new intellectualism - and meets with more interest and sympathy. Here she explains the changes to Tisab which have affected Canadian society in the years between 1895 and 1995.

> "Yes, Mr. Tisab Ting, the art of conversation has made much progress in Canada during the last twenty years, ... and I believe that the new order of society came about through the educated woman, who in the latter part of the nineteenth century was labelled the 'new' woman. ... Equal intellectual rights have produced, to a greater extent than has ever before been known, equal morality of sex." [Nevertheless, she added,] "woman holds the same position that she did centuries ago, but with the added charm and benefit of being an intelligent companion and instructor...."[17]

Gay Vandeleur, in Susan Morrow Jones' Detached Pirate, stresses a different feminist complaint. She is not concerned, as is Waitt, in reforming mankind or, as are Waitt and Ferguson, in winning intellectual equality. Gay Vandeleur wants to live.

> My Aunt Lydia, who has now cast me off completely, brought me up in the atmosphere of a prison. ... Her daughters are models of propriety, and are unmarried. ... I don't wonder women are giving up the dreary homes, where they are regarded as schoolgirls at thirty, and going out into the world to feel the wind of life ... which makes one's blood run quickly, as it never does in those dull middle-class houses behind the laurustinus bushes.
>
> The woman who goes to work has my sympathy. The people who talk of England and her heroes seem to forget that the same blood runs in the veins of the women as in those of the men.[18]

Women can do their share, then, and should be left to

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17 Ida May Ferguson, Tisab Ting; or, The Electrical Kiss by Dyjan Fergus, pseud. (Toronto: 1896), p. 67.

18 Susan Morrow Jones, A Detached Pirate. The Romance of Gay Vandeleur by Helen Milecete, pseud. (London: 1900), pp. 85-6.

enjoy life as are men. The features that mark the discussion of women's rights in the novels of the Lizars sisters, Waitt, Ferguson and Jones is their largely secular frame of reference. Yet feminism had appeal not only to secular women. Two religious authors emphasize the role of the New Woman in attacking social problems of the day, notably intemperance.

The first author, Lottie McAlister, pits her new women against the blunt and coarse symbol of masculinity, Hiram Weeks. Hiram is father to Agnes Weeks, who symbolizes woman's moral influence in the world at large. Together with her mother, who symbolizes woman's moral influence in the home, Agnes argues for a larger role for women. Hiram runs his household according to "the gospel of hard physical toil."[19] Mrs. Weeks, "the ideal old woman," was

> ... a marvellous compound of baker, seamstress, laundress, tailoress, barber, gardener, nurse, man servant, maid servant, and had found time to be a Sunday school teacher. She had likewise the executive ability to accomplish the duties of each of those vocations in a working day of eighteen hours.[20]

On the other hand, Henry, Agnes' brother, was a weakling and a drunkard. "The world proposes," McAlister observes, "by the survival of the fittest to crush him."[21] But Henry's mother and sister propose to rescue him from a drunkard's miserable death.

"Summing up Henry's case," writes McAlister, "the forces against him were inherent weakness, ... and the influence of a mercenary father, who was now, in Henry's parlance, 'the old

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19 McAlister, op. cit., p. 18.
20 Ibid., p. 22.
21 Ibid., pp. 44-5.

man.' Against these were arrayed the loving influence of mother and sister. Which will win?"[22]

Predictably, mother and sister win. Henry dies, but he dies redeemed, confident that he goes to a better life. The father, strong until the imminence of Henry's demise, is shaken by his son's death and, struck down by heart failure, follows him within the hour. The mother is "utterly prostrated by the double blow."[23] But Agnes, self-possessed, bearing her grief inside, draws on her reserve of strength and carries her mother through the dark days. Agnes proves the spirit of the New Woman when all, including the prototype male, fall around her.

Much of the rest of the book is the tale of the New Woman's hopes and deeds in fighting the evil of the times. Here McAlister, in answer to the question "who is this 'New Woman'?" sketches her emergence.

> The "New Woman" cannot be the butterfl[y] of fashion who detest[s] babies and dote[s] on pugs (for she has) ever turned from home to pursue a bubble.
>
> ...the "New Woman" is the earnest browed woman, who stands on the public platform to advocate all kinds of moral reforms. She has made her appearance upon school boards. She is a bread winner. She is agitating for the extension of the franchise so that she may be included. She proposes not only to rock the cradle for the world, but to rock the world for the cradle. From whence came this "New Woman?" ... Before the daughters were the mothers. The new is not in contradistinction to the old. In the mothers were stored capabilities that the chilling breath of prejudice nipped in the bud. They, nevertheless, dreamed their dreams and thought

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22 Ibid., p. 48.
23 Ibid., p. 97.

> their thoughts, ... and have bequeathed to their daughters as their birthright an accumulation of possibilities that are now escaping the bounds that said: "So far and no further."[24]

The New Woman of Clipped Wings fights against artificial standards which exclude women from universities shunting them into "liberal education, including music, art, and literature, in a three months' term at a ladies college";[25] she fights against the filial code which dictates that a woman shall work as diligently in the home as any other member, then receive only a cow and a quilt as a legacy while the sons receive the land; she fights, as well, against the forces which counterbalance the building of a church and a schoolhouse with the building of a tavern.

Mrs. Mason, in her moral exemplar Faces that Follow, picks up the vigour of McAlister's protest when she recounts her dream of the gathering of feminist forces to overcome the evil practices which male lethargy has tolerated.

> There fell, as it were, scales from my eyes, and I saw a mighty host, with flying banners, marshalled with the precision of an army ready for battle. On one banner I saw inscribed "W.C.T.U." ... Their company was divided into many parts, and prepared to attack the enemy at every point. Franchise, Evangelistic, Narcotic, Press, Scientific Temperance, King's Daughters and Red Cross were the names of the subdivisions. ... The army at times was harassed by remarks like these: That woman's place was at home; that women wasted time at conventions; that women were immodest and fanatics in Christian work.[26]

Presumably Mrs. Mason's army obliterated all who stood against it, but here her dream ended.

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24 Ibid., pp. 25-6.
25 Ibid., p. 13.
26 Mrs. E.M. Mason, Faces that Follow (Toronto: 1898), p. 199.

The feminist campaign, then, was one on which both camps could work, religious and secular. Many feminists, like Georgina Seymour Waitt and Lottie McAlister, reveal the same focus on the heights in their appeal for equal rights. Women, emancipated, will reverse the tide of evil which greedy, immoral men have loosed and set mankind again on the upward path. Only set woman free and she will not only, in Lottie McAlister's words, "rock the cradle for the world, but ... rock the world for the cradle."[27] Womankind, then, is good loosed against a world's evilness; she is light in masculine darkness; she is hope struggling against a world's despair; and she is progress against masculine retrogression.

The next chapter examines pictures of town and country and traces the assumptions which assign to either town or country the epithet "good" or "evil."

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27 McAlister, op. cit., p. 25.

CHAPTER X. GOD MADE THE COUNTRY AND MAN MADE THE TOWN[1]

Earlier chapters showed that many novelists expressed, on one level of consciousness, an optimism and confidence regarding the future of mankind. This hopeful attitude, however, was shown often to break down when the novelists descended from the general to the particular.

This chapter, as well, demonstrates that the novelists, in regarding social patterns and structures around them, often put qualifications on their optimism. James Algie, James Morton and Marshall Saunders, for instance, who support the idea of progress, have reservations about the progressiveness of the urban environment. Joanna Wood, who looked so poetically to the future when man would unlock the secrets that would "set all our jangling dreams in chime,"[2] has her heroine leave the city for the uncomplicated, slow-moving life of the country.

One cannot, therefore, attempt to impose too general a pattern on the novelists as a group. Each has an individuality which dictates his inclusion in one school of thought on one issue, and another school on the next issue.

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1 Novelists of primary interest are : Dr. James Algie, Albert Carman, David Dalziel, Ida May Ferguson, Rev. C.W. Gordon, Rev. LeRoy Hooker, Susan Morrow Jones, Robina and Kathleen Lizars, Lottie McAlister, Flora MacDonald, James Morton, John Murdoch, Charles G.D. Roberts, M. Marshall Saunders, Coll McLean Sinclair, Joanna Wood, Eva Rose York, and Rev. Egerton Ryerson Young.

2 Joanna Wood, Judith Moore; or, Fashioning a Pipe (Toronto: 1898), p. 57.

Again, however, the social or class homogeneity of the novelists shows through when they consider the city and the village. Some have rural backgrounds, some do not; but most have spent more years in towns of at least medium size (Stratford, for instance) than in smaller communities. And most, in particular, spent the impressionable college or early working years in the larger metropolis. Their isolation from that which they depict comes through in many who call their fishermen "Fisherman Jack"[3] or their wharf bully "Black Mike."[4] Seldom does real expertise or incisive characterization show through when the novelist dwells on members of the lower orders. What the reader gets is a middle-class professional's view of urban life or his remembrances of the country.

Those novelists who view the city as a positive good take three general approaches. First, the city is the centre of change, improvement, progress. Second, whereas country folk are narrow-minded, clannish and conservative, city folk are tolerant, ready to mix and willing to try out the novel fashion or idea. And finally, whereas country life is humdrum, city life is vibrant.

"The great throbbing heart of the city," writes Lottie McAlister, "generates the initial impulses of progress, [and] sends them on their widening way."[5] Other novelists who saw the city as McAlister did are: the Lizars sisters (Slowford,

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3 Anna May Wilson, A Star in Prison, A Tale of Canada (Elgin, Ont.: 1898), p. 1.

4 James Macdonald Oxley, Terry's Trials and Triumphs (London, Edinburgh, etc.: 1900), p. 12.

5 Lottie McAlister, Clipped Wings (Toronto: 1899), p. 7.

taken to be Stratford), Joanna Wood (Ovid), James Algie (Gowanstone), and LeRoy Hooker (The Forks).

Of all the villages treated, Hillsdale and Slowford most militantly oppose change. Hillsdale, symbolically nestled against a mountain and "turning a cold shoulder to the friendly advances of modern times, ... was in a position to challenge innovation."[6] Both Hillsdale and Slowford live by thrift and "the gospel of hard physical toil";[7] both keep close watch on the parish minister for heresy and ritualism; both submit any new theory to the test of tradition and the Bible, and end, ultimately, by throwing out the new and 'faddish' in favour of the old and accepted.

Like Hillsdale's citizenry, the rural folk favoured the simplest most direct explanation.

> "Inscrutable Providence" was Hillsdale's popular name for bacteria hiding in a dishcloth, or for the breaking down of an over-worked body.[8]

The expanding colleges were one avenue of change. Yet to many, as to Hiram Weeks of Hillsdale, "colleges were places where people learn a lot of stuff that is of no earthly use," and from which they return "as much alike as two peas" or "gabbling Latin like a native."[9]

In the same vein the parish minister of Fordville warns the young hero of The Preparation of Ryerson Embury, before he sets off for college: "Take care, my son, ... you are drinking at a dangerous spring. College life is full of snares and

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6 Ibid., p. 8.
7 Ibid., p. 18.
8 Ibid., p. 52.
9 Ibid., p. 72.

pitfalls."[10] Embury takes care, but falls into the 'snare' of scepticism, returning unsatisfied with the rigid, unquestioned doctrines of his elders.

While Fordville's spiritual advisor dreaded the changes that higher learning would produce, others simply regard the entire process with suspicion. Andrew Cutler, in Joanna Wood's Judith Moore, returns to Ovid to settle down, but the townsfolk now regard him differently. College has wrought changes in Cutler which the townsfolk find inexplicable or frivolous, such as his new ways of "college farming."

> "He's thought a good deal of by some people, [said one Ovidian] being on the school board and the council ... but he's too big feeling to suit me! And he don't profess religion, and is forever smokin' and shootin', and he's got a crank on books ...."[11]

If certain authors point out the anti-intellectualism and 'retrogression' of the country town, many feel as strongly about "the ugly gossip, the sneering spite, [and] the malignant whisperings"[12] which, they say, go on in closed rural circles.

Slowford, like Wood's Ovid, Saunders' Rossignol, Maine, and MacDonald's Picking, is organized along church lines; there is little intercourse between denominations, or, within a denomination, between parties. Many of these congregations are depicted like Slowford's Anglican parish. The rector, Rev. Thomas Huntley, lately arrived from England, confesses that much about the parish dismays him.

> Huntley confided to his wife his opinion that the lines of demarcation between "sets" were

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10 Albert Carman, The Preparation of Ryerson Embury. A Purpose (Toronto: 1900), p. 245.
11 Ibid., p. 35.
12 Ibid., p. 115.

> rigidly drawn, and were, to the eye of a newcomer, purely arbitrary .... There was the large circle, which embraced the entire congregation; within it all met on a common ground, ... and there was a show of mutual good feeling tempered by many democratic utterances on one side and snobbish acts on the other. At periodical teas and ice-cream festivals ... much money [was] taken from "outsiders" for the support of the Church. These outsiders comprehended "all Jews, Turks, infidels and heretics"; their money was exchangeable, but there their usefulness ceased. There was absolutely no interchange of anything else between the Anglican Church and outside Slowford.[13]

He who stands out, of course, from the "mysterious Inquisition"[14] called rural society could expect swift despatch. The casting of a vote by an enfranchised widow brings from the Slowford Anglican Women's Guild the quick verdict that she has "unsexed herself."[15] Equally swift reaction greets Agnes Weeks when she, independent of the rest of Hillsdale society, decides to seek employment at a metropolitan hospital.

> When the village became apprised of Agnes' intention to leave Hillsdale, there was universal indignation.... That anyone belonging to Hillsdale should take so momentous a step without first consulting the population, singly and collectively, was not only bad form, but a distinct departure from the traditions of the elders. The procedure was not to be tolerated without the sharp rebuke of popular opinion.[16]

David Gordon of Gowanstone makes a graver error in selecting a wife from a neighbouring village, and his sentence - ostracism - is that much harsher.

> The mothers of marriageable daughters were up in arms at Gordon's slighting the home market. They would have

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13 Robina and Kathleen M. Lizars, Committed to His Charge. A Canadian Chronicle(Toronto: 1900), pp. 56-7.
14 Ibid., p. 61.
15 Ibid., p. 18.
16 McAlister, op. cit., p. 50.

> evenings and leave him out in the cold; and the young ladies themselves would cut him dead.[17]

Mrs. Stewart of Slowford, one of the few who "had an inkling that Slowford was not the centre of the universe,"[18] sums up the feeling of many outsiders when she says wearily to herself: "If George Eliot could but hear these people - or Dickens - they deserve a Dickens."[19]

As well as the traditionalism and pettiness of the small town, the Lizars sisters, Wood, Hooker and other novelists of like feeling, reject the somnolent pace of life. Indeed, put next to Saunders' soirees among the beau monde and Ferguson's sketches of the creme de la creme receiving billionaire socialites - and even a President of the United States - into Montreal society, the life of the small Canadian town seems rather drowsy and routine.

LeRoy Hooker's The Forks is more or less representative. There was little, he writes,

> ... to redeem the place from the ordinary fate of a frontier village, - a humdrum existence, and a doom of oblivion. So far as any show of elegance was concerned, or any attractive features in the face of nature, it would be difficult to find a less inviting spot.[20]

Joanna Wood, on the other hand, describes the narrowness of life in the country, and how she pities the people,

> ... surrounded by the strong silent stimulus of nature, going with their eyes fixed upon the clods, or at most raised but to the level of their own heads, striving to grasp some puny

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17 James Algie, Houses of Glass. A Romance by Wallace Lloyd, pseud. (Toronto: 1899; first published 1898), p. 127.
18 Lizars, op. cit., p. 61.
19 Ibid., p. 25.
20 Rev. LeRoy Hooker, Baldoon. A Story (Chicago: 1898), p.12.

> self-glorification, letting the real gold of life run through their fingers like sand, whilst with eager palms they snatched at the base alloys which corroded their hands.[21]

Andrew Cutler is an Ovidian like the rest, yet he has seen beyond the horizon. What he saw set him apart.

> He did not know himself to be so different from his neighbours ... only he never seemed to contemplate marrying one of their women, and he pitied them. For they did not recognize the pathos of their own narrow lives. They did not see their surroundings as he did - the beauties of the skies above, and of the earth beneath, and the marvel and mystery of the water.[22]

The opinion of Robina and Kathleen Lizars, Wood, McAlister and the other authors here treated is not the sole school of thought on the subject of rural and urban society. Another group asserts that the country has much to commend itself over the metropolis.

Primarily their argument is three-fold. In the first place, country life is not as impersonal as city life. In the second place, the country environment is physically vivifying. And in the third place, the country is untainted by the immorality and squalor which appears to riddle the metropolis.

More than one author balks at the aloofness of the urban dweller and the impersonalness of the metropolis. In one passage of his The Dear Old Farm, Coll McLean Sinclair eulogizes Col. Thomas Talbot because he ventured out to the Canadian wilderness "rather than be cramped by the hollow shams

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21 Joanna Wood, Judith Moore; or, Fashioning a Pipe (Toronto: 1898), pp. 115-6.

22 Ibid., p. 65

and conventionalities of [English] aristocratic society."[23] In another, Sinclair characterizes New York as an urban Cyclops that devours those who come unto it.[24]

Also with New York in mind, Susan Morrow Jones, in A Detached Pirate, writes of her heroine's fears that she will have to face up to "the great city demon who crawls abroad like a big serpent at night. How shall I feel when I fall into its clutches - when, with no money and no friends, I make my last bow to this fiend of civilization?"[25]

Jones makes it clear that her heroine can expect no better treatment from the heartless metropolis than did the former infantry officer and the former clergyman with whom she associated: symbolically, the former ended up as a groom, and the latter a clown, in a circus![26]

What Judith Moore admires in the rustic Andrew Cutler is precisely what other novelists seem to find so rare in the metropolitan; Andrew is a "new creature," a "strong, unconventional, natural soul, so different from the artificial creatures she had known" in the city.[27]

No author attacks as harshly the self-conceit and snobbish practices among city dwellers as does David Dalziel. His biting volume, Jews and Gentiles, lashes out at an arbitrary code which calls one man 'respectable' because he is a well-heeled businessman and another 'common' because he is a farmer or labourer.

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23 Coll McLean Sinclair, The Dear Old Farm. A Canadian Story by Malcolm, pseud. (St. Thomas, Ont.: 1897), p. 32.

24 Ibid., p. 195.

25 Susan Morrow Jones, A Detached Pirate. The Romance of Gay Vandeleur by Helen Milecete, pseud. (London: 1900), pp. 249-50.

26 Ibid., p. 282.

27 Wood, op. cit., p. 101.

His Sittisville resembles Sodom in that Dalziel is hard-pressed to find a handful of pure souls "in all the rot, in all the selfishness, in all the pride and vanity of that little city."[28]

Dalziel deals with Sittisville as Jehovah did with Sodom: as the bells of the city toll "Lost, lost! Lost, lost!" a natural calamity overtakes the island on which Sittisville is situated, and the citizenry perishes as the entire city sinks beneath the waves![29]

Charles G.D. Roberts sets out the second argument for the country as a positive good; viz., the vitalizing power of nature. In his The Heart of the Ancient Wood, Roberts relates how Frank Craig has left the metropolis where, because of pressures as well as a debilitating climate, he has languished.

> Health he had not, and the poor semblance of it he had squandered childishly. Hearing of new health in the gift of the northern spruce woods, with their high balsam-sweet airs, he had ... at last sought out this remote backwoods settlement. ... The air of the Settlement was healing and tonic to the lungs, and before he had breathed it a month he felt himself aglow with joyous life.[30]

Long years in the forest, moreover, sharpen the senses. Though Dave Titus feels danger lurking in the 'ancient wood,' his eyes cannot pierce the darkness; but "clean-blooded and fine-nerved as he was from his years of living under nature's ceaseless purgation, his other senses came to the aid of his baffled sight."[31]

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28 David Dalziel, Jews or Gentiles; or, Life in Sittisville (Toronto: 1898), p. 21.
29 Ibid., pp. 172-4.
30 Charles G.D. Roberts, The Heart of the Ancient Wood (New York: 1900), pp. 41-2.
31 Ibid., pp. 190-1.

Not only is the country air vivifying; the pace of life, too, adds years onto one's life, as Coll McLean Sinclair asserts in his The Dear Old Farm. In that novel, Norman Scott, after announcing his decision to leave the city to return to the rural farm of his childhood, reads to a friend the opinion of an eminent physician as proof of the strain of urban life.

> The rewards, so rich and so sure, and the ever stimulating competition of his fellows drive the business man, the lawyer, the engineer, the man in any line of intellectual activity, to his greatest effort all of the time. He is like a steam engine under forced draught. ... he must have a stimulus, even in his recreations ... What is the outcome? To supply his rapidly exhausted system he is compelled to consume large quantities of rich food and to stimulate himself with alcoholic beverages. ... He is usually successful at the cost of his health.[32]

The health argument is familiar; but many authors go on from this point, postulating a third argument that the country is morally cleaner or purer or closer to God.

John Murdoch portrays the early United Empire Loyalist settlers in the wilds of Canada as being almost in a state of innocence.

> They were honest, generous and unsuspecting, ever ready to trust to the honor and integrity of those who sought favors; not being avaricious they were seldom rich, being liberal and kind hearted they were often imposed upon, and being ingenious and industrious they were seldom poor. The men were generally large, well made and remarkably strong. The women were usually tall and comely, often exceedingly fine looking, and possessed much individuality of character.[33]

At another point in the novel a hunter argues (in the frame of reference of the social evolutionist) that life in the

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32 Sinclair, op. cit., p. 195.

33 John A. Murdoch, In the Woods and On the Waters (Winnipeg: 1896), p. 6.

more populated, settled areas is degenerating.

> "In the natural and untamed world," said the hunter, "there is very little suffering visible when compared with what exists when settlement and civilization has made a change; man oppresses and enslaves every living thing which comes under his control. The wild creatures of the woods and plains ... lose their ability to protect themselves or find their own food; they become helpless and stupid. Look at that flock of geese passing along the surface of the lake, they are wild, strong, self-reliant and free. Compare them with the inactive, waddling idiots of the same race that inhabit the barnyard. ... The same rule holds good in the case of men. In a perfectly civilized condition, the mind is supposed to be improved by receiving an agreeable polish, but in securing this, other qualities are lost and the untiring, independent and undaunted native of this earth degenerates into a being most effeminate.[34]

James Algie maintains that some men, who would fall into utter ruin in the city, are buoyed up and strengthened by nature. William Halford is a case in point.

> Had Willian Halford passed his maturing years in the heart of a great city, enjoying its pleasures and allurements, he might have become a reckless spendthrift, or a drunkard. ... Fortunately, his solitary life in the forest forced him to think, and the rugged resistances of nature compelled him to act.[35]

Many people rob themselves of natural outlets for their violent dispositions when they emigrate to the city. William Halford's destructive streak "found vent, not only in hunting and fishing, but in felling the giants of the forest."[36] James Morton, too, asserts that when man is removed from a state of nature his repressed desires find dangerous, immoral outlets.

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34 Ibid., p. 89.
35 Algie, op. cit., p. 49.
36 Loc. cit.

Morton's example relates to man's love of hunting, "so strongly engrained in the nature of every species of our race that it tinges with primitive wildness our highest civilization."[37]

> When pressed from its natural channels, it finds vent in feverish gambling, wild speculation, exciting extravagance and other sins of the city.[38]

But all things change and the forest recedes, while rural communities will expand into towns, and towns into cities - like James Algie's Grazely's Mills which became Levisville. And what does this change bring with it? What edifices are reared in the stead of the older settlement?

> Chimneys and church steeples [in Levisville] took the place of towering elms. The whippoorwill's song gave place to the shrill whistle of the locomotive. ... Langtry, [the jack-of-all-trades], was shorn of his glory; his versatility lost its market. Too proud to accommodate himself to his changed surroundings, he fought a gradually-losing (sic) battle till finally he settled [as a tenant] on one of Mrs. Halford's farms.
>
> Mrs. Dorris, the professional midwife, sank to the level of a common washerwoman.
>
> Phil Snider [the village Nestor] languished in a poor-house.[39]

Coll McLean talks of a tide that set itself towards the city from the country, but predicts that this "mass exodus" will "cure"itself, and "the inevitable reaction will set in[;] returning reason will tell these people that the soil itself is the real storehouse of nature, and we will see the tide set in again towards the farm."[40]

What causes Sinclair's hero, Norman Scott, to decide on

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37 James Morton, Polson's Probation. A Story of Manitoba (Toronto: 1897), p. 72.
38 Loc. cit.
39 Algie, op. cit., p. 51.
40 Sinclair, op. cit., p. 192.

returning to the farm? The health reason has been discussed earlier. Two other factors influence Scott.

First, he can no longer stand the suffering which he encounters everywhere in the metropolis.

> The squalid misery of the slums, the inhuman depravity of whole families herded together in one common living and sleeping-room like brute beasts, the poor, pathetic old-young faces of the little children in those smothering tenement houses, ... oh God can I ever forget them? ... Can you wonder that I almost hate the city where such can and does exist, that I long again for the dear old farm, to hear the joyous mating of the birds in the trees, the babble of the brook among the hills and the drowsy murmurings of the wild bumble bees. All these sing of freedom and not of tyranny.[41]

And second, Scott feels his power for good will be more widely felt in the country.

> In the huge, festering mass of this city's sunken population, which I have investigated [as a journalist] and which has driven me to my present resolve [to leave]. I could only hope at the very best to ameliorate a tiny fraction of the misery I have witnessed, but in my own country home if I be true to myself, I may be an uplifting force in many directions, touching the lives of probably all my neighbors.[42]

Scott's answer to the question of whether the farm will offer enough scope for his abilities, is reminiscent of McAlister's observation that "the social compact" between city and country "reaches the husbandman in the last analysis. The whistling ploughboy turns the enriched furrows for the distant multitudes."[43]

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41 Ibid., pp. 192-3. In writing of slum conditions, Sinclair, like all other novelists with the exception of Jones, Saunders, and Anna May Wilson, refers not to the Canadian but to the American urban slum. Jones referred to the slum of London, England; Saunders of Halifax; Wilson of Ottawa.

42 Ibid., p. 190

43 McAlister, op. cit., p. 7.

Scott also feels that working the soil is a vital and ennobling labour.

> "Why should I tire of it?" he asked by way of an answer. "It is not after all the real cornerstone of the whole edifice of human effort? What is the most appalling calamity that can befall any people? Famine, another name for scarcity of farm products. Surely there can be no more responsible post than that of the farmer."[44]

Two views, then, emerge from an examination of attitudes towards the country and the metropolis. One is that of the unprogressive, narrow-minded nature of rural communities, matched by the tolerance and vibrant character of the metropolis. And the other is its antithesis: the nostalgic view of the rural community as "Happy Valley,"[45] where time stands still and where the "sin, want and poverty" of the city are unknown.

Which view each author holds may largely be a factor of his own personal experience, a composite, in other words, of early impressions. In this age of urbanization, of human progress and of human technology, that "God Made the Country" is of less and less interest. At the most the country appears to be a retreat or a source of manpower for the city. Sinclair's appeal for a return to the country could not but sound quaint. The debate centres more around the fact that "Man Made the Town." The question the authors ask tends to be "Did Man improve on God's work?" Among the novelists, on the answer to this question, there is not total agreement.

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44 Sinclair, op. cit., p. 191.
45 Wood, op. cit., p. 96.

CHAPTER XI. CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this thesis was to examine the opinions of Canadian novelists, writing in English at the end of the nineteenth century, on a variety of social issues. Some of the issues covered were: (1) the pace and direction of social development; (2) the composition of Canadian and of global society; (3) types of religious dissent in society and the response of organized religion; and (4) reaction to rising urban industrialism. By way of summary, the writer will outline the total pattern of opinions which emerges from the study.

It would not be desirable, at this point, to introduce copious quantities of new information, yet the writer will integrate at least a minimal amount of data from other thinkers of the period for two reasons. First, new data will be used when it helps to elucidate a concept to which a section of novelists subscribe but on which they are not sufficiently explicit. And second, new data will be incorporated in order to demonstrate that what the novelists are writing is not completely aberrational. On the contrary, the arguments used by the novelists, the present writer contends, are a reproduction of those used in the more general debate transpiring within contemporary circles.

This essay investigated, at the outset, the novelists' view of the pace and direction of social development, and found that the concept of progress occupied a special place in the world-view of contemporary thinkers. Most conceived of

progress in Spencerian terms as an increase in adaptation of man to the natural order. Writing during the first world war, President Falconer of the University of Toronto verified the essential position of progress in Canadian (and western) intellectual circles.

> One of the most dominant convictions of the era in Western civilization which has just closed was that Progress is a justifiable conception. The average man, especially of the New World, was persuaded that this age had made progress beyond all other ages, and that our future was assured.[1]

An area which seemed to reinforce the belief that man had reached a peak of development and was destined to advance further was that of the natural sciences. It was seen that the novelists shared with other members of society a fascination with the successes of science and a belief that science would contribute the answers to numerous social problems. Marital compatibility, for example, might be assured if man better understood the principles of animal magnetism which, it was reasoned, governed relations between the sexes. Or, another author held, the secret of living harmoniously with the natural order might lie in understanding psychic powers. Most authors expressed the belief that there was little caprice in the order of things and that science would unlock the secrets of the cosmos.

The faith in progress was furthered by another area of thought: racial theory. Racial theory, moreover, relates to the second general area covered by the thesis: the composition

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1 Robert Alexander Falconer, What About Progress? (Philadelphia: 1916), p. 3.

of Canadian and of general society. It was established that many authors believed, with Spencer, Benjamin Kidd, Alfred Marshall and others, that life was a constant struggle in which the fittest forms survived and the unfit were eliminated. The struggle, furthermore, went on within as well as among races. Within the human race, Anglo-Saxons seemed peculiarly fit in respect to their institutions (parliament, the imperial structure, the courts, the Royal Navy and so on) and in relation to their racial character[2] The Anglo-Saxon was deemed to be hardened by a northern climate, labour-loving, organized, reliable, rational, self-reliant and persevering.

Unlike the American, whose racially tainted blood disqualified him in the eyes of some commentators from bearing the epithet of "Anglo-Saxon,"[3] the true Anglo-Saxon had rejected the mirage of immediate material abundance and had learned the lessons of discipline and self-sacrifice in the interests of the race.

The other races of the world, moreover, were assigned positions in the human hierarchy according as to whether they hailed from the northern temperate or southern tropic zones

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2 Rev. James Macdonald, editor of the Toronto Globe, gave the best description of racial character. It is, he wrote, "that which is deeper than speech, stronger than law, more persistant than custom, that mysterious life-strain which dominates accidents of birth and admixtures of blood, and gives to the man or nation a personality that never dies." Democracy and the Nations: A Canadian View (Toronto: 1915), p. 26.

3 "The blood that came to America from Britain, whether Saxon or Celt, has been blended with bloods from every race in Europe, and to-day is undistinguished either for its colour or for its strength." Macdonald, ibid., p. 48

and according as to what the "racial" character of each was. Thus, the negro race would occupy a low position in the hierarchy; the latin a middle position; and the nordic, Teutonic, or Aryan race the highest position. Under this theory, the progress of the world would be furthered if the fittest race maximized its own numbers and minimized both the unfit within the race and other unfit races in general.[4]

This quasi-scientific racialism had an appeal that cut across ideological line. On this issue, Liberals of the stripe of Rev. James Macdonald of The Globe and Frank Yeigh, well known publicist and prominent Toronto Liberal, could join together with Conservatives like A.H.U. Colquhoun, one-time editor of The Mail and later Conservative cabinet minister, and J. Castell Hopkins, publicist and editor of the Canadian Annual Review.[5] The thesis demonstrated that the theory attracted many adherents of organized religious as well as many secular thinkers, and the appeal of the racial argument could be traced further still.

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4 It should not be thought that the process of minimization was necessarily one directed by the superior race through a plan of genocide. Many authors felt that unfit races were eliminated merely by contact with more successful, adaptive ones. Thus was the North American Indian decimated by contact with the more successfully competitive, more virile and medically fit Anglo-Saxon. See Benjamin Kidd, Social Evolution (London: 1894), and Aline Gorren, Anglo-Saxons and Others (Toronto: 1900),

5 See Macdonald's Democracy and the Nations, already cited, or The North American Idea (Toronto: 1917); Yeigh's Through the Heart of Canada (London: 1910), chapter X ("The Foreigner in Canada"); Colquhoun's "China, the Past and Present," Canadian Magazine, XV (May - Oct., 1900), pp. 445-8; and Hopkins' "Chinese Religious and National Characteristics," Canadian Magazine, V (May-Oct., 1895), pp. 528- 35.

Yet it is not enough simply to say that many thinkers subscribed to the view of racial hierarchicalism. What this thesis has not explored, what it can merely suggest, is the degree to which racialism affected decision-making during the period. When discussing the "Oriental question," for instance, did individuals use only "cheap labour" arguments and point out "imperial interest"? When discussing the Open Door Policy or the Boer War or the Naval Question, were decisions made on the basis only of commercial and political interest and national security? If this thesis has covered the topic adequately, it should suggest to readers that a complete and "sound" rationale existed for decision-making in contemporary racial theorizing. It only remains for the reader to pick up any contemporary journal, newspaper or tome on the questions cited to realize the extent to which racial theory entered into the debate.

If the hierarchical outlook pervaded the novelists' view of the structure of global society, it also influenced their view of Canadian society. Apart from the fact that more races than just the Anglo-Saxon and Celt were present in Canada, the novelists also viewed Canadian society as composed of higher and lower orders. The thesis pointed out that novelists disparaged the concept of aristocracy as being static and thwarting progress by impeding competition. Yet many novelists held a "neo-aristocratic" view of society which joined vertical mobility with a hierarchical outlook. In this view the fittest rose to their natural place through enterprise while the unfit

sank until they were eliminated.

The higher orders broke down to the order of respectability and the order of gentility. The former required of the individual an unsullied name (though not necessarily a prestigious one), an education and membership in a profession. The latter required the additional factor of particular distinction through possession of title or position and/ or wealth. Women of the higher orders, it was also pointed out, could choose from one of three careers: religious work, social leadership or philanthropy.

It was shown, too, that the neo-aristocrats conceived of the poor as being basically unindustrious, the victims of sin, degradation and debauchery. Most novelists represented the poor as faceless automatons, there to weep on command or to applaud on command. What impelled the higher orders to help the poor at all was noblesse oblige, and their help took the form of easing the suffering of the poor while they lived. Few neo-aristocratic novelists showed imagination in their efforts for the poor; in fact approaches to poverty were rather stereotyped, operating on a hit-or-miss basis. The same applied to the approaches of the religionists, who proposed to save the soul but neglected the body.

Yet it was shown that the novelists' opinions on poverty and affluence were far from unanimous; some even questioned the ground rules (though not the validity) of the idea of progress. Mild dissent from the view of the poor as sinful and lazy was expressed by two authors: James Morton and Virna Sheard.

Marshall Saunders went further to advocate such changes as the institution of municipal socialism and the brotherhood of all men, but she did so within the frame of reference of the neo-aristocrat. David Dalziel and Albert Carman, on the other hand, broke with the neo-aristocrats and cried out for sweeping changes in the social Darwinian outlook. Carman attacked it point by point and held out the vision of a Christian egalitarian society, completely liberated from the evils of class privilege. Dalziel expressed general discontent with a value system which enshrined status and wealth and overlooked character.

The thesis, moreover, treated another voice of discontent: that of the feminist. It was seen that the feminist among the novelists protested the exclusion of women from employment and higher education, her inferior status in social circles, and the degeneration of society in a world governed by males. The "New Woman," according to her feminist defenders, would add to the world's intellectual and artistic progress while ridding the world of ruthless politics, corruption, intemperance and vice.

After examining the pace and direction of social development and the composition of global society, the thesis turned to a third area: viz., types of religious dissent in society and the response of organized religion. The dissenters are the spokesmen of rationalism and take support from Darwinian evolutionary theory, scientific scepticism and the Higher Criticism. Some posit a new moral order founded on the primacy of reason while others merely urge the church to update its teachings to bring them in line with modern knowledge and belief.

Many accuse the church of being resistant to change and progress, narrowly fundamentalist, obscurantist and other-worldly. Though religious dissent seems not yet fashionable, a number of novelists do identify themselves as atheists and urge a rational, humanistic, God-less order. Others assert that the churchhas a role to play but argue that it should be restricted to ministering to man's spiritual needs.

The forces of organized religion, meanwhile, respond to this challenge in two ways. One section attempts to reconcile the demands of the rationalists with church teaching, rejecting literal interpretation of the Bible and rejecting miraculous happenings, while accepting much of the information put forward by the new sciences. Identifying themselves with progress, many of this section use the prototypical Saxon in their novel (usually the hero-minister) and subscribe to the cults of respectability and gentility.

Another section, on the other hand, turns resolutely around and confronts the rationalist, social evolutionary order, criticizing that world-view for being materialistic, ruthless and evil. Marshall Saunders, for instance, prophesies class warfare as a result of the entrenchment of wealth and privilege. Albert Carman attacks the proponents of the new order as being pharisees who use "their" clergy to soothe and keep down the masses. The opposition of Saunders, Carman and the others of this category constitute a severe blow to progress-oriented social Darwinism and signal the rise of dissent which was ultimately to discredit the latter theory.

The fourth and final area of debate treated was the reaction to rising urban industrialism. This area showed most clearly the apprehension which many authors felt, below the level of consciousness, over the direction of social development. It was seen that a difference of opinion existed among the novelists. Some authors held up the city as the centre of progress and as a vibrant, tolerant and stimulating milieu. These authors pointed to the clannish, conservative, anti-intellectual face of rural society and disparaged the somnolent, narrow life of the countryside.

Yet other authors dissented from this view, pointing to the impersonal, enervating and squalid face of the city. To these authors, the countryside was untainted by the vice of the city. The country atmosphere, on the other hand, purified and hardened men. But these authors cannot be regarded as advocating a wholesale return to the land. Their outcry stems, to a large degree, from social nostalgia and appears to indicate more a concern with developments within the metropolis than with the innate virtues of the countryside.

What emerges from the chapter on the city and the country, then, is the fear that the new order which is bringing affluence and increased leisure will also bring problems such as slum areas, increased crime and immorality and class conflict. The novelists are acknowledging that socio-economic problems exist which will require solutions as the urban industrial order expands. The final chapter, therefore, reveals the qualified hold of progress upon many novelists. Man's long run future

seemed secure, but short run problems could still be vexing.

The period under study, it can be said in summary, falls within a wider era which must be fascinating to present generations because it marks the beginning of the "modern" outlook. What appears to some commentators as an age of escapist romance can be viewed in a different light. That the novels appear in the main to be novels of complication and coincidence, where the hero overcomes all obstacles to find happiness in the end, reveals a fundamental tendency of the era. The men and women of this period were, after all, the first to use what were undoubtedly sophisticated tools and theories. Some of their conclusions were understandably unsophisticated. Yet their direction was not unsophisticated.

The purpose of the majority of social thinkers, whether they attempted to explain the workings of Eastern civilization to Western man, of society to its members or of science to the general readership, was to push back the limits of the knowable. Unlike many modern novelists, for example, who concentrate on that which lies within the bounds of the known, making the mundane significant, novelists at the turn of the century attempted to explore the limits of their physical and spiritual world, looking at the perfect and the ideal.

Their optimism, their faith in progress and their future-oriented vision were to collapse under the harsh awakening of the great war and the depression. But it remains that they held out for man the task of taking up the tools of his own invention and carrying out the work of discovering the secrets locked in the mysterious, previously inscrutable cosmos. If their efforts fell short, one cannot but admire their vision.

CHAPTER XII. BIBLIOGRAPHY

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D. Since this essay is an attempt to isolate the views of a group of novelists who are a vital and integral part of Canadian society, it was thought desirable to exclude those authors who fell into the following categories.

(1) Those who had to all intents and purposes left Canadian society and were writing from an extra-Canadian experience in the frame of reference of another national group to a non-Canadian readership with whom they identified.

(2) Those who were "late" immigrants to Canada and were writing in the frame of reference of the society which they had lately left and writing to a non-Canadian readership, with whom they wholly or partially identified, on problems of little relevance or interest to contemporary Canadian society.

(1)

Grant Allen
Robert Barr
Isidore Gordon Ascher
Sara Jeanette Duncan Cotes
Annie Thomas Frechette
Horatio Gilbert Parker
Ernest Thompson Seton.

(2)

Lily Dougall
Julia Wilmotte Henshaw
Walter R. Nursey
Clive Phillipps-Wolley
Roger Pocock
Edward Roper
Cy Warman.

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