

**CHALLENGING A LITERARY MYTH:
LONG POEMS BY EARLY CANADIAN WOMEN**

by

Margot Kaminski

B.A., Simon Fraser University 1994

THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department

of

English

© Margot Kaminski

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

July 1998

All rights reserved. This work may not be reproduced
in whole or in part, by photocopy
or other means, without permission of the author.



National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Acquisitions et
services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

0-612-37562-5

Canada

ABSTRACT

The Canadian Long Poem Canon needs to be examined in relation to the literary paradigms that have led to the exclusion of poems written by women prior to 1900. In particular, the nationalistic paradigm that excludes women's poems, because they are perceived to be domestic and sentimental rather than epic, seems to have constructed a canon that is primarily male. Not all long poems by women warrant inclusion in the canon, but their exclusion from Canadian literary history furthers the myth that women did not write long poems.

The Canadian Poetry Press, while recovering many early long poems, has reinforced the "nation-building" paradigm that excludes several long poems by women. One such exclusion is Cassie Fairbanks' *The Lone House* (self-published 1859), based on the murder of a local woman. Fairbanks' isolation from Central Canada, lack of a publisher, and lack of critical mentions prevented her from gaining a literary reputation. The exclusion of Sarah Anne Curzon's poetic drama, *Laura Secord* (1887), may be a genre issue as it is perceived as drama rather than poetry. Although she was in the early canon and well-known as a feminist and amateur historian, Curzon is now ignored. Another omission is Susan Francis Harrison's "Down the River" (1891), a series of fifty-one poems describing a voyage down the St. Lawrence. Although Harrison had canonical status during her lifetime, she has disappeared from the current canon.

Since there is no consensus on the length of a long poem, length becomes a critical issue for many medium-length poems that currently disappear into the gap between short and long poems. Another concern is the exclusion of poems such as Louisa Murray's "Merlin's

Cave" (1892) which is not seen as "Canadian" because it lacks Canadian content. Satire, like Ann Painter's *The Widow Justified* (1858), seems to be outside the genre boundaries of the Canadian long poem as is a romance like Margaret Gill Currie's *John Saint John and Anna Grey* (1897). Unfortunately, as long as poems like these are rejected, an entire segment of Canadian literary history will continue to be ignored.

Acknowledgements

Anyone attempting a thesis like this depends on the support and encouragement of academics, family and friends. At Simon Fraser University, I have had the patient guidance and the encouragement of Carole Gerson, along with the insightful criticism of Sandra Djwa, to assist me through the thesis process. I have also had the support of Sheila Delany, Kris Paulson and John Whatley in my undergraduate as well as my graduate years. A graduate fellowship from Simon Fraser enabled me to do primary research on Cassie Fairbanks in Nova Scotia where I was assisted by the staff of the Provincial Archives of Nova Scotia and the Dartmouth Museum. Finally, the library staff at Simon Fraser have been of great assistance in my inter-library searches.

In Ontario, my parents Mary and Charles Gilbert, who instilled in me the love of reading so necessary to doing research, have continued to encourage me as a mature student. And my brother, Neil Gilbert, assisted me by doing some initial research on Cassie Fairbanks while on a business trip to Halifax. Also, in Ontario, I have had the assistance of Jean and Tom Hipwell, and the staff at the Orillia Public Library, in locating Sarah Anne Curzons's works published in the *Orillia Packet*.

At home in Vancouver, I have had the support of my husband, Ken Kaminski, first in urging me to return to school for my B.A. and then in supporting me through my Masters program. As well, I have been able to depend on friends like Wendy Baker, Alec Dixon, Maureen and Rod Downs, Donna McLeod and Stewart Triplett who were always willing to listen.

Table of Contents

Approval.....	ii
Abstract.....	iii
Acknowledgements.....	v
Preface.....	vii
Introduction.....	1
I. The Canadian Long Poem: Inclusions and Exclusions.....	5
II. Cassie Fairbanks (1820-1903): Spinster, Churchwoman, Charity Worker and Poet.....	39
III. Sarah Anne Curzon (1833-1898): Journalist, Editor, Historian, Feminist, Dramatist and Poet.....	56
IV. Susan Frances Harrison ("Seranus") (1859-1934): Novelist, Short-Story Writer, Journalist, Translator, Editor, Lecturer, Pianist, Composer and Poet.....	73
V. Other Issues of Genre Exclusion: Romance, Satire, and Non-Distinctively Canadian Poems.....	89
Appendix A: Long Poems Read For This Thesis	103
Appendix B: Medium-Length Poems Read For This Thesis	115
Notes.....	121
Works Cited.....	138

Preface

This thesis had its beginnings in a Graduate Directed Study with Carole Gerson in which she challenged me to find out if nineteenth-century Canadian women poets, other than Isabella Valancy Crawford, had written long poems. Inter-library searches unearthed several long poems by women that I expected would have the Canadian landscape and heroes typical of poems in the Canadian Long Poem Canon. But, in many cases, I found a different sort of poem. I found women writing their perspective of Canadian social life, writing themes of women's experience in early Canadian society -- those "domestic" themes that seem to be devalued by Canadian literary paradigms. My interest in women's long poems expanded with a paper, "Questioning the Canon," that was read at the Canadian Long Poem Symposium held in Ottawa in April of 1996 and which is forthcoming in the *Re-Appraisals: Canadian Writers* series. It seemed natural to explore this issue of canon exclusion further in my Masters thesis.

In the process of writing this thesis, I have located many long poems by women which I have enjoyed reading for their literary value as well as their social value as they provide a woman's view of nineteenth-century Canadian life. It should be noted that my choice of women poets for this thesis is not based solely on a desire to challenge the canon or to expand the literary record; I have also found their poetry interesting to me, a modern reader.

Introduction:

Challenging a Canadian Myth: Long Poems by Early Canadian Women

Considering that there is only one woman, Isabella Valancy Crawford, in the Canadian Long Poem Canon, the assumption may be that few women attempted the long poem or that those who did produced an inferior version. But a closer look at nineteenth-century long poems reveals many women who attempted the genre and more than a few who succeeded. However, their work is being ignored. There is no single reason for the exclusion of early women's long poems from the canon. In a nineteenth-century society that didn't consider women to be persons, their work could be dismissed as sentimental and domestic and women poets could be dismissed as inconsequential.

Unfortunately, once limited by nineteenth-century values that regarded women's poems as sentimental, our foremothers are now limited by twentieth-century values that have established an exclusionary definition for the Canadian long poem based on nationalism. The few women who made it into the canon, considered "minor" poets by Roy Daniells in the *Literary History of Canada*,¹ have subsequently been erased. Hence, the myth that few women wrote long poems. *Malcolm's Katie*, by Isabella Valancy Crawford, is the only early woman's poem in the Canadian canon (partly because its pioneering theme is nationalistic). After Confederation, nationalism became a focus in Canadian literature that has continued to today. The nationalistic literary paradigm for the Canadian long poem demands poems that are "distinctively Canadian." Although critics use the term *Canadian long poem* as if there were a consensus on what it means, there isn't. It seems that critics have created a theory of the Canadian long poem as a way to do "Canadian" criticism.

In spite of recent interest in resurrecting literary foremothers, most early women's long poems are still being excluded. Many of these poems are out of print and must be located on CIHM microfiche or through an inter-library request. Those early long poems that are accessible (reprinted individually by Canadian Poetry Press, for example, or issued in anthologies) help form the current canon because they are available to be read, to be taught, and to be written about.

In the first chapter of my thesis, I address issues of genre and canon that I believe have led to the exclusion of many women's long poems. Early women poets had to contend with a publishing business (newspapers, magazines, periodicals, and books -- collected editions of poems, literary histories, anthologies) controlled by men. A select few with influential connections in the publishing, the academic, and the business world could hope to be accepted as a "minor poet." As the academic world took control of the canon, teaching anthologies reinforced the existing canon of male writers and gradually discarded women. The Canadian Poetry Press, while recovering many early long poems, reinforces the "nation-building" paradigm for the Canadian long poem, a paradigm which overlooks women's contribution to building the community.

In my second chapter, I focus on Cassie Fairbanks and her 15-page long poem, *The Lone House: A Poem. Partly Founded on Fact* (self-published 1859), set in Nova Scotia and based on the actual murder of Rebecca Langley, August 24, 1854. The poem's themes include pioneering, settlement, the loner versus the community, woman's role, motherhood, order and justice in the community. Her isolation from Central Canada, her lack of a publisher, her lack of critical attention, and her apparent lack of interest or need for a writing career seem to have

prevented her from gaining a literary reputation.

In my third chapter, I discuss Sarah Anne Curzon and her 57-page poetic drama *Laura Secord*, published in 1887 but written in 1876, which is based on Secord's heroism in the War of 1812. Its themes include Canadian history, pioneering, women's role, New World as Eden, anti-war sentiments, and bravery that has no gender. Well-known in her time as a feminist, amateur historian and poet, Curzon is ignored now.

In chapter four, I look at Susan Francis Harrison ("Seranus") a versatile woman who wrote poems, short stories and novels as well as songs, an opera and newspaper music reviews. Harrison's "Down the River" is a series of fifty-one poems describing a voyage down the St. Lawrence and can be considered a discontinuous long poem. Even though Harrison was in the early canon as an author and poet, she has disappeared from the current canon.

In my final chapter, I look at other forms of long poems that raise issues of genre and the definition of a Canadian long poem. The length issue is critical to the many longer (or *medium-length*) poems written by Harrison, like "A Monody to the Memory of Isabella Valancy Crawford," that currently disappear into the gap between short or lyric poems and long poems. A place in the Canadian canon needs to be found for medium-length poems written by women as well as by men. The value placed on nationalism affects Louisa Murray's "Merlin's Cave: A Legend in Rhyme," 588 lines (*The Week* December 2, 1892), which was once praised as Canada's best "undistinctive poem." Since Murray did not publish a collection of her poems and since this poem was not anthologized, it disappeared from critical view. The poem's Old World setting makes it an unlikely candidate for recovery now as Canadian long poems have to have "Canadian" content. Ann Painter's 15-page poem *The Widow Justified:*

or the Age of Wonder. A Satiric Poem (1858), set in Ontario, satirizes women who marry old men for their wealth, and then cuckold them. The poem suggests, satirically, that in this age of wonders dead spirits can impregnate women. Is the poem excluded because satire is excluded from the long poem genre or because the theme was improper or because it was self-published and lacked promotion? Margaret Gill Currie's *John Saint John and Anna Grey: A Romance of Old New Brunswick*, published in 1897 but actually written about 1873, is 124 pages long. It has themes of romance, class structure, New versus Old World values, work ethic, and women's role in the New World. Yet the poem is excluded because it is dismissed as sentimental romance. Currie's other long poem, *Gabriel West* (1866), may also have been ignored because its Loyalist theme is considered sentimental.

It is my hope that the current canon could be expanded to include long poems like those by Harrison, Fairbanks and Curzon that do meet the nationalistic requirement for a long poem, that provide a woman's viewpoint on Canadian history and Canadian social life and that are as "good" or better, aesthetically, than several of the poems already in the canon (e.g. Oliver Goldsmith's "*Rising Village*," Joseph Howe's *Acadia*, Adam Kidd's *Huron Chief*, Thomas Cary's *Abram's Plains*). And the canon needs to be expanded generically to include long poems that are outside the genre of the Canadian long poem as defined by the current canon: romantic narratives like Currie's *John Saint John and Anna Grey*, loyalist narratives like Currie's *Gabriel West*, satiric poems like Painter's *The Widow Justified*, and poems that are not distinctively Canadian like Murray's "Merlin's Cave." While early long poems by Canadian women vary as to theme and form, they are alike in their exclusion from the Canadian Long Poem Canon.

Chapter One:

The Canadian Long Poem: Inclusions and Exclusions

In Canadian literary criticism, the long poem has been identified and promoted as a uniquely Canadian genre. Its position has been secured through events like the Long-liners Conference in 1985, and through critical texts like Smaro Kamboureli's *On the Edge of Genre: The Contemporary Canadian Long Poem*. Although both of these focus on the contemporary (post 1960) long poem, they also embrace the early Canadian long poem as a precursor of the current tradition. The reprinting of early Canadian (pre-1900) long poems by the Canadian Poetry Press, while reviving these poems, seems to have created the current canon of early Canadian long poems. Furthermore, the early Canadian long poem genre appears to have been defined by those poems that form the canon. As Donna Bennett observes, genre and canon are not typically identical, but subcanons can seem to be identical to genres "as, for example, in the case of the canon of the Canadian long poem" ("Conflicted" 136).

While Bennett says that subcanons don't define genre "but provide us with important texts that are identified with that genre" ("Conflicted" 139), the poems in the early Canadian Long Poem Canon do seem to define the genre. All of these poems are long narratives with epic ambitions. They are seen as distinctively "Canadian" with their male heroes, themes of Canadian military history or politics or exploration or settlement or natives and, of course, Canadian landscape. The early Canadian long poem genre appears to have been "devised" in the terms of Adena Rosmarin who questions: "Are genres found in texts, in the reader's mind, in the author's, or in some combination thereof? Or are they not 'found' at all but, rather,

devised and used?" (7). Rosmarin suggests "genre is actually conceptualized, textualized, and justified by the critic's present-tense act, by his writing of the genre's definition" (26). Part of the definition of the Canadian long poem that has been "devised" is the critic's version of Canada. Bennett also observes that the "lists of texts that are considered national canons are really lists aimed at defining national genre-forms that are particularly characteristic of the writing of a country or its regions" and they are not lists devised according to literary aesthetics ("Conflicted" 130). Thus, the Canadian Long Poem Canon is a list of texts selected in order to define a Canadian long poem genre that characterizes Canada and Canadian writing. Unfortunately, the form of nationalism that drives that selection devalues those long poems, written in Canada, that employ settings or themes that are not distinctively Canadian. And among the devalued are many long poems by women.

Once limited by nineteenth-century values, our literary foremothers are now devalued by twentieth-century critics who have established an exclusionary definition of the Canadian long poem that canonizes poems with nationalistic, topographical, historical, and mythopoeic themes, and not social or domestic ones. The Canadian Poetry Press, while recovering many early long poems, recuperates a particular kind of Canadian long poem and does not reconstruct the community of Canadian long poems. The series has contributed to the exclusion of women's poems by reinforcing the "nation-building" paradigm for the Canadian long poem, a paradigm that looks for "firsts", for narratives of male explorers or male pioneers, and overlooks women's roles and women's viewpoints on building the community. As Carole Gerson points out, we must accept social and domestic themes in the early poetic canon if we are to "re-inscribe women into the literary history represented by our anthologies"

("Anthologies" 63).

However, the valorization of nationalism is not the only reason for the exclusion of early women's long poems from the canon. Publishing, past and present, is also a factor in the formation and reformation of the Canadian Long Poem Canon. Early women poets had to contend with a publishing business (newspapers, magazines, periodicals, collected editions of poems, literary histories, anthologies) controlled by men. Women also had to contend with social restrictions which demanded propriety in their life style as well as in their poems. Lack of mobility meant they couldn't make public appearances, as men did, that would have raised their public profile, increased their reading audience and gained them critical attention.

Women writers were mainly published in literary periodicals mid-century and established themselves in newspapers in the 1880's (Gerson *A Purer Taste* 9). There was more hope of publishing a short poem than a long poem in the periodicals and newspapers; therefore, the incentive was to write short poems especially if one needed the money that these publications offered. Those poems printed in a newspaper and not republished in a book of poems or a popular or teaching anthology, like Louisa Murray's "Merlin's Cave"(1892), disappeared from view and thus are unlikely to be read or taught now. The only hope for any lasting fame was to gain a publisher for your poems or pay to publish them yourself. Many of those women who were published or self-published seemed to include at least one long poem in their collections, a poem that was often the title poem of their book. For example, Sarah Anne Curzon's *Laura Secord, The Heroine of 1812: A Drama And Other Poems* follows this common pattern.² Obviously the long poem held a position of prestige in the poet's mind as it was important to foreground it in the book title. This likely was intended to impress a

readership that also valued the poetical effort of a long poem.

However, making it into a book or anthology was no guarantee of posterity as many of these early books are now out of print. Moreover, a self-published poem, like Cassie Fairbanks' *The Lone House*, or Ann Painter's *The Widow Justified* would lack the promotion of a publisher and would have a limited edition, making copies scarce at the time of publishing and impossible to find now except through an interlibrary loan request. Thus, as Dorothy Livesay says, to "analyze the long poem in Canada is not easy because so much of the material that would be of interest has not been made available through republication" (268). Republication in a new edition or anthology makes a poem available for the scholarly analysis and teaching which can place a poem and its poet on the road to recovery. As Gerson states, "What we teach in Canadian literature is largely determined by what appears in our anthologies, especially when we look at early writers who are otherwise out of print" ("Anthologies" 56). And what we teach largely determines our canon.

Considering the influence of the academics on the canon, it is interesting to look at how they assumed control and what effects that control has had. In nineteenth-century America, as Paul Lauter notes, individuals, families, literary clubs and magazines helped determine what was read but in the early twentieth century the classroom took over ("Race and Gender" 27). Before the 1920s, the academic authority was counterbalanced by the "vast network of women's literary clubs" and "magazines that spoke to primarily female audiences" but from the 1920s on, academics and teaching anthologies began to dominate and remained dominant for the next fifty years (Lauter "Race and Gender" 23). Alan C. Golding, in his essay "A History of American Poetry Anthologies," also notes that teachers of literature assumed

more authority over the canon from 1900-1920 as the "power to direct taste began to shift from individual editors to an institution -- the university" (295). Unfortunately this dominance led to the progressive exclusion of "blacks, white females, and working-class writers from the canon" (Lauter "Race and Gender 23). The "masculinist attitudes" of the professoriat and their "strenuous nationalism" demanded that American art "embody the values of a masculine culture and not the domestic sphere which they left to women and women writers" (Lauter "Race and Gender" 34). Similar forces were at play in the Canadian canon. From about 1918 to 1940, the literary canon was controlled not by the reading public but by "publishers, editors and English professors" a "distinctly masculine" group who "determined who and what got into print and into anthologies, and which works received prizes and plaudits" (Gerson "The Canon" 47).

Gerson details the process of discarding women's writing that began in the 1950's, as popular anthologies decanonized early women and academic anthologies did not recover them, so that Crawford and Johnson are the only ones left in several cases, including Margaret Atwood's 1982 *New Oxford Book of Canadian Verse* ("Anthologies" 61-64). Atwood's edition is based on an existing canon shaped by A. J. M. Smith in the 1950's with his *Book of Canadian Poetry: A Critical and Historical Anthology* and shows the on-going influence of Smith's editorial practices.³ However, since women were 24% of the poets listed in Watters' 1972 *Checklist of Canadian Literature* (Gerson "Anthologies" 59), this representation, ten years later, of only two women seems unjust. By the 1970's, the "process of decanonization" became "absolute" and continues as recent academic anthologists limit the canon of nineteenth-century women writers to six women, all from Central Canada, with

Crawford and Johnson representing poetry (Gerson "Anthologies" 62-63). Offering only a few poets in an anthology creates the impression that those chosen are the canon. As well as eliminating women from the canon, this practice also contributes to the myth that women didn't write poetry -- or at least, worthwhile poetry.

It is interesting to look at the selection process used in the creation of an anthology. The consideration of what is teachable affects what is chosen for publication as is shown by Carl Klinck's letter to Reginald E. Watters on editorial policy for their *Canadian Anthology*: "If a distinction had to be made at any time, [choose] teachable, rather than esoteric, selections" (*Giving Canada a Literary History* 91).⁴ What is considered "teachable," who is the designated audience and what is considered too "esoteric" for them? Looking at the relative absence of long poems by women in print, it cannot be that they are all "unteachable" or too "esoteric." More likely they aren't considered or even sought out because the anthologist believes in the myth that early women didn't attempt long poems. Thus, an anthologist's biases affect who gets published or how much of one poet gets published. If they have not read any long poems by women, they are not likely to select them. As well, the institution where the anthologist teaches has an indirect influence on what is selected as teachable. As the publication details of the Canadian Poetry Press series of early Canadian long poems state, the series is "made possible by grants from the Academic Development Fund of the University of Western Ontario and Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada." Thus, the support behind the series and the canon it forms is academic. As Barbara Herrnstein Smith comments,

... the activities of the academy certainly figure significantly in the production of literary values. For example, the repeated inclusion of a particular work in

literary anthologies not only promotes the value of that work but goes some distance toward creating its value, as does also its repeated appearance on reading lists or its frequent citation or quotation by professors, scholars, and academic critics (29).

The academy, as well as publishers and media, are part of the process that determines "what gets published and reviewed and who gets onto course lists and into anthologies, reprint series, textbooks, and reference sources (Gerson "Anthologies" 57).

Of course an anthology's size also affects who is selected and who is not. And, for those selected, book size also affects the number of their poems chosen and which specific poems are chosen with shorter poems likely to be favoured over longer ones. In the past, a poet's long poem may not have been published at all as David Sinclair notes writers were "guaranteed neither publisher nor an audience" for long, narrative poems (vi). Readers, judging by the material made available to them, are unaware of the other works (especially the long poems) by a selected poet and worse are unaware of the existence of those poets who have been omitted. In the case of any survey anthology of Canadian literature, the far-reaching historical range leads anthologists to select only the "big" names and thus reinforce the mainstream canon.

Along with the rise of the survey anthology used in university-level Canadian literature courses, the movement from an inclusive preservative canon to a more exclusive evaluative canon limited the representation of women and "particularly narrow[ed] the canon of early female authors" (Gerson "Anthologies" 60). A text's survival or revival now depends on institutions, including "schools, libraries, theatres, museums, publishing and printing houses, editorial boards, prize-awarding commissions, state censors, etc.," and depends on the power of those who control these institutions and who select texts which fulfil their "needs, interests,

resources and purposes" (Herrnstein Smith 33).

Those few early Canadian women who were recognized as "minor poets" in their day (e.g. Sarah Anne Curzon, Susan Frances Harrison) seem to have lost this status after their deaths as their texts disappeared from sight. In Harrison's case, all of her books were out of print by 1933 (MacMillan 108). Without recovery of these women, we fail to see their contribution to the evolution of Canadian poetry. Debra Adelaide points out that "'minor' (but not mundane) women writers are the missing links in the reconstruction of the 'continuity' and 'community' of Australian women writers because without them the 'tradition is distorted'" (*Australian Women Writers* 136). Similarly, Canadians need to recover our women writers of long poems in order to trace our literary genealogy and eliminate the "distortion" of our literary "community." But the actual status of the "minor" woman writer is questionable as "'great' women writers are often acknowledged as such" but "'minor' women writers are perceived as *more* minor than their male counterparts" (Rosenfelt 16). Thus, the argument of literary value is applied to exclude minor women poets more than minor male poets. And, while there is a difference in the work of a "great" woman writer like Crawford and many of the "minor" unanthologized women, this does not mean they are lacking in merit.

When a woman of any country, whether of "minor" or "major" status, writes about her world, she may be influenced by prior women's works, by her daily life or a combination of the two but the reader of her work "with knowledge of neither its informing literary traditions nor its real-world contexts, will thereby find himself hard-pressed, though he may recognize the words on the page, to completely decipher its intended meanings" (Kolodny "Dancing Through" 12).⁵ Unable to understand or respond to women's poems, the male reader-critic

may simply reject them as "not good," "too sentimental" or "too domestic" -- all charges that have maintained the exclusion of women's poetry from the canon. Virginia Woolf observes that when a woman writer tries to alter the "established values," the male critic will not just see "a difference of view, but a view that is weak, or trivial, or sentimental, because it differs from his own" ("Women and Fiction" 146). As Kolodny proposes, "male readers who find themselves outside of and unfamiliar with the symbolic systems that constitute female experience in women's writings will necessarily dismiss those systems as undecipherable, meaningless, or trivial" and "male professors will find no reason to include such works in the canon of 'major authors'" ("Dancing Through" 148). Kolodny also says that when males lack the interpretive strategies to decipher a women's work, "historically, the result has been the diminished status of women's products and their consequent absence from major canons" ("Dancing Through" 156-57).

Absence from the canon can be of two types -- those who have never been included and those, once included, who are now excluded. There are women, like Harrison and Curzon, once in the poetry canon but now dismissed. An explanation for such loss of reputation, based on Kolodny's analysis of the "most recent feminist re-readings of women writers," is that "where those authors have dropped out of sight, the reason may be due not to any lack of merit in the work but instead, to an incapacity of predominantly male readers to properly interpret and appreciate women's texts -- due, in large part, to a lack of prior acquaintance" ("Dancing Through" 12). In the case of women's long poems, the lack of "prior acquaintance" is due, in part, to their being unavailable in print. Lacking a critical mass of accumulated poems to read prevents readers, male and female, from appreciating these texts

and from considering them for canonization. The texts are then neglected and we suffer an absence of women in our literary history. As Lillian S. Robinson notes in 1983, "For more than a decade now, feminist scholars have been protesting the apparently systematic neglect of women's experience in the literary canon, neglect that takes the form of distorting and misreading the few recognized female writers and excluding others" (106). As far as the Canadian Long Poem Canon is concerned, that neglect, distortion and exclusion continues today.

According to Patricia Okker, in early American anthologies of women's poetry, including three from the 1850's, "editors generally defined feminine poetry as substandard, lacking power and vigour" (139). In other words, they were not "virile." Gerson says that nationalists and modernists, operating under the social values of their time, "disregarded women writers because they were attempting to define a Canadian literature characterized by 'virile' attributes" ("Canons" 48). In her discussion of the use of the term "virile," Dale Spender comments that while men name themselves as "virile" and "potent," words that "enhance the male image," they have no similar terms for women because "patriarchal order demands that males are sexually dominant" (*Man Made* 175). Then, what does it mean when a male critic uses the word "virile" in reference to a woman's work? It could be a compliment to the power of her writing. Or, it could suggest that the woman writes like a man, that men read themselves in her text. Yet, masculine writing was not necessarily acceptable for nineteenth-century women. In Britain, Christina Rossetti's brother, Dante Gabriel, criticized Barrett Browning's "falsetto muscularity" in a "Pre-Raphaelite response" to her "increasingly political and muscular register" (Leighton 128). In Canada, Wilfred Campbell, in attempting to explain

the mind of George Eliot, decides he must "deny for her the truly feminine qualities, in short, to say she does not represent the normal woman at her best, but that her great intellectual genius is due to an abnormal masculinity in her nature" (Davies *At the Mermaid Inn* 117). Perhaps Campbell was influenced, as many were in the late nineteenth century, by John Ruskin's essay, "Of Queen's Gardens," published in *Sesame and Lilies* (1865), a book so popular that it went through thirteen editions by 1892. Ruskin sees men and women having different roles and different abilities with man being "the doer, the creator, the discoverer, the defender" with an "intellect for speculation and invention" while woman's "intellect is not for invention or creation, but for sweet ordering, arrangement, and decision" (135-6). The fact that Campbell finds it necessary to account for Eliot's genius suggests that he cannot reconcile it with his perception of women. Apparently a woman's writing should be "feminine" but when she measures up to the "giant masculine literary intellects" (Campbell 117), she must be "masculine" and thus "abnormal." Thus, women were doubly damned. They were expected to write a lighter, less prestigious work but if they produced a great one, then they were not really women.

With notable frequency, Canadian critics comment on Crawford's "virility" with the implication that "she writes like a man." Typically it's a man's poetry that is described as "virile" as O'Hagan describes Roberts (15) and Carman (30) in "Canadian Poets and Poetry." But Archibald MacMurchy, in his 1906 *Handbook of Canadian Literature (English)*, says that Crawford's work is "characterized by melody, width of view and power, that same quality which in man is named virility" (146). None of the other women poets in MacMurchy's book are described in terms of "virility," but rather in terms of moral purpose, spiritual devotion and

sweetness of spirit.⁶ And T. G. Marquis, in 1913, says Crawford "left behind a body of work that is seldom commonplace, and which at times has a sincerity and a virility that are the gifts of only the greatest singers" (585). Perhaps the perception of Crawford's "virility" may be a factor in her critical acceptance and in the rejection of other women who do not write with similar "power and vigour."⁷

For Crawford, the accretion of favourable critical mentions over the years seems to be an essential part of her canonization. In the Canadian Poetry Press's 1991 edition of McLachlan's *The Emigrant* (1861), D.M.R. Bentley's introduction describes how critical mentions by Kenneth J. Hughes in two 1970's articles and David Sinclair's call for attention to *The Emigrant*, in his *Nineteenth Century Narrative Poems* (1972), began the recovery of this poem (xii). The value placed on the subject of emigration probably contributed as well to the interest in McLachlan's recovery. Texts that perform their desired functions "particularly well at a given time for some community of subjects" have an advantage as they will be "more frequently read or recited, copied or reprinted, translated, imitated, cited, and commented upon -- in short, culturally re-produced -- and thus more readily available to perform those or other functions for other subjects at a subsequent time" (Herrnstein Smith 31). Also, as the community changes over time, the subjects that are valued change -- leading to praise for Crawford's use of myth after Northrop Frye's *Bush Garden* (1971) "inspired some critics to take a mythopoeic approach to criticism and poetry (Gerson "The Changing Contours" 891), or praise for her eroticism at the Crawford Symposium in 1977 -- something not likely to be publicly applauded in the nineteenth century.⁸

The critical mentions in literary histories also play a role in canon formation. Marquis,

in *English-Canadian Literature* (1913), declares that "the beauty of Canadian scenery, the varied seasons, and the aspirations of a pioneer people have produced an astonishingly large number of women writers" (587). The "astonishingly" may express a negative attitude about women's ability to create or perhaps astonishment that women found the time to create. Marquis devotes two pages to Isabella Valancy Crawford who has "a keen, well-stored mind and a penetrating imagination. She saw poetry in life's common things and is, in a sense, the best of the interpreters of the typical life of pioneer days who have yet written prose or verse in Canada" (585). *Malcolm's Katie* is "the only Canadian poem of any length that has taken as its subject the struggle of the pioneer with the primeval forest" and her "delicate love song beginning 'O Love builds on the azure sea' is as artistic as some lyrics with which Tennyson brightens his idylls" (Marquis 586-7). Marquis accords Crawford such high praise that it must have helped in her early canonization and his focus on her "pioneer" theme helps to canonize the theme as well.⁹ Without such favourable reviews and mentions in critics' essays, critic's texts, literary histories, journals, conference proceedings and theses, a poet disappears from view.

Crawford, the lone female in the Canadian Long Poem Canon,¹⁰ seems to have entered it based on the critical reception of one poem, *Malcolm's Katie*. However, publishing has also had an influence on her canonization. As well as Crawford's publication of *Old Spookses' Pass, Malcolm's Katie and Other Poems* in 1884, John Garvin's publication of her *Collected Works* (1905), eighteen years after her early death in 1887, not only kept her poems accessible but also made her a romantic figure, a poetic myth as did Katherine Hale's *Isabella Valancy Crawford* (1923). More recently, James Reaney's 1972 publication of her *Collected*

Poems, along with the feminist search for literary foremothers as well as gatherings like the Crawford Symposium (1977) have helped Crawford maintain her well-deserved position in the canon. Still, the search seems to have begun and ended with Crawford to the critical neglect of other early women poets.¹¹

Certainly *Malcolm's Katie* is perceived as being "on Canada" and as such meets the nationalistic requirement for a Canadian long poem. In Crawford's obituary published in the Toronto periodical *The Week* (Feb. 24, 1887), Susan Frances Harrison wrote that Crawford's best work was *Malcolm's Katie* and, interestingly, she said that "there is little, if any, direct Canadian inspiration in her verse, but by right of adoption her verse is ours." Harrison's familiarity with the extent of Crawford's work is exhibited in her poetic tribute, "A Monody to the Memory of Isabella Valancy Crawford" published in *Pine Rose and Fleur de Lis*. The perspective we have now seems to be narrowed to *Malcolm's Katie* and we praise Crawford's "Canadian inspiration" based largely on this one poem. Many of her other long poems are not at all distinctively Canadian as Harrison pointed out. They occasionally receive critical attention because she is in the canon and because scholars, looking for their own "firsts," "explore" her works. Poems like *The Helot*, which is set in ancient Greece and thus not Canadian, would be neglected if written by a non-canonical poet.

Debra Adelaide's research into issues of neglect in Australian women's literary history was motivated, in part, by the "unsubstantiated and unsatisfactory explanation that the reason there were so few women writers in the literary canon and studied in educational institutions was because so few women writers were any good" (*Australian Women Writers* xi). Perhaps the women are simply different rather than not "good." However, the issue of who or what

is "good" raises several concerns. Who has decided what is "good" and what is not "good" and what is the definition of "good"? As Joyce W. Warren points out, "The question 'Is it good?' is inextricably bound up with other questions: 'Good for whom?' 'When?' and 'Why?' Class, race, and gender biases influence literary judgements; specific historical periods provide different literary criteria; and ideological preconceptions determine what will be chosen" (2). Nevertheless, any argument about exclusions from the canon is forced to consider the issue of whether a work warrants inclusion and thus whether or not it is "good enough." In the case of the current Canadian Long Poem Canon, it can be shown that the canonized poets have not necessarily written "good" poetry. For example, Cary's *Abram's Plains* has been canonized despite the fact that, as Bentley says in his introduction to the Canadian Poetry Press's edition of Cary's poem, "No one would wish to claim that Thomas Cary is a major poet or that *Abram's Plains* is a major poem" (xxxviii). Bentley justifies Cary's poem as "a significant document in the history of Canadian literature and society" while admitting to "all its deficiencies and shortcomings" (xxxix). Many authors who now represent early Canadian literature are evidently there "on grounds other than aesthetic brilliance" as "non-literary factors contribute substantially to the significance of the preserved male writer, whose cultural weight is enhanced by his historical public career as explorer, clergyman, educator, lawyer, newspaperman, or political figure, and by the personal connections fostered by his profession" (Gerson "Anthologies" 62).¹² Since it is the author's public career and network of connections in the academic, the publishing, and the business world that are factors in gaining importance rather than a poem's "aesthetic brilliance," why demand "aesthetic brilliance" now? Even if the argument were that only "brilliant" poems warrant recovery, that position is undermined by

Bentley's 1987 re-publication of Adam Kidd's *The Huron Chief*. Bentley says "Kidd, it must be conceded, was a poet of limited talents" (xvi) whose *Huron Chief* has "manifest weaknesses of conception and execution" (xxx). There is room, then, to recover poets who are not particularly "good"- at least if they are chronicling the "Canadian experience" and exhibiting "attitudes, emphases, and patterns which echo forward to recent Canadian poetry" (*Huron Chief* xxx). And apparently, in order to establish a genealogy for recent Canadian long poems, early long poems that seem to "echo forward" to current poems are selected. Thus, the form and content of current poems is being used to determine which early poems are valued and canonized.

Obviously, the value system adhered to by Canadian critics, scholars and anthologists affects the literary canon. For anthologists, the process of selection and rejection not only maintains existing values, but also shapes value as they use explicit as well as implicit "criteria" and "assumptions about the desired and expected functions of the texts so classified and about the interests of their appropriate audiences, all of which are usually not explicit and, for that reason, less likely to be questioned, challenged, or even noticed" (Herrnstein Smith 30). Such criteria or values help to determine which Canadian long poems are canonized.¹³ For example, David Sinclair (1972) values "pioneering, the breaking and settling of the land and the imposition of man's works on the new surroundings" (vii). Frank Davey (1985) values "topical reference" and "lyrical expression" in Crawford's *Malcolm's Katie* (37). Ann Munton (1985) values "exploration and the exchange of the outer wilderness for the inner terrain" and she notes that contemporary poets "use the explorers as subject and image, explorers and poet alike journey into an unknown land" (94).¹⁴

Since D.M.R. Bentley is actively involved, as editor of the Canadian Poetry Press editions, in the recovery of early long poems, it is appropriate to consider his value system in some detail as it affects who is and who is not recovered. To some extent, Bentley could be considered a "canon-maker" as Donna Bennett points out that "canonical consensus usually arises out of an evaluation by some one individual -- a critic, an anthologist, a publisher, or a leader of a literary movement" ("Conflicted" 133).¹⁵ Bentley values the "pan-provincial appeal" of Goldsmith's *Rising Village* (1825) published in London, England, in Saint John, New Brunswick, and in a Montreal periodical (*Mimic Fires* 6). This publishing spread, as well as his great-uncle's name, helped Goldsmith to gain a reputation, to be canonized early on and helps to maintain him in the canon.¹⁶ McLachlan's publishing history is also an example of "pan-provincial appeal" making a "minor" poet. According to Bentley, the publishing of *The Emigrant* by an "aggressive Toronto publisher" helped to "consolidate a poetic reputation that had gone from strength to strength with his three previous volumes, all similarly published in Toronto and by increasingly prestigious houses"; McLachlan was also distributed in New York, London and Edinburgh (*Emigrant* lii). Bentley also values "explorer" poems and his reclamation of Kidd's "marginalized" *The Huron Chief* is justified on its being an "explorer poem--which is 130 pages long- it is a real long poem rather than an established lyric like Pound's 'Metro'" (*Open Letter* 233). As well as explorers, Bentley values "pioneer heroism, agricultural improvement and commercial process" in *The Rising Village* as well as in Howe's *Acadia* (*Mimic Fires* 6). Native themes are also valued as, according to Bentley, "almost all the longer poems written in colonial Canada address and answer" questions of whether natives are "friend or foe," or "noble or ignoble savage;" themes of natives' relations with settlers are

a "constant" in colonial long poems (*Mimic Fires* 6). Finally, when discussing Thomas Cary's *Abram's Plains*, Bentley sums up the "ingredients" of an English Canadian long poem:

descriptions of local scenery and people(s); a local pride grounded in an attachment to Lower Canada and an accreditation of its history; a communal consciousness founded on the sense of a common past and a shared future; and an educational component directed towards increasing local awareness, reinforcing community values, and, hence, enhancing future prospects (*Mimic Fires* 5).

Clearly, to be accredited as Canadian a poem must have Canadian scenery and people, pride in local history, communal consciousness and positive reinforcement of community values. In *Early Long Poems on Canada* (1993), Bentley reprints thirteen long poems that the Canadian Poetry Press has already published individually.¹⁷ Bentley says the book is "intended to provide the texts for courses that include a study of Canadian poetry to 1900" (ix). Although this anthology makes these particular long poems accessible for teaching purposes, it simply reinforces the current canon created by the Canadian Poetry Press series of long poems. And, as Robinson suggests, "beyond their availability on bookshelves, it is through teaching and study -- one might even say the habitual teaching and study -- of certain works that they become institutionalized as canonical literature" (106). What Bentley also institutionalizes, in his title and throughout his introduction, is that early long poems of any value are "on Canada." Thus he emphasizes the requirement that a long poem's theme be nationalistic and historical -- a Canadian epic. Why isn't it enough to be a long poem, written *in Canada*, that reflects the social life and the beliefs of Canadians?

The Canadian Long Poem Canon is constructed, as the adjective "Canadian" suggests or rather demands, on a foundation of nationalistic values. As Tracey Ware states, "nationalism is part of the context of Canadian criticism," as it determines not the evaluation

but the selection of texts and subjects (491). Poems perceived to be non-nationalistic, not "distinctively Canadian," are excluded (whether written by men or women). Likewise, nationalism is an issue in Australia. Elizabeth Webby observes that subject matter makes a poet's reputation and "poems on non-Australian subjects have been disregarded" (52). This affects women poets particularly because, out of choice or adherence to convention, they chose to "celebrate the joys and sorrows of love, domestic life, and religion rather than the camaraderie of the campfire" (Webby 52). As Robert Lecker sees it, Canadian literature is valued for its ability to reflect the worth of the nation and a writer is valued for being able to express this worth (*Making it Real* 32). And as Leon Surette asserts, "Canadian literary criticism has always been an enterprise in which the central purpose was the discovery of the Canadian-ness of the literature written in this country" (17). The value placed on nationalism, or at least a definition of nationalism that demands poems with male heroes exploring and taming the landscape, prevents the recovery of poems that do not meet this pattern.

Considering that nineteenth-century women were excluded from the political process of nationhood, they should not be condemned for tending to ignore nationalism in their poetry. According to Cheryl Walker, while American men sought a

national literature distinct from British traditions, American women poets of the nineteenth century were perfectly willing to acknowledge solidarity with their English sisters, first with Felicia Hemans and later with Elizabeth Barrett Browning. As long as women's lives have been less concerned with commerce and the state than with a certain predetermined set of domestic expectations, their poetry has recognized affinities extending across national boundaries" (26-7).

It would seem that nationalism was not demanded of nineteenth-century British poets as Britons were secure in their national identity. Their poems were not expected to define a

nation nor were they required to have a distinctively British landscape. But, as Tricia Lootens notes in an essay on Hemans, nineteenth-century British and American women poets' "grappling with national identity has yet to be fully explored" (8). Lootens states that "Hemans' work suggests that national awarenesses are paradoxical and inescapably gendered and that gender is shaped by its own contradictory awarenesses, including conceptions of national identity" (8). Thus, women would portray patriotism and nationalism differently than men. Hemans, for example, portrays the theme of patriotism through a series called *Records of Women* (1828) which explores various international heroines rather than British ones. These poems were accepted in spite of their lack of British landscape and heroes.

However, as Baym notes, the earliest American critics, looking for an identity that did not compare American to British writing, valued "'Americanness' over excellence, content over form" (65). This "Americanness" requires that a literary work be about America, be about experiences and character that are unique to Americans and provide "some generalizations and conclusions about 'the' American experience" (Baym 67). Works that are about universal experiences common to all people or about some particular aspect of American life are not admissible (Baym 67). This theory of "Americanness" has "led to the exclusion of women authors from the canon" (Baym 63). Australian Debra Adelaide could replace "Americanness" with "Australianness" as she raises this same concern for exclusionary Australian values. In Australian literature, "colonial life" was valued as long as it meant "descriptions of the goldfields or bushranging" and not a woman's experience of colonial life (Adelaide "Intro" *Bright and Fiery Troop* 5). "Fervent nationalism" in later nineteenth-century Australia, created a sense of alienation in women writers who were "unable, and unwilling to

embrace the masculine ideal" and were "strangers in their own land" (Adelaide "Intro" *Bright and Fiery Troop* 10). In America, the focus on the frontier which valorizes male individualism, while it distinguishes America from Europe, helps to "submerge the lives and roles of women" and has "obscured the experience of women" (Lauter "Race and Gender" 38-39). And, in Canada, women writing from their own perspective, about their own experiences, have been excluded because they didn't write about the men who came first, the so-called "nation-builders." Unfortunately, the demand for "Canadianness," even when it is not stated overtly, is in the background influencing which poems are valued.

Early Canadian critics' reverence for Canadian content is evident in Dewart's *Selections from Canadian Poets* (1864) as he pronounces that "a national literature is an essential element in the formation of national character" (ix).¹⁸ Moving into the twentieth century, V. B. Rhodenizer, in his *Handbook of Canadian Literature* (1930) urges:

It is vitally essential to the future welfare of Canada that Canadians, whatever language they speak, should feel that they are one people. . . National consciousness, on the other hand, is a sure and safe basis for the sentiment of national unity. Canadians, whether they speak English or French, may be one in their love of Canadian soil and in their pride in Canadian achievement. (266)

With lofty rhetoric, Rhodenizer makes it clear that poets must write nationalistic poetry for the sake of their country and their work should appeal to the nation through the use of Canadian landscape. Sixty years later, in 1990, Lecker said that "the dream of national unity remains the driving force behind the literary and critical values we seek out and support" ("Response" 683). With our on-going unity crisis, we can't let go of the search for Canada.

As for recent American criticism, in 1985 Baym asserts that American literary criticism has been a "nationalistic enterprise" from its inception and remains so (66). But four years

later, in 1989, Elaine Showalter notes that the "consensus on the 'Americanness' has collapsed" and "American literary history, which depended on belief in the exceptionalism of a national cultural identity, is now questioning itself" (4). Such questioning does not seem to be happening extensively in Canada. Perhaps that is because we have never firmly established our "national cultural identity" and are now faced with the possible deconstruction of our nation if Quebec were to secede.

Without a drive for a national literature, it is unlikely that so many early Canadian texts would have been re-covered and re-printed. However a "nationalistic enterprise" is not the problem so much as the definition of "Canadian" or "nationalistic" or "nation building" and the application of these definitions to determine what enters or remains in the canon. It is apparent that critics value "nation building" as a requirement for "Canadian" long poems, especially when they are early Canadian long poems. For example, Robin Mathews titles his essay "*Malcolm's Katie: Love, Wealth, and Nation Building*" and calls the poem "a central work in the English Canadian literary tradition (49). In his *Nineteenth Century Narrative Poems*, Sinclair remarks that "the best-known longer poems from the large field of early Canadian verse"¹⁹ are about nation-building by male explorers and settlers (vi). However, concentrating on the male role devalues the women's role in settling the land and building a community. As Carol Pearson and Katherine Pope observe, in American history women who homesteaded the West "performed the same heroic feats as men, as well as the tasks designated to women; yet western literature generally portrays them as damsels in distress or as unwilling and inadequate companions and victims of the men who conquered the frontier" (6).

In his discussions of various male heroes in Canadian long poems, Bentley credits their "Herculean" qualities. While Bentley acknowledges that the Herculean analogue "seems to deny heroic stature to women" ("Breaking" 95), he claims "a form of Herculean heroism was achieved by several female emigrants to Canada . . . who, by performing such traditionally masculine labours as ploughing, sowing, and harvesting blurred the conventional distinctions between the sexes" (95-96). Unfortunately his wording "a form of" suggests that the female's heroism is not as good as the male's and that only women who did "masculine" labours were heroic. The Herculean analogue excludes women even with this attempt at inclusion. What about women who "laboured" having many children while keeping the home, and feeding, nursing and clothing the family?²⁰

Interestingly, Crawford's *Malcolm's Katie* seems to contradict the theory that a female hero is rejected as its title suggests the poem is about a female and not a male hero. *Malcolm's Katie* may have a female title character, but it also has three men: Katie's father, patriarchal Malcolm who possesses Katie as the title suggests, Katie's heroic suitor, Max, and Katie's other suitor, Alfred, the villain who woos Katie for her father's money. Critical references to the poem (anthologies, essays, books) frequently talk about Max and focus on his heroism making the poem fit the Old World conventions of an epic with a male hero. Only recently has there been a shift, in some articles, to focus on Katie as the centre of the poem.²¹

Coupled with the demand for male heroes is the demand for Canadian landscape in a Canadian long poem. When it is so difficult to define Canadian identity, it is all too easy to fall back on the uniqueness of our landscape, on the concreteness of geographical landmarks and seasonal weather. Lacking a historical event that makes us different, geography replaces

history and "in Frye's most famous formulation of this determinism, the question of Canadian identity is not phrased in terms of 'Who am I?', but rather as 'Where is here?'" (McCarthy 32).²² Surette has coined the term "topocentrism" for this "focus on topography and climate in the search for Canadian cultural identity" (23). Clearly, focusing on our landscape and our seasons has been a long-established method in Canadian writing and in Canadian criticism to separate us from Britain and establish a distinctive Canadian literature. For example, in 1930, Rhodenizer promotes the connection of landscape, literature and nation: "in the literature of no other country does the description of nature smack more of the soil of the region that produced it than it does in Canadian literature" (264). In 1972, Sinclair notes that the "breaking and settling of the land and the imposition of man's works on the new surroundings" is "central" to the poems in his anthology (ii). And, according to Sinclair, Sangster and Crawford "represent the best response among the writers of longer poems here to the challenge of voicing man's reaction to the new land" (xiii). With this emphasis on Canadian landscape, a poem like Cary's *Abram's Plain*, enters the canon because it is "on Canada" while poems like Louisa Murray's "Merlin's Cave," set in Wales, are excluded. As William Douw Lighthall acknowledges the nationalistic focus of his 1889 anthology he notes its exclusionary aspect:

. . . for it is obvious that if only what illustrates the country and its life *in a distinctive way* be chosen, the subjective and unlocal literature must be necessarily passed over entraining the omission of most of the poems whose merit lies in perfection of finish. (*Songs of the Great Dominion*, xxxiv).
[Italics are Lighthall's]

Thus, nationalism supercedes technique and poems possessing "perfection of finish" are rejected.

In their need to justify Canada as a nation, Canadians from Confederation up to the 1920's sought the assurance of nationalism in their literature and arts. However, not all nineteenth-century Canadians believed that the poets' use of the Canadian landscape would build a Canadian literature. Gordon Waldron's article "Canadian Poetry," in the December 1896 issue of the *Canadian Magazine*, criticizes scenery as the "barren topic of poetry" (102) and he condemns Campbell, Carman, Lampman and Roberts for "this everlasting plague of description among our Canadian poets, how tiresome and oppressive it becomes!" (105). Warning that Canadian poets cannot reach their readers' emotions and imaginations through "exaggerated description and strained sentiment" Waldron notes:

Canadians are so eager for a national literature that it is a somewhat delicate task to frankly criticise Canadian Poetry. With the desire for a distinctively Canadian literature everyone must sympathize. It is possible, of course, that a national literature may rise without the corrective, or even chilling, influence of criticism. The structure may, nevertheless, be long delayed by the misdirected efforts of truly able writers. (107-8)

Waldron could see the "chilling" effect that a forced nationalism could have on what should be a natural process of literature reflecting the growth of a nation.

But the "Canadian" in Canadian long poem is not the only problematic adjective. Modifying the generic term "long poem" with the adjective "Canadian" melds genre with canon and then imposes the expectations of a national canon on the evaluation process for a long poem. Then evaluation is neither an aesthetic process nor a preservation process; it is politicized. And, it is just as unclear what "long" means as it is what it means to be "Canadian." Scanning the lengths of the poems in the Canadian Poetry Press series of long poems gives the impression that all long poems are greater than 500 lines long.²³

Although there is no consensus on the definition of a long poem nor on its length,

critics write about long poems as if their readers all shared the same definition. Depending on how you define a Canadian long poem, there are either many long poems by early women or there are a few. If you demand many pages, there are fewer long poems than if you accept 300 or 200 or 100 lines as a long poem. In Appendix A, there are several women's long poems that meet the criteria of length in pages. But even page count is not reliable as a small book with large print may take ten pages to print a 150-line poem at fifteen lines per page. Marina Jones, in her review of Kamboureli's *On the Edge of Genre*, says that Kamboureli "deliberately" rejects "empirical formal, spatial indicators of length when she indicates that the number of pages or lines in a poem is an inadequate criterion" (105). Considering the problems involved in defining length itself, page or line count is "inadequate" to define a long poem. Appendix B lists many women's poems that may be considered long or perhaps only medium. Bentley tells us that Lampman's "The City at the End of Things" is a "medium-length (eighty-eight line) lyric" (*Gay* 98). But, at what count does medium become *long*? 90? 120? 150? The problem with calling a poem "medium-length" is that this tosses it into a critical gap between lyric and "really long" poem. Frye says that epic and lyric are "trade slang" for long and short poems respectively while the "middle-sized poem does not even have a jargon-term to describe it" (*Anatomy of Criticism* 246). No one focuses on the Canadian medium poem, nor are they likely to construct a canon of such. But if this were to happen, there would be a similar problem of length definition as there is for the long poem. For what is the dividing line between medium and long? Alistair Fowler, discussing "kinds," which he says are the same as historical genres, says that each kind has a formal structure and size and that kinds "may be considered short, medium or long" but that "variation of reading habits counts against

much finer gradation" (56, 62, 63). In the case of poetry, varying reading habits among critics would also seem to "count against" agreement on the gradation between short, medium and long poems.

In the nineteenth century, poets used the term "long" differently. Charles G.D. Roberts, in an 1897 letter to Susan Hayes Ward of the *Illustrated American* refers to his poem "A Nocturne of Consecration" as "a long poem -- 89 lines, alas" (Boone 236). Apparently the "long" of the twentieth century differs from that of the nineteenth. This difference suggests a problem in trying to construct a generic definition of the long poem that can cover all periods of its history. And those who support an open-ended definition seem to be struggling with the contemporary long poem. Perhaps the early long poem, as a reflection of its own era, needs its own definition because it cannot be judged by the cultural values or politics of subsequent eras. Alan Knight says the "long poem is novelizing poetry -- it cannot be generically fixed because it changes its structures as it changes the stories we tell ourselves about ourselves" (13). Although we cannot fix a definition, this does suggest the long poem, like a novel, has a story. Most discussions of nineteenth-century long poems either refer to them as narrative or refer to their narrative qualities. Robert Kroetsch talks about a long poem's "separation," "delay" and then "fulfilment" which seems to be another way of expressing a traditional plotline in a story (*Open Letter* 91). Eli Mandel describes the long poem as epic "intended as well to encompass, to give shape and purpose to all learning, striving to become the definitive poem of its age" (14). The concept of the long poem as being "definitive of its age" seems a key one as it suggests different forms and different themes to suit the age. As Kamboureli says, a long poem is a "measure of the culture that it comes from

and speaks to" (204). Thus, there is no all-encompassing definition that works across the ages.

However, Baym is concerned that theories relevant to the literary theorists' own cultural context are being imposed on previous eras and that these theories are of a literature that is "essentially male" (65). Similarly, the current definitions for the early Canadian long poem, formed within the context of our current cultural and critical values, are being imposed on the products of nineteenth-century culture. Are they "essentially male" theories as well? Since the early long poems being recovered by these theories are poems written by men, it would seem so. When we embrace men's long poems and ignore women's, we cannot adequately "measure" the culture that they come from because we only hear what the male says and "speaks" to that culture.

Canonical texts, as they endure, are valued for that endurance and are kept as "a witness to lost innocence, former glory, and/or apparently persistent communal interests and 'values' and thus a banner of communal identity" (Herrnstein Smith 32). Thus, exclusion of women's poems from the canon excludes half of the community, denies them an identity, and provides no "witness" to their "lost innocence" or "former glory." The canonized work "begins increasingly not merely to survive within but to shape and create the culture in which its value is produced and transmitted and, for that very reason, to perpetuate the conditions of its own flourishing" and hence it seems to "'speak' to us 'directly'" (Herrnstein Smith 32-33). Therefore, those poems resident in the Canadian Long Poem Canon eventually shape the canon in their own likeness, a likeness which can lead to the exclusion of long poems by early women because such poems may not conform to those in the canon or "speak" to us

"directly."

The rejection of women's poetry is not limited to Canada, as Angela Leighton contends, in *Victorian Women Poets* (1992), that "nineteenth-century women's poetry as a whole has generally been neglected" (1). Discussing nineteenth-century British and American women poets, Margaret Homans sees a "critical blindness to women poets," due to a "literary atmosphere that made it difficult for women to become poets" as well as "difficult for readers to appreciate those who did succeed" (7). In her analysis of early Australian women writers, Debra Adelaide finds that "the explanation that can be found in the archives for the disappearance of women from the literary records is that their concerns, their views and values, were *not* those of men" (*Australian Women Writers* xvi). Furthermore, Adelaide states that the Australian literary heritage presents a "distorted view" because of its "preponderance of men and male values" and its lack of "women's *different* view of the world (*Australian Women Writers* xvi). The same could be said of the Canadian literary heritage. When the recovery process is based on firsts, on nationalism or nation-building, the male view of Canada is valued and the female view is lost.

In *The Gay/Grey Moose*, D.M.R. Bentley poses the question: "Why are so few of the authors of pre- and post-Confederation long poems women?" (137). Before considering the two answers Bentley offers, it must be said that his initial premise is problematic. There are more than a "few" women authors of long poems as Appendix A demonstrates.²⁴ Yet they will continue to be overlooked as long as it is believed that they don't exist. Being out-of-print contributes to the critical misconception that few if any women wrote long poems. Since the longer poem had less chance of making it into a newspaper, magazine or anthology, many

such poems (by men as well as women) may rest, unpublished and unread, because an editor, publisher or anthologist rejected them. Even a published collection of a poet's short poems does not prove that she or he did not attempt a long poem.

While disputing Bentley's premise that there are few women authors of early long poems, it is still valuable to examine the reasons he suggests for this *perceived* lack. First, Bentley suggests that women lacked role models of female poets who wrote long poems although he notes Elizabeth Barrett Browning and Christina Rossetti as possible models. This argument seems to be based on the misconception that few British women wrote long poems. As Kathleen Hickok notes, "women poets of nineteenth-century England have, with only a few exceptions, received such scant attention that a great deal of poetry written by women who were significant literary figures in their day and who considered themselves to be serious artists is today virtually unknown" (4). The same can be said of Canadians like Curzon, Murray and Harrison who were well-known in their day but are "virtually unknown" now except to a few academics. In Britain, there were more British women writing long poems than just Browning and Rossetti. For example, Felicia Hemans' *The Forest Sanctuary* (1826) is "an ambitiously long narrative poem" admired by George Eliot (Leighton 21).²⁵ Letitia Landon (L.E.L.) also wrote several long poems including her tale of a female poet, *The Improvisatrice* (1824) a 105-page poem. But, even if there were only Browning and Rossetti as role models, why wouldn't those two be sufficient to inspire more than a few Canadian women?

The second reason Bentley offers for the lack of women's long poems is that the education of women didn't provide the classical background to "participate fully as readers,

let alone writers, in the elitist, masculine world to which the long poem was a part well into the nineteenth century" (*Gay/JGreyMoose* 137). Bentley has correctly identified why women's long poems were ignored or suppressed — they dared to enter the "elitist, masculine world" of the long poem. Apparently, the literary world has gendered the long poem as male. However, it doesn't necessarily follow that women avoided writing long poems simply because they weren't welcomed by the "masculine elite." Women wrote anyway. Some wrote nationalistic poems like Harrison's topographical "Down the River" (which has numerous classical references) or Curzon's historical *Laura Secord*. Some wrote a different long poem, like Ann Painter's satire *The Widow Justified*, or Cassie Fairbanks' narrative of a local woman's murder, *The Lone House*, or Louisa Murray's old world tale of "Merlin's Cave."

The expectations of others, or lack thereof, did not prevent women from writing long poems. It is unfortunate that a similar lack of expectations blinds critics now to the existence of long poems by early women. In the past, "bound by expectations of modesty, unassertiveness, and melancholy emotionalism and denied ambition and rational thought" the nineteenth-century American woman poet was expected to produce poetry spontaneously and to strive for "light" verse" (Okker 139). Obviously, long poems were not to be attempted by women as they could not be written spontaneously or ever be considered "light." Early women's poems were expected to be feminine, domestic and sentimental. But, as Deborah Rosenfelt notes, women who wrote to such expectations have disappeared from view as a changing set of values "both social and aesthetic, tended, as the genteel tradition faded into the past, to patronize or dismiss precisely those concerns as beneath the dignity of a significant writer" (18). As Warren notes, sentimentality "became a damning word in the twentieth

century and is probably the most important weapon that has been used against the nineteenth-century American women writers -- whether they wrote sentimentally or not" (10).

Some early critics reinforced the perception of women's poetry being different (and thus inferior) to men's by discussing them separately. In 1901, Thomas O'Hagan wrote a separate paper on women poets ostensibly because "the character of their contribution to Canadian poetry is so distinct" (53). Calling the women poets "sweet sopranos" as O'Hagan does (53), or calling the men "our conductors" and the women "lady singers" as William Douw Lighthall does in his 1889 *Songs of the Dominion* (xxiv, xxxii) suggests not only that women's poetry is lighter than men's, but that men have a power or control beyond that of women. While women may have written different poems from men, the underlying assumption is that these are lesser poems -- simple lyrics and not grand epics. Dale Spender notes that Elizabeth Barrett Browning wrote *Aurora Leigh* (1856)

in defiance of the myth that women could not write poetry, and particularly not epic poetry, but she could not destroy that myth. By excising her from the literary canon in a relatively short time (Virginia Woolf was lamenting her absence in 1932) the myth that women cannot write poetry, and certainly not epic poetry, has been preserved. (*Man Made* 215)

As long as such myths about women's poetry rest unchallenged, their works will not be recovered.

With only the poems of Isabella Valancy Crawford to measure by, one might assume that very few Canadian women attempted the long poem and that only Crawford succeeded. This assumption would be confirmed if a search for women's long poems only went as far as anthologies, literary histories and the Canadian Poetry Press series of long poems. However, a determined dig through the middens of early Canadian poetry reveals many long poems by

women, some of which deserve to be included in the Canadian Long Poem Canon.

In the course of my research, I have identified many long poems by women. Appendix A lists the long poems read for this thesis while Appendix B lists the longer or medium poems read. Neither list can be considered complete as there are more poems yet to be retrieved. Chapters two, three and four of my thesis focus on three authors, Cassie Fairbanks, Sarah Anne Curzon and Susan Frances Harrison, on their long poems and on reasons for their exclusion from the canon. In my final chapter, I look briefly at Ann Painter's satire, Margaret Gill Currie's local romance and Louisa Murray's non-Canadian long poem as each illustrates the need to expand the canon boundaries to embrace other forms of the Canadian long poem.

Having read many long poems by women, I placed Fairbanks' *The Lone House* at the head of the list. Excited by the poem's use of a local woman's murder and frustrated by the lack of information on Fairbanks, I did primary research on her in Halifax. Fairbanks, unmarried and from a wealthy family prominent in law, politics and business, wrote for her own amusement and not for money. As a result of my research, more poems by Fairbanks have surfaced in a set of scribbles kept by her cousins. Curzon and Harrison are of interest as poets who were well-known and well-read in their time, who wrote to make a living and a name for themselves but are now neglected. Examining Curzon's *Laura Secord*, also raises questions of the long poem genre and the place of closet drama within it. Harrison's "Down the River" is also a challenge to the long poem genre as it is a discontinuous series of shorter poems rather than one long narrative. As well, the question of what is a Canadian poem is raised by all three as they have Canadian subjects and landscape but are not recognized for their Canadian content. While discussing the merits of each author's long poem, I explore

issues of genre and canon formation that I believe lead to their exclusion from the existing Canadian Long Poem Canon. But the women and their poems are worth discussing for more than their exclusion. Discussions of the cultural context of evaluation add to our understanding of the Canadian long poem and of the position of early women writers in Canada.

Chapter Two:

Cassie Fairbanks (1820-1903):

Spinster, Churchwoman, Charity Worker and Poet

Cassie (Catherine) Fairbanks was born in Dartmouth, Nova Scotia into a wealthy and influential family. Fairbanks seems to have been an active poet in the Maritimes for several decades in the second half of the nineteenth century. Considering the family's wealth and position, it is likely that she was well-educated and well-read²⁶ and unlikely that she sought a literary career. Financially secure, she did not need to write poetry for a living. She never gained a reputation beyond her locality and thus she was not deliberately omitted from the early canon; she simply never made it in.²⁷ She is likely the "Cassie" who was known to publish poetry in the *Guardian*, the "unofficial newspaper of the Kirk of Scotland in the Maritimes from 1838 to 1851" (Johnson 220).²⁸ While there is little material available on Cassie or on the women of her family, there is a good historical record of the men and their accomplishments.²⁹ This is symptomatic of a larger problem: women's lack of visibility is not just a literary issue but an issue for the way the historical record is constructed.

Cassie's grandfather, Rufus Fairbanks was a Halifax magistrate. Cassie's father, Charles Rufus Fairbanks, was a barrister who became the first Solicitor General of Nova Scotia in 1832, was a member of the Legislature and Judge of the Court of Vice Admiralty and had political connections to England such that he was "one of the few colonials to be admitted to Westminster Abbey for Queen Victoria's coronation" in 1837 (Sutherland DCB VII). Cassie's father also had prominent and influential friends in Nova Scotia. For example, in 1838, his travelling companions to London were Joseph Howe and Thomas Chandler Haliburton.

Cassie's uncle, John Eleazor Fairbanks, was a barrister and member of the Legislative Council of Nova Scotia and her uncle, Samuel Prescott Fairbanks, was also a barrister, member of the House of Assembly for Liverpool, and Queen's Counsel. Cassie's mother, Sarah Elizabeth Lawson, came from a prominent Halifax family and Sarah's father, William Lawson, was a businessman, farmer, politician, Justice of the Peace, a member of the Legislative Assembly and first president of the Bank of Nova Scotia. A family environment so centred on the law could explain Cassie's focus, in the poem *The Lone House* (1859), on the murder of Rebecca Langley, in 1854, on the trial of her murderer, and on Queen Victoria as a symbol of Justice.

Fairbanks' *The Lone House*, a 475-line long poem of two Cantos, was self-published as a pamphlet in Halifax in 1859. As she never published a book of poems and never had a publisher to promote her work or distribute it, *The Lone House* would not have reached the attention of Central Canada and anthologists like Dewart or Lighthall. Consequently, there are few critical mentions of her work, and no inclusions of her poems in anthologies then or now. For example, Lighthall (1883, 1889), O'Hagan (1901), Marquis (1913), Garvin (1922-3), Rhodenizer (1930), Klinck (1965) do not mention her. She does have a brief three-line entry in Henry Morgan's *Bibliotheca Canadensis* (1867) for *The Lone House*. Never having gained a national reputation, she also failed to gain an enduring local one. She is mentioned in Fred Cogswell's "Literary Activity in the Maritime Provinces (1815-1880)" as follows: "Cassie Fairbanks' *The Lone House: A Poem Partly Founded on Fact* (1859), written in octosyllabic couplets, is a melodramatic account of a local murder" (*Literary History of Canada* 130). But the brief mention and the evaluative "melodramatic" seem dismissive. As I read the poem, it seems no more melodramatic than the newspaper reports of Langley's

death. The *British Colonist* report of August 24, 1854, leads off in capital letters labelling it a "HORRIBLE MURDER," and then later refers to it as an "atrocious murder" and provides details such as "her skull was fractured in several places in a most shocking manner" and "he mangled her afterwards most brutally." Perhaps a melodramatic tone was generally accepted in Fairbanks' era.

Fairbanks is not named in Gwendolyn Davies' section on Nova-Scotian pre-Confederation literary women in *her Studies in Maritimes Literary History, 1760-1930*, although her contemporaries Mary Eliza Herbert and Mary Jane Katzmann are.³⁰ Nevertheless the points that Davies makes about the problems Herbert and Katzmann faced would be true for Fairbanks as well. Maritime literary women who contributed to newspapers and periodicals helped shape general Maritime literary development as they "transcended the educational, economic, and geographical limitations of colonial society to achieve the publication of their work" (71). Because they were rarely able to

cultivate the London, Edinburgh, and Boston publishing houses that ensured visibility and distribution to such male counterparts as Thomas McCulloch, Thomas Chandler Haliburtan, Bliss Carman, and Charles G.D. Roberts, these provincial women writers were often destined to disappear from the eye of posterity by the very ephemerality of the periodicals and private editions in which they published. As a result their writing has rarely been anthologized, analyzed, or consciously preserved (Davies 71-72).

Fairbanks fits this profile as she published in Maritimes periodicals and newspapers, issued two private editions of her work and has not been anthologized or "consciously preserved." The Maritimes was a "pocket culture" before 1867 with "no distribution and no lasting fame" where work published in newspapers and periodicals was discarded and the writer's personal records were destroyed after death (Davies 87). Because of this, such writers "have been

dismissed and forgotten in the writing of our literary histories" (Davies 87).

Cassie Fairbanks never married. When she died, February 6, 1903, her death notice described her activities as follows:

Miss Fairbanks has been all her days interested in church and charitable work, and for many years she was associated with Mrs. R. F. Burns in connection with the Women's Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church. She was at her death an honorary president of that society. She had considerable literary talent, and two of her poems are found in a collection of tributes and memoirs of the late Queen. (*Acadian Recorder*, Feb 6, 1903, Page 3)

Fairbanks' charitable work suggests she is the "Miss Fairbanks" who wrote *The Log of the Sail of the Sailors' Rest*, a series of poems centred on the establishment of a Halifax home for sailors. While *The Lone House* identifies Cassie Fairbanks as the author, *The Log of the Sail of the Sailor's Rest* names "Miss Fairbanks" as the author on the frontispiece. C.I.H.M. lists Cassie Fairbanks as the author of *The Log*. However, there has been some confusion of Cassie with her niece, Constance Fairbanks,³¹ also a poet, and also a Miss Fairbanks at the time the poem is assumed to have been printed (188?).³² Anne Blagdon Fairbanks, Jane Elizabeth Fairbanks Duff and Katherine Fairbanks Prescott, daughters of John E. Fairbanks, and cousins to Cassie, wrote poetry as well.³³ But circumstantial evidence would support Cassie as the author. The same printer, James Bowes of Halifax, produced both texts, both poems are issued as pamphlets, with similar shades of gold/yellow paper for the cover. Moreover, Cassie Fairbanks, known for her charitable work, was associated with the Seamen's Mission in Halifax. The only letter of Cassie's stored in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia was written to Sir William Young who is known to have contributed \$10,000 to the new Halifax sailor's home in 1888 (Fingard 235). In this letter, Fairbanks mentions the "Mission" which is likely the *Sailor's Rest* of the poem.³⁴ Christian women like Fairbanks were often involved in such

charitable work: "Do-gooders involved in urban moral and social reform in the Victorian period . . . have been interpreted variously as forerunners of several groups -- social gossellers, Christian socialists, social imperialists, feminists, environmentalists and professional social workers" (Fingard 117). In Halifax, these "do-gooders" crossed all classes from gentry to working class (Fingard 117).

Fairbanks' poems show an interest in what is going on in her environment whether it's the building of a seamen's mission or the murder of a local woman. Under the title *The Log Of the Sail of the Sailors' Rest*, she assembles six poems that tell the story behind the "launching" of a seamen's mission: "Cape of Good Hope," "Funafuti Oceana," "England, Merry England," "Watson's Rock," "Old Chebucto," and "Halifax." Each poem documents a stage in the creation of the *Sailor's Rest* as if it were an entry in a ship's log. The voyage begins with the poem "Cape of Good Hope" which uses the language and images of sailing to personify Philanthropy as a woman rigged out

With the daintiest Yachting cap poised on her brow
 And a broad sailor collar, bewitchingly low,
 She will cruise about gayly -- the sauciest craft,
 Tho' men may esteem her, a little bit daft
 And win them by all sorts of nautical wills --
 To allow her to anchor a wish in each breast,
 To secure most securely -- the mariner's rest. (1)

As this suggests, the money and influence of men must be secured by the women of charity in order to build the mission. Philanthropy would even become a "Jack Tar" (sailor) in order to further her venture for, as Fairbanks asserts in the final rhyming couplet of the poem, "when a woman has 'ought' on her brain / She's prepared for whatever may come in its train" (1).

In "Funafuti Oceana," Fairbanks writes of the project in a jaunty tone and imitates the

diction of a sailor: "Our ship is well coppered, and almost afloat / And we'll woman our oars, in the staunch Jolly Boat" (2). Since women are the driving force behind the project, Fairbanks amends the standard phrase "man our oars" to "woman our oars." The hope is that their mission will attract the British sailors on shore leave in Halifax and their "Mermaid wild" will call to the sailors but only "crimp" them a little (2).³⁵ Next, in "England, Merry England," Fairbanks describes the British sailors who will use the mission as "home-hungry souls" who come

To the distant strand where unknown, unsought,
They stand in the streets of the foreign port
Strangers 'mong strangers they come and go,
None tenderly greeting in weal or woe –
So the open door of the Sailor's Rest
May seem like the classical halcyon nest (3)

Once the sailors are safe in the Sailor's Rest, the women, motivated by their Christian and temperance beliefs, will try to win the "tempted and tried from the haunts of sin" (3). The sailor's Fleet Commander, Admiral Watson, is honoured in the next poem, "Watson's Rock," for his support of the venture that "set the Belles of Halifax achime with ecstasy" (4). In "Old Chebucto," a medium-length poem of 172 lines, the "Belles" have organised a fair presumably to raise money for the Sailor's Rest.³⁶ Again employing nautical terms, Fairbanks describes the women as "propelling the Propellers / of persistent industry" (5). Fairbanks asks the reader to "yield ye, to my pilotage" as she "steers" us through the sights (5). There is a wheel where you can win "some fumigatory stuff" or a "pound of Cheshire cheese" (6). For the children, the "ancient site of Kandi" offers a Praline or a "seductive lollipop" (7). And there are displays of fruit in "Paradise" where "you must cross the palm with gold / Of youthful Eves, officious" (7) who, as mentors, will urge "The 'survival of the fittest' in / Your philosophic choice" (8).

You can see Coleridge's "Painted ship" or buy a coffee and enjoy the "repartee" at the "Kaffè Klatch" (8). After visiting the "freezing atmosphere" of the Arctic Zone, your heart will be won over by the food for "A hungry man's an angry man / But when supplied is he / Love will assert its mastery" (10). The food, like the ship's guns on the station, is a "delight / With loud reports of excellence / To win a grand tea fight" (10). Finally, the last poem, "Halifax," ends the series with circularity by reintroducing fair Philanthropy who gazes happily as Prince George of Wales, on behalf of his mother, Queen Victoria, visits the mission for the "crowning of the Work" (11).

In her earlier long poem, *The Lone House* (1859), Fairbanks also shows an interest in events taking place around Halifax. She likely made use of the news reports of the murder of Rebecca Langley for her poem. As well, Fairbanks' family's legal connections may have given her access to details of the court case. Several newspapers including the *Morning Journal* (Aug. 24, 1854), *British Colonist* (August 24, 1854), and the *Acadian Recorder* (August 19 and August 26, 1854) reported that Rebecca Langley, a single, middle-aged female who ran a travellers inn near Guysborough was murdered there by Alex McDonald who was subsequently captured, tried, found guilty by reason of insanity and committed to the Penitentiary for the Insane.³⁷ While the poem does not incorporate all of the material in the newspapers, Fairbanks' poem describes the murderer's actions in a similar fashion to the newspaper accounts: ". . . seizing, from the cord wood nigh, / A gnarled log, he raised it high, / And felled her helpless to the floor" (13). The report in the August 24th *British Colonist* says he used a "billet of wood" to break in the door twice and the second time he "struck her down on the hearth, jumped on her, wrenched the gun from her grasp, and struck her on the

head with the butt." Ironically, the gun that Langley used to hunt game, the gun that should have been her defence against an attacker, is used to kill her. The papers state that her attacker, Alex McDonald, late of Antigonish, "insulted the deceased in some way" which may be a polite way of saying he made a sexual overture. Since he was later found to be insane, it is also possible that he simply behaved with irrational anger towards her. It is also possible that he knew her family and perhaps held a grudge.³⁸

Fairbanks is also true to some of the history of Langley's property at St. Mary's River near Guysborough. In the poem, the first settler is described as a "squatter" which seems to fit with Joseph Langley's occupation of the land three years before he petitioned for a land grant there.³⁹ According to a history of Guysborough:

In 1817, Joseph Langley located upon the Great Eastern Road nine miles from Caledonia, and remote from any neighbours. After his death, his daughter Rebecca Langley continued to live there. Early in August, 1854, she sold the property to John Nelson. On the 15th of August, Becky Langley was killed by some passing ruffian. (Hart 169).

The remoteness of the Langley house is emphasized in the opening lines of the poem:

'Twas a lonely hut, on a lonely road,
So far removed from neighbour abode,
You needs must journey for many a mile,
On either side, would you seek the smile
Of friendly welcome or social cheer --
Did the clouds forbode that a storm drew near --
Little incited the wayfarer's zest
To take at that dwelling the noontide rest;
And fain was the trav'ler, whate'er his need,
To urge to a quickened pace his steed:
For few were the footsteps that linger'd near
A place so lovely, and yet so drear. (1)

Fairbanks uses the atmosphere of foreboding clouds and the reluctance of travellers to stay in this "drear" place to foreshadow the violence to come. Throughout the poem, Fairbanks

presents reported facts in poetic language and imagery to create an imaginative and moody narrative. As reported in the newspapers and presented in the poem, the Langley place was on a remote stretch of the Guysborough road, far from neighbours; a yearly grant was paid to Joseph and then after his death to Rebecca to run an inn for wayfarers.

In the newspaper account, there were two children present at the house, one age four and one age ten, but no relationship to Langley is mentioned. In the poem, Langley's adopted daughter is present and a playmate. There is no evidence, so far, as to whether Langley had adopted her sister's child in real life or whether this is a poetic enhancement of Fairbanks'. Fairbanks' portrayal of Langley's unusual independence reflects the papers' descriptions of Langley. The *Acadian Recorder*, August 19, 1854, refers to Rebecca Langley as "a single woman of masculine reputation long and favourably known" in the Eastern part of the Province and The *British Colonist*, August 24, 1854, says "Becky was a woman of masculine character." Finally, in the poem, as in the newspaper story, the murderer is tried, found to be insane and committed.⁴⁰

Fairbanks' poem employs an impersonal narrator who speaks in a public voice especially in saying what others thought of Langley, in praising Queen Victoria, and in describing the trial.⁴¹ While praise of Queen Victoria is not unusual in the nineteenth century, Fairbanks forefronts her adulation at the beginning of Canto II as she equates the Queen to Justice:

When first on England's glories throned,
A royal maiden's voice, firm toned,
Spake queenly oath, her people heard
The full expression of each word,
Justice she vowed to execute,

. . .

Our sovereign wields no tyrant's rod:
 "Victoria, by the Grace of God,"
 Rules o'er a realm whose broad expanse
 May never mourn day's dying glance,
 Where lustrous sunshine streaming down
 Gilds still some jewel of her crown. (10)

To a late twentieth-century reader, these words of praise may seem at odds with the rest of the poem, yet it counterbalances the social loner, Rebecca Langley, with the ultimate role model for Victorian females, Queen Victoria, a mother figure who is not a loner, who represents traditional values for women, who does not place individual above community and who does not promote the Romantic preoccupation with self.

Yet Queen Victoria may be more than just a symbol of Justice. While she performs the traditional private roles of wife and mother, she also performs the public role of a monarch who rules an empire. Elizabeth Langland states that Queen Victoria embodies the "contradictory roles of self-reliant monarch and dependent wife . . . the paradox of ruler and wife" (62-3). While Langley is also self-reliant, she is not a traditional wife and mother, having become a single mother by adoption. The self-reliance of each woman may be what interested Fairbanks as each takes on the role and power of a man -- Victoria as she runs a country, Langley as she runs a traveller's inn and is the sole support of her daughter.

At times the public voice retreats and a more personal voice enters the poem in the sympathetic portrayal of Langley's independence, her "inner sorrow" and in her adoption of a child. This portrayal of an unmarried woman is unusual as Hickok finds that generally "women poets in the nineteenth century did not portray the unmarried woman with the dignity her changing social status could have commanded, but instead either ignored her or treated her with the levity or sentimentality dictated by convention" (131). While exhibiting

acceptance of Langley's single state and of her self-sufficiency, Fairbanks also presents the more conventional attitude of society -- that such a woman is unnatural. She says Langley wasn't "savage," and she wasn't "mad, though there seemed to be / A shadowy trace of insanity / In her wild pursuits and her self-reliance"(7). Her kin wonder, "Why thus estranged from all natural ties -- / What had unsexed her sympathies" (7). She's seen as an unnatural woman, as "unsexed," because she is not following the "correct" role for her gender. Fairbanks places this criticism in the words of Langley's kin and not in the words of her poetic persona, thus distancing herself from the judgement. Possibly Fairbanks is exhibiting the same "ambivalence to freedom . . . also characteristic of American women poets of the same period" which Walker notes in discussing Felicia Hemans' *Forest Sanctuary* (26).⁴²

Although Fairbanks presents Langley as the 'mannish woman', she is not entirely "unsexed." She has an "inner sorrow" that she keeps to herself and she needs "To be unobserved when her wayward soul / Burst from the fetters of self-control, / And memory's burning and passionate tears" (7). This suggests that a bad experience in love has made her reject any relationship with a man and seek isolation to be free to cry (which seems feminine and not "unsexed"). Since there is no evidence that the historical Langley had such a "sorrow," Fairbanks may be adding this to soften her heroine's character and make her more appealing, or she may be attributing a common explanation for spinsterhood to Langley, or she may be drawing on her own experience.

Fairbanks also portrays Langley as having a drive to nurture, as she feels a "pressing need," a "craving that some young human thing / Should to her in fond dependence cling" (7). While this creates a Langley who harbours "normal" motherly instincts, she doesn't marry to

get a child in the conventional way, but rather she adopts one of her sister's children. The adoption allows the single Langley access to motherhood without the loss of independence that a husband could bring. In the poem, she raises her adopted daughter to be "self-possessed," a quality which enables the child to overcome her fear and identify her mother's murderer in court:

In rustic beauty, roughly dress'd,
The little maid stood self-possess'd:
The forest-bred of life's degrees
Knew nothing, so she gazed at ease,
And answered prompt . . . (12)

While it is clear in the poem that justice prevails it is not clear whether Langley was at risk because she went against the norm, wasn't married, had no man to protect her, and had chosen to be isolated, away from the protection of the community.

The unconventional, "masculine" Langley as constructed by Fairbanks is the most intriguing aspect of the poem. Fairbanks' poem, through the portrayal of Langley, walks the tightrope between conventional, domestic roles for women and the possibility of a self-reliant woman. But the self-reliant female may not have been acceptable to nineteenth-century readers as the "essentially middle-class constituency for [women's] poetry wanted its comforting conventions about women to be reinforced, not challenged" (Hickok 12).⁴³ In Fairbanks' poem, Rebecca Langley's hermit life is noted as strange because she isn't afraid to live so far from neighbours, "alone and defenceless," except for the odd traveller (6). The real-life Langley ran an inn for travellers for an annual fee supplied by the government. Certainly, the fictional Langley doesn't fit the Victorian mould for women: Her eyes have a "flash," show "force and daring" that is "foreign to that we bless / In the gentle gaze of womanliness," and

she doesn't have any of "her sisterhood's quiet ways" (6). Langley hunts and traps to support herself⁴⁴ while other women sit at the door and sew.⁴⁵ And unlike most women of her era, Langley owns her own house and has no man living there. According to John Ruskin's popular essay, "Of Queen's Gardens, (1865) the man "guards the woman from all this [peril in the open world] within his house, as ruled by her" and "unless she herself has sought it, need enter no danger, no temptation, no cause of error or offence" (136). Apparently, a woman who owns her own house and has no man to guard her may be seeking danger. Unfortunately, Langley's murder seems to support the view, then, that an independent woman is an "exception, a deviant, and doomed to destruction" (Pearson and Pope 7).

While Fairbanks' portrayal of Langley is not conventional, *The Lone House* does employ conventions typical of the canonical Canadian long poem. The myth of the New World as Eden, common to many early poems, is reflected in the equation of the narrator's thrill in the wilderness to Adam's first heart throb:

Oft 'mid such wilderness reveries,
 With the lightning's wing, through past centuries,
 The electric throb of the first man's heart
 Has caused mine with as wild a thrill to start. (4)

One could argue this as an example of "good" poetry with the romantic image of "lightning" starting Adam's heart with an "electric throb." This Adam has been given, by God, all that the "earth's bosom her own can call" and he holds a charter from God: "*Over* all I have given dominion to thee" (4). This echoes Adam's words to Eve in Milton's *Paradise Lost* as he tells her that God has conferred "power and rule" on them and "dominion given / Over all other creatures that possess / Earth, air and sea" (4.430-32). While Langley seems to have a similar dominion over her land, this soon changes when her New World paradise is ruined by the

"Demon soul" who comes to the "lone home" and murders her (9-10). Judgement in the New Eden is made in an earthly court as the murderer is tried and found guilty. He is "branded with the curse of Cain" (11) and committed as insane. The "house that is called the lone" (2) is abandoned to decay and the vegetation "takes / Possession of what man forsakes / Nature, regretful, claims her own" (15).⁴⁶ In this circularity, the poem closes with Nature claiming the same land that was cleared by the lone man at the beginning of the poem. Nature claims her wilderness, just as she claims Rebecca in death -- Nature has the ultimate power.

The Lone House also has a settlement theme, a valued theme for Canadian long poems. The narrative begins with a lone male (presumably Joseph Langley, Rebecca's father) carving out his place in the forest with his axe:

Brave was the heart that first had come
To carve in the forest that dear word "home;"
Strong was his soul as he firmly stood,
Gazing, axe in hand, on the frowning wood,
Ere he woke its echoes with blow on blow,
Laying the clust'ring pine trees low.
And the unbark'd logs which that squatter hew'd
Still form the walls of that cabin rude. (2)

While it is unlikely that Fairbanks, raised in Dartmouth, had direct experience of land-clearing, she may have relied on works like Adam Hood Burwell's *Talbot Road* (1805) which describes how a "woodman's ax, with ardor plied,/ Tumbles the tow'ring pines from side to side" (l.211-212). Fairbanks' "cabin rude" echoes Burwell's words as he describes the efforts from which "rose the cabin rude" (l.227). She may also have referenced Isaac Weld's *Travels*, James Strachan's *A Visit to the Province of Upper Canada in 1819* and John Howison's *Sketches of Upper Canada* (1821) for descriptions of clearing the land and constructing a cabin. In particular, Howison's description of cleared land and its "profusion of decayed and half-burnt

timber lay around, and the serpentine roots of trees, blown down by tempests, stretched into the air, in the most fantastic forms" (21) seems to reverberate in *The Lone House* as Fairbanks describes "fire-scathed hemlocks near, / Whose skeleton arms on high were flung" (2). And, Catherine Parr Trail's description of clearing the land in *The Backwoods of Canada* (1836) may have been of use as well:

. . . the axe of the chopper relentlessly levels all before him. Man appears to contend with the trees of the forest as though they were his most obnoxious enemies; for he spares neither the young saplings in its greenness nor the ancient trunk in its lofty pride; he wages war against the forest with fire and steel. (71)

However, Fairbanks seems to question such assaults on the environment as she notes the "charr'd and bleaching stumps on the plain / Were as tombstone marking the fallen slain" (1). Australian women writers also questioned such devastation while Australian male writers were "extolling the virtue of brute force (in 'taming' their environment)" (Adelaide *Australian Women Writers* 174). Opposing the traditional viewpoint of the male hero who contemplates the fallen trees that he has conquered, Fairbanks has the river's viewpoint "telling some sorrow angrily":

Perchance of the loss of the leafy screen
 Sequest'ring its eddies with trembling green;
 Or, it might be, 'twas telling its troubled fear
 Of the group of fire-scathed hemlocks near,
 Whose skeleton arms on high were flung,
 As convulsion strained and torture strung.
 They had perished in helpless agony,
 In their verdurous cloud of vitality;
 And the death-bound frenzy of those gaunt trees
 Still made an appeal to earth's sympathies,
 While the lichens, white as a veteran's beard,
 Made the withered spectres still more weird. (1-2)

While the words and images Fairbanks uses may seem melodramatic, they portray the

devastation of a living forest denuded and blackened by fire. The impression is that of a "deathscape" rather than a landscape. Perhaps this landscape is too much at odds with the bucolic landscape valued in Canadian long poems. Certainly it is more poetic than Howe's *Acadia* as it does not resort to the awkward inversion of words to force the rhyme, as he does, in lines like "Scattered the fruitful seeds the stumps between, / And Ceres lured to many a sylvan scene" (387-88).

My interest in establishing *The Lone House* as a Canadian long poem seems at odds with the fact that there was no Canada, no nation, in 1859 when Fairbanks wrote her long poem. It is unreasonable to look back at *The Lone House* with twentieth-century values and demand Canadian nationalism; the poem should not be measured against post-Confederation poems written in a different context, in a time of growing political demand for a national literature. The fact that this is a regionalised account of a local woman's murder may also exclude the poem from the canon even though the Canadian Press series of long poems does contain pre-Confederation poems, like Oliver Goldsmith's *The Rising Village* and Joseph Howe's *Acadia*, that are essentially regional accounts. In this respect, Joanna Russ says the "label *regionalist*, so often applied to women writers, indicates not only that the writer in question concentrates on a particular region, but also that the work is thereby limited (and not of 'broad' interest)" (53). Rosenfelt finds the distinction between "regional" and "universal" is "sex-biased":

"regional" is more often applied pejoratively to women, and "universal" is usually reserved as an accolade for men. Thus many women writers who have infused their written work with imagery drawn from the regions that nurtured them have been dismissed as narrow local colourists, although, as feminist critics are fond of pointing out, few writers could be more regional than Emerson or Thoreau or Faulkner. (21)

Similarly, Canadian writers like Goldsmith and Howe, writing regionally, can be credited with universal themes of human experience, while women, like Fairbanks, can be marginalised for writing about a local murder case.

Other than issues of publication, nationalism and regionalism, the theme of violence in *The Lone House* may have adversely affected its reception. Interestingly, Adelaide finds that in Australia the theme of violence was a "major preoccupation with many women writers in the nineteenth century" (*Australian Women Writers* 126). Cassie Fairbanks' poem is her response to the actual murder of Rebecca Langley. Why would Fairbanks choose this theme? Did she choose it as a means to explore the unconventional idea of a woman's self-sufficiency? Dorothy Livesay says that a "conscious attempt to create a dialectic between the objective facts and the subjective feelings of the poet" is "part of a tradition which has enlivened our English-Canadian literature for a hundred and fifty years," a tradition "somewhat loosely termed 'narrative'" (Livesay 267). As an unmarried woman herself, Fairbanks may have felt a kinship with Langley and perhaps she speculated on what it would be like to live an independent, self-supporting rural life rather than be a dependent spinster. Livesay also states that the use of documentary material to document the "immediacy of people's lives" can "reflect our environment profoundly" (267-269). Thus, poems like Fairbanks' *The Lone House*, based on a local murder case, or *The Log of the Sail of the Sailor's Rest*, based on a project to "launch" a home for sailors in Halifax, reflect their environment. As poems "on Halifax" they are also poems "on Canada."

Chapter Three:

Sarah Anne Curzon (1833-1898):

Journalist, Editor, Historian, Feminist, Dramatist, and Poet

In contrast to Cassie Fairbanks, Sarah Anne Curzon was a professional writer with strong national exposure but her renown did not gain her lasting fame as she faded into obscurity after her death. Known for writing poetry, drama and non-fiction articles, Curzon edited the women's page of the prohibitionist *Canada Citizen* for two years and published her work in Canadian, American and British publications including the *Canadian Monthly*, the *Canadian Magazine*, the *Canada Citizen*, *The Week*, the *Dominion Illustrated*, the *Grip*, the *Evangelical Churchman*, the *Orillia Packet*,⁴⁷ the *Yorkville News*, the *Montreal Gossip*, various Toronto newspapers including the *Mail*, the *Boston Woman's Journal*, and *The Leisure Hour* (England). The size of this publications list is indicative of Curzon's ambition for a public identity and an international literary career.

Curzon's interest in Laura Secord was part of a larger passion for Canadian history, especially for General Brock and the War of 1812. She wrote pamphlets and papers on historical topics that were presented at the Lundy's Lane Historical Society, read papers at the York Pioneer and Historical Society, and wrote a centennial poem for the Niagara Historical Society. Curzon co-founded the Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto with Mary Agnes Fitzgibbon in 1895 and Curzon served as President until 1897 (Wagner 9). Minutes of the first meeting show that the idea of forming a society that "could do valuable patriotic work in Toronto" originated with Curzon after she attended Local and National Councils of Women where she learned "that knowledge could be spread through organization" (Cook 3). As a

historian, lecturer and writer, Curzon sought ways to include women in Canadian history.

In 1886, Curzon wrote to John Reade, editor of the *Montreal Gazette*, asking for his notice of Brock's old regiment being dispatched to Canada, for his words on Laura Secord and also, most importantly, for work as his correspondent in Toronto. Here is proof, in Curzon's own words, of her desire for a career as she speaks boldly in her bid for employment: "As I find your Toronto news in the issue of the Gazette before me I consider them inadequate, unrepresentative, practically useless and I receive from them the idea that your journal has no proper correspondent in Toronto" (Letter to Reade).⁴⁸

Curzon's letter lists many publications, literary relationships and pseudonyms she used including "Aurora," an alias previously attributed to Mary Morgan of Montreal.⁴⁹ Curzon's choice of "Aurora" as a pseudonym may simply reflect the popular poetic symbol of Aurora, the dawn, that Curzon uses in "The Ballad of Laura Secord" or, more likely it may be a reflection of admiration for Elizabeth Barrett Browning's long poem about a dedicated female poet, *Aurora Leigh* (1856). Hickok states that *Aurora Leigh* is "a courageous, thorough-going exposition of feminist ideas about nineteenth-century women" and its achievement is "its confrontation all at once of so many social and personal facts of nineteenth-century English life and in its challenge to the validity of the conventions which customarily concealed those facts" (181). "*Aurora Leigh* rejects the conventional wisdom about women at virtually every point" (Hickok 182). Curzon, as feminist and poet, would no doubt have appreciated Barrett Browning's poem for these same reasons.

And Curzon was known to be a feminist. She supported education for women and worked with Dr. Emily Stowe on the founding of the Women's College of Medicine at the

University of Toronto. An advocate of women's right to higher education, Curzon wrote a play on that theme called *The Sweet Girl Graduate*: "This little comedy appeared in *GripSack* for 1882, and was written at the request of the editor of *Grip*, who was, and is, in full sympathy with all efforts to secure the rights of women" (*Laura Secord* 197). She was a "leading member of the Toronto Women's Literary Club, an organization whose intentionally innocuous title camouflaged Canada's first ongoing women's rights group" (Wagner, 8-9). The Literary Club became the Toronto Women's Suffrage Association in 1882 and then the Canadian Women's Suffrage Association and finally the Women's Enfranchisement Association of Canada in 1889 with Dr. Stowe as president and Curzon as recording secretary (Wagner 9). In 1906, Archibald MacMurchy rated Curzon as an "outspoken advocate of what is popularly called woman's rights" who showed Canadians that Canada has a history (MacMurchy 90). But Curzon's feminism may have affected her reception in her own time leading to a grudging acceptance of her poetry. MacMurchy's language hints at this by referring to her as "outspoken" (not a valued attribute in women) and by modalizing "woman's rights" as "popularly called" suggesting a problem with the idea of women having rights. But why not a feminist recovery now for Curzon's work in a time when we want "outspoken" foremothers?

While critical mentions are noted as a means to gain a literary reputation and entry to the canon, Curzon's mentions seem to have given her recognition during her lifetime but have neither ensured a lasting reputation for her nor maintained her place in the poetry canon. In 1889, Lighthall begins his list of Canadian women poets with Curzon as he praises her "noble patriotic book" and says she "writes with the power and spirit of masculinity" (*Songs* xxxii).

In 1901, O'Hagan notes, in "Canadian Poets and Poetry," Charles Heavysege's biblical tragedy "Saul" and Louis Fréchette's, John Hunter-Duvar's and Charles Mair's dramas based on Canadian history (29). While O'Hagan never mentions Curzon's *Laura Secord*, also based on Canadian history, in this discussion of poetic drama, she is included in his separate essay on women as having a

virility of style and a security of touch that indicated at the same time a robust mind. Her best and longest poem, 'Laura Secord' – dramatic in spirit and form – has about it a masculinity and energy found in the work of no other Canadian women. Mrs. Curzon was a woman of strong character and principles, and her writings shared in the strength of her judgements. Perhaps she may best be described as one who had the intellect of a man wedded to the heart of a woman. (O'Hagan 62).

While praise for "virility" has served Crawford well, praise for "virility" and "masculinity" did not seem to serve Curzon. Perhaps the difference was more one of image than style, Crawford being the tragic poet and Curzon the vocal feminist. Although well-known in her own time, Curzon's reputation begins to fade after her death in 1898 (unlike Crawford who gained from her image as the romantic dead poetess). Perhaps Curzon's other interests, her prose writing, historical papers, literary and historical club participation and feminist activities prevent her from being seen as a "poet" and thus lead to her dismissal from the poetry canon. Perhaps her lack of fiction writing works against her. Webby observes that when women are recognized in early Australian literature it is for their fiction and not for their poetry or plays and she adds that this is not "purely an Australian phenomenon" (42).

In 1913, T. G. Marquis criticizes *Laura Secord* as "a somewhat heavy and stilted performance" (587) in what could be the beginning of the work's exclusion from the canon. Coincidentally, 1913 was also the year that the chocolate company, named after Laura

Secord, was founded. The subsequent commercialization of Secord may have diminished her heroism in the public's eye as it reduces her to an advertising symbol on a box of chocolates. With the heroine diminished, interest in the drama of *Laura Secord* could have diminished as well. While Curzon is noted as a minor poet, as late as 1965, by Roy Daniell in "Minor Poets, 1880-1920" (428), her position as such has not been sustained.

Curzon's title for her book is indicative of her desire to promote Laura Secord as a Canadian hero. Curzon does not simply call her drama *Laura Secord* but adds the phrase *The Heroine of 1812* to emphasize Secord's heroism. Her efforts to promote Secord were not in vain, as Lorraine McMullen says *Laura Secord* is "one of the works that made Laura Secord a household name" (1075). The narrative that Curzon creates is *not* likely the one that Laura Secord would have told as Curzon is driven by nationalism and by feminism to make a hero of Secord. Secord's own narrative, published in the *Anglo-American Magazine* (1853), is modest and short. She does mention concern about American guards, but she does not say she met any, nor does she mention an encounter with wolves or a snake as is portrayed in the drama.⁵⁰ And she never mentions the cow she is now associated with. Secord does indicate the importance of her walk as she says that she was determined to let the British under Fitzgibbon know of the American plans in order "to save the British troops from capture, or perhaps, total destruction" (467). Curzon also establishes in her preface to *Laura Secord* the significance of Secord's walk as it prevented the Americans from gaining control of the Niagara peninsula, control of the supplies, and control of the means of communication with the rest of the province, otherwise "Canada -- Upper Canada, at least -- would have been in the hands of the invaders." Curzon's preface also states her purpose in writing this drama: "to

rescue from oblivion the name of a brave woman, and set it in its proper place among the heroes of Canadian history" and "to set her on such a pedestal of equality; to inspire other hearts with loyal bravery such as hers; to write her name on the roll of Canadian heroes" Finally, Curzon tries to establish that Secord's actions are as great as those of a soldier fighting in battle: "To save from the sword is surely as great a deed as to save with the sword" (Preface).

Curzon's interest in the history of her adopted country and in the War of 1812 led her to follow the newspaper reports of requests for government pensions by the veterans of 1812 (Preface). Curzon notes that:

Among these was incidentally given the story of Mrs. Secord's heroic deed in warning Fitzgibbon. Yet it could not pass without observation that, while the heroism of men of that date was dwelt upon with warm appreciation and much urgency as to their deserts, Mrs. Secord, as being a woman, shared in nothing more tangible than an approving record. The story, to a woman's mind was full of pathos, and, though barren of great incidents, was not without a due richness of colouring if looked at by appreciative eyes. (Preface)

As Curzon notes, the story is "barren of great incidents" which would make it a challenge to dramatize. The "warm appreciation" for nineteenth-century Canadian male heroes that Curzon refers to can be seen in Lighthall's 1893 introduction to *Canadian Poems and Lays* as he says "to hunt, to fight, to hew out a farm, one must be a man!" (xvii). Did Crawford enter the canon because she had such a hero in Max? This valorization of male heroes continues in the twentieth century as Sinclair says, in 1972,

Our writers have in common a belief in the heroism of man in his relationship to the world outside. Heroism, they find, has its centre in the physical and imaginative strength believed by many writers to be requisite for survival, nation-building and the fostering and growth of local culture. Man is a hero as he builds and creates . . . (xi).

And, in discussions of *Malcolm's Katie*, Bentley says "Max and Malcolm have been seen as Herculean heroes" (*Mimic Fires* 274). The heroism described here is all male; it is the man who is doing the "nation-building" as builder and creator.

Is the problem that nationalism has to be about male "firsts" and male heroes and not about females acting "masculine"? As Carol Pearson and Katherine Pope assert, the bias that a hero is male has made it seem that in both literature and life "heroism is a male phenomenon" and that "culture has often been unable to recognize female heroism"(vii). Curzon addresses the issue of heroism in *The Story of Laura Secord*:

To-day when we are lost in admiration of the pluck of a Stanley, a Jephson, and a Stairs, with their bands of men diving into the hearts of Africa, we may reasonably ask ourselves which was the greater, theirs or Laura Secord's. The distinction is only a difference of climactic conditions; the end was the same, the unity and glory of the British Empire, and the heroism is surely equal. (15)

Curzon maintains that Secord's heroism is as important to the Empire's interests as the men's and thus is equal to theirs.⁵¹ Unfortunately those who focus on the means rather than the end may find a women's heroics "less interesting than male heroics" so that "female heroism is not condemned, it is often simply ignored" (Pearson and Pope 6). And so, *Laura Secord* is not condemned, just ignored.

But the valorization of male heroes is not the only value that excludes. Curzon's *Laura Secord* is a closet drama or verse drama and this hybrid of drama and poetry is overlooked by critics in both domains.⁵² As a closet drama, written more to be read than performed, it holds no interest for those who focus on performance.⁵³ And those who focus on poetry seem to have little interest in the closet drama as poetry. As for closet drama by Victorian women poets, Susan Brown says such drama's "ambiguous status -- particularly

when published . . . within collections of verse -- on the boundary between poetry and drama has resulted in a double marginalization by historians of Victorian poetry on the one hand and theatre historians on the other" (89). Brown proposes that closet drama appealed to women poets as a strategy for the representation of women:

this unhistoric movement represents a fascinating instance of female poets exploring available literary forms for their ability to represent the complex, socially embedded issues facing contemporary women and for their ability to meet the aesthetic challenges of representing women as determined heroines, at once heroic and socially constrained. (106)

Curzon says of her representation of Laura Secord, "I have commemorated Mrs. Secord's bravery both in dramatic and ballad form, and incidently have introduced the 49th and Brock into each poem." (Letter to John Reade). It is clear to Curzon that her dramatic form of *Laura Secord*, as she identifies it in this letter, is a poem.⁵⁴ While it may seem an unusual choice on Curzon's part to commemorate Laura Secord in this fashion, Curzon had the example of British poets to inspire her: "Saturated with Victorian nationalism, Tennyson and Swinburne aimed at dramatising British history after the manner of the Victorian historians" (Sharma 2). What could be more natural for a poet, a historian and a Canadian nationalist like Curzon than to do the same for Canadian history? The closet drama tradition was carried on in Britain by many poets and some novelists including Arnold, Dickens, Browning, Hardy, Meredith and Henry James (Sharma 12). British women poets also wrote closet dramas. For example, Felicia Hemans, an influence on British as well as Canadian women poets, wrote *The Siege of Valencia: A Dramatic Poem* (1823) which valorizes heroism under siege in Spain. And Elizabeth Barrett Browning published *A Drama of Exile* in 1844. The closet form was also popular in Canada with poets Heaveysege, Mair, Hunter-Duvar and Fr chet te. Northrop Frye

declared that Hunter-Duvar's two dramatic poems, *The Enamorado* and *De Roberval* "illustrate the fact that the Canadian narrative is frequently cast in the form of dialogue or literary drama" ("Narrative Tradition" 150). Frye also found that a "striking fact about Canadian poetry is the number of poets who have turned to narrative forms (including closet drama) rather than lyrical ones" ("Conclusion to a *Literary History*" 242). However, while Canadian long poems are valued for their Canadian narrative, the dramatic Canadian narratives are not valued as Canadian long poems. Sharma contends that in general, "closet dramas have been undervalued and we have been too often told of their obvious deficiencies, too seldom reminded of their imaginative power" (13). We do not seem to appreciate that for the Victorian poets who attempted them, drama became a "status symbol" and "a medium of amusement, of experiment, of reform, and of revolution" (Sharma 187).

Laura Secord is a 57-page closet drama in three acts set in Queenston, Ontario, in 1813. Like Sandra Djwa's description of Heaveysege's *Saul*, it "shares all the excesses of the genre: combining of the high and the low style, melodrama, archaic diction, and the regular insertion of long poetic set pieces" (ix). Its themes are historical and nationalistic; it looks at women's role, the New World as Eden with Laura as a new Eve; it questions war, praises General Brock's contribution to the war, includes the Mohawk role in support of the British, and looks at bravery in women as well as duty -- a woman's duty to family and to country. While not great closet drama or great poetry it is as good as Charles Mair's closet drama, *Tecumseh*. As McMullen states, *Laura Secord* is "well-constructed and carefully researched" (1075).

In Act I, Laura Secord overhears the American plans to take the British, under

Fitzgibbon, by surprise. James Secord, recovering from a battle wound, cannot go to Beaver Dam to warn them, so Laura seeks his permission to go. Her husband says no with a list of reasons based on her fragility as a woman: it's a task that even a man might shirk, you're not strong enough, a wolf or catamount will hurt you etc. (20) She counters with various arguments: "my sex will protect me," it's my duty, a woman is in more danger left alone on the frontier, I didn't say a word to stop your answering "our country's call" (21). When he agrees that she can go, Laura says that he will get to taste the "woman's common lot" while she tries the "man's role" of "fierce activity" (23). Curzon explores the possibility of role reversal and shows that a woman can do a "man's" job!

In Act II, at St. David's Mills, Widow Secord (Laura's sister-in-law), a British Sergeant, French-Canadian Babette and young Tom argue about bravery and whether a woman can be brave. The Widow says that bravery's sex is humanity – so, women as well as men can be brave. As proof, she cites the time that Laura fetched James, injured, from the battlefield. Since these conversations are not documented historically, it seems that Curzon uses this opportunity to place words in the Widow's mouth that promote women's bravery. Laura arrives at St. David's having passed by three sentries "with words of guile" (33). The Widow, concerned for Laura's children says she must not go, and even asks if James "consented" (34). Having previously praised brave women, the Widow undermines all she said as she tries to persuade Laura to stay and not chance the dangers of the woods because women are frailer than men. Curzon may have found this necessary in order to re-introduce the issue of women's ability to take heroic action in the face of society's pre-determined passive role for women. The Widow argues next that those men Secord goes to warn take

their "chances of war" but Secord counters that it would be murder and not a chance of war if "a little band of thirty men" is left "prey to near six hundred" (35). The Widow is persuaded by Laura's argument and later shows her the best way to sneak into the woods. In scene 2, set in a "beautiful glade," Curzon creates a lyrical monologue for Laura who describes "playful breezes that do make / Melodious symphonies" and finds a "tinkling rill" that she addresses in an apostrophe: "Give me, oh give, sweet rill, / A few cool drops to slake my parching throat" (39). As Laura views the glade, she says "O this is beautiful! Here I could lie -- / Were earth a myth and all her trials nought -- / And dream soft nothings all a summer's day" (39). A catalogue of local flowers follows: "sweet eglantine," "meek anemone," "bright, nodding columbine," "Wodd-star white," "blue violets," "dielytra," "arbutus," "hepatica," "rose-buds," "lady-fern" (40). Finally, Curzon makes the connection between landscape and Canadian poetry: ". . . this land, / That breathes of poesy from every sod" (40).

Suddenly, this Eden is disturbed as a rattlesnake hisses and Laura connects it to Satan:

A straight descendent then of him, methinks,
 Man's ancient foe, or else his paraphrase
 Is there no Eden that thou can enviest not?
 No purity though would'st not smirch with gall?
 No rest though would'st not break with agony?
 Aye, Eve, our mother tongue avenges thee,
 For there is nothing mean, or loose, or vile,
 That is not comprehended in the name
 Of SNAKE! (41)

Eve's name in the New World is *avenged* by the vileness now associated with the name, snake. It is interesting that Curzon uses the verb "avenges" rather than "defends" or "redeems," suggesting that Curzon views Eve as "more wronged against than wrong." Curzon then describes the American foe like a snake in Eden about to "glide from his hole. . . in hope to

coil and crush him [Fitzgibbon]" (42). But "little reck's he that a woman holds / The power to draw his fangs!" (42). Laura, the New World Eve, will defeat Satan this time and avenge her mother Eve.

Laura realizes that even if she succeeds, "some blood must flow" (42) and she then addresses war in an apostrophe:

O War, how much I hate thy wizard arts,
That with the clash and din of brass and steel,
O'erpowers the voice of pleading reason;
And with thy lurid light, in monstrous rays
Enfolds the symmetry of human love,
Making a brother seem a phantom or a ghoul! (42)

Curzon uses Laura to voice a strong condemnation of war with words like "monstrous" and "ghoul" suggesting gothic horror. War is a "fiend," a "Juggernaut whose wheel drops gore" and unfortunately it holds a "fascination for humanity" (42). Curzon's opposition to war here seems at odds with her fascination with the War of 1812 and her praise of the battle victories of the British and of men like General Brock. This contradiction is set up in the opening scene of her drama as she has John Penn, a Quaker, describe the Battle of Stony Creek:

As amid raging storms the warring heaven
Falls sudden silent, and concentrates force
To launch some scathing bolt upon the earth,
So hung the foe, hid in portentous gloom,
While in the lurid light ours halted. Quick,
Red volcanic fire burst from their lines
And mowed us where we stood!
Full many a trembling hand that set a flint
Fell lifeless ere it clicked: *yet silent all* —
Save groans of wounded -- till our rods struck home;
Then flashing fire for fire, forward we rushed
And scattered them like chaff before the wind. (12)

As a Quaker, Penn does not support violence and "will not strike a blow / To guard [his]

country's rights, nor yet [his] own" but his description of the battle portrays a fascination with its "lurid light" and "red volcanic fire" (13). His words also portray pride in the British side as "*our* rods struck home," and "*we* rushed / and scattered them." While Penn shuns the shedding of blood, he agrees to spy for the British "Somewhat against [his] creed" (14). Through this representation of the Quaker's ambivalence, Curzon presents the contradiction between love of country and hatred of war, a contradiction that she may have experienced herself.

As Act II ends, Laura encounters Mohawk Indians and persuades them she is Captain Secord's wife and that "Tecumseh, your great chief, / And Tekoriogea are our friends" (49). Young chief Mish-mo-qua is assigned to guide her to Fitzgibbon but before Laura meets Fitzgibbon in Act III, Curzon creates a scene of Fitzgibbon and his men that allows her to criticize Napoleon's Russian campaign as a "Sad waste of precious lives for one man's will" (50) and to praise Nelson as a leader who would have died for his men (51). Fitzgibbon admonishes the men for forgetting the "lion-hearted Brock," and then he begins a long passage praising Brock, "His bravery; his lofty heroism; / His purity, and his great unselfish heart" (52-3). Into this scene, Curzon also inserts two short poems as songs. One is a 132-line lyric sung by private Roaring Bill about Brock's fall at Queenston Heights. Then Jack Kelley sings a song about a "bold Canadian boy" who went with his bride to the woods to build a home -- his axe cleared a "wide domain" and she spun a "store of goods." There was no happier home "beneath the maple tree" (56). Pioneering, according to Curzon, is man and woman, both contributing. With this thematic lead-in, Laura and Mishe-mo-qua suddenly interrupt with her "news" of the American ambush and she makes her contribution to the war and to Canadian

history. Fitzgibbon thanks her and says:

Men, never forget this woman's noble deed.
 Armed, and in company, inspirited
 By crash of martial music, soldiers march
 To duty; but she, alone, defenceless,
 With no support but kind humanity
 And burning patriotism, ran all our risks
 Of hurt, and bloody death, to serve us men,
 Strangers to us save by quick war-time ties.
 Therefore, in grateful memory and kind return,
 Ever treat women well. (62)

The next day, when the British prevail and the American, Boerstler, surrenders, he compliments Fitzgibbon on his win. Fitzgibbon says: "Yes, thanks to a brave woman's glorious deed" (66).⁵⁵ Thus Curzon ends the drama on one final note of praise for Secord's bravery and she reinforces in the mind of her reader that Secord is a hero.

It should be noted that Curzon's drama reflects details from various sources, especially Lieutenant-Colonel William Coffin's *Chronicles of the War* (1864). References in Curzon's "Memoir of Mrs. Secord" as well as Curzon's notes in *Laura Secord* show that she relied heavily on Coffin's text which was accepted as factual in Curzon's time but includes incidents that are not factual but have become part of the myth of Laura Secord. For example, the famous cow that Secord supposedly used to fool the American sentry is a fiction that appeared in Coffin's work as fact (McKenzie 105). Coffin "took an imaginative view of history and added trimmings to the Laura Secord episode to make it more exciting" (McKenzie 104). Other documents referenced by Curzon, in her very thorough and detailed notes, include Auchinleck's *History of the War*, Ryerson's *Loyalists of America and Their Times*, interviews with Secord's daughter Mrs. Smith and her grandson James B. Secord, various periodical and magazine articles, and newspaper reports of Admiral Nelson. In the appendices, Curzon

includes two officers' reports of the October 13, 1813 battle at Queenston Heights in which General Brock was killed. As her letter to John Reade indicates, Curzon was not just interested in Secord, she was interested in Brock and in the War of 1812 in general. In a letter to William Kirby, Curzon notes the "long hours she spent in the Public Archives of Canada, reading militia lists and the letters of Major General Isaac Brock and others" (McMullen 1076). Curzon also used another account written by Laura Secord (1862) that was included as a note in historian Benson J. Lossing's *Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812*.⁵⁶

As well as the closet drama, Curzon wrote the "The Ballad of Laura Secord," a 472-line poem, which has similar themes of female patriotism and heroism to the drama as it sings "songs of Woman's chivalry, / Of Woman's patriot fire" (70). As a literary ballad, meant to be read and not sung, it uses the features of folk ballads to tell a dramatic conflict and uses ballad stanzas of four lines, rhymed abcb (Kennedy 126-7).⁵⁷ The opening quatrain says that the "gentler tones" of the "softer lyre" do not lack the "high, heroic fire" (69). A woman, "the softer lyre," can be heroic and do the "valiant deed" (69). Laura Secord's unacknowledged heroism lies behind this quatrain:

For many a nameless nook and lone,
 And many a tongueless hour,
 Sees deeds performed whose glories shame
 The pride of pomp and power. (70)

After setting up the theme of heroism, and giving the historical background of the war, the narrative tale of Laura Secord begins with many of the same details and images as the drama. It deals with bravery and duty, as the drama does:

But know that fear is not the brand
 That marks the coward slave;
 'Tis conquered fear, and duty done,

That tells the truly brave. (77)

Unlike the drama, the ballad ends by moving forward forty-five years to the Prince of Wales' visit to Niagara Falls in 1860 where he met the eighty-five year old Secord. Laura is presented to the Prince as "An ancient dame whose ancient fame / Shines in our history" (82). Once home in England, the Prince sends Laura a letter and a gift (100 pounds in gold) in recognition of "Brave Laura Secord's fame" (83). Like the drama, *The Ballad of 1812* has not been recovered as a long poem. Why? Perhaps because it is unknown? Perhaps because it is not reprinted, not readily available, and thus not being read? Perhaps because it is labelled a ballad and thus not considered a long poem? Or perhaps because, like the drama, it is about a female hero?

Considering the value placed on long poems that have historical and military themes, it is odd that Curzon's *Laura Secord*, based on a Canadian heroine's activities in the War of 1812, is not in the canon.⁵⁸ Sarah Anne Curzon writes in her introduction to *Laura Secord*: "The drama of 'Laura Secord' was written in 1876, and the ballad a year later, but, owing to the inertness of Canadian interest in Canadian literature at that date, could not be published. It is hoped that a better time has at length dawned" (Preface). However, the interest was still "inert" as Louisa Murray had to appeal to readers of *The Week* to help Curzon with the debts incurred in printing her book (Gerson "Business of a Woman's Life" 79). As well, the circulation of Curzon's book, in her own time, may have been limited. Only four years after its publication, in 1891, J. Hunter-Duvar writes to John Reade, from Prince Edward Island., that he is searching for Curzon's drama (Letter to Reade 43). Curzon's poem is definitely Canadian in theme and setting; it is based in Canadian history and has an authentic Canadian

heroine who takes on a "masculine" role but the poem was apparently not marketable in Curzon's time nor is it now.

Chapter Four:

Susan Frances Harrison ("Seranus") (1859-1934):

**Novelist, Short-Story Writer, Journalist, Translator,
Editor, Lecturer, Pianist, Composer, and Poet**

Susan Frances Harrison was part of a newer and different generation than Fairbanks or Curzon. Born a few years before Confederation, she grew up in the midst of Canada becoming a nation. Able to write in both English and French, Harrison was a versatile woman who was well-known as a writer of short stories, novels, poems, songs and an opera as well as an editor (*The Week*), a translator of French poems, a performer (piano) and public speaker. Harrison could be considered precocious as Henry James Morgan, in his *Canadian Men and Women of the Time* (1912), notes that Harrison "began writing for the press, reviews, essays and short stories, at 16" (507). Morgan also says that Harrison contributed to such publications as the *Strand*, *Pall Mall Magazine*, *Temple Bar*, *Atlantic Monthly*, *Cosmopolitan*, *New England Magazine*, *Canadian Courier*, *Saturday Night*, and the *Detroit Free Press* (507-8). Harrison was also an early member of the Women's Canadian Historical Society (Wagner 10) which indicates her interest in Canadian history. Like Sarah Anne Curzon, Harrison's lists of Canadian, American and British publications show that she too was actively seeking a public writing career in Canada and internationally. In fact, she travelled to New York and to London to try and further her international career (MacMillan 109).

According to Morgan's 1898 edition of *Canadian Men and Women of the Time*, Harrison "has also won recognition in the lecture field, in which dept. she has done much for the promotion of literature and art in Canada" (508). But that same year, Harrison indicates,

in a letter to William Douw Lighthall, that she is not pleased with the response to her novel, *The Forest of Bourg-Marie*, nor with her publisher's efforts since there had been only seven notices in Britain, four in Toronto, one in Ottawa and one in Montreal for her novel (Letter to Lighthall). Harrison takes issue with her publisher's handling of her works as she mentions, in the same letter, that she has had "more sense of defeat, of dull apathy, than when "Pine, Rose, & Fleur de Lis" was issued," and she wonders why there is no "publisher worthy of the name" and why her publisher, Arnold of London, intends to withdraw her book, and Lighthall's, "just when one could begin to advertise them a little?" The importance of publishing, to Harrison, is also obvious in a comment she made to William Dean Howells in her interview with him for *Massey's Magazine*: "Canada is the grave of a good deal of talent . . . and we (speaking of Canadian authors) have sometimes difficulty in impressing ourselves on foreign publishers, the only publishers worth anything to us" (334). Gaining a foreign publisher makes possible the "pan-provincial" appeal valued by Bentley. Having obtained a British publisher as well as a Canadian one (George N. Morang) must have raised Harrison's hopes for her book's success at home and abroad. But it seems that a successful book requires a good publisher and not just good reviews such as the one Harrison received in the December, 1898 issue of the *Canadian Magazine* that declared *The Forest of Bourg-Marie* to be "such an important novel" (181).⁵⁹

Popular in her own time, praised by nineteenth-century critics, included in early anthologies, the editor of her own anthology, *The Canadian Birthday Book*, and included in the *Literary History of Canada* (1965), Harrison is now overlooked. George Stewart, in his *Literature in Canada* address given before the Canadian Club in New York (1877), named

her in a list of Canadian poets of "good showing" including Read, Roberts, Mair, Murray, Heaveysege and Miss Machar (133). And she still merits inclusion in Stewart's list. In 1895, Edmund Clarence Stedman included two of Harrison's poems in the Colonial Poets section of his *Victorian Anthology*.⁶⁰ In 1889, Lighthall compliments Harrison for "some of the brightest writing, both prose and verse" (*Songs* xxxiii). In 1892, Wilfred Campbell includes Harrison with Machar, Wetherald and Johnson as "well-known names," "prominent in a long list" of "many very able" women writers in Canada and further identifies Harrison as "well known to us in prose and verse" (Lochhead 177). In 1901, Thomas O'Hagan says she has:

a dainty and distinct style all her own, and her gift of song is both original and true. She has made a close study of themes which have their root in the French life of Canada, and her 'half French heart' eminently qualifies her for the delicacy of her task. Indeed, it is doubtful if any other woman writer of to-day can handle so successfully that form of poetry known as the villanelle. Her book of poems, "Pine, Rose, and Fleur de Lis," has met with much favour at the hands of critics, while her prose sketches and magazine *critiques* prove her to be a woman of exquisite taste and judgement in all things literary. (63-64).

In 1906, MacMurchy says Harrison has a "truthful and delicate manner," "bright descriptive passages" and treats French-Canadian life with sympathy (175-6). In 1913, Marquis calls S. Frances Harrison ('Seranus') "a maker of verse refined in colour, music and language" (588). And, Charles G. D. Roberts, addressing the Elson Club on Canadian Poetry in 1933, credits Harrison with the ability to progress with her times as he calls her a

remarkable woman. . . who began her poetical career with "the stretched meter of an antique song" in *Pine, Rose and Fleur de Lis*, 1891, using old French verse forms and seeking to interpret the spirit of French Canada to English Canada; and who now, in *Songs of Love and Labour* and in *Penelope and Other Poems*, brings herself thoroughly abreast of modern movements and methods.(76)

She still deserves credit for her poetic talent and her ability to handle such a difficult form as

the villanelle. In spite of all her favourable critical mentions, Harrison's status as an author and poet begins to disappear after her death in 1934. Harrison herself expressed concern for her reputation in a letter to Louisa Murray dated April 21, 1890 in which she says of her work, "it is still my fate to receive very little recognition." Carrie MacMillan finds it strange that after her "remarkable musical and literary activity in late nineteenth-century Canada," Harrison is "virtually unknown in Canada today" (108). Perhaps, she was too conventional. According to Hickok, the more conventional the poetry of lesser poets, "the greater their popularity -- and the lesser their enduring value" (8). Or, perhaps Harrison lasted too long (living until 1935) as she continued to write her poems in a modernist era which no longer appreciated her.⁶¹ As MacMillan suggests, "No doubt the advent of modernism in the 1920s did little for Harrison's reputation among the more serious and younger literary figures of the day" (134). Better to have died prematurely, like Crawford, and become a tragic myth rather than live and become visibly passé.

Although many of Harrison's longer poems have Canadian settings and Canadian characters, they are still being ignored and those poems that she has set in Quebec are now seen as stereotyping French Canadians.⁶² Thus, the value of a poem, like "Rose Latulippe," which preserves a French-Canadian folk tale, is lost. Yet, these poems were well-received in Harrison's own time when stereotyping was not an issue. Harrison should be recognized as an "amateur anthropologist," as Rosemary Sullivan calls her, because she "collected French Canadian folk songs that provided material for her poetry" (xi). And Macmillan defends Harrison by suggesting that she didn't go beyond the stereotype because she was looking for a "distinct Canadian 'type', even a 'myth' to present to the world" (136). In 1889, Lighthall said

that her "'Old Regime' and 'Rose Latulippe,' express what has been called her 'half-French heart,' and breathe the air of the fertile, scarcely-wrought field of French Canadian life" (*Songs* xxxiii).⁶³ Lighthall anthologized "Rose Latulippe" in his *Canadian Poems and Lays* and in his praise of Harrison repeats some of what he said before in *Songs of the Great Dominion*:

. . . some of the brightest writing, both prose and verse, is done by 'Seranus,' of Toronto (Mrs. S. Frances Harrison), who is working good service to our literature in a number of ways. Her "Old Regime" and "Rose Latulippe" express what has been called her "half-French heart," and breathe the air of the fertile, scarcely wrought field of French-Canadian life (xxix-xxx).⁶⁴

Morgan notes in *Canadian Men and Women of the Time* (1898), that Harrison was "one of the first writers to explore the French-Can. field for character and descriptive sketches" (443). and in the 1912 edition, Morgan says she is "considered an authority on French-Canadian folk songs" (507).

But, by 1930, Rhodenizer notes her as "an interpreter in verse of French-Canadian life" (225) who wrote "sympathetically" of the Quebecois before Drummond; however, "with all her sympathy we are conscious that it is as an outsider telling outsiders about the French-Canadians" (244). Drummond remained in the canon into the 1960's, while Harrison faded. Perhaps the label of "outsider" explains why Harrison was overlooked in the 1970's when critics were focusing on the literature of the two founding nations, a time when her poems extolling Quebec life should have resurfaced and she should have received credit for her *Canadian Birthday Book* (1887), the *first* Canadian anthology of English and French Canadian poems.⁶⁵ MacMillan says that Harrison, as part of the Confederation group of writers who promoted Canadian literature and pursued an international audience for it, "found in Quebec the distinct Canadian image she required to achieve these ends" (107) and was "one

of the first English Canadians to see the possibilities for literature in French Canadian local colour and folklore" (110).

Harrison's poems contain traditional narratives with national, regional and social themes as well as distinctive Canadian landscapes. She has also written a type of long poem that can be described as discontinuous. According to Robert Kelly, over forty years have passed since Frye "observed that the narrative form in Canadian poetry dominated 'the best poems of our best poets'" and Kelly asserts that "the term 'narrative poem' has been subsumed by the more generic term, 'long poem,' a kind of poem that can include elements of traditional narration but more often can appear as a seemingly disconnected lengthy work or a cycle of short poems centred around a common theme or focus" (27). This view of the long poem opens up the genre and includes more possibilities for finding long poems like Harrison's "Down the River," a cycle of fifty-one short poems which occupies sixty-six pages in Harrison's *Pine Rose and Fleur de Lis* (1890).⁶⁶ D.M.R. Bentley, in his introduction to *The St. Lawrence and the Saguenay*, has noted Sangster's poem as well as Harrison's as topographical "river-poems" according to Robert Arnold Aubin's categories for eighteenth-century topographical poems (xxxix).⁶⁷ According to Bentley, these river-poems are part of a "Canadian continuity that use the country's most important river in a similar manner" (xxxix). Sangster's poem is in the canon despite its faults which include "uninspired adjective-noun combinations," rhymes that are chosen to "fit form rather than reason" (xxxvi), and "one of his great weaknesses" that he "borrowed other poets' work to map his Canadian physical and mental terrain" (xxxvii). In Sangster's poem, the river is a "structuring physical entity" that is a "thread along which to string the various descriptive, historical and meditative

embellishments" (*St. Lawrence* xiii). This description of the river also fits Harrison's "Down the River" as one poem follows another in the same sequence as the trip down the St. Lawrence, past Cape Diane, St. Anne's, and the Isle of Bacchus. The stages of the trip are portrayed from poem to poem: taking to the water, travelling, stopping, camping overnight, continuing the next day etc. Considering the use of staging, Harrison's poem could also be considered a journey-poem, in Aubin's terminology, as it mentions the stages of the journey and "reveals interest in natural beauty as well as in human activities" along the route (Aubin 5). According to Aubin, Wordsworth's *River Dudden* (1820), written as a sonnet series, is the "greatest river poem of all" and uses techniques associated with topographical poetry such as "apostrophe, local pride, historical reflection, catalogue, moralizing, genre scenes, episode, early memories, prospect, ruin-pieces, and Muse-driving" (241). If a sonnet series like the *River Dudden* can be a long poem, then why not consider Harrison's series of poems as a long poem?⁶⁸ In her poem, Harrison employs many of the same techniques of topographical poetry as Wordsworth, including apostrophe, local pride, historical reflection, catalogue, moralizing, prospect, and ruin-pieces.

The first poem in the series, "The Friend," a longer poem itself of 167 lines, is an apostrophe exhorting the poet's friend to join in the trip. These are the poet's "schemes" to go down the river to Cote Beaupré and find a "quainter life" where "no modern strife assails" (2). Once the two friends take to the river, there are descriptive catalogues typical of the topographical long poems in the Canadian canon. Harrison catalogues local flowers like hollyhocks, marigold, sunflowers, norman asters, columbine, cornus, rosy bells, and sweet linnaea as well as landscape features like waterfalls, roadside rills, and the Laurentide

mountain range. Harrison also lists several fossils with their scientific names: graptolites, *Aspbus platycephalus*, and *Trinocleus concentricus* (4). With the inclusion of fossils, Harrison's catalogues seem more modern and Darwinian than Old World pastoral.

Harrison sets the Old World Mother country of France as a model for Quebec as she says: "And in song and shoe we deem / La Belle France to be supreme" (3). Then she praises Quebec for "grass as purely green / As in England e'er was seen" (4). Quebec is thus equal to England but still bows to France in the area of song and dance. But in landscape, New World Quebec is superior. The poet persona says her brother poet, Crémazie, finds this "dear landscape" means more than "grey cathedral dim," "ancient parapet," "storied mosque and minaret," "palace halls / Crumbling under Moorish walls," "Cadiz, Venice, / Pisa, Paris, Florence, Rome, / All the world beyond the foam" and he "Craved for Canada, for home" (4-5).⁶⁹ All the Old World's monolithic structures representing various religious institutions, governments, and empires are decaying or "crumbling." In the closing section of the poem, Harrison's description of the beauties of the Quebec landscape illustrates her talent as a poet:

When the sunrise wakes the pines,
 When the saffron glory shines
 On the stirring of the loon,
 On the sleepy, pallid moon,
 When the wood awakes to shiver
 In the cool breath of the river,
 Flowing, blowing, flowing down
 Past Cape Diamond's jewell'd crown,
 And the spray that wets the lips,
 As we float among the ships,
 Holds a precious grain of salt –
 Gracious gift and darling fault –
 Then the sternest must confess
 To the perfect loveliness
 Of this province old and quaint,
Sans utilitarian taint. (5).

The New World does not suffer like the Old World does from the utilitarian focus on what is useful and practical; in the New World one can focus on the aesthetics of the landscape.

Among the 51 short poems following "The Friend," the two villanelles titled "Theocritus" suggest that conversations around the campfire could be very philosophical. In the second villanelle, the narrator chastises a sleepy companion:

Theocritus had kept awake,
 Taken some vivifying dose,
 And lost his sleep for summer's sake.

Happy with me thus to partake
 The glories of the scene globose
 Theocritus had kept awake,

And dropped his voice and feared to make
 Remarks and *jeu des mots* jocose
 And lost his sleep for summer's sake.

Your knightly promises you break;
 By turns you're sleepy, tired, morose,
Theocritus had kept awake.

But me, there's no one on the lake
 Has cared to come to nature close,
 And lost his sleep for summer's sake.

I'll have to try a gentle shake –
 How can you be so very gross?
Theocritus had kept awake
 And lost his sleep for summer's sake. (13).

Harrison uses the standard villanelle form: five tercets and a final quatrain with the first and third lines of the first tercet recurring alternately in subsequent stanzas as a refrain and then forming a final couplet to end the quatrain. The use of Theocritus, the father of pastoral poetry, is interesting as it suggests Harrison's interest in and knowledge of the classical poets and poetry forms of the past. It may also reflect the influence of Tennyson who "[devoted]

himself to Theocritus and the idyll or little epic" (McLuhan 88). As well, it probably reflects the round of villanelles on Theocritus written by Oscar Wilde, Andrew Lang and Austin Dobson in England in the 1880's (McFarland 66). One of the key lines repeated in Wilde's "Theocritus" (1881), "O singer of Persephone!" (McFarland 67) also appears in Harrison's first "Theocritus" poem. In 1922, Katherine Hale notes that Harrison "has pictured the life along the St. Lawrence in her exquisite Villanelles, many of them written in or near Montreal" (42). The villanelle, as a closed or fixed form, is a challenge to poets. It requires more than a repetitive rhyme scheme; it requires "elaborate echoing" achieved by the repetition of words or even lines of verse (Kennedy 189). While difficult to master, the villanelle creates a "powerful musical effect unlike ordinary rhyming" (Kennedy 189). Considering Harrison's musical leanings (played piano, wrote songs, wrote musical reviews for newspapers, wrote an opera), it seems natural that she would master a form that had a "musical effect" and master it she did. Her villanelles have a natural ease; they are not contrived or forced, as her words and images never succumb to the demands of the form.

Harrison's use of classical allusion and interest in myth is demonstrated in "Paranthese" which catalogues the mythical creatures that are *not* to be seen on the shores of a Canadian river:

No Dryad in the oak,
 No Nymph within the valley,
 No fairy folk
 To frolic; dance and dally;

No Pan along the shore,
 No Nereid in the water,
 No savage shape of boar,
 No fair Demeter's daughter; (14).

There are no Goddesses, no Gods, "No shapes that might recall, / The classic miscellany" (15). This list recalls the words of earlier writers commenting on the lack of mythical creatures in the Canadian landscape. In 1836, Catherine Parr Traill says of the Canadian woods:

We have neither fay nor fairy, ghost nor bogie, satyr nor wood-nymph; our very forests disdain to shelter dryad or hamadryad. No naiad haunts the rushy margin of our lakes, or hallows with her presence our forest rills. No Druid claims our oaks; and instead of poring with mysterious awe among our curious limestone rocks, that are often singularly grouped together, we refer them to the geologist to exercise his skill in accounting for their appearance: instead of investing them with the solemn characters of ancient temples or heathen altars, we look upon them with the curious eye of natural philosophy alone. (153)

Charles Sangster seems to echo Traill in 1856 in his river poem *The St. Lawrence and the Saguenay* (as Harrison seems to echo Sangster):

. . . surely here
 The wild enthusiast might live, and dream
 His life away. No Nymphic trains appear,
 To charm the pale Ideal Worshipper
 Of beauty; Nor Nereids from the deeps below;
 Nor hideous Gnomes, to fill the breast with fear:
 But crystal streams through endless landscapes flow,
 And o'er the clustering Isles the softest breezes blow. (56-63)

Harrison's version goes on to offer a Canadian replacement for these Old World myths as she suggests that perhaps the "sumach fringed cliff," the "oriole low flying," the "open yellow skiff," the "languid loon's far crying," the "resinous keen breeze," the "water's lazy lapping," the "silver-coated trees," and the "eagle's idle flapping," "would prove as surely haunting" (15).

As the series of poems proceeds, their lines lengthen in a structural reflection of the length of the trip. The poems initially have 6 or 8 stresses per line and then in a poem like "The Thousand Islands" the trip, like the lines, seems to drag on, and as the two friends are

tired of water and "longing for land" (16-17) the lines stretch to 14 and sometimes 17 stresses. In "Extremes," Harrison notes that "Man's never satisfied" as the travellers reject land for life on the water and then get tired of "endless rowing" (18-19). "Loath to Go" has them reluctant to leave the island, "Yet we must press on, achieve,/ Cease to dream, and do instead" (28). Presented as the dialogue of one friend to the other, this can also be read as an exhortation to the reader, as a fellow Canadian to "press on," "achieve" and take action rather than daydream. The final poem, "L'Envoie," addressed to her travelling companion, asks forgiveness for the "simple rhymes" and urges the friend, and by extension, the reader to

Read my *contefable* chiefly
 For its subject yet -- and briefly --
 Read it -- tis Montaigne's own line --
 "Not because 'tis good, but -- mine." (67)

Harrison has also written several poems, in the range of 90-180 lines, that some might consider long while others might label them medium. Either way, we lose several good poems by ignoring them including "A Monody. To the Memory of Isabella Valancy Crawford" and "The Rime of the Gray Citie," two medium-length poems included in *Pine, Rose and Fleur de Lis*.⁷⁰ Harrison's "Monody" to Crawford, a longer poem of 160 lines, reveals a fellow nineteenth-century female poet's response to Crawford's work and to her early death. In the opening stanza, Harrison shows a special reverence for Crawford, "our dead Sappho" , while demonstrating her own skill as a poet. A poet who can write at this level deserves more attention::

I weep for our dead Sappho – Sappho, who is dead
 Was ours, and great, although her friends were few;
 Let the great Greek go by, or lift in love her laurelled
 head,
 One of her peers hath entered; let her view

The youngest poet-soul that darkly gropes
 For light and truth; let the great Greek outstretch
 Warm hands of welcome, Deity-bidden, fetch
 The faint soul home with Love's strong coiled ropes. (97)

According to Angela Leighton, in *Victorian Women Poets*, the myth of Sappho's suicide leap (because of unrequited love for the boatman Phaon), "connects female creativity with death, in a pact which the Victorian imagination finds endlessly seductively appealing" (Leighton 35). Harrison's poem extols Crawford's creativity and places her in the line of literary descent from this "mother poet." She establishes Crawford as a "peer" of Sappho's who is to be welcomed "home" by Sappho as "[t]he youngest poet-soul that darkly gropes / For light and truth" (97).

Harrison also uses the romantic image of the alchemist to describe Crawford: "*Sweet alchemist – rare singer – what thou wilt; / Distilled in thine alembic, earth dissevered, as thou plann'st*" (103). This metaphor suggests Crawford as a poet-alchemist distilling the landscape in her quest to create the Philosopher's Stone. In this case the Stone, with its mythical power to transmute matter, would transmute her earthly world. Certainly, Harrison feels a common bond with Crawford as she regrets in the "Monody" that she cannot walk and talk with Crawford and share a female companionship for women can be "close and tender" with other women as "women can – / Are all to themselves, and happy, need no man" (99). This comment may say more about Harrison's feelings about the friendship of women, about the social ideal that a man is necessary for a woman to be happy, than it says about Crawford's views.

References to various poems of Crawford's throughout the "Monody" show that Harrison is familiar with the body of Crawford's work. In fact, Crawford and Harrison had met when Harrison, as literary editor of *The Week*, had to inform Crawford that the paper did

not pay for poetry (Hale 10). In her *Canadian Birthday Book* (1887), Harrison included sixteen poems by Crawford and stated in the index that "Miss Crawford's verse is almost the finest yet produced in Canada, being instinct with a breadth and vigour and melody unsurpassed by few living writers" (411). In the "Monody," Harrison refers to Crawford's "The Helot" as she says: "Clasp me the *Helot* -- reach me the rich quatrains, / That throb with triumph, touched with the wand of truth" (101). In what appears to be a description of *Malcolm's Katie*, Harrison notes the epic qualities of Crawford's poems:

Did she not sing the song of the pioneer
 An epic of axe and tree, of glebe and pine,
 Hath she not -- Great High Priestess of Love benign
 Rose-crowned, brow bound, from Love dissevered Fear? (103).

Here we are given Harrison's reading of the poem, her interpretation of it not only as a pioneer epic but also as a treatise on love.

In another longer poem, "The Rime of the Gray Citie" (138 lines), Harrison personifies and genders the city of Montreal, as female: "She sigheth, she lieth / Prone on her couch of snow" (182). The city, in the midst of carnival revelry, thinks, dreams and broods "on a throng / Of voices" (182), but she fails to find "The voice, the song that to her may belong / And illuminate her way, / And speak to her sisters over seas, / Of her stately streets and her crowded quays" (183). The city is looking for its poet, the voice that will praise her to her "sister" cities in the Old World.

Harrison describes the history of the city recalling the "martial *Maisonneuve*," the "saintly *Mance*," the "fair *Peltire*," the "gentle Marguerite *Bourgeois*" and the Frenchmen who "gave their blood" for France (187-88). Then she describes how Montreal was affected by merchant interests:

Disdaining complaining,
 The New World bent to their power,
 As had done the Old, nor failed to unfold
 The pod, the plant, the flower,
 While the beaver stared and stared in vain,
 And the Red man's heart nigh broke in twain. (188)

The New World didn't complain that the Old World was controlling it, the New World yielded to the power of economic forces just as the Old World had. The New World unfolds the pod, plant and flower, and thus opens itself to human power. All the indigenous, the people, the flora, the fauna, are portrayed as passively accepting the power of Old World economic forces. The Native Indians, the original inhabitants, could do nothing and there is sympathy here for the Natives whose hearts are broken. However, previously in the poem, the Natives encountered by Marguerite Bourgeoys are stereotyped as "the sullen Iroquois" whom she had to charm from "the maze of his savage dance" (188). This ambiguous position alternates between seeing a stereotypical "savage" and seeing a being who has feelings about being disenfranchised.

Moving from the past to the present, the poem describes the city's present inhabitants who "love the icy air" as they enjoy the "revelry" of winter carnival (189). As the poem ends, through the voice of the city, the voice of the poet, Harrison, admonishes the citizens of Montreal:

Look ye agree in your revelry
 To revere both pain and death;
 And forget not the poor in their poverty,
 So shall ye bless yourselves and me. (189)

With the last stanza of the poem, Harrison brings the poem full circle as she repeats the opening four lines. The poem, the city, the inhabitants and the reader return to the pageant and

"unchecked once more is the revelry / In the streets and paths of the *Grey Citie*" (189).

Harrison's poems can be distinctively and indistinctively Canadian. Her long poem, "Down the River," is in the sub-genre of "river" poems as found in the Canadian canon. Her poems catalogue the Canadian landscape. Her poems show an awareness of the value of myth, and the need for a Canadian myth. Her poems include social issues relevant to women in her age. Her poems include references to the New World versus the Old, and to Native Indians loss of that world. Nevertheless, like Ethelwyn Wetherald and Agnes Maule Machar, Harrison is one of the "formerly significant poets and women of letters" now considered "lost women poets" (Gerson "Anthologies" 57). As Herrnstein Smith notes, the functions valued in a work may no longer be valued, so a work is cited less often and "visibility as well as interest will fade" (31). Harrison has been "lost" over time as values changed and critical mentions of her work disappeared. She deserves to be recovered as one of our "significant" poetic foremothers.

Chapter Five:

Other Issues of Genre Exclusion:

Romance, Satire, and Non-Distinctively Canadian Poems

In Canada, as social and literary values changed, as nationalism became a requirement and imperialism a detriment, as modernism rejected Victorian literature and as the centenary nationalism of the 1960's reinforced the demand for a national literature, for a truly Canadian genre, many early long poems were marginalised. In order to bring them in from the margins, the boundaries around the Canadian long poem need to be broken down so that long poems currently placed outside the genre can be included in the canon. Currently, satire seems to be outside the genre of the Canadian long poem as is a romantic tale like Margaret Gill Currie's *John Saint John and Anna Grey*. And, most definitely outside the genre is a poem like Louisa Murray's "Merlin's Cave" which is not considered "Canadian" because of its Old World setting.⁷¹

Margaret Gill Currie (1843-1906), a New Brunswick poet of loyalist descent, published two books: *John Saint John and Anna Grey: A Romance of Old New Brunswick* (published in 1897 but written about 1873), a 124 page novel in verse, and *Gabriel West and Other Poems* (1866), a collection which includes the long poem *Gabriel West*. In the Preface to *Gabriel West*, Currie states that her verse is meant to help "preserve the memory of the LOYALISTS from oblivion . . . hence the subject of the longest poem, which is founded upon facts." In his preface to *Early Loyalist Saint John* (1983), D.G. Bell observes that the Loyalist mythology, prominent from 1880-1920, has been discredited and the vision of delicate women and men unused to labour who "subdue a wilderness to become Canada's founding nobility"

is an "embarrassment" (1). If, as Bell's opening sentence states, "THE LOYALISTS ARE UNFASHIONABLE" (i) then resurrecting works with loyalist themes, like Currie's, is made more difficult.

Gabriel West and Other Poems contains many shorter poems, composed when Currie was between the ages of thirteen and fifteen, that she calls "wild and fanciful" (Preface). The featured poem, *Gabriel West*, a long poem of 467 lines written in rhyming couplets, is a loyalist narrative "founded on facts" (Preface) which relates one of the tales Currie's loyalist father told her of his comrades in the war. Critics who demand Canadian content may find this poem deficient as most of the poem is set either in Pennsylvania or on the ship making its way to New Brunswick rather than in New Brunswick itself.⁷² According to the narrative, Gabriel West grew up in Pennsylvania, learned his father's masonry trade, and wished for "a life of peace with honest toil" (5) and to marry Margaret Clay. But war intervened and Gabriel, choosing to fight for King George, was rejected by his family and friends. Gabriel, wounded at Brandywine, was nursed by Margaret and then married her. Britain withdrew her troops rather than continue to wound "those misguided ones, her children still" (9) and "gave her friends, who, in the weary strife, were left of kindred, treasure, all save life, / A home in Brunswick's fertile land" (9). En route to New Brunswick with his wife and son and others of his regiment, their unsafe ship strikes a rock, the treacherous captain and crew deserts them and the passengers are left to "Cling to the floating wreck to bear them up" (12). His son dies in the "midnight chill" (14) and Margaret, "wild with grief" lives until sunrise. Gabriel, last of the thirty who clung to the wreckage, is rescued and continues on to New Brunswick where he clears his land and toils until his "home [grows] rich with field and forest spoil" (18). But

he lives in "life-long grief" (18) dying before he is sixty. A loyal soldier, he is revered "As one who well served his king and God" (18).

Currie's tale of *John Saint John and Anna Grey* also has a loyalist theme as Currie dedicates her work to her father's sisters, "Daughters of a U. E. Loyalist" and makes her heroine, Anna, the daughter of a loyalist soldier, Gerald Grey. While the loyalist theme may be unpopular now, it should be noted that unlike *Gabriel West*, *John Saint John and Anna Grey* has many themes of equal or greater impact including themes that comment on class differences, on the role of women, on the New World as the land of opportunity and on the Old World's condescending attitude towards the colonies. As Hickok points out, "nineteenth-century women writers, working within the imposed limitations, managed covertly to convey a great deal more than is visible at first glance" (8). Critical mentions of Currie's poem, past and present, seem to have stopped at the "first glance" that labels it a romance and they have missed the covert themes of class difference and colonialism. In 1902, a review in *Acadiensis*, says of *John Saint John and Anna Gray*: "To one who has travelled the St. John River, and has studied its varied and varying beauties, this work will particularly appeal" (209). Considering what a small part of the poem is devoted to the St. John River, one wonders if the reviewer read the complete poem. A more recent mention, in *New Brunswick Authors*, (National Gallery 1984) describes an "ambitious narrative poem . . . of love, adventure, tragedy, and virtue rewarded" whose "poetry reveals a perceptive writer, aware of the fragility of human emotions" (30). While appearing complimentary, this rather bland, generic comment is unlikely to inspire a reader to seek out this text. A more critical comment by Fred Cogswell says that the poem is "melodramatic in the extreme and incredible in plot construction" (114).

Yet, the melodrama and the "incredible" plot are appropriate to a nineteenth-century romance. Susan Sheridan notes that the conventions of romance can be used for other than "purposes of social realism"; they can be used "to tap the reserves of fantasy and the unconscious, and in the process to undermine the apparently secure narrative of women's destiny of courtship and marriage" (36). Through Anna's story of a romantic courtship followed by a horrific marriage, Currie "undermines" that "secure narrative" and if her plot is "incredible" it may just reflect her tapping in to "reserves of fantasy" in order to create her dark tale. In further defence of Currie's "melodrama," recent feminist criticism finds that melodrama and the sensational are "legitimate forms of literary expression that capture cultural attitudes and conditions, and attempt to redefine the social order" (Macmillan 111).

In spite of having two books published, Currie never achieved canonical status in her own time and is little known now. This would not surprise Currie as she said in a letter that was found in a copy of *John Saint John and Anna Grey* in the Saint John Public Library, "I have no doubt you are aware there is not the least shadow of danger of a Canadian author, a poet in particular, receiving too much recognition or becoming rich enough to endanger his or her morality" (Letter to E. V. Ellis). What recognition Currie had in her own time has long since faded and she is now viewed simply as a loyalist and a writer of romance.

While *John Saint John and Anna Grey* is considered a romance, as Currie's subtitle, "*A Romance of Old New Brunswick*" asserts, the poem does not fit the conventional romance. According to Frye, romance tends to polarize into heroes and villains and "avoids the ambiguities of ordinary life, where everything is a mixture of good and bad" (*Secular Scripture* 50). Even though Currie's hero, John Saint John and her villain, Marmaduke, are

melodramatically polarized as good and evil, her heroine, Anna Grey is neither all good nor all bad. By the end of the tale, her blind ambition to be better than her colonial peers has been humbled. Thus, the poem can be considered a form of female *bildungsroman* as it follows the development of Anna Grey.

Currie presents Anna as a beautiful young girl:

Anna Grey had eyes of hazel, dreamy as an Arab tale,
Lustrous as the star of even in the sky of sunset pale;
White and azure-veined her forehead, with bright curls of
chestnut crowned,
Red her lips as ripe strawberry 'mid the summer grasses
found.
Sweetly round her girlish figure, sweetly full her
dimpled face,
Every glance and every motion had a rare, unstudied
grace. (8)

Anna is loved by the honest, faithful Canadian, John Saint John (whose family is considered well-off gentry) but she rejects him for Marmaduke, the English aristocrat, who fits her romantic dreams of a knight and her vain dreams of becoming a lady: "And she longed to mingle in those gorgeous scenes of earth / Where brave knights of sounding title blend with dames of noble birth" (14). She marries Marmaduke and returns to Britain with him where she is rejected by his mother as a colonial savage who lacks position, wealth, and manners. Then she is cruelly rejected by her husband who fears for his inheritance. Anna is locked away in the estate, her marriage denied, and finally she is committed to an asylum to hide her from society. During her years in the asylum, Anna often thought of her childhood, "of the forests free and wild / Whose bright brooks and paths of shadow her unfettered feet beguiled" and of all those people left behind (119). Conscious of her errors,

Oft she thought what base requital she had made for all the

good
 Heaped upon her helpless childhood and her early womanhood.
 She had turned her back on mercy, love and hope and peace and
 light,
 A proud, shadowy phantom following into dark despair and
 night. (120)

Years later, after Marmaduke has died, she is rescued by two of the common folk from home, Peter, a doctor, and Catherine, his wife, sent by a dying John Saint John to rescue Anna Grey. The couple, once a farmer and a dairy maid, have risen in class, not by marriage as Anna tried, but by education and hard work. And Anna recognizes this as she muses that "they used their talents while my own were wrapped away, / Rusting, useless, self-enfolded, hidden from the light of day" (122). Anna returns home with them, a humbler woman who now appreciates her colonial home and spends the rest of her days caring for others, "Bearing wine and oil of kindness, seeking bleeding hearts to bind" (127). Through the character of Anna, Currie illustrates the problem of colonials who see Britain as the superior culture and do not value their colonial world. Through Marmaduke and his family, Currie portrays the condescending attitude of Britain towards its colonies.

While Anna's story somewhat follows the romantic pattern of "descent into a night world and a return to an idyllic world, or some symbol of it like a marriage" (Frye *Secular* 54), she does not return to marriage or an "idyllic world." There is a convention of Victorian fiction in which a female is courted by two suitors, as Anna is, one "right" and one "wrong." In the typical Jane Austen version she chooses the "right" one but if she chooses the "wrong" suitor, as in *Wuthering Heights*, she dies (Kennard 13). At the end of the typical version, the heroine has matured and the romantic comedy plot is completed (Kennard 15). Currie's version is not so typical as Anna Grey does mature but there is no romantic ending as her

"right" suitor, John Saint John, dies before she returns. Currie's poem can also reflect the same interest in displacement shown in the work of Adelaide Anne Proctor, an early-Victorian British poet whose narrative poems dealt with "movement beyond the boundary, with escape, with ex-patriotism and return" and are "deeply preoccupied with displacement, and through this with woman's 'place' or displacement in culture" (Armstrong 264). While closer reading establishes Currie's poem as more than just a conventional romance, it is dismissed by critics as a romance, a genre excluded from the Canadian long poem and a genre that Sheridan claims is subject to "cultural denigration" and has been constructed in critical discourse as "a gendered genre, as feminine" (37).

As well as romantic narratives, it seems that satirical long poems are excluded from the Canadian long poem genre. Apparently, a humorous, social satire, like Ann Painter's *The Widow Justified*, does not have the lofty, epic tone, or the decorum expected of a nationalistic Canadian long poem. Little is known of Painter, beyond this poem. We have only her own words addressed to the reader: "'The Widow Justified' was written for my own amusement, to ridicule what is neither more nor less an imposture; it was not intended for publication until self-justification called for it" (Preface). Painter seems to have no critical mentions, she is not present in literary histories or anthologies nor is she in the Dictionary of Canadian Biography. She is invisible except for a listing in Watters' *Checklist*. Since it cannot be determined how many copies of her poem she had printed and to whom she distributed them, it is impossible to say if her poem was even known to critics of the time. One could speculate that the theme of her satire was not well-received as it criticized not only those women who marry for money and cuckold their husbands but also the community that is willing to believe that a husband's

ghost could have made his widow pregnant. According to the poem, widows

. . . . easy catch old men -- they have such tact --
 Much more than Maids -- believe me, 'tis a fact;
 For they are practis'd, and, no doubt, remember
 The likeliest way to kindle up the embers:
 They know the seasons, and the likely motions
 Which, in unwary mortals, kindle notions. (9)

Male readers could be uncomfortable with the portrayal of men as dupes and the women readers could be as uncomfortable with the portrayal of their sex as greedy manipulators using sex to trap a husband. As well, Painter goes against the traditional portrayal of a widow. As Hickok notes, the widow in poetry, unlike the widow in fiction, "is virtually never represented as the butt of jokes or the object of various new suitors' attentions" (73). Painter's poem satirizes the issue of marriage for love versus marriage for gain as she depicts the widow consciously marrying an old man for his property. But, underlying Painter's satire may be the belief that marriage should be for love and not money. Hickok claims that women poets were "unanimous in recommending not the pragmatic but the sentimental choice: marrying for love" (56).

The widow in the poem, hired as the eighty-three year-old farmer's housekeeper, "eyed the fruitful growing farm, / And good stone house -- they had to her a charm" (10). Painter portrays her greed with wit: "The widow's love grew strong -- 'twas for the farm, / Its fruitful acres, did her heart so warm" (11). Then Painter hints at the farmer's impotency as the widow wonders if she can "kindle in his breast / Feelings, one would have thought, were sunk to rest?" (10). Several references like this, to male impotency, could have condemned the poem to oblivion, early on, as being unsuitable discourse for a woman. Once married,

She bore, in all, three children to his name --

Toward the last with trifling loss of fame !
 Her Lord, himself, was somewhat put about,
 His failing powers had lately made him doubt;
 He'd had, of late, sharp pains in his forehead,
 Which made him think her faithless to his bed ! (13)

By saying that she bore the children to "his name" rather than to him, Painter suggests the widow has cuckolded the farmer just as he suspects. Previously in the poem, Painter says the widow is happy to share the farmer's "board" but not to be "sharer of his bed!" (10). Then, the widow "mused -- her thoughts I cannot state: / I rather think they were indelicate" (10) which suggests that the widow has plans for satisfying her sexual needs outside her marriage bed. She obviously continues this behaviour after her husband dies, as she produces a child eleven months after his death, a child which she claims was fathered by him. Painter then suggests, satirically, that for this to be true it must have been her husband's spirit that impregnated her and that it is likely to happen again. While the widow's sexual behaviour or misbehaviour may not have been a popular theme or an acceptable subject for Painter to satirize in her own era, she deserves credit for her "boldness" in writing about sexuality. In looking at nineteenth-century women poets' reluctance to write about female sexuality, Hickok says we should "acknowledge the boldness of their occasional attempts to broach these subjects at all" (12-13).

Painter's *Sequel to the "Widow Justified"* appears to be based on her concern that the poem's satire will be lost on those of "slow comprehension":

I find that already it has had a toss,
 And that some holy souls say there's too much dross.
 I fear that in those who raised this irruption,
 There's much of fall'n Nature's inbred corruption;
 And that, in them, who did this to me impute,
 It, in themselves, has much the deepest root.

As long as sun and moon, and stars endure,
 To the pure-minded all things will be pure.
 Perish the thought ! Perish likewise my Muse,
 If one line of vicious trash diffuse !
 Because I've ridiculed a base pretence
 And scouted perjury, I've given offence !
 Well, be it so; for in the self-same strain
 I mean to write, with all my powers again. (p. 20-21)

Assuming Painter wrote this after her poem was criticized, it seems that she was accused of "corruption" by those who did not understand her satire. Perhaps this is part of the "self-justification" that Painter refers to in her preface as the motivation for her publishing. Alternately, if she wrote this in tandem with *The Widow Justified*, it indicates she anticipated readers who would not understand that she "ridiculed a base pretence" and who would condemn her as "corrupt" for appearing to support the idea that a spirit could impregnate a woman.

Painter's satire seems to be outside the current value system for a Canadian long poem yet it is a long poem written in Canada. With its combination of narrative and satire, it fits the description of the satiric poems, in Vincent's *Narrative Verse Satire in Maritime Canada 1779-1814*, which are "all relatively long poems and approach their subjects from a satiric point of view while employing a narrative pattern as the basis of their structure" (vii). None of the poems in Vincent's book are in the Canadian Long Poem Canon. One of the poems he includes, Alexander Croke's *Inquisition* (1805), ridicules Halifax as a "society which is prepared to condone and accept sexual promiscuity and adultery as one of the normal conditions of social conduct" (148), much like Painter ridicules the unnamed region of Ontario where her tale is set. The failings that Croke and Painter criticize are universal rather than distinctively Canadian. As F.R. Scott and A.J.M. Smith say, "... there is little to suggest that

the Canadian satirist has found distinctively Canadian themes" (viii). Nor would any satirist find "distinctively Canadian themes" as satirists typically attack universal human frailties. Painter briefly mentions that the farmer is a "Highland Scotchman" who has emigrated and is "well fitted for Canadian toil" and as a mason helped "raise a monument to Brock" (6-7). Beyond that, there is no description of Canadian landscape or of the community in which he resides. Without a distinctively Canadian theme and landscape, Painter's satire is not considered nationalistic. However, in the introduction by Scott and Smith to *The Blasted Pine*, they state that the satiric poems they have anthologized give "a brief history of Canadian thought; the poems expose an idea or a form of behaviour to public ridicule, and at the same time assert the superiority of the alternative view implied by the attack" (xvii). Using an expanded view of nationalism that goes beyond themes and landscape to include "Canadian thought," Painter's work is nationalistic and should be considered a Canadian long poem.

But what is to be done with a long poem that has no Canadian theme, no Canadian landscape, and no "Canadian thought" but was written in Canada? Such a poem is Louisa Murray's "Merlin's Cave." Murray was a prominent, well-respected writer in the latter part of the nineteenth century who is little known today. As Morgan describes her in 1867, she is "chiefly known through her prose compositions" although "she has from time to time come before the world as a writer of verse" (*Bibliotheca* 289). Being seen primarily as a prose writer, and not as a poet, may have led to an early dismissal for Murray from the poetry canon. However, O'Hagan does state that "Louisa Murray was one of the colonizers of Canadian literature — she lived at its very dawn, when Sangster, MacLachlan, Heavyside and Mrs. Moodie dreamt and toiled" and he lists her "chief poems" as "Merlin's Cave," "One

Woman's Valentine," "Forsaken," and "Lines to the Memory of Alexander Skene." (59-60). O'Hagan thought enough of Murray to include her in his essay "Canadian Poets and Poetry" (one of the few women included) as well as in his separate essay on "Canadian Women Writers." Murray hoped to have a book of her tales, poems and articles published by William Briggs of Toronto and was in correspondence with him.⁷³ When this book failed to materialize, Murray's work, printed in newspapers and magazines, lost the chance at permanency and thus was lost to future readers.

"Merlin's Cave: A Legend in Rhyme" (588 lines) was published in *The Week*, December 2, 1892. Considering it was only published in a periodical, it was well-known in Murray's time. In 1901, Thomas O'Hagan was aware of "Merlin's Cave" as he notes it as "characterized by great beauty of thought and diction" (13). In his introduction to *Songs of the Great Dominion* (1889), William Douw Lighthall mentions Murray in his list of "lady singers" as a "well-known authoress, who, besides much fine prose, has written 'Merlin's Cave'" (xxxiii). The poem tells the tale of the gentle maiden, Ella, who is courted by a landscape painter come to sketch the Welsh countryside. His artist's eye is charmed by her look; he sees her as an aesthetic object. She pleases him "as some toy / Of novel form and powers / Had pleased his fancy when a boy / A few brief, idle hours (VI). He tires of her as "in his eyes she'd grown / A simple cottage maid" (VI). As he leaves, he tells her to keep a memory of him until he sees her again. The faithful Ella waits for him to return, through winter, spring, summer, autumn. She decides to seek out Merlin's Cave where she calls on Merlin to make her lover's heart as true as hers. An "awful voice" replies that her wish is the only "boon" he must deny. He can grant beauty, or gems, but not the "rarest thing" on earth -

"True Love"! Ella asks for death and when her soul wakes from her spell and flies to its "immortal goal," she will find her lover there "By suffering nobler made."

What inspires a Canadian writer to write a "Merlin's Cave," a poem set in "wild North Wales" with themes of male gaze, woman as object, love, betrayal, and the supernatural world of Merlin, Arthur's magician? Merlin was a popular subject in the nineteenth century in Canada, as well as in Britain. Tennyson wrote of "Merlin and Vivien" in his *Idylls of the King* (completed in 1886) and published "Merlin and the Gleam" in 1889. Canadian John Reade published "The Prophecy of Merlin" in his *Merlin, and Other Poems* (1870). As for writing poems set outside one's native country, one influence could be the nineteenth-century British woman poet, Felicia Hemans, who was published frequently in Canadian magazines and newspapers.⁷⁴ Hemans wrote several long narrative poems including *The Forest Sanctuary*, set in the New World, *The Abencerrage* set in Spain, and *The Widow of Crescentius* set in republican Italy. As Angela Leighton describes Hemans' *Forest Sanctuary* (1826), it is an "ambitiously long, narrative poem" about the flight to the New World of a family fleeing the Spanish Inquisition (21). Leighton notes, Hemans' imagination "constantly travels abroad (where she never travelled), in search of other lands for poetry" (23). Similarly, Murray travels abroad through "Merlin's Cave." However, while Hemans can write poems set outside her native land and be canonized, Murray cannot.

In his 1889 *Songs of the Dominion* (xxxiii) and his 1893 *Canadian Poems and Lays* (xxx), Lighthall compliments Murray's "Merlin's Cave" as "one of the best of Canadian undistinctive poems" (xxxiii, xxx). The requirement for distinctive poetry bothered Lighthall who was concerned about the omissions in his volume due to limiting the choices to

distinctively Canadian poems (*Canadian Poems and Lays* (xxxix)). Lighthall's comment about Murray's poem shows that critics then could value a poem that was not distinctively Canadian, that there was an audience for such poems and room for them in the canon. Why not now?

The Canadian Long Poem Canon needs to be expanded in two ways in order to be more inclusive. First, the canon needs to accept long poems like those by Harrison, Fairbanks and Curzon that do meet the nationalistic requirement for a long poem and that provide a woman's viewpoint on Canadian history and Canadian social life. Fairbanks' pre-confederation poem is as good as Howe's *Acadia* which is in the canon. Harrison's "river" poem is as good as or better than Sangster's *The St. Lawrence and the Saguenay* which is in the canon. Curzon's *Laura Secord* is as good as Mair's *Tecumseh* which is in the canon. These women's poems do meet the four criteria defined by Bentley as "essential to a distinctively Canadian poetry: local description, local pride, communal consciousness and an educative, ethical purpose" (*Mimic Fires* 25).

Second, the canon needs to be expanded generically to include those poems relegated to the status of *medium* length, as many of Harrison's poems are, as well as romantic narratives like Currie's *John Saint John and Anna Grey*, loyalist narratives like Currie's *Gabriel West*, satiric poems like Painter's *The Widow Justified*, and poems that are not distinctively Canadian like Murray's "Merlin's Cave" -- all long poems that are outside the genre of the Canadian long poem as defined by the current canon. Whether distinctively Canadian or not, whether sentimental and domestic or not, whether inside or outside the current genre bounds, early long poems by women are alike in one key respect -- their exclusion from the Canadian Long Poem Canon.

Appendix A: Long Poems Read For This Thesis

Blennerhassett, Margaret (Agnew) "The Widow of the Rock." *The Widow of the Rock and Other Poems*. Montreal: Sparhawk, Printed, 1824.

Form: 252 lines, 36 stanzas of 7 lines, rhyme scheme ababbcc (rhyme royal)

Setting: Village of Springfield, America

Themes: Settler's tragedy, true love, the joys of childhood

Narrative: This is the story of Lucy and Reuben, childhood playmates who live on neighbouring farms near Springfield, grow up together and marry. They are as happy as Adam and Eve before "sin crept in" (XII). Reuben and Lucy decide to join the "tides of settlers" and seek the "land of promise" (XIII). Reuben clears a farm "in the wilds on Susquehanna's streams" and builds his "humble cot" (XVII). They delight in the settler's experience -- fields built by their own hands, "Where feudal rights no menial toil command, / Nor tyrants suck the fatness of the land" (XX). Winter comes and Reuben finishes his last tasks at the towering rock where he planned to build their home. But a fierce storm prevents his return home. He lights a fire against the rock and falls asleep. A nest of rattlesnakes, roused by the heat, swarm over Reuben, and bite him. Lucy waits for Reuben and fears a mishap. She searches for him the next day, finds him and he dies in her arms. Hunters find the two but Lucy has lost her mind. She becomes "The Widow of the Rock," visits his grave by moonlight, sometimes she talks to Reuben and "Then will she start in terror, -- and anon, / Dive in the woods, and wander farther on" (XXXVI).

Currie, Margaret Gill. *John Saint John and Anna Grey: A Romance of Old New Brunswick*. Toronto: Briggs, 1897.

Form: 124 pages, blank verse narrative with several lyrical poems interspersed

Setting: Initially set in New Brunswick, then Anna moves to England and returns to New Brunswick at the end

Themes: Romance, class structure (in New Brunswick and in England), United Empire Loyalists, New versus Old World values, women's role in the New World, work ethic

Narrative: This is the romantic tale of Anna Grey who rejects the loyal, stable Canadian John Saint John (whose family is considered well-off gentry) for Marmaduke, the English aristocratic stranger who fits her dreams of a knight and her desire to be a lady. She returns to Britain with him where she is rejected by his mother as a savage colonial who lacks position, wealth, and manners. Her husband then rejects her for fear of losing his inheritance. Anna is locked away in the estate, her marriage denied, and then she is committed to an asylum for many years to hide her from society. She is rescued, after her husband dies, by two of the common folk from home (a dairy maid and a farmer) who have risen in class (not by marriage as Anna tried) but by education and hard work as he is now a doctor. Although Anna has learned to appreciate John and her colonial home, he dies before she returns home.

--- . *Gabriel West and Other Poems*. Fredericton N.B.: H.A. Cropley, Printer and Publisher, 1866.

Form: 467-lines, rhyming couplets

Setting: Poem opens in New Brunswick in Currie's time, then moves back to revolutionary times in Pennsylvania and then to a ship making its way to New Brunswick. Poem ends in New Brunswick.

Themes: United Empire Loyalists, true love, homesteading

Narrative: A loyalist narrative "founded on facts" (Preface), this poem relates one of the tales Currie's loyalist father told her of his comrades in the war. Gabriel West grew up in Pennsylvania, learned his father's masonry trade, and wished for "a life of peace with honest toil" (5) and to marry Margaret Clay. But war intervened and Gabriel, choosing to fight for King George, was rejected by his family and friends. Gabriel, wounded at Brandywine, was nursed by Margaret and then married her. Britain withdrew her troops and gave her loyal men land in New Brunswick. Enroute to New Brunswick their unsafe ship strikes a rock, the treacherous captain and crew deserts them, and the passengers are left clinging to the wreckage. Their infant son dies and then Margaret dies. Gabriel, last of the thirty who clung to the wreckage, is rescued and continues on to New Brunswick where he homesteads until he dies. He is a loyal soldier revered "As one who well served his king and God" (18).

Curzon, Sarah Anne. *Laura Secord, The Heroine of 1812: A Drama*. Toronto: C. Blackett Robinson, 1887.

Form: 57 pages, Verse drama in three acts

Setting: Queenston, Ontario, during War of 1812

Themes: Historical, Nationalistic, Women's role, New World Eden and Laura as Eve, anti-war, Native Indians, pioneering, duty -- a woman's duty to family and to country

Narrative: Act I: Laura Secord overhears the American plans to take the British at Beaver Dam, under Fitzgibbon, by surprise. James Secord, recovering from a battle wound, cannot warn them so Laura seeks his permission to go. Her husband says no -- you're not strong enough, a wolf will get you etc. She counters that her sex will protect her and it's her duty. He agrees she can go. Curzon explores social role reversal and shows that a woman can do a "Man's" job! Laura leaves at dawn, June 23, 1813 and gets past the American sentry on the pretext she needed to milk her cow.

Act II: Opens in a kitchen at St. David's Mill where Widow Secord, a British Sergeant, French-Canadian Babette and young Tom praise General Brock and argue about bravery and whether a woman can be brave. Laura arrives having passed by three sentries "with words of guile" (33) and must go on. The widow tries to persuade Laura to stay and not chance the dangers of the woods because women are frailer than men. But Laura heads into the woods. She meets a British sentry and is warned there are Mohawks in the woods but she says she doesn't fear our "red-allies" (47). Laura meets the Indians, tells them she knows Tecumseh and must get to Fitzgibbon. Mish-mo-qua is to take Laura to Fitzgibbon and his response to

learning the "long-knife" are coming is: "Ugh! rascal! dam!" (An interesting attempt at dialect)

Act III: Fitzgibbon is reading newspaper reports about Napoleon's war in Russia. He praises Nelson and Brock for heroism. Laura and Mishe-mo-qua interrupt with their "news." Laura has to give her pedigree, whose wife she is, before Fitzgibbon will believe her. He thanks her and she says she only did her duty. Laura faints and two men offer to carry her on to her friends. Fitzgibbon tells his men "never forget this woman's noble deed" -- alone and defenceless she ran the risk of death for strangers (62). The next morning at the tavern two Americans attack Fitzgibbon and he is aided by the woman tavern-keeper who grabs Fitzgibbon's sword from one of the Americans as he is about to stab Fitzgibbon. Fitzgibbon prevails. Fighting breaks out on the ridge; they fool the American leader Boerstler into thinking they have a large force and he surrenders under easy terms. Boerstler compliments Fitzgibbon on his win and Fitzgibbon says: "Yes, thanks to a brave woman's glorious deed" (66).

---. "A Ballad of 1812." *Laura Secord, The Heroine of 1812: A Drama*. Toronto: C. Blackett Robinson, 1887.

Form: 472 lines, rhyme scheme abcb, ballad meter

Setting: Queenston, Ontario, during War of 1812

Themes: Historical, Nationalistic, Women's role, Native Indians, pioneering, duty -- a woman's duty to family and to country

Narrative: Basically the same as the drama -- the story of Laura Secord's journey to warn Fitzgibbon. However the ballad ends with Secord's meeting with the Prince of Wales decades later and her subsequent receipt of a gift of 500 pounds from him.

Fairbanks, Cassie. *The Lone House : A Poem. Partly Founded on Fact*. Halifax, James Bowes and Sons, 1859.

Form: 15 pages, structured into two Cantos of rhyming couplets, Canto I has 259 lines and Canto II has 184 lines.

Setting: Nova Scotia, based on the actual murder of Rebecca Langley, August 24, 1854, at a "remote part of the road from Halifax to Guysboro" (16).

Themes: Pioneering, settlement, the seasons, the loner versus the community, woman's role, motherhood, the New Woman, order and justice in the community

Narrative: Canto I revolves around the house called the "lone." First a lone male settler clears the land, builds the house and then eventually dies. Rebecca Langley moves to the house to live alone and run a traveller's inn to support herself. Not content with a woman's role, she hunts and traps like a man. However, she has motherly instincts that lead her to adopt her sister's child. Then she is murdered by a man who was passing by.

Canto II focuses on justice. The murderer is tried, Langley's daughter identifies him and he is found guilty by reason of insanity. The poem ends with the circularity of the *Lone House*, now abandoned, and nature reclaiming the land.

---. Fairbanks, Miss. (has been credited to Cassie Fairbanks) *The Log of the Sail of the Sailors Rest*. Halifax: James Bowes, 188?.

Form: A discontinuous long poem. A series of six poems surrounding the theme of the actual creation of a home for sailor's in Halifax.

Setting: Halifax, 1888-90.

Themes: Local Halifax history, charity for sailors.

Narrative: The poems cleverly mimic a ship's log as they describe the journey toward the building and dedication of the Sailor's Rest. They include "Cape of Good Hope," a poem describing the philanthropy behind the creation of a sailor's home expressed in nautical terms, "Funafuti Oceana," describing the camaraderie of the women on the project, "England, Merry England" describing the sailor's life away from home in England and their need for a Sailor's Rest in Halifax, "Watson's Rock" praising Admiral Watson, head of the British fleet in North America for his contribution to the project, "Old Chebucto," a 172-line poem, describing a carnival or fair in Halifax run by the ladies in support of the home, and "Halifax," a poem describing Prince George of Wales' visit to the home.

Farley, Judith Julia. *The St. Lawrence River: An Historical Poem* Quebec: The Daily Telegraph Print, 1906.

Form: 328 line poem, 41 stanzas of 8 lines each, rhyme scheme abcbdefe, in the sub-genre of the river poem.

Setting: Quebec, the St. Lawrence River, Cartier's explorations

Themes: Nationalistic, historical, exploration, landscape, Natives, Christianity converting natives, Canadian seasons

Narrative: In this poem, the river meanders through, linking the poem in the way it links the landscape. The river is important in Canadian history — in this poem it makes it possible for Cartier to explore Canada, to bring the Old World there, and then to transport part of the New World back as he takes the Algonquin chief, Donacona, with him, "captive against his will" (10-11).

Farley explores the lack of legends in the New World and looks to Cartier for legends as she ignores the Natives and their legends. The New World is portrayed as an Eden, a "gem of primeval beauty" and "pristine grandeur" (2) but it's an Eden waiting to be converted to Christianity. As Cartier's men name the river and islands, the Old World imposes its names, its system of order on the New World. Although the poet says that the Natives had a "glowing language," their name for the river is not mentioned.

The poem takes us through the seasons (another requirement of a Canadian long poem). There are northern lights in autumn, a winter freeze-up that traps the ships, and then in May the tide swells and takes away the vessels. The poem ends with Donacona dead in Old France's Rouen and the last stanza takes us back to the shores of the St. Lawrence, the New World whose "legends and romances, / Retain their pristine charm" (11), where legends are yet to be made, where "There may be hallowed ground; / Where belted knight or martyr, / Perhaps may yet be found" (11).

Frame, Elizabeth (1820-1913). "Dead on Savage Island." *Descriptive Sketches of Nova Scotia*. Halifax: A. & W. Mackinlay, 1864. 48-168.

Form: 21 pages, imbedded into a prose travel narrative of Nova Scotia. The prologue has three 6-line stanzas (aabccd) followed by seven quatrains (abcb). The tale itself is in rhyming couplets.

Setting: Nova Scotia, prior to the expulsion of the Acadians

Themes: History of the Micmac Indians, burials on Savage Island, the siege of Louisburg, death of Renee Mambertou, the last of the Micmac.

Narrative: A tale of the Micmac natives who are friends of the French and refuse to obey the British Governor Phipps. The chief, Mambertou, buries Bourgeoise on Savage Island and Bourgeoise's daughter, Renee, gives her hand to Mambertou. Eight years later she sees her sons slain but a daughter, also Renee, lives. Mambertou captures and tortures 50 British on Savage Island. Acadia is ceded to Britain. Mambertou continues his raids; Annapolis is attacked; Mambertou is killed at Norrigiwoak and his body is taken to Savage Island. Renee, daughter of the chief, grows to adulthood. She saves a stranger who has come from Jersey to hunt, was taken captive by Indians but has escaped. He spends the winter passing on his knowledge to her, telling her about history, war, tyrants, freedom etc. Father Jerome tends the graves of those who left Louisburg to come to Savage Island. Renee questions why they left Louisburg and the stranger answers with a poem about the Siege of Louisburg. Then he reveals that he was at the siege and his name is Horace Vaughan. A boat brings news; he must leave to meet his friends but promises they will meet again. Renee grieves. The poem switches into first person with Renee's words describing, lyrically, her sorrow in 5 stanzas of 8 lines each, the last sentence of each saying she is sad because he is away. The poem returns to third person narrative to describe her continuing sorrow, she turns to Christ for comfort. She dies -- the "Last of her race which claimed a grave / On Savage Isle by Fundy's wave" (168).

Grant, Mrs. J. P. "A Legend of Courtney Hall." *Stray Leaves*. Montreal: John Lovell, 1865.

Form: 24 pages, Four Parts, 435 lines in rhyming couplets

Setting: Old World, the estate of Courtney Hall

Themes: Romance, gothic, sisters -- sibling rivalry over a man, betrayal, the decay of the aristocracy

Narrative: Part First: Two sisters in love with the same man, one, Ida, is "soft and timid," the other, Anabel, is not afraid, has "dark impassioned eyes" (12). Their father pursues "science dark" (an alchemist perhaps? -- a romantic theme) and she wonders if it is "some foul, forbidden lore" (13). Anabel has a "hideous dream" of her wedding morning that foretells the end of the tale.

Part Second: Christmas -- Anabel forces Ida to sign a document that is a marriage contract between Anabel and Herbert's withered old father, Lord Orde. Anabel does this as revenge against Ida for stealing Herbert's love which she says Ida did to gain his name and fortune. But the fortune will now be Anabel's because her dowry is to be Herbert's disinheritance. Ida begs Anabel not to sacrifice herself because she (Ida) will die soon and Anabel can have Herbert.

Anabel remains firm and has no pity on Ida.

Part Third: Spring -- Ida pines, stays in her room except to visit the Virgin's shrine and she gets few visits from Herbert, "the false lover she stole away" (27). Unfaithful to his first love, Anabel, he seems to have tired of Ida because she has cost him wealth and heritage. Anabel hears daily that Ida fades but Anabel remains firm in "unholy purpose" (27).

Part Fourth: On her wedding morning in May, Anabel leaves Courtney Hall in "pomp and state" but her father, Sir Courtney, stays in his room. Lady Ida is too weak to rise. A thousand eyes watch Anabel, but in spite of the "glitter and gold . . . Men feel the mockery of the show" (31). At the end of the ceremony she submits to "the old bridegroom's skeleton embrace" (32). Then, a page breaks through and announces that Lady Ida is dead. Anabel, in a tone of "piercing anguish" cries out that she should have waited, sinks to the floor and when raised up is no longer haughty, but is "a poor frowning, timorous idiot wild" (34). Courtney Hall becomes a "ruined hall" (34).

Harrison, Susan Frances ("Seranus"). "Down the River." *Pine, Rose, and Fleur De Lis*. Toronto: Hart, 1891.

Form: 66 pages, a discontinuous long poem: Under the heading "Down the River" there are 51 poems that can be considered a discontinuous long poem in the sub-genre of river poems. The first poem, "The Friend," is a longer poem of 167 lines while the rest are short. Many of the poems are villanelles. Initially the poems have 6 or 8 stresses per line and then in a poem like "The Thousand Islands," where the trip like the line drags on, where the friends are tired of water and "longing for land" (16-17) some lines are 14 and some 17 stresses long.

Setting: The St. Lawrence River

Themes: Topography, journey, philosophy, history, Quebec "types"

Narrative: The poems describe various stages of a trip down the St. Lawrence, (past Cape Diane, St. Anne's, Isle of Bacchus) that the poet-narrator and a friend take. One poem follows another in the same sequence as the trip -- taking to the water, travelling, stopping, camping overnight, continuing the next day etc. The final poem, "L'Envoie," bids farewell and mimics the last stanza of a villanelle which is called the "envoie."

Knight, Ann Cuthbert. *A Year in Canada*. Edinburgh: Printed by James Ballantyne & Co., 1816.

Form: 46 pages, five parts, in stanzas of nine lines, rhyme scheme ababcdcdd (like the Spenserian stanza, this has eight pentameter lines with the ninth line being an alexandrine but the rhyme scheme is not the Spenserian ababbcbcc)

Setting: The St. Lawrence, Montreal, Scottish settler's cottage in the forest, village of Glengarry. Scenes of winter, spring, summer, fall and winter again -- a year as the title says.

Themes: Pioneering, settlement, native Indians as friendly but not "civilized," "Character of the Canadian peasantry"

Narrative:I. Recalls the traveller's view of Canada approaching from the Atlantic, the St

Lawrence's "sylvan shores," Montreal, Montmorency Falls etc. Travelling by sleigh to a Scottish highlander's cottage and on to Glengarry.

II. Sugaring off, the blooming of spring, beginning of summer. A group of roving Indians passes, a train of females follows the warriors. The women display their wares, a mother her sleeping child tied to a board. Reflects on the difference between the Indians nature and that of "civilized" nations.

III. The fields of summer, waves of grain, a thunder storm and a series of philosophical reflections inspired by it.

IV. Early harvest time, observations on farming practices that have exhausted the fields. A passing troop of soldiers leads to reflections on war, fighting for Britain.

V. Autumn harvest, collecting apples, maize, potatoes, gourds. Concludes with thoughts on these simple joys, "happier far from crowds and cares exiled" (57).

MacNiven, Catherine. *Aileen: A Poem*. Ingersoll, Ontario: S.S. Gurnett, Printer, "Chronicle" Office, 1862.

Form: 50 pages, approximately 1400 lines, various rhyme schemes.

Setting: A plantation in Virginia with 1000 slaves, just before the Civil War

Themes: Anti-slavery, Romance

Narrative: Part First: Aileen, an orphan, living alone on her plantation, is pursued by Delmonti for her money. Ishmael, her slave, swears to himself to protect Aileen from Delmonti. Aileen learns that Delmonti's father had brought home a blue-eyed, auburn-haired captive, and had a son by her. Delmonti's mother sold the captive and her son to Aileen's parents who named them Hagar and Ishmael because they were outcasts. Aileen, upset by the story, and afraid of Delmonti, senses her parent's spirits and they guide her to write her guardian.

Part Second: Opens in Washington amid rumours of war; the south has "gone mad" (19). MacNiven expresses anti-slavery message: "Woe, woe to slavery" the devil's greatest "triumph" except for the Fall (19). After 6 pages of anti-slavery argument based on religion, the poem returns to Aileen's problem. Senator Cameron, her guardian, gets her letter and decides to go to her.

Part Third: Cameron arrives at the plantation. His dog, Old Hickory, becomes Aileen's protector. Cameron learns of Delmonti and decides Aileen should move to Washington. Delmonti sneaks onto the plantation at night, sets fire to the tower where Aileen sleeps, and tries to kidnap her. She resists, the dog defends her, Cameron spots the fire and rushes there with Ishmael. Delmonti kills the dog; Delmonti and Ishmael fight and die in the fire, half-brothers united in death. Cameron rescues Aileen and they marry.

"Maple Leaf." *Constance: A Lay of the Olden Time*. Montreal: John Lovell, 1874.

(Watters' *Checklist* credits this to Gwilt, F Q. but this is questionable due to age -- Gwilt would have been only about 17 that time. Still, it is likely written by a female.)

Form: 46 pages, blank verse

Setting: England during the Crusades, the Earl de Macey's castle

Themes: Romance, the despair of unrequited love

Narrative: I. Constance and Rosaline are twin sisters, daughters of the Earl de Macey, motherless and of different natures. Rosaline is blond, blue-eyed, of "fairy form" (6) and Constance is brown-eyed, auburn, "tall and commanding," a "high, dauntless soul" (6). The Earl decides to take one daughter to the Court of England (in times of war he doesn't want to risk both) and Rosaline unselfishly says Constance should go because she is so queen-like. Constance proudly asserts she has no fear, but says Rosalind does. The Earl praises Constance's bravery and calls Rosaline "gentle, timid, little bird" (10).

II. Begins with a two stanza lyric about sorrow on parting and then moves back to blank verse. Constance and the Earl leave and Rosaline cries. When the young knight De Lestrangle shows up at the castle with dispatches from her father, they converse in courtly dialogue. De Lestrangle awaits the return of the Earl and Constance. Rosaline learns he has not seen Constance but her beauty has been on everyone's tongue and rumour is she is to wed.

III. Begins with a short poem (contributed by a friend of the poet's) on a heart troubled by "desires of every kind" (19). De Lestrangle has gone hunting deer and returns to find the Earl and Constance are there. De Lestrangle gazes at her and sees "courage," a "noble soul" but she is "too grandly beautiful" and he decides he should wed Rosaline (20-21). The Earl is preparing to go on the crusade. Both sisters want De Lestrangle. There is a boar hunt, a boar attacks Rosaline who is shielded by Constance and saved by De Lestrangle.

IV. Begins with a short poem contrasting "bright souls" that droop and die versus stronger souls that suffer and conquer. The inference is that one is Constance, one is Rosaline, and one will die. Rosaline and De Lestrangle are betrothed. Constance is in agony from her love for De Lestrangle and wishes to die. But she nobly decides that would grieve Rosaline. The Earl and De Lestrangle leave for the crusade, Constance is charged with caring for Rosaline and their mother's uncle is to take charge of the castle and protect them.

V. Begins with a poem about death snatching the young. Two years have passed. There is a fever spreading and Constance decides she must help the sick. She makes Rosaline stay behind to protect her. But Rosaline is stricken and Constance nurses her to health. Word comes from Palestine that the Earl is wounded and Constance decides to go there to bring the Earl home.

VI. Begins with a poem about the dead on the battlefield. On the battlefield, Constance finds her dying father and he tells her that De Lestrangle is dead but she spots De Lestrangle and saves him. They return home, but Constance, now pale, says her work is done.

VII. Begins with a poem about nature in mourning for the "gentle dead" (46). Rosaline and De Lestrangle wed, Constance fades and dies-- the "bright soul" that droops and dies.

McIver, Mary A. "Zelim." *Poems*. Ottawa: "The Ottawa Citizen," 1869.

Form: 400 lines composed in 50 stanzas of 8 lines, rhyme scheme abababcc

Setting: Spain, Muslims (Moors) fight the Christians

Themes: Romance, loyalty, chivalry and honour

Narrative: The tale concerns a young Moor, Zelim, who is captured by the Christian forces and brought to the Alcayde for interrogation where he breaks into tears over the question of his destination. He was on his way to his bride. The Alcayde allows him to proceed there on the promise he will return to be imprisoned. Zelim goes to his bride and she insists on returning with him and sharing his prison. The Alcayde is impressed by the heroism of the bride and frees them in this "so romantic an adventure" (p18).

Montcastle, Clara H. ("Caris Sima"), "The Mission of Love." *The Mission of Love; and Other Poems, with Songs and Valentines*. Toronto: Hunter, Rose, 1882.

Form: 472 lines, rhyming couplets.

Setting: Old World, by the sea

Themes: Religion, true love, faithfulness

Narrative: I. The poem opens with words in praise of true love as "God-given." Then the tale of the young lovers, Alwyn O'Meara and Miriam Vane begins. Alwyn tells Miriam that he is sailing away for a year and she condemns the ambition that lures him away. She prophesies that she will die in his absence but he dismisses her fears. He leaves her, she falls into senselessness.

II. Eventually Miriam dies. Her spirit rises from her lifeless form, speaks to her earthly body saying she loves it still for the sake of Alwyn who loves it. Then she awakens in Christ's presence in Heaven, he takes her hand, angels encircle her, he welcomes her and bids her, when she has rested, to "seek all thou lovest, and bring them to Me" (19).

III. Across the sea, Alwyn dreams of Miriam as she dies. He awakens wondering if she has died. Weeks later he receives news of her death.

IV. Miriam's spirit wanders the earth "beaming" her love on the "homes of penury, vice, and sin" breathing life into "hearts long dead" (22). She saves a "wretched inebriate" from drinking, a ruined man from committing suicide, and a woman from her life of sin. But she has no rest as she misses her "kindred soul," Alwyn.

V. Alwyn remains true to Miriam although pursued for years by another lady. When he seems to be weakening, Miriam's spirit speaks to him, he senses her presence and begs to see her.

VI. Alwyn wanders, alone, from place to place using his money to help the "sick, Maimed, the poor," and he urges the gambler, the felon to "sin no more" (25). His longing for Miriam grows stronger, he begs her to come to him and she replies "a little longer" (26).

VII. Death comes to "harass his victim," Alwyn, but Miriam's spirit calls Alwyn home to heaven.

Muchall, Mary Elizabeth Jane. *STEP BY STEP: Or, the SHADOW ON A CANADIAN HOME*. Toronto: Rowsell & Hutchison, 1876.

Form: 50 pages, four-line stanzas, in three parts, rhyme scheme abcb, ballad meter

Setting: A village in Ontario, then Toronto

Themes: Temperance -- how liquor destroys a family, the role of the loyal wife

Narrative: Introduction: John Lane and his wife May are happily married and she doesn't see the "shadow" that will darken their lives.. Then three years later she is anxious about John's frequent visits to the village pub, the "Beacon Light."

Part I -- "The Beginning": Muchall takes us through the thoughts of the drinker as well as his wife, the effects of drinking on his behaviour, the spiralling down of their lives into poverty ("step by step") due to his drinking. She shows the denial, the broken promises, the self-blame, and recriminations. It is presented as a men's problem: "O men ! if you would only think, / When tempted thee to roam, How wearily the long hours pass / To anxious ones at home !" (17). And again: "The horrors of drink, oh, I would that men / Now and FOREVER would forsake drink !" (37). John loses his job, moves the whole family to Toronto. He becomes a mean drunk and May and the children fear his temper and "upraised hand" (37).

Part II -- "And the End": There is no food, May is too ill to work, the child, Harry, is dying. Neighbours hear her cries, discuss her poverty, how hungry she looked. Finally, they decide to take some bread, meat and tea. They find John in anguish over the child's body. May prays that she will join him soon. John cannot stop his desire for drink even now. He's ill, guilt-ridden, and asks May to pray for him to be forgiven because he's dying. And he asks her to pray for their unborn child. John dies. May gives birth to a daughter and returns to the village of "M_____." Muchall ends by delivering a final temperance message. She asks the reader to shun the "evil of drinking" because May is "but a picture of many a wife!" (59). She addresses a youthful "you" that she warns against the "drunkard's lot" and she advises "you" who wish to give it up to trust not on their own strength, but in "your Saviour" (59).

Murray, Louisa. "Merlin's Cave: A Legend in Rhyme." *The Week*. December 2, 1892.

Form: 588 lines, in 147 quatrains , rhyme scheme abab (ballad meter)

Setting: Countryside in "wild North Wales"

Themes: Male artist's gaze, romance, betrayal and desertion, love, the supernatural

Narrative: The poem opens with a brief discussion of Merlin the magician and his sea cave in Wales. Then it moves into the tale of a male artist who comes to the Wales countryside and is infatuated by Ella, a beautiful, innocent country girl who is an aesthetic object to him. Her simple naivety amuses him for awhile but then she begins to bore him and he moves on leaving her with the false promise that he will return. Her love is steadfast through four seasons and then she finally braves a descent into Merlin's cave to ask his spirit to grant her "true love." An "awful" voice tells her that the only favour he cannot grant is the "rarest thing" on earth -- true love (Merlin too was betrayed by his lover). Ella then asks to die and is never seen again. She becomes a local legend -- supposedly sleeping happily in the sea until her soul wakes from her spell and flies to its "immortal goal" where she will find her lover "By suffering nobler made."

Painter, Mrs. Ann. *The Widow Justified*. Hamilton: *Hamilton Spectator*, 1858.

Form: 15 pages (265 lines), rhyming couplets, verse satire

Setting: Rural Ontario, farm country

Themes: Satirizes marriage for money, adultery, May/December marriages, the gullibility of the community

Narrative: The poem opens with the suggestion that Solomon will be proved wrong for claiming "neath the sun there is nothing new" (5). The tale begins sixty years ago when a Scotsman emigrates with his wife, Jean, to Ontario with the hopes of getting rich. The poet-narrator notes that riches are "too apt to cause perversion" (6). A mason by trade, the Scotsman helps build Brock's monument and becomes prosperous speculating in buildings and land. He and his wife have several children and then she dies in her prime. After a time, he marries again but his second wife also dies. Although he has reached 80, he still has an "amorous complexion" (8). At 83 he hires a housekeeper, a widow in her prime. The narrator points out that widows "easy catch old men," "easier than maids," "For they are practised, and, no doubt, remember, / The likeliest way to kindle up the embers" (9). The Widow loves the farm (not the man), kindles the old man's feelings and holds his ardour at bay until he proposes. They marry and she bears three children "to his name" (13). Suspecting she is faithless, he confronts her, she denies it and refuses to share his bed. They fight for three years and then he dies. Five weeks later she is ill and her doctors are baffled. Gossips suggest she is pregnant by any of ten fathers. Confronted by an "Ancient," she claims her late husband is the father. The Ancient accepts this because only a mother can interpret who the father is -- or a baby's face. Gossip continues when the baby is not born at nine or ten months. But when born, the child has the old man's face which seems to clear her name. The poet suggests there is only one way this could happen -- the old man's spirit must have come to the Widow and impregnated her. And the Widow will likely have another child because nothing can "keep a Spirit out" (19).

Following the poem, there is a short poem called a "Sequel to The Widow Justified" that claims to be written for those who didn't understand the first poem and claim the poet is corrupt because she "ridiculed a base pretence" (21). Three doctors claim there is a precedent for this. If this is true, women are "most privileged" (22). Lately the world is in "a bother about Women's Rights" and next will be a stir about "Men's Wrongs" (22). In future, women will use the "Widow Justified" to defend their actions. The poet warns husbands who travel away for 11 months not to be upset when they are presented with a 3-day old infant on their return. Remember there is a precedent, the child will have to be yours and your wife honoured "tho nothing but a harlot" (24).

Peace, Mrs. M.S. "The Convict Ship." *The Convict Ship and Other Poems*. Greenock, Nfld.: Robert A. Baird, 1850.

Form: 500 lines, 100 five-line stanzas, abcdd.

Setting: A convict ship on the way to the New World.

Themes: True love, the British penal system, the obligations of parent to child

Narrative: Based on the tale of the "Neglected Child" in Chambers' journal for October 26, 1844. Describes a convict ship and its prisoners -- hardened criminals and "youth of wild and desperate breast" (18). A little boat follows the ship. There are four aboard, an older man who has had "no life of ease" but still has "Herculean strength," his son, who has a noble bearing unlike his father and is full of hope (21-22) and a female and her infant. She sits in silent woe. She has suffered childhood grief at the hands of parents the poet calls "monsters" (27). Yet Margaret grew up lovely and intelligent and fell in love. But now her love, father of her child, is on the convict ship. The little boat fails to catch the ship. Maddened by despair, she dives into the water with her child and they drown.

Wilkins, Harriet Annie. *VICTOR ROY: A Masonic Poem*. Hamilton: Hamilton Spectator Printing Company, 1882.

Form: 54 pages, mixes lyric and longer sections of rhyming couplets

Setting: England, Colonial period

Themes: Romance, Lovers parted by lies are reunited, Masonic, Religious, Temperance

Narrative: Victor Ellis, a Mason, loves Aimee but he is summoned away to India where his uncle dies and he becomes Victor Roy, a millionaire. Robert Montrose sends Victor a letter saying that Aimee has died and then tells Aimee that Victor is dead and has left her in his care. They marry and emigrate to Australia where it is implied he is part of a murder as well as being a gambler and a drunk. Aimee is a "drunkard's wife" (46) and their daughter, Ethel, is a "drunkard's child" (33). Robert cannot support his family, wishes that his son had lived and Ethel had died because his son could be put to work. Robert dies. Aimee sends Ethel to find a Mason that Ethel has heard of called Roy. Aimee sends a jewel with her that will identify her as the daughter of a Mason. She knows she will get help as Masons take care of their fellow Masons (a point that Wilkins emphasizes through the poem -- their brotherhood). Ethel finds Victor Roy, tells him she is Ethel Adair, he recognizes the name, goes back with her to Aimee. They re-unite.

Appendix B: Medium-Length Poems Read For This Thesis

Curzon, Sarah Anne. "Fort Toronto." *Orillia Packet*. October 21, 1887.

Form: 90 lines, blank verse

Setting: Toronto, Ontario

Themes: History of Fort Toronto, Fur Trade with Natives

Narrative: Commemorates old Fort Toronto, the site of "civil commerce" (4) and the "old gathering place" (61) for native trading. Describes the French building a post here to trade for furs to "deck the royal robe" (27). Eventually, the Iroquois sweep over the other natives of the wealthy region and "brotherhood was lost" (9). The Iroquois had learned how to trade for toys and clothes and guns. The English trader "lured him with more prizes than the Frenchman gave" (65) and the Iroquois become allies of Britain and "helped her hold her own and grasp the West". Curzon urges her readers to "Enshrine forever those rich memories" (85) of the men who "built our fortunes up" (75), "Theirs *OUR* Toronto, theirs *OUR* gathering place."

Jarvis, Charlotte Beaumont. "A Romance of the U. E. Loyalists." In *Leaves from Rosedale*. Toronto: Briggs, 1905.

Form: 92 lines, 23 stanzas of 4 lines, rhyme scheme abab (heroic quatrains)

Setting: Pennsylvania, then Canada

Themes: United Empire Loyalists, pioneering

Narrative: U.E.L. are "The hardy tillers of primeval soil" (19) who settled in America and cleared the land: "By woodman's axe the forest must be cleared / And, for a home, the cabin must be reared" (20). The narrative relates the story of Edward and his bride, Mary, "pilgrims from the Mother Land" (20), who settle in Pennsylvania. Edward remains loyal to England and goes to fight while Mary waits. She imagines she hears him calling her, takes her boy and girl to find him, and "when beneath the Union Jack / They found themselves at last, this woman weak, / But strong of soul, felt all her faith come back" (22). Miraculously, they find the exact cabin he's at. He thought the Indians had killed her. They reunite. A happy ending! Then Jarvis adds the moral of the story:

So ends my simple tale. The pioneers
Of our Canadian wilds such stories tell
As the true history of these early years,
In which their fathers served their country well.

All, all is changed, the wheel is silent now --
The settlers of those wilds have passed away,
And on the land first broken by their plough
Full many a stately mansion stands today.

Yet unforgotten in their graves, they sleep,

In well-earned rest, beyond this troubled scene,
 And all who claim such lineage will keep
 Their memory, as the turf above them -- green. (24-25)

The poet moves forward to the poet's "now," a settled land where there are mansions -- the New World has the same symbols of success, class, and order as the Old World. ("Stately mansion" is a popular image -- Lefevre uses it in "The Spirit of the Carnival")

Lefevre, Lily Alice. ("Fleurange.") "The Spirit of the Carnival." In *Canadian Poems and Lays*.
 Ed. William Douw Lighthall. London: Walter Scott, 1893.

Form: 144 lines, 18 stanzas x 8 lines, rhyme scheme abcdefe

Setting: Begins in Rome, at carnival time, then in a dream the Spirit of Carnival leads a young Italian to Canada, to Montreal's winter carnival

Themes: Carnival, work ethic, Old World lassitude, Nationalism -- Canada as a place that "teaches manly strength and fortitude" (136), that is "from farce and folly free" (136) Lighthall refers to this as the "best Carnival poem" (xxx).

Narrative: Crowds of carnival revellers on the corso in Rome celebrate in a "gaudy pageant":

In wild uproarious glee;
 Dark goblins, elves fantastic,
 Strange shapes from land and sea;
 Wave high the flaming torches !
 Clang loud the brazen bells !
 The great enchanter, Carnival,
 Hath Rome within his spells. (135)

Lefevre's goblins are not as sinister as Christina Rossetti's but they do suggest a pagan or a sinister image of carnival in the Old World. The Spirit of Carnival comes in a dream to a young Italian urging him to follow and escape the "gilded folly, the childish pranks and play" of the "weak excited populace" (135). The Spirit urges the youth to follow to his kingdom, Canada, where he will learn "manly strength and fortitude" (apparently the Old World cannot teach "manhood"). The Spirit points out "Fair Montreal," its "stately mansions glowing" (137) and the happy revellers indulging in winter sports. The lights and city fade and the dreamer wakes -- "O'er him hung the old world langour, / Faint with mem'ries of the past" (138). The youth leaves the "careless throng" to work "in earnest fashion," "brave and strong" (138), in Canada..

So may faint hearts ever gather
 From Canadian sports and play
 Something of the force that, working,
 Hewed the forests, cleared the way:
 For the tree shows fairer blossom

Where the roots are wide and deep,
And the pleasure turns to glory
When the victors revel keep; (138)

Sports aren't just fun, they are a reflection of the "force" it took to clear the land. The tree metaphor shows that a country where there is space to grow produces a "fairer" person. Finally, the poet urges "fair Canada" to guard its "festival of snow," make winter its friend:

And may thy sons build steadfastly
A nation great and free,
Whose vast foundations stretch abroad
From mighty sea to sea. (139)

Harrison, Susie Frances. "A Monody To the Memory of Isabella Valancy Crawford." *Pine, Rose, and Fleur De Lis*. Toronto: Hart, 1891.

Form: 160 lines, 20 stanzas of 8 lines, rhyme scheme ababcdc

Setting: Canada, after the death of Crawford

Themes: A memorial to Crawford

Narrative: Harrison's reverence for Crawford shows throughout the poem. She calls her "Great High Priestess" and "our dead Sappho" (97). Tennyson used the myth of Sappho in portraying the reclusive woman poet. Harrison's poem seems to fit the Tennysonian version with Crawford portrayed as a lonely recluse. The comparison to Sappho suggests Crawford's place in literary tradition and her line of descent from this "mother poet."

Certainly, Harrison does feel a common bond with Crawford as a fellow poet. She regrets that she cannot commune with Crawford and share with her the "tawny eastern torrents, / The lonely Gatineau, the vast St. Lawrence" (p102) so that Crawford could make poetry of Harrison's landscape. Harrison's references to several of Crawford's poems ("The Helot," "Malcolm's Katie,") show her familiarity with Crawford's body of work.

--- . "Friends on the Astrakan Ranch." *The Canadian Magazine*. Vol.IV. February, 1895. 361-364.

Form: 150 lines, 25 stanzas of 6 lines, rhyme scheme ababcb.

Setting: Western Canada, a ranch (perhaps a sheep ranch since astrakan refers to the fur of young lambs)

Themes: Exile from England -- the plight of indolent young gentlemen shipped off to Canada to make something of themselves.

Narrative: An injured man (perhaps dying) speaks to the cowboy, Jim, who is helping him. He thanks the cowboy for taking care of him, a "mad stranger on the ranch" (361) for several months. He says: "You saw but an innocent boyish intruder, / Fleeced in the Rockies" (362). He shows him a family amulet and tells him of his father, an Earl, and his four sisters and four

brothers. He is the youngest son and there was nothing left for him, except the church, once his father established his brothers. "Indolent, restless" with "no talent for work" (363), he is thought to be insane. His father would rather his "son die, than live, mentally dim" (363) so he sent him to farm but he didn't last long as the work was too gruelling. He talks of the hundreds of fellows like him who are shipped off and "throw themselves into the emigrant fray" (363). Rather than enter the church, he would rather live as a Pagan and "Die on the ranch" (363).

--- . "Happy," *Pine, Rose and Fleur De Lis*. Toronto: Hart, 1891.

Form: 96 lines, 16 stanzas of 6 lines, rhyme scheme ababcc

Setting: Canada

Themes: Love, rejection, marriage, education for women

Narrative: A woman discusses her ex-love with a female friend. He broke off their relationship, after claiming he appreciated her intelligence, to marry a simpler woman. Her friend has talked to him and he claims to be "happy." The spurned woman doubts this. She proudly notes what she has achieved in educating and bettering herself. She wonders how long before he will betray his wife.

---. Rose Latulippe (A Canadian Legend)." *Canadian Poems and Lays*. Ed. William Douw Lighthall. London: Walter Scott, 1893.

Form: 180 lines, rhyming couplets

Setting: Quebec, 1740, Winter, Mardi Gras

Themes: Romance, Religion triumphs over the Devil, New France versus Old France

Narrative:

Based on a French-Canadian folk tale about Rose Latulippe. Rose is portrayed as a "lively girl" in "her dark blue skirt and her scarlet hose" (61). Rose, like the rest of the community is looking forward to the revelry of Mardi Gras: "All over the country felt the same, / With their restless feet and their eyes of flame" (61). Rose asks her father to let her hold a dance to which girls were asked, but men had to be found: "For partners are rare in the wild new land, / Where girls grow as ripe and ready to hand / as in any tropical island or town" (62). This comments on the problem of surplus women in town as the men are away exploring or staking out new territory. Of course this would make any strange man a source of wonder and mystery in a community where everyone knows everyone. Alerted that there is a stranger outside, Rose flies to the window and cries out about his eyes, his figure, his grace, his noble steed. Rose's nurse Mere Marmette says he is a "stranger bold" and advises Rose not to dance after midnight with stranger or kin. The midnight restriction mimics *Cinderella*, but Harrison's version is decidedly darker as Rose's prince is the Prince of Darkness.

The scene of the dance reflects a Canadian winter with "rude sticks" and "stout raquettes" and "great fur coats in patches wet" (65) hung in the hall. The hierarchy of the

community is established as tenants have come from west, east, north, south "bidden to feast" at "their generous Seignour's expense" (65). The "Seigneurie" forms a *Grande Promenade* in their 'homespun grey' and 'bottes sauvage', as they dance a "merry round dance, / Imported, of course, direct from France" (66). The "of course" underlines the rawness of New France which still has to import its culture from France. Rose dances with the stranger and Harrison's use of descriptions like "His eyes flash fire," "his words with a thrilling music burn" (66), her "red cheek redder and redder grows," and she feels a "shudder of fire" hints at his being the Devil. This is reinforced when Rose "so proud and happy" follows the stranger outside and in a minute is "spinning around / To a strange and diabolical sound" which comes from "no known instrument" (68). Then at midnight the stranger reveals himself to Rose and to the reader as he says "you are mine" – "You are dancing with Lucifer" (69). Fortunately for Rose, the Church, in the form of the Cure, intervenes to save her.

--- . "The Poet's Sunday," *Pine, Rose and Fleur De Lis*. Toronto: Hart, 1891.

Form: 212 lines, 53 quatrains, rhyme scheme abba..

Setting: Sunday, the morning-room of a poet's house

Themes: Religion, devotion, love, religious scepticism

Narrative: The poet's wife asks him to attend church with her that morning. He declines to leave "so sweet a Sunday" (149) and asks for a reprieve. He prefers to be in nature with the "dew-washed grasses keenly green" (149). He finds "Pope, Parson, Revivalist, or Priest" are all the same. He claims times have changed and men are no longer serious and he doesn't see the "reverie / Of prayer and faith and penitence" (150). He loves only two things: his wife and nature. His wife is upset and goes on to church alone. Later, he hears the church bells cease as he lies dreaming on the grass. He cannot exercise his fancy as "no mysteries / Of Saint and satyr, gnome and fay" (153) come to him. He answers an "inner peel" and joins his wife in church telling her that "It is the best thing that we know" (156). Then at home they are happier than they have ever been. He can't explain to her why he came but he assures her she will never go alone again. He tells her that "in this hurried world of ours" (157), where there is too much to learn, do and know, we should all try to keep a reverence for "the dear faith our fathers knew" (158).

--- . "The Rime of the Gray Citie." *Pine, Rose and Fleur De Lis*. Toronto: Hart, 1891.

Form: 138 lines, 23 stanzas of 6 lines, rhyme scheme abcdd

Setting: Montreal past and present, winter carnival

Themes: Historic, patriotic

Narrative:

In "The Rime of the Gray Citie," the Gray Citie is personified as well as gendered female. The city is looking for its poet, the voice that will praise her to the Old World cities. The city remembers back 247 years, remembers the martial *Maisonmueve*, the saintly *Mance*, the fair *Peltrie*, the "gentle Marguerite *Bourgeois* / Charming the sullen Iroquois," and the Frenchmen who died for France (187-88). The City says:

You dare not despise the heroes I prize,

Nor the later lives that brought
 The merchant-ships to my harbour gay,
 And cut through my cold limestone their way. (188)

Who dares not despise? Is she speaking to the English or to those who despise the heroes or the merchants who came later to develop the New World? At the end, the city tells "her own" (the people of the city) not to forget the poor in their "revelry."

Rogerson, Isabella Whiteford. "Barbara Heck." *The Victorian Triumph*. Toronto: Briggs, 1898.

Form: 160 lines, mostly 8-line stanzas with rhyme scheme abcbdefe, but there are 3 twelve-line stanzas with a rhyme scheme of abcbdefeghij and one quatrain abcb

Setting: Ireland, "Old Erin," then United States, then Canada

Themes: Historical—United Empire Loyalists, led by Barbara Heck

Narrative: A tribute to Barbara Heck -- "Our New World scarce can realize / How much we owe to you" (16). She led a "band" to America who remained loyal to "their fatherland," Ireland (19). (Gender is interesting here -- Why fatherland and not motherland?) The American colonists, discontented with Britain's rule, seem treasonous to the loyalists who decide to leave the country rather than "revolt" (19) and to seek "their other heritage / On this side of the sea" (20) in "loyal Canada."

Notes

1. Roy Daniells, in "Minor Poets 1880-1920" in the *Literary History of Canada*, identifies the women "minors" as Sarah Anne Curzon, Agnes Ethelwyn Wetherald, Susan Harrison ("Seranus"), Helena Coleman, "Fidelis" (not named although Daniells would know this was Agnes Maule Machar's pseudonym), Pauline Johnson, and Marjorie Pickthall (*Literary History of Canada* 425-430). The only "minor" still somewhat prominent today is Johnson, due in part to her status as a native.
2. This pattern exists in men's as well as women's poetry collections. The following examples, however, are limited to women's books. Some other Canadian examples: Margaret Blennerhasset's *The Widow of the Rock and Other Poems* (1824), Isabella Valancy Crawford's *Old Spookse's Pass, Malcolm's Katie and Other Poems* (1884), Margaret Gill Currie's *Gabriel West and Other Poems* (1866), Ann (Cuthbert) Knight Fleming's *A Year in Canada, and Other Poems* (181), Mrs. M. S. Peace's *The Convict Ship and Other Poems* (1850). Some Australian examples as evidenced in Debra Adelaide's *Australian Women Writers: A Bibliographic Guide*: Ada Cambridge's *The Manor House and Other Poems* (1875) and *The Hand in the Dark and Other Poems* (1913), Lala Fisher's *A Twilight Teaching and Other Poems* (1898), Mary Hannah Foot's *Where the Pelican Build's and Other Poems* (1885) and *Morna Lee and Other Poems* (1890), Louisa Lawson's *The Lonely Crossing and Other Poems* (1905), Ida Lee's *The Bush Fire and Other Verses* (1897), Emily Manning ("Australie")'s *The Balance of Pain and Other Poems* (1877). Some British examples: Elizabeth Barrett Browning's *Aurora Leigh and Other Poems* (1856), Christina Rossetti's *Goblin Market and Other Poems* (1862), Letitia Landon (L.E.L.)'s *The Improvisatrice: and Other Poems* (1824).
3. Smith includes only four women in the 1957 third edition: Susanna Moodie (2 poems), Isabella Valancy Crawford (8 poems), Pauline Johnson (1 poem) and Marjorie Pickthall (5 poems).
4. Sandra Djwa notes, in her introduction to Klinck's *Giving Canada a Literary History*, that Klinck and Watters' *Canadian Anthology* was "the first text of poetry and prose to establish a canon for the university teaching of Canadian literature" (xi). Klinck himself claims that with the *Canadian Anthology* and Watters' "excellent bibliography," the *Checklist of Canadian Literature*, "We helped establish a canon" (*Giving Canada a Literary History* 88).
5. Women poets are also influenced by their reading of male poets. Homans notes that "a different order of 'female experience' does contribute in a major way to the shaping of poetry by women: literary experience, the experience of reading poetry written almost exclusively by men. Though poetry is ideally unconditioned by gender, the literary tradition inherited by nineteenth-century women poets has implicit male biases that are ordinarily not perceived as such by male readers. Even in a realm that the women poets might have sought in the hopes of escaping society's restrictions, they would have found echoes of those restrictions" (8).

6. Macmurchy's assessments of the women included in his text: Rosanna Leprohon's "charm" is not in "complications" but in "skilful working out of details, in sweetness of sentiment, in beauty of style, and in strict regard of the precepts of religion" (146). Sarah Anne Curzon is an "outspoken advocate of what is popularly called woman's rights" who shows Canadians that Canada has a history. (90). Pamela S. Vining Yule has "intensity of moral purpose" (138). Harriet Annie Wilkins is "spirited," has a "love of country" a "devout spirit" and her best work is in her "martial" pieces. Ethelwyn Wetherald is given over four pages that praise her as a sonnet and lyric writer with few equals, who has "truly poetic language" (171), is "gifted," shows "loving sympathies for home" (174) and her writing is "decidedly, if spontaneously, Canadian in colouring and atmosphere" (175). S. Frances Harrison has a "truthful and delicate manner," "bright descriptive passages," and treats French-Canadian life with sympathy (175-6). Kate Seymour Maclean's "honest work" shows "intellectual and moral aspiration" (177). Mary Morgan ("Gowan Lea") is an "accomplished lady of intelligent subjective views" (193-4). Jean Blewett's *Songs* are described as "chiefly of domestic life, and reveal a genial, happy spirit" (217-218). Pauline Johnson writes "sweet lyrics" that reveal her "love of nature," her insight, her delicacy of touch, and her true impression" (219). Her muse "burns most clearly and fiercely when she recalls the sorrows and disappearance of her race from North America; but she likewise sings of their joys and hopes. (219). Isabella Valancy Crawford, as well as having "virility," "describes in masterly fashion the work of the early pioneers" (146). The "masterly" again suggests masculine power.

7. Lighthall does say of Sarah Anne Curzon, in reference to her "noble patriotic book, *Laura Secord*" that she "writes with the power and spirit of masculinity" (*Songs of the Dominion* xxxii). I have the sense that there is a difference between calling a woman's writing "masculine" (suggesting a feminist) and complimenting its "virility." This would be interesting to investigate more.

8. At the Crawford Symposium (1977), John Ower's "Crawford and the Penetrating Weapon," focuses on Crawford's "Phallic and yonic symbolism" (33), her "spiritualization of sex" (36), and her "idealization of erotic pleasure" (37). Bentley also comments, in *Mimic Fires* that as a Victorian woman, "Crawford was obliged to write indirectly about sexuality but write about it she did in the Amerindian portions of *Malcolm's Katie* and in Max's floral descriptions of Katie . . . a poetic tradition dominated by male writers is refracted through a female sensibility and directed towards areas never before illuminated in a long poem on Canada" (276-77). Also, in *Canadian Writers and Their Works*, (1988) Robert Alan Burns notes that "intense eroticism . . . remained an important element in Crawford's poetry" (55), and "The Lily Bed" is Crawford's fullest treatment of an erotic subject, and the revisions she made in the newspaper version of the poem indicate that she consciously and purposely manipulated erotic features to enhance sexual implications in her poetry" (57).

9. Interestingly, this is the same love-song and axe-song that Carman anthologizes in his *Canadian Poetry in English* (1922). Did Marquis's critique influence Carman's choice? And was Marquis influenced by John Garvin's 1905 edition of Crawford's poems as Marquis discusses Crawford's poems in the same sequence as Garvin's "Word from the Editor"—"The

Helot," then "Old Spookses Pass," then "Malcolm's Katie."

10. As Carole Gerson observes, "Crawford functions as our Emily Dickinson, turning up in every possible anthology . . ." ("Anthologies" 62). And, as Joyce W. Warren says, "The presence of Dickinson as the sole woman writer in the nineteenth-century American canon, compared to the number of women who were writing at the time, presents a distorted view of the facts" (2).

11. According to Paul Lauter, "When the academic wing of feminism first generated a publishing component in the 1970s, we searched for works whose literary qualities were substantially similar to those of the dominantly male and white texts which had formed out tastes . . . but simply placing women into a dominantly male tradition is clearly a first, and inadequate step -- however much it remains our primary mode" ("Teaching" 116-17). Crawford seems to be our first and only step, so far, for women's long poems.

12. Thus, Joseph Howe's career as newspaper owner and Nova Scotia politician gives him, and his long poem *Acadia*, a "cultural weight" that a fellow Nova Scotian, Cassie Fairbanks, can never have. Howe's works were published in 1874, a year after Howe died and forty years after *Acadia* was written, in a volume called *Poems and Essays*. This publication made *Acadia* accessible and placed it on the road to canonization as did Sinclair's inclusion of it in *Nineteenth-Century Narrative Poems* in 1972. In contrast, Fairbanks' long poems, never published in book form only in fragile pamphlets, became inaccessible. And, as a nineteenth-century woman, she could never become the public and political figure that Howe did.

13. Jeremy Hawthorn, in *A Concise Glossary of Contemporary Literary Theory*, refers to Thomas Kuhn's theory of learned communities *paradigms* as a "set of beliefs which both enables and constrains research" (126) Canadian literary paradigms about Canadian long poems may "enable" research into Canadian literature but they also "constrain" the research and recovery of early women's long poems.

14. Explorer themes are valued but the recovery of early explorer poems has not included Judith Farley's *The St. Lawrence River: An Historical Poem*. (1906). Perhaps because it is not early enough?

15. Canadian Poetry Press Editions: Cornwall Bayley's *Canada* (1806), Adam Hood Burwell's *Talbot Road* (1818), Thomas Cary's *Abram's Plains* (1789), Isabella Valancy Crawford's *Malcolm's Katie* (1884), Oliver Goldsmith's *The Rising Village* (1825), Joseph Howe's *Acadia* (1874), Adam Kidd's *The Huron Chief* (1830), William Kirby's *The U.E.: A Tale of Upper Canada*. (1859), Archibald Lampman's *The Story of an Affinity* (1894), George Longmore's *The Charivari* (1824), J. Mackay's *Quebec Hill* (1797), Alexander McLachlan's *The Emigrant* (1861), Standish O'Grady's *The Emigrant* (1841), John Richardson's *Tecumseh* (1828), Charles Sangster's *The St. Lawrence and the Saguenay* (1856).

16. Goldsmith's *Rising Village* is valued, in Gerald Lynch's introduction to the Canadian Poetry Press's edition of the poem, for its publishing "firsts" ("first book-length poem

published by a native English-Canadian," "first book-length publication in England by a Canadian poet," "first Canadian-born poet published in England and in Canada" (xi)) and not for its aesthetics as Lynch makes no little or no comment on the literary qualities of the poem.

17. Bentley adds Henry Kelsey's 90 line prologue to his journal, "Now Reader Read . . .," and Thomas Moore's "Poems Relating to Canada." Kelsey's and Moore's poems are not long poems but are included for their "historical interest and importance". (ix); Kelsey is included because his is the "earliest first-hand account in English poetry of what has become Canada" (1) and Moore is included for his influence on the later nineteenth-century poets (57). Bentley omits O'Grady's *The Emigrant* (1600 lines) due to "reasons of space and economy" (*Early Long Poems* ix). He maintains Crawford's status by including *Malcolm's Katie*.

18. Unfortunately, as Deborah Blacklock notes, the reception history of Leprohon's *Antoinette De Mirecourt* shows how early critics' search for a national literature led to a "pervasive tendency to dismiss women and their writing" (1).

19. Goldsmith -- *The Rising Village*, Howe -- *Acadia*, Sangster -- *The St Lawrence and the Saguenay*, Kirby -- *The U.E.: A Tale of Upper Canada*, McLachlan -- *The Emigrant*, Crawford -- *Malcolm's Katie*.

20. Bentley's female emigrant is to have her own special designation, the "female Crusoe" (96), and not the *female Herculean*. While the male hero is compared to a god, the female is compared to a mere mortal albeit one who can be seen as a clever, resourceful survivor -- as were many women pioneers.

21. See Diana M. A. Relke's "The Ecological Vision of Isabella Valancy Crawford: A Reading of 'Malcolm's Katie'," in *Ariel* 22:3 (July 1991) in which she sees Katie as central to the New Edenic model and the "still, moral centre of the poem" (56). Also, see Wanda Campbell's "Isabella Valancy Crawford and Elizabeth Barrett Browning" in *Canadian Poetry* 29 (191) in which she compares their re-definitions of Eden. Campbell notes that feminists see Eve as "the more intelligent one, the more aggressive one and the one with greater sensibilities" and she states that these are "all qualities that Crawford gives to Katie in the opening passage of her poem" (26).

22. As Frye sees it, the Canadian sensibility is "less perplexed by the question 'Who am I?' than by some such riddle as 'Where is here?'" ("Conclusion" *Bush Garden* 220).

23. Canadian Poetry Press Editions: Bayley's *Canada* 516 lines, Burwell's *Talbot Road* 654 lines, Cary's *Abram's Plains* 587 lines, Crawford's *Malcolm's Katie* 1351 lines, Goldsmith's *The Rising Village* 560 lines, Howe's *Acadia* 1030 lines, Kidd's *The Huron Chief* 1658 lines, Lampman's *The Story of an Affinity* 743 lines, Longmore's *The Charivari* 1432 lines, Longmore's *Tecumthe* 1595 lines, Mackay's *Quebec Hill* 592 lines, McLachlan's *The Emigrant* 1570 lines, O'Grady's *The Emigrant* 2160 lines, Richardson's *Tecumseh* 1544 lines, Sangster's *The St. Lawrence and the Saguenay* 1262 lines.

24. There are also many women authors of *medium*, or *longer* or *short long* poems as they are variously described. Appendix B includes many such poems whose length of 90, 100, 120, 150 lines etc. leads to their omission from anthologies.

25. *The Forest Sanctuary* is a 684-line poem that narrates the tale of a Spaniard who seeks refuge from religious persecution in the North American wilderness; *The Abencerrage*, a 1600 line poem set in Spain at the time of the last Moorish king of Granada; *The Widow of Crescentius*, a 588-line poem that tells the story of Crescentius, an Italian count who leads his countrymen in an attempt to overthrow the rule of the Ottoman Empire; *The Last Constantine*, a 956 line poem set in Rome. Note that none of these poems contributes to British nationalism. Judging by the number of non-local poems written by Hemans, she felt no need to promote British nationalism in her poetry.

26. The sale of Charles R. Fairbanks books, after his death in 1841, was advertised in a one-page ad placed in the *Halifax Morning Post and Parliamentary Reporter*, July 13, 1841, by Edward Lawson & Co. The sale took place on July 21, 1841 at his residence. There were approximately 200 titles listed as law books and over 200 titles (Many composed of several volumes each) listed as miscellaneous. Among the miscellaneous were several books on literature that were likely available to his daughter, Cassie: *British Poets (64 vols.)*, *Lives of Poets (7 vols.)*, *British Classics (26 vols.)*, *History of the Troubadours*, *Early British Poets (5 Vols)*, *Scott's Novels (19 vols)*, *Cameron's Poems*, *Scott's Poetical Works (10 vols)*, *London Journal of Arts (14 vols.)*, *British Drama (5 vols.)* *Homer's Iliad*, *Ossian's Poems*, *Metrical Romances*.

27. A fellow Nova Scotian, Joseph Howe, could make it into the canon with *Acadia*. A male writers' "cultural weight" is "enhanced by his historical public career as explorer, clergyman, educator, lawyer, newspaperman, or political figure, and by the personal connections fostered by his profession" (Gerson "Anthologies" 62). Fairbanks, as a woman, could not attain the "cultural weight" of a newspaperman and politician like Howe.

28. Fairbanks was herself an active member of the Fort Massey Presbyterian church.

29. The first member of the Fairbanks family in Nova Scotia, Joseph Fairbanks of Massachusetts, a Lieutenant in the New England Corps, was present at the siege and capture of Louisburg. Fairbanks moved to Halifax thereafter and became a member of the first House of Assembly in Nova Scotia in 1758. His nephew, Rufus Fairbanks of Connecticut, (Cassie's grandfather) came to Halifax in 1785 as Joseph's adopted heir and later became a Halifax magistrate. Charles Rufus, John and Samuel are the most prominent of Rufus's children. Of the others, William Blagden Fairbanks was a merchant in Fairbanks and Allison. Mary Ann Fairbanks was married to David Allison who was the junior partner in Fairbanks and Allison. George Edward Fairbanks was a doctor in Brazil. Joseph Fairbanks was a merchant in Halifax. Frances Elizabeth Fairbanks married Rev. John Scott of St. Matthew's Presbyterian Church in Halifax.

Cassie's father, Charles Rufus Fairbanks, studied law under Simon Robie, barrister,

was called to the bar in 1811, practised law until 1834 and became the first Solicitor General of Nova Scotia in 1832. From 1824 to 1834, he represented the city of Halifax in the Legislature. In 1834 he was appointed Judge of the Court of Vice and Master of the Rolls of Admiralty, a position which he held until he died in 1841. Fairbanks' political connections to England were such that he was "one of the few colonials to be admitted to Westminster Abbey for Queen Victoria's coronation" in 1837 (D.C.B., Vol. VII) Cassie's father had prominent and influential friends in Nova Scotia. For example, in 1838, he travelled to London with Joseph Howe and Thomas Chandler Haliburton.

We know that Cassie's mother, Sarah Elizabeth Lawson, came from a prominent Halifax family that emigrated from Boston in 1750. But we know much more about Sarah's father, William Lawson, who was a businessman, farmer, politician, Justice of the Peace in 1816, 1819, and 1845, served in the Legislative Assembly from 1806-1836, helped found the Bank of Nova Scotia in 1832, served as its first president until 1837 and was appointed in 1838 to the Legislative Council, a reformed Upper House of Nova Scotia. Cassie had two brothers and eleven sisters but only six of the girls seem to have survived to adulthood. While little is known of her sisters, we know that one brother, Charles William, was a civil engineer and her other brother, Lewis Piers Fairbanks, was a trader who purchased the Shubenacadie Canal in 1870.

Cassie's uncle, John Eleazor Fairbanks, was a merchant in the firm Fairbanks and McNab and was a member of the Legislative Council of Nova Scotia. Another uncle, Samuel Prescott Fairbanks, was a barrister, member of the House of Assembly for Liverpool and later, in 1845, Queen's Counsel, Provincial Treasurer and in 1847 Commissioner of Crown Lands, Indian Lands and Mines.

30. William Lawson, Sarah Lawson Fairbanks' nephew, married Mary Jane Katzmann, poet and author of *The History of Dartmouth, Lawrencetown and Preston*. Thus, Mary Jane is niece-in-law by marriage to Sarah Lawson Fairbanks and cousin to Cassie.

31. Thomas B. Vincent, in his *Directory of Known Pseudonyms*, claims that Constance Fairbanks of Dartmouth used "Cassie" during 1850-1860 in the *Nova Scotian*, the *Presbyterian Witness* and the *Halifax Guardian* (140). The date range fits for Catherine "Cassie" Fairbanks (1820-1903) but not for Constance born in 1866. Constance married Harry Piers in 1901, so she was still Miss Fairbanks in the 1880's when *The Log of the Sail of the Sailor's Rest* is presumed to have been written.

32. The poem's date may be later as one of the poems, "Halifax," describes the visit of Prince George of Wales to the Sailor's Rest. He is known to have visited in August 1890 as commander of the H.M.S. Thrush and on this occasion he attended matches of the Nova Scotia Rifle Association with Admiral Watson (Blakeley 58). Since another of the poems in the series, "Watson's Rock," refers to Admiral Watson as having left Halifax, then the poem could not have been written before August, 1890. Prince George also visited in 1891 but I have not determined if Admiral Watson was still in Halifax then. If he was, then the poem couldn't have been written prior to 1891.

33. Further research is needed to determine if Annie Fairbanks was alive in the 1880's and could have written *The Log of the Sail of the Sailor's Rest*. The Dartmouth Museum is currently in possession of three poetry scribblers kept by the three daughters of John E. Fairbanks and found in the home of one of them, Jane E. Fairbanks Duff. One has the name "Annie Fairbanks," the location "Woodside" (John E. Fairbanks' home in Dartmouth), and the date 1843. Apparently the scribblers contain poems composed by the three Fairbanks sisters, as well as poems by Cassie Fairbanks, Mary Jane Katzmann Lawson and Joseph Howe. One of the scrapbooks contains several poems by Cassie Fairbanks including one called "The Steamboat Trip," a short poem of 64 lines based on the ferry trip between Dartmouth and Halifax.

34. Fairbanks' letter is filed with Sir William Young's papers in P.A.N.S. MG100: Vol. 140 #1.

Dear Sir William

A few friends have undertaken a little matter in a private way -- which it has been suggested, might be submitted for your kind consideration -- But whether you aid us or not -- I may as well tell you my story --

When Mrs. Morton (?) was in Canada -- after addressing a very large meeting -- a parcel was laid upon the plate designed for her. It was all the jewellery the Giver? possessed and among it was a watch chain which has a peculiar interest for Mrs. M -- coming as it did into the Mission treasury. The Mission Board have purchased it and are to give it to Mrs. M -- now a chain without a watch is an anomaly -- so I'm asking quietly? -- seeking to make up \$50 -- to procure a small gold one -- I need not enlarge on Mrs. Morton's self-denying labors -- Allow me to say she is worthy for whom this thing should be done -- so trusting you to forgive my boldness in the cause --

I am yours

very sincerely

Cassie Fairbanks

Address Monday Oct -- 22

H Gambler? [1883]

Dundas St. -- Dartmouth

35. Crimping was the practice of stealing men or enticing them to desert. The crimp received money for supplying these men to a ship that needed crew members. Sailor's on shore leave stayed in boarding houses, many of which were run by crimps. The Sailor's Rest would provide a safe residence for sailors free from crimps and would allow them to practice temperance. (Fingard 197-99, 234). Friends of the seamen, who wished to form homes for them were typically local businessmen, missionaries and middle-class women (Fingard 229). The sailor's home movement began as early as 1820 in Halifax with the British and Foreign Seamen's Friend society (Fingard 234). Several homes were attempted through the decades and the home referred to in Fairbanks' poem was opened in 1888 at the corner of Upper Water Street and Bell's Lane in Halifax and was closed in 1896 due to financial problems (Fingard 234-5).

36. Chebucto is the old, native name for Halifax.

37. HORRIBLE MURDER -- An atrocious murder was committed during the early part of last week, the particulars of which, as far as they have transpired, are given by a contemporary as follows: -- a man named Cameron journeying towards this City, when about seventy miles from Dartmouth Ferry, was accosted by a person by the name of McDonald, formerly residing in Antigonish, asking for money as he was hungry. Cameron directed him to the house of a middle-aged woman, well known to travellers as Becky Langley, where he would get something to eat, and that he (Cameron) would see that woman was paid on his return from Halifax. The house in question is situated on a very lonely part of the new Guysborough road, in a deep forest some fourteen miles distant from any other house or settlement. Becky was a woman of masculine character, and the Legislature has for several years appropriated £15 per annum in consideration of a refuge which her humble inn afforded to travellers -- McDonald went to the house as directed and there were only two children, of 10 and 4 years of age respectively present. It is supposed that after eating his dinner McDonald insulted deceased in some way as she took the fire shovel and turned him out and bolted the door. He again returned and burst open the door with a billet of wood, when she took down a pistol and threatened to shoot him if he did not leave. He then took his departure for a while, but afterwards returned and again forced the door, she immediately fired it, but it is supposed did not injure him. On this she snatched down her gun as he was advancing upon her, but he struck her down on the hearth, jumped on her, wrenched the gun from her grasp, and struck her on the head with the butt. He must have struck her several times as her skull was fractured in several places in a most shocking manner. The fellow then made off, without touching anything in the house. It is supposed that the first blow put an end to her existence, and that he mangled her afterwards most brutally. The children made the best of their way to the settlement and gave the alarm. Constables pursued and succeeded in capturing the murderer. He was at once sent to this City, where he arrived on Saturday night, in the Eastern stage, hand cuffed and well guarded. He is about 5 feet 6 inches in height and rather slightly made. It is strongly suspected that he is insane, and persons who have known him for some time speak of his lunacy. He is at present in the Provincial Penitentiary.

(British Colonist August 24, 1854)

38. There is a connection between Joseph Langley and the McDonald family of Antigonish. In the P.A.N.S. RG 20 land transaction card files for 1812, Joseph Langley is listed with several McDonalds as seeking draft grant warrants to survey 1825 acres around Antigonish. Among the several petitioners, Langley sought 400 acres, John McDonald 200, Angus McDonald 100, Donald McDonald 175, Roderick McDonald 200. This would be the 400 acres that he was forced to sell in 1813. Perhaps a grudge arose from that grant process or the subsequent sale of the 400 acres.

39. According to the P.A.N.S. card file, "RG 20 land transactions" (which is confusing as to dates between 1810 and 1813), Rebecca Langley's loyalist father, Joseph, was born in Virginia 1764, joined the Royal Standard in 1779, and was discharged in 1785. Joseph Langley petitioned for a land grant and received 400 acres in Antigonish which he was forced to sell.

In 1810, he settled at the West River Bridge of the St. Mary's River on a place allotted for a stage for the entertainment of travellers. He received a grant of L30 to run a house for the accommodation of travellers crossing the St. Mary's River which he ran for 3 years and which seems to be the location where Rebecca Langley was murdered in 1854. In April 1813, for some reason he was forced to leave and seek shelter elsewhere with his wife and 11 children. His petition for a grant of 500 acres was recommended July 1813 after he had left. It would seem that he retained the land as he later occupied it and ran a travellers inn as did Rebecca on his death.

40. According to the *Acadian Recorder*, December 16, 1854, the court case was held Tuesday and Wednesday in "the trial of Alexander McDonald for the murder of Rebecca Langley, or Becky Langley, on the Guysborough road, in August last. In the course of the defense, it was so clearly proved that the prisoner was insane about the time the offense was committed that the ordinary course of the trial was arrested, when the jury delivered an unanimous verdict, without leaving the box, of not guilty, the prisoner being of unsound mind at the time the homicide was committed. It, however, was the expressed opinion of the jury, and of their honours the judges, that the prisoner, as well as all others who may escape capital punishment under like circumstances, should be strictly confined as lunatics."

41. Fairbanks' reference to Queen Victoria may reflect her family's pride in their association with the Queen through her father's attendance at the coronation or the general reverence for Victoria during her reign.

42. Cheryl Walker claims Hemans' long poems on the "affections" and on famous historical females influenced American women poets and she says that *The Forest Sanctuary* "offers an example of a theme that became standard in the American female canon, a retreat to a 'bower of refuge' in order to escape some violent assault, whether upon the body or the consciousness, and to experience a creative sense of freedom impossible in the world left behind" (26). In *The Lone House*, Fairbanks hints at Langley escaping some sort of emotional upheaval when she occupies the house and then she portrays Langley living in freedom there.

43. In contrast to Langley, Crawford's Katie appears to be the conventional, dutiful daughter, faithful fiancée and contented wife and mother. While a twentieth-century reader, like Diana Relke, can assert that "Crawford's preoccupation with the conflict between man and nature must be seen within the context of the early phase of nineteenth-century feminism" (53) in which women emerge as "social reformers and cultural critics" (52) the reader of the nineteenth century may have ignored these elements in favour of the comfortable, conventional reading. Fairbanks' readers would not have had that option as they could not ignore the murder.

44. She may qualify for "Herculean heroism" or at least a "female Crusoe," in Bentley's terms, as she performs the "masculine" tasks of hunting and trapping.

45. Catherine Parr Trail describes a similar scene: ". . . many a tidy, smart looking lass was spinning at the cottage doors, with bright eyes and braided locks, while the younger girls are seated on the green turf or on the threshold, knitting and singing as blithe as birds" (29).

46. There may be some echoes of Wordsworth's *Ruined Cottage* (1799) in Fairbanks' poem. While *The Ruined Cottage* opens with the cottage already destroyed, it then gives the history of that house beginning with happier times when Margaret lived there with her husband, Robert, and two children "in peace and comfort" (131). But they suffered two seasons of poor harvest and then Robert's illness which left them destitute. Robert deserts her to join a troop of soldiers off to a foreign land. Margaret waits for him while the cottage deteriorates around her. Eventually she dies leaving a "ruined house, four clay walls / That stared upon each other" (30). The garden is "now wild," goose-berry trees " had tempted to o'erleap / The broken wall" and the well is "Half-choked [with willow flowers and weeds]" (55-63). Like *The Lone House*, *The Ruined Cottage* is desolate and nature is overtaking it.

James Butler suggests that behind Wordsworth's poem is Goldsmith's *Deserted Village* (Introduction *Ruined Cottage* 6). It may also be behind Fairbanks' poem. Bentley notes such "continuities" among early long poems on Canada that draw on English long poems like "Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Pope's *Essay on Criticism*, Thompson's *Seasons*, Goldsmith's *Deserted Village* and *Traveller*, Byron's *Childe Harold* and *Don Juan* and, later in the nineteenth century, the long, non-Arthurian poems of Tennyson" (*Gay/Grey Moose* 123).

47. Through the efforts of Orillia residents, Jean and Tom Hipwell, and the staff at the Orillia Public Library, I have received copies of Curzon's poems published in the *Orillia Packet*. Some were written especially for the *Packet* and most were republished in *Laura Secord*. All except "Fort Toronto" (90 lines) are short poems.

a) Noted as "Written for the *Packet*" and then republished in *Laura Secord*: "To a Child Singing 'Jesus Loves me, this I know.'" Aug 22, 1884; "Home," Aug. 15, 1884; "Lost with his Boat," May 9, 1884.

b) Noted as "Written for the *Packet*" and not republished in *Laura Secord*: "Song," April 11, 1884.

c) Noted as "Translated for the *Packet* from the French of L. Pamphile Le May" and republished in *Laura Secord*: "The Two Trees," April 18, 1884.

d) Noted as being "Translated For The *Packet* From The French Of Florian" and republished in *Laura Secord*: "The Blind Man and the Paralytic," Aug. 8, 1884.

e) Not written for the *Packet* and republished in *Laura Secord*: "The Choice -- A Fable," May 2, 1884.

f) Not written for the *Packet* and not republished in *Laura Secord*: "Fort Toronto," Oct. 21, 1887. (Curzon dates the poem at the bottom as Sept. 7). At 90 lines, "Fort Toronto," a historical retrospective of the early days of Fort Toronto, would seem to be a *medium* length poem.

g) Curzon also published an article in the *Packet* titled "Is Total Abstinence from Alcoholic Drink the Present Duty of the Christian Church?" June 23, 1882. In line with her temperance views, Curzon advocates total abstinence in this article.

48. Curzon's letter to Reade:

11 Bellevue Avenue

Toronto

12 Jan. 1886

To John Reade, Esq.

Dear Sir,

My good friend Mr. Hale of the Orillia Packet has forwarded me a copy of the Montreal Gazette Dec. 26 in order that I might see your notice of the dispatch of Brock's old regiment to Canada: and also for your words relating to Laura Secord. Mr. Hale knowing how deeply interested I am in the latter connection, and indeed in the former from the fact that I have commemorated Mrs. Secord's bravery both in dramatic and ballad form, and incidently have introduced the 49th and Brock into each poem.

But it is not to tell you this that I am now addressing you it is in fact to say that I am open to undertake some newspaper correspondence and to ask you if you can employ me. I am not inexperienced in newspaper work having been associate-editor with Mr. Burgess [?] of the Canada Citizen which he founded, for more than a year and a half before it became entirely the organ of the Temperance party. And am still a contributor to it in various ways. I was for two years editorial contributor to the Yorkville News while it was in Mr. Geo. Black's [?] hands. I am occasional contributor to the Boston Woman's Journal. And am well known to the Toronto Press, especially the Mail, as a correspondent over the signature of S. A. C., as also to the Orillia Packet. I am Anglo-Canadian in the Montreal Gossip but do not correspond with the paper much since my friend Mr. Dobbin ceased to be the chief editor.

I have contributed to Canadian literature a little at various times; in the Can. Mo. as Aurora and last week you could see a translation from the French over my signature S. A. C. in the Week. I am a regular contributor to Grip, and have been for some years. 'Bobversations' are mine, among other things. In politics I am a Conservative a liberal one to be sure, but not a Grit in any sense. As I find your Toronto news in the issue of the Gazette before me I consider them inadequate, unrepresentative, practically useless and I receive from them the idea that your journal has no proper correspondent in Toronto. If this be so, I shall be glad to engage with you, at reasonable rates, and to serve you to the best of my ability.

I am, Dear Sir

Yours very truly

Sarah Anne Curzon

49. In Thomas B. Vincent's *Dictionary of Known Pseudonyms* (1993), only S.A.C. is listed for Curzon (132) and "Aurora" is credited to Mary Morgan. Curzon's letter to Reade notes her use of "Aurora" in the *Canadian Monthly and National Review*.

50. Secord's narrative was included in Gilbert Auchinleck's article on the War of 1812, "History of the War of 1812," published in the *Anglo-American Magazine*, Vol. III, November 1853:

I shall commence at the battle of Queenston, where I was at the time the cannon balls were flying around me in every direction. I left the place during the engagement. After the battle I returned to Queenston, and then found that my husband had been wounded; my house

plundered and property destroyed. It was while the Americans had possession of the frontier, that I learned the plans of the American commander, and determined to put the British troops under Fitzgibbon in possession of them, and, if possible, to save the British troops from capture, or perhaps, total destruction. In doing so, I found I should have great difficulty in getting through the American guards, which were out ten miles in the country. Determined to persevere, however, I left early in the morning, walked nineteen miles in the month of June, over a rough and difficult part of the country, when I came to the field belonging to a Mr. Decamp, in the neighbourhood of the Beaver Dam. By this time daylight had left me. Here I found all the Indians encamped; by moonlight the scene was terrifying, and to those accustomed to such scenes, might be considered grand. Upon advancing to the Indians they all rose and, with some yells, said 'Woman,' which made me tremble. I cannot express the awful feeling it gave me; but I did not lose my presence of mind. I was determined to persevere. I went up to one of the chiefs, made him understand that I had great news for Capt. Fitzgibbon, and that he must let me pass to his camp, or that he and his party would all be taken. The chief at first objected to let me pass, but finally consented, after some hesitation, to go with me and accompany me to Fitzgibbon's station, which was at the Beaver Dam, where I had an interview with him. I then told him what I had come for, and what I had heard -- that the Americans intended to make an attack upon the troops under his command, and would, from their superior numbers, capture them all. Benefiting by this information, Capt. Fitzgibbon formed his plans accordingly, and captured about five hundred American infantry, about fifty mounted dragoons, and a field piece or two was taken from the enemy. I returned home next day, exhausted and fatigued. I am now advanced in years, and when I look back I wonder how I could have gone through so much fatigue, with the fortitude to accomplish it.

51. Curzon "had an intense love for the motherland, believing that Imperial Federation was the best system of colonial development" (Lady Edgar 3). Perhaps it is the spirit of British imperialism in her work that goes against her in the twentieth century?

52. Murray D. Edwards, in *A Stage in our Past* (1968), considers Curzon, Charles Mair and James Bovil Mackenzie as the three major playwrights who utilized Canada's history in their drama (115). Edwards devotes four pages to a discussion of *Laura Secord*. Edwards criticizes Curzon's inclusion of the slaves Pete and Flos as he felt they should have "special significance" and suggests they are "fugitives from the minstrel show" and that slavery did not exist in Canada at that time. But Curzon's note 5 on Pete and Flos says that "nearly every family of any means or repute held slaves" at that time and the Bill abolishing slavery in the British dominions did not pass until 1832 (177). As well, the book review of *Laura Secord* in the *Canadian Methodist Magazine* (Dec. 1877) says "We get a glimpse of slavery, not then banished from the province, though the dialect talk, we think, rather beneath the dignity of the poem" (571). Laura Secord Clark recalls her grandmother telling her that the Americans came to her house looking for food and Laura "said to the black servants, 'Put everything you have got on the table because we cannot resist them' and then Laura listened outside at the window to their conversation" (qtd. in McKenzie 50). Therefore, it appears that Pete and Flos are in the drama simply because Laura Secord had "black servants" at that time.

53. Murray Edwards suggests that although *Laura Secord* was never performed, it is "not typical of the closet drama" as it has features written for the stage including only eight scenes that need scenery changes and it has "more description than was normally required in a closet drama" (122-23). Edwards does acknowledge that not all of Curzon's descriptions are "consistent with stage directions" (123). There may be only eight scene changes because Curzon was limited by the historical locations of action in Secord's narrative. As to the descriptions, one only has to read Curzon's copious notes at the back of her book and her appendices to understand that Curzon loved detail. She wants her reader to know all the details so that they can build the right images as they read. However, even if Curzon wrote the drama with the hope of a production then, it is not likely to be staged now. Thus in the twentieth century it can only be a closet drama.

54. Early critics also saw *Laura Secord* as a poem. Lighthall, in his introduction to *Canadian Poems and Lays* (1893), lists it first in a discussion of "lady singers . . . who have produced true poetry" (xxix). Marquis (1913) discusses Curzon's *Laura Secord* in his poetry section. O'Hagan (1901) ignores *Laura Secord* but he does discuss men's closet drama in his section on Canadian poets and poetry. The book review in the *Canadian Methodist Magazine* (Dec. 1887) calls the drama the "longest poem in this volume" (571). In the *Complete Poetical Works of Mrs. Browning* (1900), the editor Harriet Waters Preston, says *A Drama of Exile*, Browning's closet drama about the exile from Eden, was the "initial and longest poem" of Browning's 1844 volume of poems. It seems safe to say that in the era of the closet drama, it was generally perceived as a long poem.

55. Fitzgibbon later wrote letters, on three occasions, at Secord's request, to document her contribution to the war. The final letter, just before his death stated:

I do hereby certify that Mrs. Secord, the wife of James Secord, of Chippewa, Esq., did, in the month of June, 1813, walk from her house in the village of St. David's to Decamp's house in Thorald, by a circuitous route of about twenty miles, partly through the woods, to acquaint me that the enemy intended to attempt by surprise to capture a detachment of the 49th regiment, then under my command; she having obtained such knowledge from good authority, as the event proved. Mrs. Secord was a person of slight and delicate frame; and made the effort in weather excessively warm, and I dreaded at the time that she must suffer in health in consequence of fatigue and anxiety, she having been exposed to danger from the enemy, through whose line of communication she had to pass. The attempt was made on my detachment by the enemy, and his detachment, consisting of upwards of 500 men, with a field-piece and fifty dragoons, was capture in consequence. I write this certificate in a moment of such hurry and from memory, and it is, therefore, thus brief.

James Fitzgibbon

Formerly Lieutenant in the 49th regiment

The second letter, discovered in the Public Archives at Ottawa, was written May 11, 1827 and is important because it dates Laura's walk to June 22, 1813. It states "In consequence of this information I placed Indians under Norton together with my own Detachment of the 49th Regt. then at the Beaver Dam under my command" (McKenzie 128-

29). The date proves that Laura gave the first warning and that it was her warning that "made the victory possible at Beaver Dams" (McKenzie 130-31)

56. Dear Sir, -- I will tell you the story in a few words.

After going to St. David's and the recovery of Mr. Secord, we returned again to Queenston, where my courage again was much tried. It was there I gained the secret plan laid to capture Captain Fitzgibbon and his party. I was determined, if possible, to save them. I had much difficulty in getting through the American guards. They were ten miles out in the country. When I came to a field belonging to a Mr. De Cou, in the neighbourhood of the Beaver Dams, I then had walked nineteen miles. By that time daylight had left me. I yet had a swift stream of water (Twelve-mile Creek) to cross over on a fallen tree, and to climb a high hill, which fatigued me very much.

Before I arrived at the encampment of the Indians, as I approached they all arose with one of their war yells, which, indeed, awed me. You may imagine what my feelings were to behold so many savages. With forced courage I went to one of the chiefs, told him I had great news for his commander, and that he must take me to him or they would all be lost. He did not understand me, but said 'Woman! What does woman want here?' The scene by moonlight to some might have been grand, but to a weak woman certainly terrifying. With difficulty I got one of the chiefs to go with me to their commander. With the intelligence I gave him he formed his plans and saved his country. I have ever found the brave and noble Colonel Fitzgibbon a friend to me. May he prosper in the world to come as he has done in this.

Laura Secord

Chippewa, U.C., Feb. 18, 1861

57. Famous literary ballads include Coleridge's "Rime of the Ancient Mariner" and Keats "La Belle Dame Sans Merci" (Kennedy 127).

58. Four long poems with military themes centred on the War of 1812 are in the canon: Burwell's *Talbot Road*, Richardson's *Tecumseh*, Longmore's *Tecumthe*, and Kidd's *Huron Chief*. Other long poems in the canon that have military/historical themes include Cary's *Abraham's Plains*, Mackay's *Quebec Hill*, Bayley's *Canada*, Howe's *Acadia*, and Kirby's *The U. E.*

59. The *Canadian Magazine* review states:

Mrs. S. Frances Harrison (Seranus) went, when she was fifteen years old, to live among the forests and Rivers of Lower Canada. She imbibed the feeling of Quebec; she learned to understand the *habitant*. That is why she has been able to produce such an important novel as "The Forest of Bourg-Marie." The literary style, which is visible in all her pages, came later, as the result of years of literary work, during which her signature of "Seranus" was to be seen in the *Detroit Free Press*, in the *Week*, and in various other magazines and newspapers. These were years of apprenticeship such as many writers go through. But not all of them are able to put their experience to such good account as Mrs. Harrison. She has, of late, written several short stories which have built up a certain fame for her in England. And now "The Forest of Bourg-marie" is a distinct revelation of power and

mastery of material. There is originality enough in it to give it a separate existence among novels, and we think it will take its place as a welcome contribution to Canadian literature.

(XII-2, December 1898, 181-2)

60. Stedman claims, on his title page, that his selections illustrate a "critical review of British Poetry in the Reign of Victoria" . His choices for Harrison were from *Pine, Rose and Fleur de Lis* ("Chateau Papineau" from the Down the River series and "September"). The other Canadian women included by Stedman are Susanna Moodie, Isabella Valancy Crawford, Elizabeth Roberts, Pauline Johnson and Ethelwyn Wetherald.

61. Harrison had to publish four of her later poetry books herself – *In Northern Skies* (1912), *Sings of Love and Labor* (1925), *Penelope and Other Poems* (1932) and *Four Ballads and a Play* (1933). Perhaps her inability to find a publisher reflects the modernist rejection of her work.

62. Harrison was interested in Quebec folklore and some of her poems are based on characters from Quebec folk tales. It is possible that these are the poems for which she is accused of stereotyping. However, if her characters are based on characters from folk tales, then she is not stereotyping but remaining true to the *types* as described in these Quebecois tales.

63. Lighthall refers to Harrison's "half-French heart in both *Songs of the Great Dominion* (1889) and *Canadian Poems and Lays* (1893). Then in 1901, O'Hagan repeats Lighthall's phrase "half-French heart" in his comments on Harrison. The repetition may reflect the value placed, at that time, on her use of French folklore and colour.

64. Considering the length of "Rose Latulippe" (180 lines) and the problem of finding room for longer poems in an anthology, Lighthall must have felt Harrison's work to be very worthy to include it in its entirety.

65. French Canadian poets that Harrison includes in her anthology: J.A. Belanger, Michel Biband, Cadieux, M. l'Abbé N. Caron, Hon. Sir G. E. Cartier, M. l'Abbé Casgrain, William Chapman, Pierre J. O. Chauveau, Octave Crémazie, James Donnelly, Achille Fréchette, Louis Honore Fréchette, Francois-Xavier Garneau, Alfred Garneau, M. l'Abbé Apolinaire Gingras, M. Gérin Lajoie, Napoléon Légendre, Joseph LeNoir, Léon Pamphile LeMay, J. M. LeMoine, John Lesperance, Felix G. Marchand, Dominique Mondelet, Marc Aurèle Plamondon, M.J.A. Poisson, Eustache Prud'homme, Louis Riel, A B. Routhier, E. Blain Saint-Aubin, Edouard Sempé, Benjamin Sulte, and Sieur Jean Taché. James Donnelly and William Chapman are noted as "two French writers despite their English names" (Preface).

66. Similarly, Cassie Fairbanks' *The Log of the Sail of the Sailor's Rest* is a cycle of six poems, five short and one longer poem of 132 lines, centred around a common theme of building a home for sailors in Halifax. It could be considered, in total, one long poem.

67. Aubin identifies the following sub-genre for the topographical poem: hill, sea, mine, cave, estate, town building, region, river and journey (viii).

68. Harrison also wrote a sonnet series called "Confessions: A Series of Sonnets" which consisted of twelve sonnets on love from a female's perspective that were published in the *Canadian Magazine* Vol. VIII, January, February and March of 1882.

69. Octave Crémazie (1827-1879) is a French-Canadian poet "hailed as a "national bard" after publishing celebrations of Montcalm and the French in Quebec in the 1850's (New 67). After a trip to France in 1851, Crémazie "located the source of Quebec's vitality in the history it shares with France" (67). Harrison includes several poems by Crémazie in her *Canadian Birthday Book with Poetical Selections For Every day in the Year* (1887). In her index to the authors, Harrison says of Crémazie. "By common consent the greatest poet French Canada has produced as regards spontaneity and freshness of genius; for many years a bookseller in Quebec, he died abroad in exile and obscurity" (411).

70. Other poems of Harrison's that fall into the gap between short and long, a gap inadequately called *medium* by some, include: "The Poet's Sunday," 212 lines; "Happy," 96 lines; "Vie de Boheme," 117 lines; "To Miranda," 132 lines; "Boheme," 114 lines; "Park St. Mayfair," 99 lines. All of these are from *Pine, Rose and Fleur De Lis* (1891).

71. Other Canadian long poems by women that are not distinctively Canadian include Mrs. J.P. Grant's twenty-four page gothic romance "A Legend of Courtney Hall"; "Maple Leaf's" forty-six page "Constance: A Lay of the Olden Time"; Catherine MacNiven's fifty page anti-slavery poem *Aileen: A Poem*; and Harriet Annie Wilkins fifty-four page *VICTOR ROY: A Masonic Poem*. However, even with a Canadian setting, a poem can be rejected for a theme that is no longer in fashion. Although it's set in Ontario, the heavy moralizing of the temperance theme in Mary Elizabeth Muchall's fifty-page poem, *STEP BY STEP*, likely prevents it from being recovered.

72. The first two pages of the 17-page poem do describe the landscape of New Brunswick and the poet's remembrances of her father's loyalist tales. The last two pages of the poem describe Gabriel West's homesteading in New Brunswick:

The starry midnight saw his blazing fires
On some lone hill, the greenwood's funeral pyres.
He wrought to smiling field the forest glade,
Entrapped the bear that towards its border strayed;
Hunted the red deer, moose and caribou;
The leaping salmon from the waters drew;
Quarried the stone for fence and orchard wall,
And uncouth, lonely, lowering, dismal hall,
As if he would to his abode impart
Semblance of sorrow that oppressed his heart; (18)

73. York University Archives has a 2 page list made by Murray of tales, poems and literary articles that she had sent to Briggs. "Merlin's Cave" was included on the list. Murray names, at the end of the list, four articles that are missing and says there are others that she thinks she

can get which "would make another volume." She says "After we see how we get on with what we have, we will try to collect these."

74. Hemans also influenced another Canadian woman, Mary A. McIver, whose 400 line poem, *Zelim*, published in 1869, is set in Spain as the Muslims (Moors) fight the Christians. It has themes of romance, loyalty, chivalry and honour. In note 10 for stanza xii, McIver comments on the Spanish hero Cid Campendör and says that much of the true spirit of Spanish chivalry is preserved in Heman's "Songs of the Cid." (19).

Works Cited

- Acadiensis*. Ed. David Russell Jack. Vol. II. St. John, N.B.: D.R. Jack, 1902.
- Adelaide, Debra. *Australian Women Writers: A Bibliographic Guide*. London: Pandora, 1988.
- . Introduction. *A Bright and Fiery Troop*. Victoria, Australia: Penguin, 1988.
- Armstrong, Isobel. "Women's Poetry -- an Expressive Tradition?" *Victorian Women Poets: A Critical Reader*. Ed. Angela Leighton.. Oxford: Blackwell, 1966. 245-276.
- Aubin, Robert Arnold. *Topographical Poetry in XVIII-Century England*. New York: MLA, 1936. Reprint New York: Kraus, 1966.
- Auchinleck, Gilbert. "History of the War of 1812." *Anglo-American Magazine*. Toronto: November, 1853. Vol III, No. 5.
- Baym, Nina. "Melodramas of Best Manhood: How Theories of American Fiction Exclude Women Authors." *The New Feminist Criticism: Essays on Women, Literature and Theory*. Ed. Elaine Showalter. New York: Pantheon, 1985. 63-80.
- Bell, D.G. *Early Loyalist Saint John: The Origin of New Brunswick Politics, 1783-1786*. Fredericton, N.B.: New Ireland, 1983.
- Bennett, Donna. "Conflicted Vision: A Consideration of Canon and Genre in English Canadian Literature." *Canadian Canons: Essays in Literary Value*. Ed. Robert Lecker. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994. 131-149.
- Bentley, D.M.R. "Breaking the 'Cake of Custom': The Atlantic Crossing as a Rubicon for Female Emigrants to Canada?." *Re(Dis)covering Our Foremothers*. Ed. Lorraine McMullen. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1990. 91-122.
- . *Early Long Poems on Canada*. London, Ontario: Canadian Poetry Press, 1993.
- . "'From the Hollow, Blasted Pine': Centrifugal Tendencies in Adam Kidd's *The Huron Chief*." *Open Letter: Long-liners Conference Issue 6: 2-3, Summer-Fall 1985*. 233-256.
- . Introduction. *The Huron Chief*. By Adam Kidd. London, Ontario: Canadian Poetry Press, 1987.
- . Introduction. *The St. Lawrence and the Saguenay*. By Charles Sangster. London, Ontario: Canadian Poetry Press, 1990.
- . *Mimic Fires: Accounts of Early Long Poems on Canada*. Kingston & Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994.
- . *The Gay]Grey Moose: Essays on the Ecologies and Mythologies of Canadian Poetry 1690-1900*. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1992.

- Blacklock, Deborah. *Constancy in the Canadian Canon: The Reception History of Rosanna Leprohon's Antoinette De Mirecourt and William Kirby's The Golden Dog*. Thesis. Simon Fraser University, 1993.
- Blakely, Phyllis R. *Glimpses of Halifax*. Belleville, Ontario: Mika Publishing, 1979.
- Boone, Laurel. Ed. *The Collected Letters of Charles G. D. Roberts*. Fredericton, N.B.: Goose Lane Editions, 1989.
- Brown, Susan. "Determined Heroines: George Eliot, Augusta Webster, and Closet Drama by Victorian Women." *Victorian Poetry*. 33.1 (1995): 89-109.
- Burns, Robert Alan. "Isabella Valancy Crawford (1850-1877)." *Canadian Writers and Their Works: Poetry Series*. Vol. 1. Eds. Robert Lecker, Jack David, Ellen Quigley. Toronto: ECW Press, 1988.
- Burwell, Adam Hood. *The Talbot Road: A Poem*. Ed. Michael Williams. London, Ontario: Canadian Poetry Press, 1991.
- Butler, James. Introduction. *The Ruined Cottage and the Pedlar*. By William Wordsworth. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1979.
- Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, Art and Literature. Toronto: Ontario Publishing Co., 1899. Vol. XII. November 1898 to April 1899.
- Campbell, Wanda. "Isabella Valancy Crawford and Elizabeth Barrett Browning." *Canadian Poetry: Studies, Documents, Reviews* 29 (July, 1991): 25-37.
- Carman, Bliss and Lorne Pierce, V.B. Rhodenizer. *Canadian Poetry in English*. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1922, revised 1934, revised 1954.
- Cogswell, Fred. "Literary Activity in the Maritime Provinces (1815-1880)." *Literary History of Canada*. Ed. Carl Klinck. 2nd edition. V1. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976.
- . "English Poetry in New Brunswick before 1880." *A Literary and Linguistic History of New Brunswick*. Fredericton: Fiddlehead Poetry Books and Goose Lane editions, 1985. 107-115.
- Cook, Stella M. *The Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto: Seventy Years of History 1895-1965, Transaction No. 29*. Toronto, 1970.
- Currie, Margaret Gill. *John Saint John and Anna Grey: A Romance of Old New Brunswick*. Toronto: Briggs, 1897.
- . *Gabriel West and Other Poems*. Fredericton, N.B.: H.A. Cropley, 1866.

- . Letter to E. V. Ellis., Esq. Fredericton. July 23, 1897. In a copy of *John Saint John and Anna Grey*, RA 819.2, Saint John Public Library.
- Curzon, Sarah Anne. *Laura Secord, the Heroine of 1812: A Drama and Other Poems*. Toronto: C. Blackett Robinson, 1887.
- . Letter to John Reade. Jan. 12, 1886. In *John Reade and His Friends*. Percy Ghent. 1925.
- . *The Story of Laura Secord, 1813*. Ontario: Lundy's Lane Historical Society. 2nd Ed. 1898. CIHM 27005.
- Daniells, Roy. "Minor Poets, 1880-1920." *Literary History of Canada*. Ed. Carl F. Klinck. Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1965. 422-430.
- Davey, Frank. "Contextuality in the Long Poem." *Open Letter: Long-liners Conference Issue 6*: 2-3, Summer-Fall 1985. 33-44.
- Davies, Barry. Ed. *At the Mermaid Inn: Wilfred Campbell, Archibald Lampman, Duncan Campbell Scott in The Globe 1892-93*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979.
- Davies, Gwendolyn. *Studies in Maritimes Literary History, 1760-1930*. Fredericton, N.B.: Acadiensis, 1991.
- Dewart, Edward. "Introductory Essay." *Selections for Canadian Poets*. Montreal: Lovell, 1864.
- Djwa, Sandra. Introduction. *Saul and Selected Poems*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976.
- Edwards, Murray. *A Stage in our Past*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968.
- Fairbanks, Cassie. *The Lone House : A Poem. Partly Founded on Fact*. Halifax: James Bowes and Sons, 1859. C.I.H.M. 35223
- . *The Log of the Sail of the Sailor's Rest*. Halifax, James Bowes, 188? C.I.H.M. 92587
- Fingard, Judith. *The Dark Side of Life in Victorian Halifax*. Porters Lake, Nova Scotia: Pottersfield Press, 1989.
- Fowler, Alistair. *Kinds of Literature*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982.
- Frye, Northrop. *Anatomy of Criticism*. New York: Atheneum, 1968.
- . Conclusion to a *Literary History of Canada*." *The Bush Garden*. Toronto: Anansi, 1971. 213-251.
- . "The Narrative Tradition in English-Canadian Poetry." *The Bush Garden*. Toronto: Anansi, 1971. 145-179.

- . *The Secular Scripture: A Study of the Structure of Romance*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976.
- Gerson, Carole. *A Purer Taste: The Writing and Reading of Fiction in English in Nineteenth Century Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989.
- . "Anthologies and the Canon of Early Canadian Women Writers." *Re(Dis)covering Our Foremothers*. Ed. Lorraine McMullen. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1990. 55-76.
- . "The Business of a Woman's Life: Money and Motive in the Careers of Early Canadian Women Writers." *Women's Writing and the Literary Institution*. Ed. C. Potvin and J. Williamson. Edmonton, University of Alberta Press, 1992. 77-94.
- . "The Canon between the Wars: Field Notes of a Feminist Literary Archaeologist." *Canadian Canons: Essays in Literary Value*. Ed. Robert Lecker. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991. 46-56.
- . "The Changing Contours of a National Literature." *College English*. Vol. 50. No. 8. December 1988. 888-895.
- Golding, Alan C. "A History of American Poetry Anthologies." *Canons*. Ed. Robert von Hallberg. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983, 1984. 279-307.
- Hale, Katherine. *Isabella Valancy Crawford*. Toronto: Ryerson, 1923.
- . *Canadian Cities of Romance*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1922.
- Harrison, Susan Frances. "Seranus". *Canadian Birthday Book, with Poetical Selections For Every Day in the Year*. Toronto: C. Blackett Robinson, 1887.
- . "A Monody To the Memory of Isabella Valancy Crawford." *Pine, Rose, and Fleur De Lis*. Toronto: Hart, 1891.
- . "Down the River". *Pine, Rose, and Fleur de Lis*. Toronto: Hart, 1891.
- . Letter to William Douw Lighthall. No date. Lighthall papers, McGill, Box 1 of 1.
- . Letter to Louisa Murray. April 21, 1890. York University Archives. Louisa Murray letters. Group 7A. No. 10.
- . "Rose Latulippe (A Canadian Legend)". *Canadian Poems and Lays*. Ed. William Douw Lighthall. London: Walter Scott, 1893.
- . "The Rime of the Gray Citie." *Pine, Rose, and Fleur de Lis*. Toronto: Hart, 1891.
- . "William Dean Howells." *Massey Magazine*. 3. 1897. 333-336.
- Hart, Harriet Cunningham. *County Guysborough*. Belleville, Ontario: Mika Publishing, 1975.
- Hawthorne, Jeremy. *A Concise Glossary of Contemporary Literary Theory*. London: Edward Arnold, 1992, 1993.
- Herrnstein Smith, Barbara. "Contingencies of Value." *Canons*. Ed. Robert von Hallberg. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983, 1984. 5-39

- Hickok, Kathleen. *Representations of Women: Nineteenth-Century British Women's Poetry*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1984.
- Homans, Margaret. *Women Writers and Poetic Identity*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1980.
- Howison, John. *Sketches of Upper Canada*. Edinburgh, 1821. Republished Toronto: S.R.Publishers, 1965.
- Johnson, Rev. Dr. C.H. "Nova Scotia Under the Eye of the Guardian." *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*. Halifax: Printed by Halcraft Printing, 1954. Vol. 30. 207-229.
- Jones, Manina. "The Language of Paradox." *Canadian Poetry* 31 (1992): 104-116. A review of Smaro Kamboureli's *On the Edge of Genre: The Contemporary Canadian Long Poem*
- Kamboureli, Smaro. *On the Edge of Genre: The Contemporary Canadian Long Poem*. Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1991.
- Kelly, Robert A. "Outlaw and Explorer: Recent Adventurers in the English-Canadian Long Poem," *The Antigonish Review* 79 (Autumn 1989) 27-34.
- Kennard, Jean E. *Victims of Convention*. Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1978.
- Kennedy, X.J. and Dana Gioia. *An Introduction to Poetry*. 8th ed. New York: Harper Collins, 1994.
- Klinck, Carl F. & Reginald Watters. Introduction. *Canadian Anthology*. Toronto: W. J. Gage, 1966.
- . *Giving Canada a Literary History*. Edited and with an introduction by Sandra Djwa. Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1991.
- Knight, Alan. "Taking the alls out of the Can(n)on: *Open Letter* and the Long-Liners Conference." *Open Letter*. 1985. 7:5, 9-14.
- Kolodny, Annette. "Dancing Through the Minefield: Some Observations on the Theory, Practice, and Politics of a Feminist Literary Criticism." *The New Feminist Criticism: Essays on Women, Literature and Theory*. Ed. Elaine Showalter. New York: Pantheon, 1985. 144-167.
- Kroetsch, Robert. "For Play and Entrance: The Contemporary Canadian Long Poem." *Open Letter*, 5:4, Spring 1983. 91-110.

- Lady Edgar. "Sketch of Mrs. Curzon's Life and Work." *Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto: Transaction No.2. 1899. C.I.H.M. 29313.*
- Langland, Elizabeth. *Nobody's Angels: Middle-Class Women and Domestic Ideology in Victorian Culture.* Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1995.
- Lauter, Paul. "Race and Gender in the Shaping of the American Literary Canon: A Case Study from the Twenties." Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991. 22-47
- . "Teaching Nineteenth-Century Women Writers." *Canons.* Ed. Robert Von Hallberg. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991. 114-132
- Lecker, Robert. "Response to Frank Davey." *Critical Inquiry* 16. Spring 1990. 682-689.
- Leighton, Angela. *Victorian Women Poets: Writing Against the Heart.* Toronto: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1992.
- Lighthall, William Douw. *Canadian Poems and Lays: Selections of Native verse, Reflecting the Seasons, Legends, and Life of the Dominion.* London: Walter Scott, 1893.
- . *Songs of the Great Dominion: Voices from the Forests and Waters, the Settlements and Cities of Canada.* London: Walter Scott, 1889.
- Livesay, Dorothy. "The Documentary Poem: A Canadian Genre." *Contexts of Criticism.* Ed. Eli Mandel. 267-281.
- Lochhead, Douglas. Ed. *At the Mermaid Inn: Wilfred Campbell, Archibald Lampman, Duncan Campbell Scott in The Globe 1892-93.* Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1979.
- Lootens, Tricia. "Hemans and Home: Victorianism, Feminine 'Internal Enemies,' and the Domestication of National Identity." *Victorian Women Poets: A Critical Reader.* Ed. Angela Leighton. Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 1996.
- Lynch, Gerald. Introduction. *The Rising Village.* London, Canada: Canadian Poetry Press, 1989.
- McCarthy, Dermot. "Early Canadian Literary Histories." *Canadian Canons: Essays in Literary Value.* Ed. Robert Lecker. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991. 30-45.
- McFarland, Ronald E. *The Villanelle: The Evolution of a Poetic Form.* Moscow, Idaho: University of Idaho Press, 1987.
- McIver, Mary A. *Poems.* Ottawa: "The Ottawa Citizen," 1869.

- McKenzie, Ruth. *Laura Secord: The Legend and the Lady*. Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1971.
- McLuhan, H.M. "Tennyson and the Romantic Epic." *Critical Essays on the Poetry of Tennyson*. Ed. John Killham. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960. 86-95.
- MacMillan, Carrie. "Susan Frances Harrison ("Seranus"): Paths through the Ancient Forest." *Silenced Sextet*. Montreal: McGill and Queens University Press, 1992. 107-136.
- McMullen, Lorraine. "Vincent, Sarah Anne (Curzon)." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*. Vol. XII. (1891-1900). Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990.
- MacMurchy, Archibald. *Handbook of Canadian Literature*. Toronto: William Briggs, 1906.
- Mandel, Eli. "The Death of the Long Poem." *Open Letter: Long-liners Conference Issue 6: 2-3, Summer-Fall 1985*. 11-22.
---. Ed. *Contexts of Canadian Criticism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971.
- Marquis, Thomas Guthrie. *English-Canadian Literature*. Toronto: Glasgow, Brook & Company, 1913.
- Mathews, Robin. "Malcolm's Katie: Love, Wealth, and Nation Building." *Studies in Canadian Literature*. 2 (1977): 49-60.
- Milton, John. "Paradise Lost." *Norton Anthology of English Literature*. 6th ed. Vol 1. New York: W.W. Norton, 1993. 1474-1593.
- Morgan, Henry J. *Bibliotheca Canadensis: or a Manual of Canadian Literature*. Ottawa: G.E. Desbarats, 1867.
---. *The Canadian Men and Women of the Time: A Handbook of Canadian Biography*. Toronto: William Briggs, 1898.
---. *The Canadian Men and Women of the Time: A Handbook of Canadian Biography of Living Characters*. Toronto: William Briggs, 1912.
- Munton, Ann. "The Long Poem Poetic Diary." *Open Letter*. 6: 2-3, 93-106.
- Murray, Louisa. "Merlin's Cave: A Legend in Rhyme." *The Week*. December 2, 1892.
---. "List of works sent to Briggs." Louisa Murray papers. York University Archives. Group 7A. No. 1
- National Gallery of Canada. *New Brunswick Authors*. Ottawa: National Library of Canada, 1984.
- New, W. H. *A History of Canadian Literature*. New York: New Amsterdam, 1989.

- O'Hagan, Thomas. *Canadian Essays: Critical and Historical*. Toronto: William Briggs, 1901.
- Okker, Patricia. *Our Sister Editors: Sarah J. Hale and the Tradition of Nineteenth-Century American Women Editors*. Athens, Georgia: of Georgia Press, 1995.
- Ower, John. "Crawford and the Penetrating Weapon." *The Crawford Symposium*. Ed. Frank M. Tierney. Ottawa, University of Ottawa Press, 1979. 33-47.
- Pearson, Carol and Katherine Pope. *The Female Hero in American and British Literature*. New York: R.R. Bowker, 1981.
- Relke, Diana M. A. "The Ecological Vision of Isabella Valancy Crawford: A Reading of 'Malcolm's Katie'." *Ariel* 22:3 (July 1991): 51-71.
- Rhodenizer, V. B. *A Handbook of Canadian Literature*. Ottawa: Graphic Publishers, 1930.
- Roberts, Charles G. D. "Canadian Poetry in its relation to the Poetry of England and America." *Canadian Poetry*. 2: Spring/Summer 1978. 76-86.
- Robinson, Lillian S. "Treason Our Text: Feminist Challenges to the Literary Canon." *The New Feminist Criticism: Essays on Women, Literature and Theory*. Ed. Elaine Showalter. New York: Pantheon, 1985. 105-121.
- Rosenfelt, Deborah S. "The Politics of Bibliography: Women's Studies and the Literary Canon." *Women in Print*. Eds. Joan E. Hartman and Ellen Messer-Davidow. New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1982. 11-31.
- Rosmarin, Adena. *The Power of Genre*. Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 1985.
- Russ, Joanna. *How to Suppress Women's Writing*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983.
- Ruskin, John. "Of Queen's Gardens." *Sesame and Lilies*. 13th ed. London: George Allen, 1892.
- Sangster, Charles. *The St. Lawrence and the Saguenay*. Ed. D.M.R. Bentley. London, Ontario: Canadian Poetry Press, 1990.
- Scott, F.R. and A.J.M. Smith. Eds. *The Blasted Pine: An Anthology of Satire Invective and Disrespectful Verse Chiefly by Canadian Writers*. Toronto: MacMillan, 1957.
- Sharma, Virenda. *Studies in Victorian Verse Drama*. Salzburg, Austria: University of Salzburg Press, 1979.
- Sheridan, Susan. *Along the Faultlines: Sex, Race, and Nation in Australian Women's*

- Writing*. Leonards, Australia: Allen & Unwin, 1995.
- Showalter, Elaine. *Sister's Choice: Tradition and Change in American Women's Writing*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1989.
- Sinclair, David. Ed. *Nineteenth-Century Narrative Poems*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972.
- Spender, Dale. *Man Made Language*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980.
- Stedman, Edmund Clarence. Ed. *A Victorian Anthology*. Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1895. Vol.II.
- Stewart, George. *Literature in Canada: An Address*. New York: 1877. Reprint Toronto: Canadiana House, 1970.
- Sullivan, Rosemary. Introduction. *Poetry by Canadian Women*. Toronto: Oxford, 1989.
- Surette, Leon. "Creating the Canadian Canon." *Canadian Canons: Essays in Literary Value*. Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1991.
- Sutherland, David A. "Fairbanks, Charles." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*. Vol. VII. (1836-1850). Toronto, University Of Toronto Press, 1988. 278-280.
- Traill, Catherine Parr. *Backwoods of Canada*. London: Charles Knight, 1836.
- Vincent, Thomas B. *A Directory of Known Pseudonyms, Initial Sets, and Maiden Names Found in Selected English-Canadian Magazines, Newspapers, and Books of the Nineteenth Century*. Kingston: Royal Military College, 1993.
- . *Narrative Verse Satire in Maritime Canada 1779-1814*. Ottawa: Tecumseh, 1978.
- Wagner, Anton. Introduction. *Women Pioneers: Canada's Lost Plays*. Vol. 2. Toronto: Canadian Theatre Review Publications, 1979.
- Waldron, Gordon. "Canadian Poetry." *Canadian Magazine*. Toronto: Ontario Publishing. Vol. VII. Dec. 1896. 101-108.
- Walker, Cheryl. *The Nightingale's Burden*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1982.
- Ware, Tracy. "A Little Self-Consciousness is a Dangerous Thing: A Response to Robert Lecker." *English Studies in Canada*. XVII, 4, December 1991. 481-493.
- Warren, Joyce W. Introduction. *The (Other) American Traditions: Nineteenth-Century*

Women Writers. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1993.

Webby, Elizabeth. "'Born to Blush Unseen': Some Nineteenth-Century Women Poets." *Bright and Fiery Troop*. Victoria, Australia: Penguin, 1988. 41-52.

Woolf, Virginia. "Women and Fiction". *Collected Essays*. VII. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1966. 141-148.

Works Consulted

- Barrett Browning, Elizabeth. "Aurora Leigh." (1856) *The Complete Works of Mrs. Browning*. Ed. Harriet Waters Preston. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Houghton Mifflin, 1900.
- Bentley, D.M.R. Introduction. *Abram's Plains: A Poem*. By Thomas Cary. London, Ontario: Canadian Poetry Press, 1990.
- . Introduction. *Canada: A Descriptive Poem*. By Cornwall Bailey. London, Ontario: Canadian Poetry Press, 1990.
- . Introduction. *Malcolm's Katie: A Love Story*. By Isabella Valancy Crawford. London, Ontario: Canadian Poetry Press, 1987.
- . Introduction. *Quebec Hill, or, Canadian Scenery: a Poem: in Two parts*. By J. Mackay. 1988.
- . Introduction. *Talbot Road*. By Adam Burwell. London, Ontario: Canadian Poetry Press, 1991.
- . Introduction. *The Emigrant*. By Alexander McLachlan. London, Ontario: Canadian Poetry Press, 1991.
- . Introduction. *The Story of an Affinity*. By Archibald Lampman. London, Ontario: Canadian Poetry Press, 1986.
- Burton, Valerie. "The Myth of Bachelor Jack, Masculinity, Patriarchy and Seafaring Labour." In *Jack Tar in History*. Eds. Colin Howell and Richard Twomey.. Fredericton: Acadiensis, 1991. 179-198.
- Crawford, Isabella Valancy. *Hugh and Ion*. Ed. Glenn Clever. Ottawa: Borealis Press, 1977.
- . "Gisli the Chieftain." *Collected Poems*. Ed. James Reaney. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972.
- . "Malcolm's Katie." *Collected Poems*. Ed. James Reaney. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972.
- . "Old Spookses' Pass." *Collected Poems*. Ed. James Reaney. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972.
- . "The Ghosts of the Trees." *Collected Poems*. Ed. James Reaney. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972.
- . "The Helot." *Collected Poems*. Ed. James Reaney. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972.
- Cuddon, J.A. Ed. *Penguin Dictionary of Literary Terms*. Toronto: Penguin, 1991.
- Daymond, Douglas and Leslie Monkman. Introduction. *Tecumseh: A Poem in Four Cantos*. London, Ontario: Canadian Poetry Press, 1992.
- Elliot, Brian and Adrian Mitchell. *Bards in the Wilderness: Australian Colonial Poetry to 1920*. Melbourne: Thomas Nelson, 1970.

- Flitton, Marilyn. *An Index to the Canadian Monthly and National Review and to Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly and National review 1872-1882*. Toronto: The Biographical Society of Canada, 1976.
- Gerson, Carole and Gwendolyn Davies. Eds. *Canadian Poetry: From the Beginnings Through the First World War*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1994.
- Hemans, Felicia Dorothea Browne. *The Poetical Works of Felicia Dorothea Hemans*. London: H. Milford, 1914.
- Fairbanks, Lorenzo Sayles. *The Genealogy of the Fairbanks Family*. Boston: Printed by American Printing & Engraving, 1897.
- Gilbert, Sandra M. and Susan Gubar. *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth Century Literary Imagination*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979.
- Godard, Barbara. "Epi(pro)logue: In Pursuit of the Long Poem." *Open Letter: Long-liners Conference Issue* 6: 2-3, Summer-Fall 1985. 301-335.
- Howell, Colin and Richard Twomey. Eds. *Jack Tar in History: Essays in the History of Maritime Life and Labour*. Fredericton: Acadiensis, 1991.
- Klinck, Carl. Ed. *Literary History of Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965.
- Kolodny, Annette. "A Map for Rereading Gender and the Interpretation of Literary Texts." *The New Feminist Criticism: Essays on Women, Literature and Theory*. Ed. Elaine Showalter. New York: Pantheon, 1985. 46-62.
- . *The Lay of the Land*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975.
- Livesay, Dorothy. "The Canadian Documentary: An Overview." *Open Letter: Long-liners Conference Issue* 6: 2-3, Summer-Fall 1985. 127-130.
- Lynch, Gerald. Introduction. *The Rising Village*. By Oliver Goldsmith. London, Ontario: Canadian Poetry Press, 1989.
- Martin, John Patrick. *The Story of Dartmouth*. Dartmouth: Privately printed for Author, 1957.
- Mazoff, C.D. *Anxious Allegiances: Legitimizing Identity in the Early Canadian Long Poem*. Montreal, Buffalo: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998.
- Parks, M.G. Introduction. *Acadia*. Joseph Howe. London, Ontario: Canadian Poetry press, 1989.
- New, W. H. Ed. *Literary History of Canada*. 2nd edition. Toronto: University of Toronto

Press, 1990.

Rossetti, Christina. *The Poetical Works of Christina Rossetti*. Ware, Hertfordshire, England: Wordsworth Editions, 1995.

Slade, Douglas B. W. *A Century of Australian Song*. London: Walter Scott, 1888.

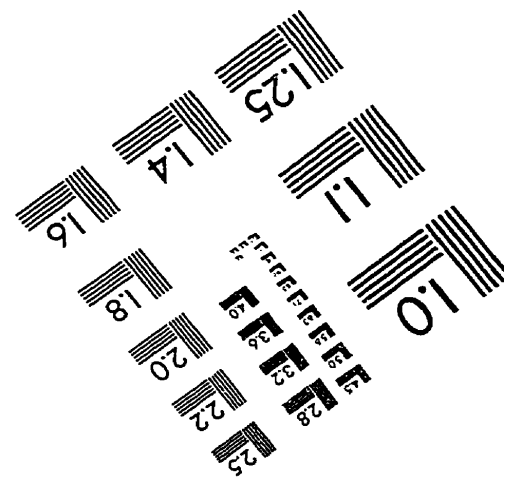
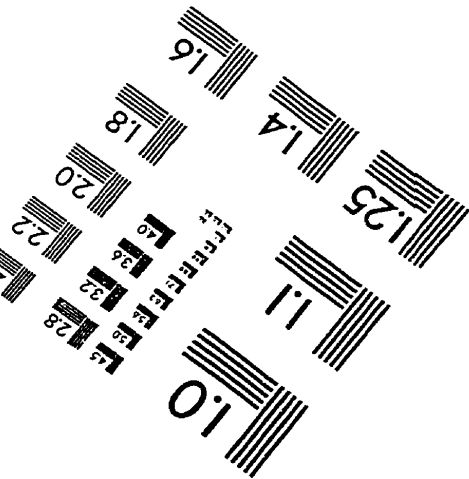
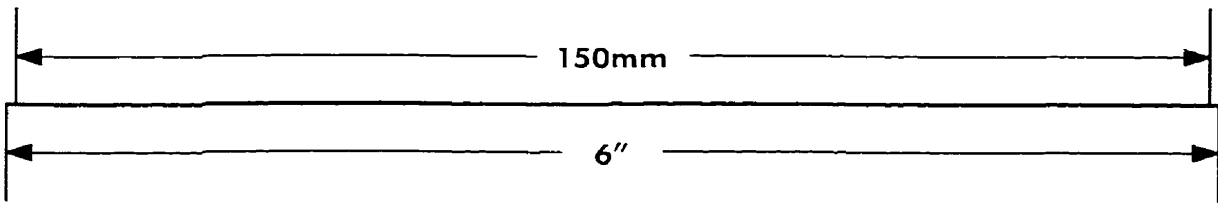
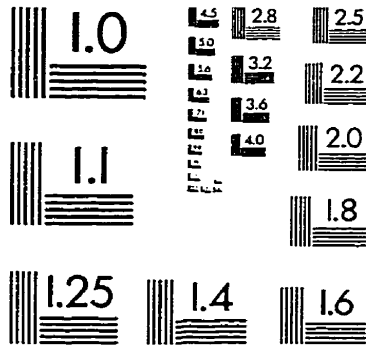
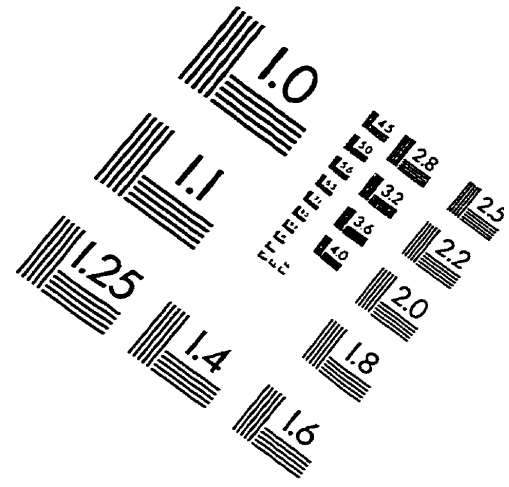
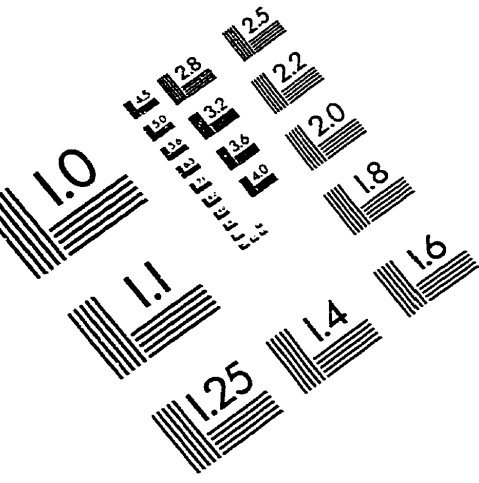
Spender, Dale. *Writing a New World: Two Centuries of Australian Women Writers*. London: Pandora, 1988.

Trehearne, Brian. Introduction. *The Emigrant*. By Standish O'Grady. London, Ontario: Canadian Poetry press, 1989.

Turner, Henry Gyles and Alex Sutherland. *The Development of Australian Literature*. Melbourne, George Robertson, 1898.

Watters, Reginald Eyre. *A Checklist of Canadian Literature and Background Materials, 1628-1960*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972.

IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)



APPLIED IMAGE, Inc
 1653 East Main Street
 Rochester, NY 14609 USA
 Phone: 716/482-0300
 Fax: 716/288-5989

© 1993, Applied Image, Inc., All Rights Reserved