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**DISCOVERING LILY LEWIS:  
A CANADIAN JOURNALIST AND NEW WOMAN**

**A thesis**

**Submitted to the College of Graduate Studies and Research  
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
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University of Saskatchewan  
Saskatoon**

**by**

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Spring, 2001**

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**ABSTRACT**

In September, 1888, two young Canadian journalists headed west on the CPR, beginning a journey around the world. Sara Jeannette Duncan later settled in India and is well known for her novels, stories, and sketches. Her travelling companion, Lily Lewis of Montreal, settled in Paris and continued, at least for several years, to write for newspapers and to publish a few non-fictional works. Lewis has been almost entirely forgotten; little has been known about her personal life, and, as far as I know, there has been no critical discussion of her work prior to or following the tour with Duncan. I have recovered some of Lily Lewis's later work, identified some earlier work not previously attributed to her, and learned something about her life from a surviving relative. In my dissertation, I examine Lily Lewis [Rood]'s life and writing from the theoretical perspective of women's life writing.

I find Marlene Kadar's theory of "life writing as critical practice" as she explains it in her introductory chapter to Essays on Life Writing especially enabling for this project. Kadar insists that early writers' texts be considered in terms of both their own contexts and those of their readers and critics. It is not enough, she claims, to say that women's writing has been undervalued or forgotten: rather, "the forgetting must be read" (10). I explicate fully my own critical contexts, and I examine circumstances today, in Lily Lewis's time, and in the time between, that have almost effaced Lewis from Canadian literary history. In an attempt to reclaim for Lily Lewis a place among Canadian women writers of her time, I read her writing contextually and intertextually in conjunction with writing by several of her contemporaries, especially Duncan. I focus upon comments that support my contention that a contributor to the Toronto paper, *The Week*, previously known only as "L.L.," was Lily Lewis. I look at Lily Lewis Rood's involvement in cultural

and literary stereotypes, and I discuss her complex participation in discourses about art and about the New Woman in both Canadian and international contexts.

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To my husband, Tim Martin, a special thank you for endless good humour, support in ways too numerous to mention, and for giving me the space I needed to complete this degree. Finally, I extend a sincere thank you to my thesis supervisor, Dr. Carol Morrell, for her belief in the value of this project and in my ability to carry it out. Her encouragement and insightful guidance have enabled me to produce this thesis.



**DEDICATION**

For my daughters, Stacey and Deane

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## INTRODUCTION

### Recovering Orthodocia

In September, 1888, two young women from Montreal headed west on the CPR, beginning a trip that would take them to points in western Canada, to Japan, India, Egypt, and eventually to England. Both were experienced journalists and had obtained commissions to send regular accounts of their travels to prominent newspapers in Eastern Canada. Neither of the women returned to Canada to live. Sara Jeannette Duncan settled in India and eventually received considerable recognition for her many novels, the first being A Social Departure: How Orthodocia and I went Round the World by Ourselves (1890), a partially fictionalized account of the world tour. Her travelling companion, Lily Lewis, settled in Paris and continued, at least for several years, to write for newspapers and to publish a few non-fictional works. Lewis has been relatively forgotten; little is known about her personal life, and no one, as far as I know, has discovered, or at any rate discussed critically, any of her subsequent work. I began this project hoping to recuperate some of Lily Lewis's later writing and to analyse it, along with her earlier travel writing, in conjunction with the work of Duncan and perhaps one or two other Canadian women journalists and travel writers of the same period, from the theoretical perspective of life writing.

I discovered Lily Lewis by accident. Interested initially in turn-of-the-century women's fiction and in projects of retrieving early Canadian women's writing, I found myself drawn to Duncan's novels and short stories. A Social Departure, together with the rapidly expanding volume of criticism of Duncan's

work, led me to Duncan's and Lewis's accounts of their journey in the Montreal Star and the Toronto paper The Week, respectively, under the women's pen names "Garth Grafton" and "Louis Lloyd." These articles sparked my interest in beginning a project on Lewis and her writing.

Soon after beginning this work, I retrieved all of "Louis Lloyd's" accounts of the trip with Duncan which appeared in The Week between October 11, 1888, and February 14, 1890, and several other articles by Louis Lloyd in The Week in a column entitled "Montreal Letter," between November 10, 1887, and October 4, 1888. I located the following two entries from Henry Morgan's Men and Women of the Time, published in 1898 and 1912, respectively:

**Rood, Mrs. Lilian**, author, is the dau. of the late John Lewis, Surveyor of Customs, Montreal, and was b. and ed. in that city. She commenced to write for the *Week* and other Can. publications, under the *nom de plume* of "Louis Lloyd." Later, she accompanied Miss Duncan (now Mrs. Cotes) on her voyage round the world. She spent some yrs. in Paris and London, and was a writer for *Galignani's Messenger*. Among other papers to which she has contributed articles and sketches have been the *Pall Mall Gazette* and *Budget*, the *London World*, the *London Times*, and the *St. James Gazette*. In 1895 she published a remarkable character sketch of Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, the French artist and presdt. of the New Salon (Boston: Prang & Co.). The edition was limited to 500 copies. Later, she edited "The World's Congress on Ornithology." She is now preparing for publication a work on Japan. She m., some yrs. ago, Roland, s. of Ogden N. Rood, Columbia Coll., N.Y.--*Union Park St., Boston, Mass.*

**Rood, Mrs. Lily**, author. D. late John Lewis, Surveyor of Customs, Montreal; b. and e. there; wrote for *The Week* and other Can. publications, under the *nom de plume* of "Louis Lloyd"; went round the world and subsequently wrote descriptive articles about the journey; later, went to Egypt with the Princess Gortchakow-Stonrdza, a daughter-in-law of the Russian Chancellor, going up the Nile to Dongola, where no white woman had ever been before; published an account of this expedition in a French review; has written for other newspapers and mags. in Paris and London, including *Gagliani's Messenger*, the *Paris Temps*, the *Pall Mall Gazette*, the *Budget*, *London World*, *London Times* and *St. James Gazette*; also the *Boston Transcript*, and *N.Y. Bookman* in Am.; published a remarkable character sketch of Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, late presdt. of the *New Salon* (1895), and since then a little book of Japanese sketches; m. Roland, s. Prof. Ogden N. Rood, Columbia Coll., has lived for many yrs. at Paris.--*9 Quai Voltaire, Paris, France.*

1912

Lastly, I read what has proved to be the only critical commentary about Lily Lewis that I have encountered. Marian Fowler in [Redney: A Life of Sara Jeannette Duncan](#) and Thomas Tausky in [Sara Jeannette Duncan: Novelist of Empire](#) refer briefly to some of Lewis's articles from the world tour in conjunction with their critical and biographical writing about Duncan. Fowler speculatively presents a Lily Lewis rather less assertive than her companion. She suggests, for example, that Lily's account of the girls' meeting, on the train, with the American writer Charles Dudley Warner "reveals how Lily habitually stayed in the background" (153) and she refers to "the modest Lily" (157) as she discusses Lily's description of a shooting party on the Fraser River. In addition to a common profession and a sense of adventure, Fowler claims, Lewis shared with Duncan "a

youthful *joie de vivre*, an interest in the visual arts, and a keen sense of humour" (149). Tausky, too, sees "some dissimilar features" (61) as well as shared temperaments in what he calls "the two self-portraits" (63), attributing to Lily Lewis "more flexibility of mind" (63) and greater cultural sensitivity. Of Lewis's life subsequent to this trip and in addition to Henry Morgan's information, Fowler was able to learn only that Lily Lewis "[. . .] would spend her married life in Paris, have a baby who died, get a divorce and pass a rather sad old age in England" (219).

I have been able to discover a little biographical information beyond that produced by Fowler's research. At one point in my research, in answer to a request for statistical information from the Quebec National Archives, I was informed that only Lily's brother Lansing is recorded as having been born to the people listed in Morgan as Lily's parents. Lansing Lewis is described in The Canadian Who Was Who, and in his obituary as a prominent and distinguished citizen of Montreal who participated actively in the civic, religious, and political life of the city, but only Morgan's brief entry describes Lily. A search of the records of the Montreal High School and the Montreal Girls' School similarly revealed no trace of Lily. I was beginning to wonder if perhaps she had not existed at all, when, with the help of later editions of Who's Who in Canada, I was able to locate a relative, Mr. Herbert Mostyn Lewis, the grandson of Lily's brother Lansing, who lives in Vancouver, and who has responded enthusiastically and helpfully to my enquiries about Lily Lewis.

Lily did, indeed, exist. She was born in 1866 and died in 1929 and is buried in the John Lewis family plot in the Montreal Cemetery. Besides Lansing, she had another brother, Albert, and a younger sister, Ella. Much about her life remains a mystery, however. According to some stories that Mr. Lewis has generously shared with me, Lily was considered "a bit of a black sheep," and consequently was not talked about very much by the family. Her family apparently did not approve of

her choice to live and work in Paris, and they did not care much, either, for her "artist husband," Roland Rood. (Roland Rood [1863-1927] seems to have been both an artist and a painting instructor. An oil painting by Rood, depicting a country scene with a cottage in the foreground, hangs in Herbert and Cynthia Lewis's upstairs hallway, and an edition of a work by Rood titled Color and Light in Painting was published in 1941.) There were some discreet rumours, Mr. Lewis says, about Lily's perhaps having spent some time in a mental hospital, and a reference in a letter written to her parents by another of her brothers to "the grief" that Lily had caused the family only adds to the enigma. Lily Lewis "disappeared" in the textual sense when Duncan translated her Star articles into the light social comedy A Social Departure and made Louis Lloyd, her travelling companion in the articles, the fictional Orthodoxia Love, a rather conservative English girl, and she seems largely to have disappeared in an historical sense as well.

Apart from Fowler's and Tausky's comments and a few brief references in Marjory Lang's recently published Women Who Made the News: Female Journalists in Canada 1880-1945 to Lewis as "Louis Lloyd," Duncan's companion on the world tour and the author of The Week's "Our Montreal Letter," Lily Lewis has largely been omitted from critical or biographical commentary, in her own time and subsequently, about Canadian writers in general, Canadian women journalists, or Canadian travel writers. Henry Morgan's 1903 Types of Canadian Women contains full-page descriptions, with formal photographs, of noteworthy Canadian women, including both society and professional women. Lewis is mentioned only as Duncan's travelling companion on the world tour.<sup>1</sup> An article by Thomas O'Hagan published in The Week on September 25, 1898, entitled "Some Canadian Women Writers" refers to a number of women writers whose "fostering of

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<sup>1</sup> No photographs have appeared in any text, to my knowledge, prior to those in my Appendix A, pages 186, 187, 188 and 196.

Canadian letters deserves note": newspaper journalists Sara Jeannette Duncan ("Garth Grafton"), Agnes Maule Machar ("Fidelis"), Frances Harrison ("Seranus"), Kathleen Blake Watkins ("Kit" Coleman), and Alice Freeman ("Faith Fenton"). A 1986 article by Barbara Freeman, "Every Stroke Upward: Women Journalists in Canada Between 1880 and 1906" (Canadian Women's Studies), similarly talks about Duncan, Machar, and "Kit," and adds the prairie journalists G. Cora Hind and Kate Simpson Hayes, but omits Lily Lewis. In a 1990 article, "Separate Entrances: The First Generation of Canadian Women Journalists," Marjory Lang does refer once, briefly, to "Louis Lloyd," again as Duncan's travelling companion. "Kit" and "Faith Fenton" are the subjects of recent biographies. Sandra Gwyn details in The Private Capital the "detective work" by which she concluded that the Ottawa society columnist "Amaryllis" was actually Ottawa socialite Agnes Scott. Anthologies of "Kit's" and Duncan's articles have been published. Books and articles about early women travellers continue to appear regularly, but so far Lily Lewis has been the subject of none of them.

I hoped through archival research to locate Lily Lewis Rood's sketch of Puvis de Chavannes, the "little book of Japanese sketches," the account of the trip up the Nile, and a selection of contributions to a variety of newspapers--something approximating Lewis's entire *oeuvre*. I have found instead gaps not unlike those in the critical milieu, absences, fragments and traces, along with a few surprises.

I was able to locate a copy of Pierre Puvis de Chavannes: A Sketch By Lily Lewis Rood, the only text by Lily Lewis to have been published in book form, as far as I can ascertain. A nineteenth-century periodicals index led me to another sketch of Puvis de Chavannes by Lily Lewis Rood, published in Modern Art in 1895.

I hoped perhaps eventually to republish an edition of the Japanese sketches, should I find them, believing that Lewis's own version of hers and Duncan's



"departure" would be a valuable addition to the collection of women's writing being rescued from obscurity, but it seems never to have been published, at least in any retrievable form. (No such work is included in the official lists of works published in the United States, Britain, or France.) Louis Lloyd's Japanese sketches in The Week remain the only other perspective available.

The account of the trip up the Nile with the Princess Gortchakow has proved to be equally elusive. Ten days among French-language Parisian reviews of the 1890s produced only ink and dust. I eventually concluded that the account might very likely have been published in the English-language Paris review Galignani's Messenger.<sup>2</sup> Interlibrary Loans found one location, the National Library of Scotland, with holdings of this magazine. Their copies, however, "had recently been lost."

Marian Fowler claims that at the end of May, 1889, one month after she and Duncan ended their trip in London, Lily Lewis moved to Paris (175), and in five articles in the Montreal Star, Louis Lloyd describes the great Paris Exhibition of that summer. In a perusal of London newspapers, I located several articles by Louis Lloyd published in 1890 in the Pall Mall Gazette under the heading "Parisian Personalities." The sketches describe Parisian artists and their ateliers (these are subtitled "The Artist *Fin de Siècle*"), some writers and journalists, and finally, "The Princess Gortschakoff," a Russian woman famous for her Parisian entertainments.

This rather disparate and disappointingly incomplete collection of writings forced me to ask some questions about the nature and direction of my project. I am interested in Canadian literature. What is Canadian about the Paris Exhibition or

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<sup>2</sup> In the nineteenth century, Galignani's Messenger (1814-95) was a well-known daily newspaper with a wide circulation. Founded by Giovanni Antonio Galignani and carried on by his sons, Galignani's print house and bookshop in Paris issued reprints of English books as well as publishing the newspaper, which continued as The Daily Messenger (1896-1904). (See also Giles Barber, "Galignani and the Publication of English Books in France, 1800-1852." The Library [1961].)

the ateliers of Parisian artists? And what is literary about any of these things? Originally interested in travel literature, I seemed to have located very little material directly related to travel that had not already been discussed. I originally intended to connect this study to theories of life writing and autobiography, and so hoped to find some examples of personal writing--diaries, journals, letters to friends or editors--but no sign of any such material has turned up in my search. I began, therefore, to explore a somewhat larger area, and eventually settled upon the sketch as an appropriate generic basis upon which to structure my study of Lewis's writing, one which would bring together Canadian contexts, travel writing, journalism, and life writing.

In their Introduction to their anthology The Prose of Life: Sketches From Victorian Canada, Carole Gerson and Kathy Mezei write about the importance of the sketch in nineteenth-century writing, defining it "as a genre, [. . .] [as] an apparently personal anecdote or memoir which focusses on one particular place, person, or experience, usually intended for magazine publication" (2), and calling it "an appropriate medium for recording and shaping noteworthy Canadian experiences" (1-2). The authors cite as examples such well-known collections of sketches and observations by travellers as Anna Jameson's Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada (1838), Catharine Parr Trail's The Backwoods of Canada (1836), and Susanna Moodie's Roughing It in the Bush (1852). The sketch, an outgrowth of the eighteenth-century periodical essay and the more personal and informal "graphic description" (Gerson and Mezei 5) in the style of Mary Mitford's nineteenth-century "country rambles" (5),<sup>3</sup> proved popular in Victorian Canada when newspapers and magazines were the main outlet for writers, and also later in

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<sup>3</sup> Gerson and Mezei refer to the sketches of rural life by Mary-Russell Mitford, first published in the New Monthly Magazine and later collected into several volumes as Our Village (1824-39). Mitford personally conducts her readers on rambles through the countryside, encountering quaint characters and scenes, and her style was much imitated by others.

post-Confederation Canada when writers and editors together participated in a conscious attempt to create a national literature. "Colloquial in tone and informal in structure, [. . .] related to the letter in its involvement of the reader, [the sketch] allows the writer to be personal [and] to reveal more of [her] distinctive qualities" (2) than do many other public literary forms. Gerson and Mezei include in their anthology two sketches from Sara Jeannette Duncan's early journalism: "A Visit to a Carmelite Convent" and ["Buying Insurance."] Both illustrate the anthologists' depiction of the sketch as "a transitional genre" (3) containing a strong narrative thread and pointing toward the modern traditions of documentary writing and serial fiction with a basis in place and lived experience. Included, too, are articles by anonymous writers and writers like a Miss H.B. MacDonald who wrote in The Literary Garland about "Bush Scenery" in 1843 and "apparently did not continue her literary career" (4).

Reflective as well as descriptive, the sketch provided a form in which literary and cultural criticism could develop in a new country. Confederation Poets<sup>4</sup> Duncan Campbell Scott, Archibald Lampman, and William Wilfred Campbell, for example, contributed to a column in the Toronto Globe that they called "At the Mermaid Inn" and in which they expounded upon such topics as "the lack of imaginative creative ability in Canadian literature" (At the Mermaid Inn 331), "talent leaving [Canada]" (269), and "on women and changing times" (138). Duncan's opinions, expressed in both The Week and the Globe, about "Outworn Literary Methods" (The Week 9 June 1887), "American Influence on Canadian Thought" (The Week 7 July 1887), "Literary Pabulum" (The Week 24 November

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<sup>4</sup> Referred to by W. H. New as "the most important Canadian movement of the nineteenth century" (New: 118), the "Confederation Group" involved Sir Charles G. D. Roberts, Bliss Carman, Archibald Lampman, Duncan Campbell Scott, William Wilfred Campbell, and Isabella Valency Crawford. All strove to engender a sense of Canadian tradition through poetry rooted in place.

1887), to cite a few examples, belong to the same milieu and genre and are frequently included in anthologies.

Many of Louis Lloyd's "Montreal Letter" columns similarly express personal opinions about literary and cultural matters. On January 12, 1888, Lloyd says of Canadians: "Our art, like our accent, recalls now the Englishman, now the American. [. . .] We want some inspired creature to make us feel our individuality." A bit later she refers to the Canadian poet Louis Frechette's success in Paris: "It is when we are pronounced 'poet' by an old world tribunal that we are really worthy to bear the name" (9 Feb. 1888). She describes the first mixed-gender "conversaziones" at McGill and she writes with mixed feelings about suffragists. Upon meeting the New York leader of the movement, Louis Lloyd writes a sketch of Mrs. Lillie Devreux Blake which includes remarks about how "one's hilarity" regarding these meetings might "become modified" because of one's unexpected admiration for this woman (3 May 1888).

Louis Lloyd's ambivalent attitude towards suffragists corresponds to Lily Lewis's unique and contradictory relationship in a larger sense to discourses about the New Woman. Carole Gerson and Veronica Strong-Boag describe the New Woman as an "international phenomenon" whose "leitmotif [. . .] was independence" (*Paddling Her Own Canoe* 59). "Often identified with feminism, although not always a suffragist, the New Woman appeared in the Western World in the 1880s and survived into the 1920s" (59). In her espousal of many causes, including better education, paid work, egalitarian marriage, and health and dress reform, she "sought to improve her own lot and that of her sex in general" (60). The Canadian version usually comprised middle-class women who "set about to earn their own living, able to assert both respectability and some independence from their families" (60). Elsewhere, and in writing and on the stage, the New

Woman represented a more rebellious challenge to existing social structures and values.

Among the many scholars of nineteenth-century women's writing to whom I am deeply indebted for my own study is Eva-Marie Kröller. Her Canadian Travellers in Europe, 1851-1900 has provided a general connection among travel writing, art criticism, and the New Woman, and, as well, has enabled me to discover some articles by Lily Lewis not previously attributed to her. Much of the critical work on Canadian women's travel writing has concentrated on travellers to and within Canada. Writings by women travellers in Canada, from the much discussed Moodie, Parr Traill, and Jameson to lesser-known writers like Georgina Binnie-Clark and Mina Hubbard of the early twentieth century and the earlier Ann Cuthbert Knight and Elizabeth Simcoe,<sup>5</sup> have been discussed from the perspectives of imperialism, nationalism, and feminism. Kröller's study highlights the importance of internationalism in Canadian cultural life and thought in the eighteenth eighties and eighteenth nineties, and it identifies the origins of the literary and artistic expatriacy that has continued to be a crucial aspect of Canadian culture throughout much of the twentieth century. Kröller writes of the importance of European cities in the nineteenth-century Canadian imagination and devotes one chapter of her book to "Women Travellers" to London, Paris, and the cities of Italy. She talks about New Women striking out on their own, devising their own itinerary and their own way of thinking about the people and things they encounter, "women like Sara

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<sup>5</sup> Georgina Binnie-Clark wrote two books about her experiences on the Canadian Prairies, the first as a visitor (A Summer on the Canadian Prairie, 1910) and the second as a settler and farmer (1914). Mina Hubbard travelled through Labrador to complete her deceased husband's book (A Woman's Way Through Unknown Labrador, 1908). Helen Buss discusses both women and their works in Mapping Ourselves (1993). Ann Cuthbert Knight travelled to Canada in the early nineteenth century, and Susan Birkwood discusses her long poem, "A Year in Canada" (1816), in "Different Sides of the Picture" (1997). Elizabeth Simcoe was the wife of Ontario's first governor and an early diarist of the Canadian experience. Helen Buss ("Women and the Garrison Mentality" [1990]), and Marian Fowler (The Embroidered Tent [1985]), are among the many critics who discuss Simcoe's 1790 work.

Jeannette Duncan's heroines in A Social Departure [ . . . ] and the Toronto Mail's Kathleen (Kit) Coleman" (Krolller 74).

"Of all the nineteenth-century forms of travel writing," Kröller writes, "the newspaper serial was probably the most appropriate for the description of great cities" (81). Kröller goes on to describe the "word-pictures of Italy's cities and art treasures" (82) presented to readers of The Week in the 1890s by a woman from Halifax whom she calls "a Ruskinite in Canada" (82), Alice Jones. Detailing her travels in England, France, and North Africa as well as in Italy, Jones's "perceptive, elegantly written travel vignettes," according to Kröller, "rank among the finest in Canadian travel writing" (82). Jones's travel writing, however, was not the only such contribution to The Week. Kröller notes also "travel sketches such as 'L.L.'s' 'Letter from Italy' and 'C.A.M.'s' 'An Artist Abroad' [as] habitually includ[ing] knowledgeable comments on art history and the aesthetic impact of the sights seen" (84). Kröller sees a "fashionable *fin de siècle* world-weariness" (84) in L.L.'s description of the Boboli Gardens and their "many delightful pleasures--now dead [ . . . ] [due to today's] motley crowds" (84). Upon closer examination of 1886 and 1887 editions of The Week, I am convinced that the "L.L." to whom Kröller refers is Lily Lewis.

L.L. appears in The Week for the first time February 11, 1886, as the author of a column headed "Our Paris Letter" and dated January 3 and January 18. These and subsequent articles describe Parisian scenes, Parisian events, and Parisian characters: a New Year's *fête*, an anarchists' meeting, a famous French suffragist. Beginning November 4, 1886, L.L.'s title changes to "From Paris to Switzerland," then to "Letter from Switzerland," "Letter from Italy," and finally to "Letter from Rome" as this Canadian correspondent describes her trip through the major cities of the two countries, with the final installment appearing June 9, 1887.

In her May 6, 1886, sketch entitled "A Paris Pension," L.L. describes her Paris accommodation: "an earthly paradise" in the words of the acquaintance who had recommended it, a "first-class Family Home [for] Boarders for learn French" in those words printed upon the "erudite landlady's" card. "Our pension was a perfect nest of artists," L.L. notes, with its "eight pianos, two violins and five cantatrices all going at once." L.L. "paints a word-picture" of the dinner table with the landlady, the husband of dubious class, the shiftless Russian, the little English correspondent, the four American sisters, and "the solitary Canadian " (later further identified as "the little music student" [The Week 22 April 1886] in awe of the great composer Franz Liszt).

The view from L.L.'s little room on the fifth *étage* of this *pension de famille* matches the one Louis Lloyd describes in an article in the Montreal Star June 9, 1889. Back in Paris after the world tour with Duncan, Lloyd remarks, "The Paris of today will jar upon you should you have left it two years ago in the sleepy dignity of a June afternoon." She writes of having gone "to see madame at the pension" and finding both madame and the pension much changed. The modest *pension de famille* had become "Hotel," and as she discovered after climbing the five flights of steps, her "dear dirty little room" was no longer either dirty or affordable. Its view of "a myriad chimney pots" had remained unchanged, however, and remains consistent with L.L.'s earlier "magnificent panorama," "unsurpassed in Paris," of "the Seine *sous les mille falots assises en souveraine*" and farther away, the white villas dotting the hill of Meudon, and the "vast sea of houses below the domes of Les Invalides and the Pantheon."

Louis Lloyd's "Montreal Letter" begins November 4, 1887, and the articles in the first few months contain many other comments about their author's having recently been in Paris and other European places. Similarities in language, metaphors, and literary quotations provide other less tangible but I think still

persuasive evidence to support my conclusion that L.L., Louis Lloyd, and Lily Lewis Rood are all the same person.

L.L.'s sketches of 1886 and early 1887, like Louis Lloyd's later ones, are both reflective and descriptive, both personable and objectively informative. They suggest a cosmopolitan sophistication and a degree of experience both of travelling and of writing that might make us question Marian Fowler's assessment of Lily as the partner inclined to remain "habitually in the background" during the later trip. As L.L. writes of the sights and events in Paris, Montreaux, and Rome, she includes her opinions about art, education, and New Women. Having visited the Paris Salon of 1886, she tells readers of The Week how much she dislikes depictions of "a humanity cruel, sensual or horrible" (27 May 1886), thereby stating her position in the debates about realism <sup>6</sup> that were raging in art circles at the time. She touches, too, on the contentious "woman question" <sup>7</sup> in her remarks about how "[t]he French girl is too much of a coquette to degenerate into the spectacled, corsetless bluestocking" (5 Aug. 1886). She praises the advances the French have made in women's education, but deplores their reluctance to travel.

In this early set of travel sketches especially, a personal tone similar to what Gerson and Mezei call the "Mitford" style invites the reader to participate in the experience. Duncan begins the Carmelite Convent sketch with "Let us walk a while first" (Gerson and Mezei 191), and continues a bit later: "We ring, and the sound reverberates within [. . .]" (192), thus carrying the reader with her, step by step. L.L. rather similarly writes, from Montreaux: "Here we are in the home of La Nouvelle Héloïse. [. . .] Picture to yourself the most bewitching of villages" (2 Dec.

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<sup>6</sup> See the Conclusion for a further discussion about this debate.

<sup>7</sup> The "woman question" became a well-known descriptor for the cultural debate, beginning in the 1860s, about the social consequences of what were popularly regarded as women's violations of Victorian social codes. The Conclusion looks again at this concept in its discussion of the New Woman.



1886) and from Rome: "Trace with me these ruins. [. . .] We will wander from the Fora of the Emperors to the Forum Romanum. [. . .] Here and there in these narrow ugly streets we find with delight a column, a frieze, some exquisite piece of work [. . .]" (21 Apr. 1887).

Barry Callaghan's Canadian Travellers in Italy (1989) provides some additional contexts in which to situate Lily Lewis's writing. Initially a response to a 1988 conference in Toronto called The Italian Connection, the book brings together a varied and fascinating selection of poems, sketches both literary and graphic, and fictional excerpts, all artistic responses by Canadians in different times to their own experiences of travelling to Italy. This volume includes Alice Jones's 1892 sketch "Florentine Vignettes" from The Week and two 1884 selections about Rome, also from The Week, by an author denoted as "G." Among the most interesting selections in the collection are a number of entries from a little known work by Anna Jameson, Diary of an Ennuyée, in which she writes of her visit to Italy in 1826. An erudite art critic as well as an accomplished writer, Jameson instructs as well as charms and entertains her readers, and her Diary entries provide an early standard with which to compare and contrast the sometimes strikingly similar later writings of L.L. and Alice Jones. While Callaghan's work includes no writing by L.L., any of her nine sketches printed in The Week between January 6, 1887 and June 9, 1887 can be imagined as having a place among the pieces included.

To summarize briefly, an updated version of Henry Morgan's 1889 and 1912 entries describing Lily Lewis Rood, as a result of my research, would \*corroborate definitely a variety of work published after the tour with Duncan. This work would include several sketches from Paris in The Week (1889), the Montreal Star (1889), and the Pall Mall Gazette (1890), an article about Pierre Puvis de Chavannes in Modern Art (1895), the volume Pierre Puvis de Chavannes: A Sketch (1895), and two prose poems, "A Face in the Mirror," and "A Perfume"

(The Bookman, 1896). It would also add to Lewis Rood's *oeuvre* a substantial number of articles published in The Week under the signature, L.L., from Paris, Switzerland, and Italy, between January, 1886, and June, 1887. The new resume would include the dates of Lily Lewis Rood's birth and death (1866 and 1929, respectively), something about her husband's work, some new information about her family, and some photographs of her and her family. (See Appendix A, pp.186, 187, 188, and 196.)

An update about Lily Lewis Rood would point to a less tangible but I think also important intertextual connection between her life as a Canadian New Woman, journalist, traveller, and writer at the *fin de siècle*, and the fictional accounts of such women written by some of her contemporaries. The term *fin de siècle*, like the term New Woman, has appeared again and again in both the primary and the secondary works I have been reading. Bernard Bergonzi defines *fin de siècle* as "a cultural attitude: the conviction that established forms of intellectual, moral, and social certainty are vanishing, together with the belief that new situations require new attitudes in life and art" (19). *Fin de siècle*, in a more limited sense, represents the gradual break with Victorian attitudes and forms that began before the turn of the century and culminated in what has come to be known as high modernism. Louis Lloyd's umbrella heading for her Pall Mall Gazette articles, "The Artist *Fin de Siècle*," identifies their author, however remotely, with all that the phrase represents. The Paris art community, with its ateliers, its art and music students, and its journalists and novelists, is, in fact, at the very centre of *fin de siècle*, and, interestingly, also at the centre of many New Woman novels of the eighteen nineties.<sup>8</sup> And it is here in the Paris art community that the three Canadian writers

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<sup>8</sup> Duncan's A Daughter of Today (1894) is often referred to as a novel of the New Woman, as are her novels A Voyage of Consolation (1898) and The Path of a Star (1899). Some well-known British novels portraying the New Woman negatively and/or satirically are George Gissing's The Odd Woman (1893), Grant Allen's The Woman Who Did (1895), and Thomas Hardy's Jude the Obscure (1896). Among frequently criticized novels (also British) that portray the New Woman

Lily Lewis, Sara Jeannette Duncan, and Alice Jones, and their works, come together in the middle of the eighteen nineties.

Lily Lewis lived in Paris and wrote about her travels in Europe and Africa and about Parisian artists. Alice Jones also lived in Paris and wrote accounts of her travels in Europe and Africa. (Jones's account of a trip up the Nile is available, in The Week, 1994.) In 1895, Lily Lewis Rood published her sketch of Puvis de Chavannes. In 1894, Duncan published her New Woman novel A Daughter of Today. One of its main characters, Elfrida Bell, is a curious mixture of the historical New Woman, the highly visible independent woman trying to realize her own potential, and the New Woman of much fiction of the time, an aberration responsible for social chaos, reviled for her self-centred ambition and unwomanly behavior. Elfrida, in fact, resembles the "real" Lily Lewis to a remarkable extent. Elfrida comes to Paris to study art, then turns to journalism. She writes about artists and their studios. She contributes her articles to newspapers and magazines with names altered only slightly from those for which Henry Morgan says Lewis herself wrote, and she writes about her association with a Russian socialite, a "Princess Bobaloff," famous for her Parisian entertainments. Elfrida, like the New Woman of popular myth, tends toward radical extremity, and, as occurs so often in fiction about the New Woman, her story ends in tragedy: she commits suicide while the more conventional character, Janet Cardiff, finds romance and happiness. As in Duncan's A Social Departure, Lily Lewis, the actual woman, disappears, as a character initially resembling her in terms of sharing her experiences becomes a literary stereotype.

Critics have recognized aspects of Duncan herself in many of her characters, including the two women in A Daughter of Today, and often point to a prevalent

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positively are Ella Dixon Hepworth's The Story of a Modern Woman (1894) and Mary Cholmondeley's The Red Postage (1899).

tendency towards a decentred subjectivity in much women's writing of the turn of the century, and they identify this tendency as a characteristic of modernist writing. Ann Ardis, Jane Sellwood, and Carole Gerson ("Wild Colonial Girls"), to list a few examples, see in these works a subtle subversion of patriarchal values.

Paradoxically, the critical *milieu* associated with modernism has curtailed greatly the discussion of art's relationship to life so important to the literary and cultural debates of the early eighteenth century. Ann Ardis points in her study New Women, New Novels to a widespread intertextuality apparent in women's novels of this period, and notes numerous references to extratextual circumstances that encourage contextual reading. These books "do not want to be read singly or separately" (4), she claims, and I strongly agree that an intertextual and extratextual study of Lewis's, Duncan's, and Jones's writing will challenge not only the boundaries between life and art, and between fiction and non-fiction, but also the artificial national and period boundaries that have defined and sometimes limited literary study.

Early in her career as a journalist, Lily Lewis expressed, indirectly, a concern about artists being forgotten. Having recently visited a collection of portraits of celebrated Canadian artists, she wrote in her "Montreal Letter" column on December 29, 1887: "I contemplated long and earnestly the portraits of two individuals who bore every indication of being the most enviable of ancestors; and yet "Inconnus" said the catalogue." The last works by Lily Lewis that I found in my search, and also the last written, chronologically, were two prose poems in an 1896 volume of the New York Bookman, and in the circumstances surrounding my discovery and recovery of these poems, the threat of disappearance was paramount and the blurring of boundaries much more than a theoretical concept. These journals of the eighteenth century, which I located in the farthest reaches of the National Archives' periodicals stacks, are falling apart. The ink comes off the

pages at the slightest touch. The pages themselves literally begin to crumble when they are handled. By the time I had photocopied the pages containing the poems, it was impossible to read the title and date of the journal. I attached a note to the cover to ensure that the volume would be returned to its place. Ironically, each of these prose-poems has as its subject a woman who appears somewhere for a brief moment, then disappears, leaving behind only a trace: an after-image in a mirror in one case, a whiff of perfume on a bus in the other.

Using the sketch as a connecting feature, I want in this dissertation to bring together all of Lily Lewis's writing and to read her textual representation of the New Woman as life writing. Marlene Kadar's theory of life writing as she explains it in her introductory chapter in Essays on Life Writing: From Genre to Critical Practice, I believe, provides an appropriate framework in which to discuss the complexities of reading these early works and in which to conduct a theoretically sophisticated and academically productive study of them. It is not enough, Kadar claims, to say that women's writing has been undervalued or forgotten; rather, she says, "the forgetting must be read" (10). The reader, Kadar insists, must remain constantly aware of her/ his contexts and assumptions as well as those of the writer, as the concept of life writing moves beyond generic considerations alone and begins to encompass critical practice as well. I find Kadar's concern with context very compatible with my desire to elucidate factors in Lily Lewis's time, in our time, and in the time between her time and ours that have contributed to her erasure. Informing my own contexts, along with Kadar's work, are other theories of life writing, especially several devised by Canadian critics, current theories of travel writing, and a wide variety of Canadian literary history and criticism. I shall examine some of Lily Lewis's sketches closely and in conjunction with works by her contemporaries Sara Jeannette Duncan and Alice Jones, braiding and blending together these women's voices in an attempt to re-establish Lily Lewis's place

among Canadian women writers of her time. I hope that this exercise will not only recover the work of a relatively forgotten woman writer, but also contribute to contemporary scholarship in nineteenth-century Canadian literature, in Canadian cultural studies, in women's travel writing, and in the theory and practice of women's life writing.

## CHAPTER ONE

### Theoretical Contexts: Finding a Middle Ground

Marlene Kadar expresses a desire to approach the study of life writing as a feminist fully aware of the political and theoretical complexity that such a position entails. She especially wants to avoid the kinds of rivalries that might result in such comparisons as "this text is more feminist than that" (8), but at the same time to "incorporate feminism" (10) into the reader's understanding of the text. Kadar wants also to extend the definition of life writing to include more than the traditional notions of formal autobiography and biography, and more, too, than the private personal forms of writing, the letters and diaries and journals currently the focus of much feminist study, and she wants to consider non-literary as well as literary writing. Kadar's concerns with genre and with positioning herself as a reader match my own desire to define these texts by Lily Lewis and her contemporaries as life writing, and to read them as a feminist and as a scholar interested in Canadian writing.

In her Introduction to a special issue of Canadian Literature, Shirley Neuman, another Canadian scholar and theorist of women's life writing, notes that, with the exception of recent work by Kadar and Helen Buss, theories of autobiography and autobiographical writing by Canadians have seldom been discussed together, and in a similar vein, Susan Jackel challenges Canadian scholars "not to accept uncritically theories--even feminist theories--evolved elsewhere, without reference to Canadian experience or Canadian texts" ("Canadian

Women's Autobiography: A Problem of Criticism" 109). I, too, wish to pull together a variety of Canadian theoretical and critical threads that impinge on my own specific retrieval project, ironically involving writers whose work is both Canadian and cosmopolitan, whose lives began in Canada and ended elsewhere. A critical text with a focus similar to mine is Re(dis)covering Our Foremothers, an anthology of historical, critical, and theoretical articles about nineteenth-century Canadian women's writing edited by Lorraine McMullen. Concerned with recovering works once known and subsequently forgotten and those never known, with valorizing genres outside of fiction or poetry, and with thinking in new ways about styles that have been denigrated, McMullen states her wish to "bridge the creative and the critical" (1), and this, too, I wish to do. Helen Buss, like Marlene Kadar and Lorraine McMullen, wants to recover lost voices in a theoretical context, and in her volume Mapping Our Selves: Canadian Women's Autobiography in English, which she describes as "an attempt to understand the complex subjectivity of women writing themselves into the literature and history of this place" (1), she stresses her need to name the critics and theorists who have shaped her reading strategies (23). In my naming and describing work by Kadar, Buss, Neuman, and several other scholars whose work I feel intersects with my own in important ways, I am doing the same thing. Having emphasized my desire to situate my study within a Canadian scholarly *milieu*, I must note also the necessity to weave into my critical fabric some non-Canadians whose work resonates closely with Kadar's and crucially informs the background for mine. I intend, in this chapter, to sketch briefly the broad theoretical context in which I shall examine Lily Lewis's life and writing.

In attempting to define what, exactly, life writing is, Marlene Kadar writes of a way of looking at writing about the self that "'she' made [her] do" (9), "she" being "a kind of feminized reading consciousness" (9) that continually reminds her



(Kadar) of her own position as a particular kind of reader. Awareness of herself as a "white reading woman in the 'West'" (1), influenced by evolving political and literary movements, Kadar believes, will result in a way of defining life writing that understands the limitations of both the traditional formal notions of the concept and more recent versions celebrated by feminist literary critics concerned with the recuperation of early autobiographical writing. The former, stemming directly from the eighteenth-century definition of life writing as encompassing formal biography and autobiography and describing autobiography as "a biography written by the subject about himself or herself, with a certain degree of objectivity" (Kadar, quoting M.H. Abrams, 4), may "(re)generate androcentric interpretative strategies" (Kadar 4) <sup>1</sup> even when expanded to include more personal forms. The latter, focussing on the personal narratives written by women that have been the subject of "gynocritics,"<sup>2</sup> "tend to privilege a [particular] idea about what constitutes the personal" (5). This view of life writing "may institutionalize a defensive posture for women" (7), and can ultimately misrepresent "'feminine' as 'opposite,' or, worse still, [Kadar claims], simply as victim" (10).

Both of these earlier concepts of life writing encompass a tacit understanding of life writing as being primarily non-fictional, a term with which Kadar "ha[s] some difficulty" (5), as, she says, does Quebec feminist fiction theory, deconstruction, and postmodernism. Linda Hutcheon states that "to write of anyone's history is to order, to give form to disparate facts, in short, to fictionalize"

<sup>1</sup> Kadar refers here to Patricinio Schweikart's term "androcentricity," the way in which, in many male-authored texts, a woman reader is invited to respond as a male, and ultimately to become complicit in elevating the male point of view to the status of universality. (See Schweikart pp. 125-7).

<sup>2</sup> "Gynocritics" is the term created by Elaine Showalter to describe a "specialized critical discourse." In "Feminist Criticism in the Wilderness," Showalter explains the term as denoting "a sustained investigation of literature by women" (248). Gynocritics, with women's writing as its subject, looks at the "essential question: what is different about women's writing?" (248). I understand Kadar implicitly to associate gynocritics with "gynocentricity," Schweikart's term for a female-centred reading corresponding to her "androcentricity."

(The Canadian Postmodern 82). At the same time, Hutcheon warns, and Kadar agrees, that there is good reason for feminisms to suspect postmodernism, even when they try to incorporate it, because their political agendas can be endangered, or at least obscured, by the "double coding" (9) of postmodernism. (In The Politics of Postmodernism, Hutcheon notes a "major difference in orientation" [142] between feminism and postmodernism. Feminisms "have an agenda--a position and a 'truth' that offer ways of understanding aesthetic and social practices" [153]. Postmodernism, with one of its bases being the poststructuralist principle of undermining absolute truth, doubly encodes both complicity and critique, and tends to relativise all positions.) While Kadar feels that "perhaps a politically conscious postmodernism [could] appreciate the canon, revise it where it sees fit, and forget it where it also sees fit" (9), she would not conflate life writing with fiction as do many poststructuralist critics. She defines life writing, instead, as "comprising texts that are written by an author who does not continuously write about someone else, and who does not pretend to be absent from the text" (10). She would extend the boundaries of life writing to include more kinds of texts. She would favour less definite genre boundaries and, in fact, would problematize the very notion of literature, preferring to see it as "only one category of special writing" (12).

Kadar also wants us to read in a way that "allows our own habits and prejudices to show through" ("What is Life Writing?" x) and forces us to "question the determinants that have informed our reading" ("Coming to Terms" 11). She wishes especially to rethink the valuations that have been attached to what she calls "high culture," and to face the problem of the tremendous academic pressure to conform to what has come to be known as intellectual excellence. She wants us to reconsider the assumptions that have encouraged us to value the impersonal and abstract in style, for example, and to accept the notion of history as a sense-making operation. "She," Kadar's feminized "reading presence" (1), will be a constant

reminder that life writing is not a fixed term, but rather is something that fluctuates between a genre and a critical practice and opens up both genre and practice to reinterpretation and change.

Several of the essays that Kadar includes in her anthology articulate in slightly different ways their authors' desire to find a way to talk about life writing that acknowledges academically sophisticated ways of viewing history and subjectivity inspired by poststructuralist theory, and at the same time allows a politically motivated discussion of women's writing about their lives. Elizabeth S. Cohen, in "Court Testimony From the Past: Self and Culture in the Making of Text," examines oral testimonies "in the vernacular" (Kadar 81) from early modern Rome. These non-literary documents composed by "ordinary people" (81) would not, in their time or ours, be considered of equal "literary" merit either with the writing of literary persons or with published autobiographies. Cohen suggests that the expansion of the term literature to include these alternative texts "invites exchange across disciplinary boundaries" (84), especially those between literature and history, and in the process forces us to look at the relationship between the text and the world that produced it. Precisely what roles have the individual creator, the culture, and historical circumstances played in shaping the text?

Acknowledging the naivety of assuming these documents to be representative of a recoverable past, Cohen wants also to resist those currents of literary study that pretend that "text is all there is" (84). The construction of life writing as an object of academic study necessarily "occupies a middle ground between the study of text and of world" (85). She suggests that life writing offers an accommodation, a "forum for explaining the process by which culture intervenes between writer and text" (86). Life writing, Cohen asserts, can portray the writer not only as the "object of cultural mediation" (87), but also as a subject with a measure of consciousness and autonomy, who practices cultural mediation herself.

Life writing, for Cohen, embraces the study of once-neglected texts, extends beyond old-fashioned notions of conscious authorship, and provides a way to talk about speakers as "both shaped by their culture and shaping new expressions within it" (91).

In speaking of "cultural mediation," Cohen refers to the claim often made by cultural historians that a writer's culture provides forms, styles, and patterns of arrangement which "serve to conventionalize the uniqueness of personal experience" (86). In her concern to see, instead, speakers both "shaped by and shaping" expressions, Cohen adopts a new historicist perspective that is shared by many of the critics upon whose work I shall rely as I shape my own critical practice, and she fashions it specifically for a feminist study of women's life writing texts.

While new historicist criticism has most often been associated with Renaissance studies, its assumptions and strategies are often appropriated and applied to the study of works from other periods as well. Jean Howard, in "The New Historicism in Renaissance Studies," defines new historicism as "a sustained attempt to read literary texts of the English Renaissance in relation to other aspects of the social formation in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries" (13); however, her desire to consider texts within their social and cultural contexts has been expressed in broader but similar terms by others. H. Aram Veenser, in his Introduction to The New Historicism, a collection of essays defining and discussing new historicism from several different positions, lists a number of general characteristics that he attributes to the new historicism: it affords scholars "new opportunities to cross boundaries separating history, anthropology, art, politics, literature, and economics" (ix); it looks with skepticism at notions of linear chronology and progressive history and of the existence of unchanging truths or an

unalterable human nature; and it seeks a new awareness of how culture and society affect each other (ix).

Louis A. Montrose, one of the recognized practitioners of new historicist criticism, according to Veesper, expresses a concern very similar to Marlene Kadar's that the critic's own vantage point must be understood and carefully articulated. The new historicist must "historicize the present and the past and the dialectic between them, [paying attention to] the reciprocal pressures by which the past has shaped the present and the present reshapes the past," Montrose claims in "Professing the Renaissance: The Poetics and Politics of Culture" (24). Kadar, referring to the study of life writing, similarly insists that an early writer's text can be articulated only from the position of the later writer and critic. Feminist critics Judith Newton and Elizabeth Fox-Genovese both argue for a new historicism with feminist agency, a general critical position that might correspond to Marlene Kadar's insistence that her "she" consciousness govern her work with life writing. Texts analysed with gender as a central focus, they argue, can help to shape the discourses of a society; they can fashion and refashion consciousness, and they can shape ideas of justice and order.

Sara Mills deals specifically with early women's travel writing from a similarly new historicist perspective. Like Marlene Kadar but more poststructuralist in her perspective, Mills wants to move away from praising or blaming individual writers for being more or less feminist in their outlook. She refuses, as Kadar also does, to see an individual writer as being like all female writers and different from all male writers or as being entirely the victim of patriarchal values or, conversely, entirely complicit with them. Much of the critical work that has been done on women's travel writing, according to Mills, has tended to ignore the variety of often contradictory positions actually occupied by the early traveller and writer. Feminist restoration projects have followed the "exceptional

individuals" (13) model, Mills argues in her volume, Discourses of Differences: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism, and often have tended to stress feminist and anti-colonial statements and to ignore their opposites. Mills calls instead for a reading that does not leave out what is not appealing to twentieth-century feminists. As Marlene Kadar does, Mills says we must locate our own analyses within critical discourses of the nineteen nineties, and she locates hers firmly within a Foucauldian postcolonialism.<sup>3</sup> A Foucauldian framework, Mills argues, allows us to describe the self in a text as "structured from a range of discursive factors or pressures *not* within the writer's control" (31). Mills takes issue with autobiographical criticism that assumes that the self of the writing traveller can be discovered by examining the position of the narrator within the text. Any representation of the self, she insists, is mediated by the rules of the time. Desiring, therefore, "not to analyse travel accounts as if they could describe the lives of individual women, but instead to produce a gendered version of colonial discourse theory" (199), Mills advises critics to "analyse the way that women's travel writing contributes to and subverts the maintenance of the discursive frameworks of [a particular] period" (199). Subversion will depend upon the specific manner in which the experience of a particular writer "negotiates with" (199) the various discursive elements operating in her world.

Shirley Neuman's article in Kadar's anthology, "Autobiography: From Different Poetics to a Poetics of Differences," explicitly theorizes poststructuralist versus humanist notions of the self. Neuman positions herself, rather as Elizabeth Cohen does, in what might be called "a middle ground," seeing the subject of life writing as "neither the unified subject of traditional theories of autobiography nor

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<sup>3</sup> See Mills, Chapters One and Three, for a more complete explanation of her choice of Michel Foucault's discourse theory as a framework in which to analyse women's travel writing and its relationship to colonialism.

the discursively produced and dispersed subject of poststructuralist theory"

(Neuman 225). An adequate poetics of autobiography, Neuman suggests,

would acknowledge that subjects are constructed by discourse but it would *also* acknowledge that subjects construct discourse. [. . .] [I]f the autobiographical self is to some extent passive before the ideological forces constructing its group identity, it also has agency. (223)

Theorists of autobiography, according to Neuman, whether they have favored a humanist or a poststructuralist explanation, have tended to "restrict their observations to the strictly 'literary' and to skirt the subject of the reader" (216). In a humanist <sup>4</sup> poetics of autobiography, the writer discovers a meaningful pattern in his life experience and arrives at an understanding of himself as unique and unified. His "I" is at once unique *and* representative of all other "I"s. A poststructuralist poetics of autobiography sees the autobiographical subject as split between the narrated past and the narrating present, as textually produced, or as impossible of production. In both cases, the reader assumes a posture of self-effacement and focusses on the literary text and its author.

Of the theorists who do acknowledge their own presence as readers, most, Neuman claims, identify with the writer in the context of sharing with the writer membership in a marginalized group. Women, people of colour, colonial subjects, non-heterosexuals, for example, have challenged and relinquished what disables them in both humanist and poststructuralist poetics, and have adopted what enables them. They have appropriated the poststructuralist project of decentering the universal subject because such decentering has made space for the experience of women and minorities. They have at the same time refused to relinquish the possibility of a unified self because it provides a visibility and a position from

<sup>4</sup> In her reference to "the traditions of Western humanist thought" (214), Neuman deals especially with "the notion of a textually and experientially unified self" (214) that can be represented in literature as universal (214, 223).

which to act, "a position only just beginning to become available in either social praxis or literary theory to those who are not Euro-American, white, middle class, and male" (217). They wish, also, to hold on to an understanding of the material, as well as the discursive, circumstances involved in various oppressions.

A variety of different poetics have emerged from these appropriations of and challenges to the dominant models, most of which "seek to describe how particular group identities function in the discursive creation of the 'self' in autobiographies by women" (Neuman 217). Many suggest that women's autobiography posits a self somehow both individual and collective, a self determined in some way by its relationship to other selves. Neuman cites Susan Stanford Friedman's argument that women autobiographers "create an identity that is not individualistic, not collective, and not a poststructuralist alienated self 'disconnected from [. . .] referentiality'" (218) as exemplifying these feminist theories. "Woman," when conceived as a category, however, has often excluded those on the margins; conversely, poetics constructed around narrower categories can "fail to account for complicities, overlaps, commonalities between the non-hegemonic identity and the hegemonic identity from which it differs" (221). Neuman suggests some ways in which these different poetics might be integrated into what she calls instead "a poetics of differences" that would encompass an "I" as individual and a "we" as a member of many groups, and would describe a "complex, multiple, layered subject with agency, [. . .] a self not only constructed by differences, but capable of choosing, inscribing, and making a difference" (225).

Another Canadian theorist, Jeanne Perreault, looks at writing of the self in ways that overlap and intersect with many of the works I have already discussed. In her introductory chapter to her volume Writing Selves: Contemporary Feminist Autography, entitled "Autography/ Transformation/ Asymmetry," she explains her concept of feminist autography. Like Marlene Kadar, Perreault wants to



incorporate feminism into her reading of women's texts, and like Shirley Neuman, she seeks to define a life writing subject that is at the same time both an "I" and a "we." Autography, she says, names a writing that brings into being an "I" self that is not entirely monadic, and invites the reader to consider together "subjectivity, textuality, and community" (2). Perreault declares "the subjectivity of the feminist" (3) to be the subject of her book, and the "we" aspect of her concept of the subject denotes membership in a feminist community: the writers whose texts she studies all "name themself[ves] both 'I' and 'feminist'" (2). Unlike most of the other theorists whose work informs my background, Perreault concerns herself exclusively with contemporary feminist writers who consciously confirm in their writing the idea that a new kind of subjectivity is evolving because of recent discussions about "discourses of selfhood" (3), the multiplicity of selfhood, and "the deconstruction of the figure of the indivisible 'self'" (3). Like those theorists who explicitly situate themselves midway between a poststructuralist and a humanist understanding of the writing subject, however, Perreault refuses an "I" constituted solely in language and does not deny the value and possibility of being a self. Autography differs from autobiography, she says, in that "it is not concerned with the process or unfolding of life events, but rather makes the writing itself an aspect of the selfhood the writer experiences and brings into being" (3-4).

Perreault begins this first chapter with an epigraph from one of Catherine Belsey's works: "In the fact that the subject is a *process* lies the possibility of transformation" (1), a comment that articulates precisely Perreault's own ideas about subjectivity and agency:

Rather than figuring subjectivity as a "center" or "core" of a person, [she says] I read the texts of feminist autography as articulating not a space, but an energy. It is this "I" that works for the social, material, and personal transformations that we know as feminism. (17)

Autography, then, involves writing the self in an effort to change things. The feminist writer of the self engages in feminist communities as both product and producer. The writing of this self helps to produce new communities that in turn contribute to the process of producing new selves.

Helen Buss's Mapping Ourselves: Canadian Women's Autobiography in English similarly deals with subjectivity in women's autobiographical writing and with issues of reading as a feminist scholar, and it includes attention to geographical place as an additional focus. Buss begins her Introduction with a reference to a closing note in Isabel Finlayson's notebook describing her journey down several Canadian rivers in 1840. Finlayson writes of her "little notebook's" being "perused by the dear domestic circle for whose amusement it has been written" (1). The sense of family represented by the "dear domestic circle" becomes the basis for the metaphor by which Buss attempts to "map" the territory of early women's autobiography in order to "fill in some of the blank spaces in our [. . .] [Canadian] literary heritage" ("Canadian Women's Autobiography: The Embodiment of a Tradition" 19).

Buss acknowledges debts to both Marlene Kadar and Shirley Neuman, and her study does, indeed, intersect with theirs in a number of places. Much as Kadar wishes to look again at the values that have determined what we understand as style and to extend the concept of literature to include styles typically associated with "non-high culture" (Kadar 6), Buss wants to turn around the condescension with which personal and domestic writing like Finlayson's has been critically viewed. Also like Kadar, Buss describes a contextual reading strategy. She chooses not only to write in her own personal voice and to articulate clearly her position as a reader with certain attitudes and preferences, but also to include her own autobiography in her reading, to "braid"<sup>5</sup> and blend stories of her own domestic

<sup>5</sup> Buss borrows the concept of "braiding" from Françoise Lionnet, who uses the term in conjunction with her theory of *métissage*. (See Buss, pp. 15-16.)

circles with those of earlier Canadian women. Rather like Shirley Neuman, Buss chooses to "take a position somewhere between the rock and hard place of humanism and poststructuralism" (28) in formulating her theory about how women's identity develops. Focussing on experiences of early women writers that she sees as lying outside of male experience, Buss appropriates Mauritian theorist Françoise Lionnet's notion of *métissage* to revalue female domestic relationships. Moving from a psychoanalytic to a social perspective, she proposes a specifically Canadian alternative to Luce Irigaray's explanation of a multiple female identity.<sup>6</sup>

Buss finds the kinds of decentered expressions of selfhood that she describes especially apparent in early Canadian women's autobiography and, as examples, I shall summarize briefly her analyses of two works that have been discussed extensively by other critics, Susanna Moodie's *Roughing It In the Bush* and Anna Jameson's *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada*. Buss contextualizes Moodie's text by considering the public text in conjunction with Moodie's letters to her husband, contextualizes her own position as reader by outlining three papers about the work that she has heard at a recent symposium, then "maps a scale model [with] a few preliminary shadings and contours" (86) such as a doubled narrative. Moodie's text, Buss asserts, presents not a coherent, singular subject, but rather one who is at once her husband's wife and also the subject of her own story. The text also presents a consciousness that sometimes merges with those of other characters whose stories the narrator, Susanna, relates. Jameson slips back and forth among several "I" subjectivities: the scholar, the traveller, the unhappy wife, the lonely friend, the teacher, the fiction writer. In Jameson's text as in Moodie's, and as in many other examples of Canadian women's

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<sup>6</sup> In *Speculum of the Other Woman*, French theorist Irigaray constructs an elaborate metaphor to criticize Western philosophical tradition and to turn around, imaginatively, the historical conception of woman as "other."

autobiographical writing. Buss sees a "subversive discourse of female self-representation" (96) that involves a merging of her identity with the new land through a feminist revisioning of maternal myths as well as through connection with others.

While my focus will not be on the subjectivity of the writer to the extent that Buss, Neuman, and Perreault consider it, the matter nevertheless will constitute a crucial aspect of my own theoretical context. An awareness of the position of critical and theoretical texts that inform my study with respect to a humanist versus a poststructuralist perspective and to feminist and/or new historicist interests will enable me to "map" my contexts more accurately, to borrow Buss's image. Like Buss, Neuman, and Cohen, I like the idea of a "middle ground," a critical space that understands the subject as constructed and as not unified, but that retains some notion of referentiality.

Because I shall be biographer, in a limited sense, as well as reader/ critic, discussing the bits and fragments of information about Lily Lewis's life that have emerged as a result of my research as well as analysing her writing, and because I will need to look at Lily Lewis as biographer in a similarly limited sense--many of her sketches describe other people and their lives--I must look at how the notion of the biographer has been theorized. Liz Stanley suggests, in The Auto/ Biographical I, that because we can no longer consider the task of the biographer to be to assemble the truth, and because we no longer believe we can recover the past and understand it as our subjects themselves would have understood their world, we might think of a biographical study as simply "one plausible version of what happened" (6). Stanley calls for a theory of biography influenced by cultural politics and feminist theory that sees the biographer as "an active and determining presence in the text" (127). She calls, too, for an understanding of editing as a form

of biography, because the process of selecting, interpreting, and constructing meaning determines the particular version of the subject that emerges.

In her entry, "Life Writing," in The Literary History of Canada, Shirley Neuman refers to an increasing trend in Canadian letters to what she refers to as "collective biographies" (140), collections of texts that "allow their plural subjects to speak for themselves about a shared experience" (340). Neuman names Gerson's and Mezei's The Prose of Life, which creates a composite portrait of life in Victorian Canada by gathering together personal and travel sketches from the period, and Marian Fowler's The Embroidered Tent, which recreates the life of English gentlewomen in frontier Canada, as examples of this approach, used well. She finds less successful Barry Broadfoot's "Years" series,<sup>7</sup> arguing that his "radical selectivity" (340), his inclusion of too-brief selections designed to manipulate the reader's sentiments, introduces distortions. As my study will also bring together writing by different people, I shall treat Neuman's remarks as cautionary. I must be aware, for example, that my selection in my Introduction of brief excerpts from Lewis's and Duncan's sketches might have been designed to portray two writers with similar--and feminist--interests and attitudes, and that these choices illustrate not only the biographical control of the subject that Neuman worries about, but also Liz Stanley's contention about the relationship among biography, editing, and the subject.

Almost any discussion of Canadian biography notes a range of alternative approaches extending from Lorraine McMullen's biography of the eighteenth-century novelist Frances Brooke, An Odd Attempt in a Woman: The Literary Life of Frances Brooke, to Marian Fowler's Redney: A Life of Sara Jeannette Duncan.

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<sup>7</sup> Broadfoot, Barry. Ten Lost Years 1929-1939 (1973), Six War Years 1939-1945 (1974), The Pioneer Years 1895-1914 (1976), and Years of Sorrow, Years of Shame: The Story of the Japanese Canadians in World War Two (1977).

McMullen's work demonstrates, in Shirley Neuman's words, "a rigorous adherence to the position that the biographer can be completely objective and ought to be invisible in the work" ("Life Writing" 362), whereas Fowler's voice and presence are very much a part of her story as she imagines scenes and events that might have happened in Duncan's life. Aware of the scholarly caution that has attended the questionable authority of some of Fowler's scenes and also of considerable scholarly admiration for the freshness and immediacy of her book, I, too, want my voice to be audible in any biographical discussion about Lily Lewis; however, I shall be careful about including speculative material.

Connecting what is peculiar in a writer's work with what is shared with others will be a pertinent aspect of my discussion of Lily Lewis and her relationship to issues about the New Woman. I have included Jeanne Perreault's text in my summary because I hope to show that non-contemporary writers can also participate in feminist communities. Neuman's "poetics of differences" will apply to my discussion of the often conflicting and diverse negotiations among such subject positions as journalist, travel writer, Canadian woman, expatriate, and New Woman. Marlene Kadar's wish to expand the definition of life writing to include more kinds of writing matches precisely my wish to look at Lily Lewis's, Sara Jeannette Duncan's, and Alice Jones's very public journalistic travel accounts as life writing, at their expository and descriptive sketches as life writing, and at Lewis's later character sketches and finally her prose poems as life writing. Rather as Buss wishes to devise new names for women's life writing texts ("Epistolary Di-Journal" for Jameson's *Winter Studies*, for example), in order to move away from traditional patriarchal forms and expectations, and as Kadar sees blended genres as containing the possibility to disrupt traditional forms and institutions, I shall focus on the sketch as a form of life writing that can blend together autobiography and

biography, literature and history, and that can function as both genre and critical practice.

The sketch, both verbal and visual, began in the Romantic period increasingly to become a vehicle by which women could move into the public sphere without loss of propriety. As Richard Sha notes in The Visual and Verbal Sketch in British Romanticism, the sketch, with its simplicity, its less precise and therefore more aesthetic quality, allowed women to speak out and at the same time appear to eschew rhetoricity.<sup>8</sup> However, the "metaphoric nature" (21) of the sketch--its claim to lifelikeness--became a cause for concern as another kind of truth claim. The increasing influence of the essay in the nineteenth century ameliorated, to some extent, the difficulties posed by the sketch's link with mimesis. In their discussion of the nineteenth-century prose sketch, Gerson and Mezei emphasize the influence of both the "graphic description" (The Prose of Life 5) and the eighteenth-century periodical essay in producing an art form that is both reflective and descriptive and at the same time congenial to women. Sherry Lee Linkon looks at how the nineteenth-century essay, especially as American women journalists utilized it, became a way for women to legitimize their knowledge and experience. In In Her Own Voice: Nineteenth-Century American Women Essayists, Linkon refers to women's non-fictional writing as "a new form" (xx) combining an "intellectual voice" and a "conversational style" (xx) to produce "a forceful claim for female authority" (xviii). In her analysis of Jameson's and Moodie's texts, Helen Buss focusses strongly on the role of the essay as an integral element of the sketch. Buss refers to Graham Good's observations in The Observing Self: Rediscovering the Essay to the effect that the essay offers personal experience and particular truths limited to the moment, and "stays closer to the individual's self-

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<sup>8</sup> Rhetoric came to be admired less in the eighteenth century as sensitivity came to be valued more highly. See Sha, Introduction and Chapter Three, for further details.

experience than any other form except the diary" (8). Good likens the essayist to the portraitist who "also represents his own likeness in the painting" (21), and he stresses the changeable nature of both the self and the object momentarily established and linked by the writing process. Buss sees these qualities in Jameson's and Moodie's texts, and she considers the essay, with its spontaneity, its speculative, open-ended inquiry, and its joined sense of self and other, "a form especially suited to the traveller's stance" (102). Lewis's, Duncan's, and Jones's later sketches retain the same essayistic quality that Buss sees in the earlier texts, and, I will argue, they also achieve a similar blending of the public and the private, and of self and other, although their *fin de siècle* focus seems to include very little of anything domestic, familial, or even relational. The sketch, as these turn-of-the-century writers employ it, in fact becomes analogous in many ways with feminist life writing as Kadar defines it.

Nancy K. Miller calls for a "double [or] intratextual" ("Writing Fictions" 5) reading of a woman's autobiographical writing with her other writing. Miller especially advocates reading a writer's autobiography and fiction "intratextually." Helen Buss suggests that because many women who wrote autobiographical texts wrote no fiction, Miller's concept might be extended to include other documents related to the autobiographer's life, such as unpublished correspondence and records of women in similar circumstances. Buss calls the resultant kind of reading "contextual," and she borrows another term from Miller, "arachnologies,"<sup>9</sup> a weaving metaphor that she uses to talk about how reading contextually can reveal the entanglements by which women's writing is woven into generic expectations. Elsewhere, Buss talks about the relationship among travel writing, autobiography, and fiction in Canadian writing. Citing Longman's Companion to British

<sup>9</sup> See Miller, Chapter Four, Subject to Change. Miller uses the mythical weaving figures Arachne and Ariadne to represent feminist versus purportedly genderless poetics.



Literature's entry defining travel accounts as an intermediary between travel writing and the "'more mature' travel novel" ("Canadian Women's Autobiography" 18). Buss notes that, in Canada, an autobiographical form of travel writing seems to emerge as a middle stage between the impersonal travel account and the formalized novel of the journey. The accounts of Lewis's and Duncan's world tour especially offer a rich ground for an "intratextual" exploration of the relationships among the two serialized newspaper accounts of the trip and the single novelized version of it.

Buss's work with genre closely parallels Bella Brodzki's and Celeste Schenck's in Life/ Lines: Theorizing Women's Autobiography, a collection of essays addressing the question, "how have women articulated their own experience, shaped their own texts artistically, met their own reflections in the problematic mirror of autobiography?" (7). As an answer, the authors declare their intention, "for starters" (12), to restore the "bio" excised by theorists who write about "autogynography" (Domna Stanton) or "autography" (Perreault), not to suggest "a naive replacement of the text with life" (13), but to open up a space for a new understanding of genre. An article by Celeste Schenck in the collection is exemplary. Referring to Carolyn Heilbrun's assertion that "the most remarkable autobiographical accounts of women writers have often been tucked away into other forms, other genres (poetry, interviews, essays, social or literary criticism)" ("Women's Autobiographical Writings" 20), Schenck proposes reading some kinds of women's poetry with autobiography "as continuous and related discourses bound by their parallel concern with subject formation" ("All of a Piece" 286). Such reading, she claims, hastens the undoing of a generic practice based on exclusion and sets up a "fluid, dialogical relationship" (286) between two complementary forms of women's writing. I see in Schenck's proposal some very interesting possibilities for intertextual and contextual considerations of Lily Lewis's prose poems about disappearing women.

In her own contribution to Essays on Life Writing, "Whose Life Is It Anyway? Out of the Bath tub and into the Narrative," Marlene Kadar claims for life writing as critical practice "a sincere disregard for genre and its rules, which has the effect of blending genres, creating new genres" (152). Thus viewed, life writing becomes "the playground for new relationships both within and without the text" (152). "Like water, genres assume the shape of the vessel that contains them" (153), Kadar says, and as with water, the shape does not really exist. I seek a life writing practice that can look at genre in this way, and that can itself assume a shape designed for the particular critical task it faces. I want a theoretical context that will allow me to read across lines separating not only genres and texts, but also individual writers. I want to blend Nancy Miller's proposal for an intratextual practice of interpretation, "which [. . .] would privilege neither the autobiography nor the fiction but take the two writings together in their status as text" (Miller 59) and which would enable a reader to get closer to "the historical truth of a writer's life" (61), together with Schenck's proposal for reading poetry and autobiography together, and with Ann Ardis's call for a reading strategy that looks at women's novels of the *fin de siècle* not singly but inter- and extra-textually, and with Buss's concept of a larger contextuality. Ultimately, I want to get closer to the "historical truth of a writer's life" by examining not only several of her own texts, but also several related texts written by other women.

In this later section of her volume, Kadar examines the novel as life writing, focussing primarily on contemporary novels that self-consciously explore the tensions between an individual who determines his or her world and one who is determined by it; however, some of her observations, I believe, can be applied productively to earlier novels as well. Especially interesting in this section is Natalie Cooke's analysis of the allusion to autobiography in Margaret Atwood's Cat's Eye. Life writing here becomes a literary strategy that, Cooke argues, forces

the reader to self-reflection about generic assumptions. It challenges narrative closure as it forces us to see autobiographical elements in other works by the same writer and perhaps also in the world of the author's own experiences. Finally, it challenges classification; we perceive the novel as more than a feminist tract, more than a postmodern exploration of self-reflection, and more than a celebration of imagination and story.

Biography can often be tackled effectively in fiction as well. Atwood's Alias Grace, for example, uses fiction to explore conflicting representations and interpretations of a partially-known life. Carol Shields's Small Ceremonies expresses similar thoughts. Its protagonist, a biographer trying to write about Susanna Moodie, asserts the impossibility of encompassing a personality through biography; so much of a person's life is lived inside his/her head. Fiction, Shields has said, more closely reveals the truth of women's lives, and in Small Ceremonies, a double reading similar to what Natalie Cooke describes is forced upon the reader who knows that Carol Shields, herself, has written biographical works about Susanna Moodie.

Kadar refers to Quebec feminist fiction theory as one of the critical positions reluctant to accept "non-fictional" as a descriptor for life writing, and to draw in a final theoretical thread, I shall look at some comments by Québécoise theorist and novelist Nicole Brossard.<sup>10</sup> Rather as Jeanne Perreault does, Brossard speaks of an energy, a productive tension, created by a writer and a community together occupying a space "larger than autobiography" that she calls "literature." Brossard speaks of the possibility of fictionalizing the self and other selves through writing, and of fragments of a self and of other selves becoming several fictional characters. In the literature that emerges, she sees something that is not the reality,

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<sup>10</sup> Brossard's statements cited here are from notes I made at her lecture at the University of Saskatchewan, 5 February, 1999.

but that bears the energy and the emotion of lived experience. This describes something of what I hope to recover in my study.

In a conscious and carefully considered departure from the objective authorial stance most often encountered in academic dissertations, I shall continue to write in a personal voice. Chapter Two begins with some references to a travel journal written by my grandmother in 1938 and includes my own responses to this work. Because I want my study to exemplify Marlene Kadar's view of life writing as a critical practice, and because my reconstruction of Lily Lewis's life and *oeuvre* will be to some extent a construction--it must contend with gaps and absences, rely on other women's writing, and resort here and there to speculation--I believe my own contexts should be clearly articulated. I shall, therefore, include personal comments and responses where I feel that they will contribute productively to this work.

In Chapter Two, I shall begin my contextual study by looking at some of the contexts in which Lily Lewis and her writing have been undervalued and/or ignored. As Lorraine McMullen notes, quoting Carole Gerson, "When women writers are lost, someone has lost them. Someone has made a decision to exclude them" (2). In determining who has lost Lily Lewis, I shall begin the "reading the forgetting" (Kadar 10) that Marlene Kadar sees as essential to a life writing practice.

## CHAPTER TWO

### Losing Lily: Reading the Forgetting

#### I. Today

My father recently gave me a folder that he had found among my grandparents' effects containing twenty-seven typed pages of a text entitled "Our Trip--January 1 - June 15, 1938," in which my grandmother, Maude Wigmore of Swift Current, Saskatchewan, describes a trip that she took with her mother, Margaret Diamond of Toronto, Ontario, and her mother's friend, "Mrs. Hinder." The cruise began in New York, circled the Mediterranean, visited several European cities, then returned to New York. This document interested me for a number of reasons pertinent to this dissertation. The travellers visited many of the very places that Lily Lewis and Sara Jeannette Duncan had visited on their world tour half a century earlier, and the rather startling similarities among the accounts clearly illustrate Sara Mills's point about the "close intertextual relation [among] travel accounts" (73) and about the "textual constraints" (73) that help to shape this kind of writing. My grandmother's paper had an apparent public purpose, not altogether unlike the newspaper accounts of the 1888 travellers. "Our Trip" appears to have been the text of a "talk" to be presented to the Swift Current chapter of the I.O.D.E. (Imperial Order of Daughters of the Empire). My cousin, another of Maude Wigmore's granddaughters, read this paper while visiting me some time ago, and our amusement at both its content and its style, together with my own conscious comparison of this work to Lily Lewis's, points to some of the reasons

contemporary scholars avoid a particular kind of early writing, and it offers a way to begin constructing the different contexts in which "forgetting [can] [. . .] be read" (Kadar 10).

We found in "Our Trip" unselfconscious expressions of Eurocentric, and, more particularly, Anglocentric biases along with an underlying *élitism* that to our nineteen-nineties' sensibilities was often hilarious and occasionally appalling. In Algiers, for example, "[T]he natives are dressed in peculiar costumes--ideal for a masquerade party" (4), and "[T]he natives you see on the street (also in Algiers) appear to have no ambition" (4). Charlie, the guide, had related a quip about how "some of them sit and talk, some sit and think, and some just sit." "It seemed to us," the journal says, "that most of them just sat" (4). White Algiers, by contrast, "is now a great French city with fashionable streets, brilliant shops, stately monuments, and wonderful public gardens" (4). Contrast continues as a rhetorical strategy in the description of Cairo, with turbans and flowing robes mingling with the latest Parisian fashions in the street below the hotel balcony. A visit to the King Tutankhamon Collection with its millions of dollars worth of gold, marble, and jewels, was followed by a drive through the native quarter containing "such filth, poverty and squalor" (9) as my grandmother "had never seen" (9). Next came a stop for coffee at the home of their dragoman, where the group found "rugs on the floor, much inlaid furniture, a large china cabinet with good china, and pictures of Mary Pickford" (9). At night, "weird Egyptian music" (9) could be heard, while the hotel attendants "swish[ed]" (9) around the halls in their long flowing robes. When a bus strike in Edinburgh threatened to deter a sightseeing trip, these ladies managed to obtain a car and driver of their own, and another private car and driver facilitated sightseeing in The Hague on Good Friday. "The Dutch are clean, home-loving people and we like them very much" (22), the writer declares, adding that she "could not but comment on the cleanliness of their windows" (22). In Italy, on

the other hand, "you could see people by the side of the road relieving themselves " (17). At the casino in Monaco "the wild expressions on some of the faces-- especially the women. [. . .] are not soon to be forgotten" (5). Petticoat Lane in London, "where the Jews are allowed to sell their wares on Sunday" was "disappointing" and "quite unpleasant" (24). My cousin and I found the response to Italy interesting and the quest for a hairnet hilarious:

The more we saw of Italy, the more we were impressed. It has such substantial-looking buildings. Mussolini (whom we called Johnny Jones) has done wonders making it more united. (19)

Charlie, our guide, had tried all the way from Jerusalem to get a hair net that Mother had said she would like, but the only thing we could get was a very heavy cap. So if you want hair nets, don't go to Palestine expecting to find them. (14)

We were not immediately conscious of the smugness and sense of superiority underlying our own responses to these comments.

The style of writing varies. Juxtaposed without transition or apology are personal responses, straightforward data, excerpts from guide books, and afterthoughts aimed at a specific audience. Facts about Gibraltar and Pompeii, for example, precede elaborate and blatantly unoriginal passages about seeing "the glory that was Greece" (5), Athena's Hill, "where Greek, Persian, Roman, Barbarian, Crusader and Turk have each lived their little day" (6), and the Holy Land, "part of the mysterious, immutable East" (11) about which "poets have sung in immutable verse" (11). Some excerpts from "Hitler's Doctrine of Force" about "blood, fire, and personality" and "only strong nations hav[ing] rights" (27) have been included on the final page of the paper, and these are followed by remarks about "the wise rule of our beloved Sovereign" (27) and about the British Empire continuing as a great democracy. The voyage home "was pleasant" (27) and on

board were "quite a number of German Jews going to Australia from Germany" (27).

When she had finished reading the paper, my cousin said to me, "I hope the woman you're writing your thesis about is a better writer and not so much of a snob." Her remark succinctly expresses some of my own early concerns about Lily Lewis's work as a research subject.

Prejudices based on class and race are also discernable in some of Lily Lewis's comments and word choices. In the articles I have identified as Lewis's, written previous to her tour with Duncan, L. L. observes an "interest in Plato and Descartes in young French ladies of the superior class [in Paris]" (The Week 22 July 1886), and she deplors the "dreadful public holidays in England: excursions by poor people to see [. . .] water" (The Week 22 July 1886). Referring to travel, she wonders, "Should lovely places be opened carelessly for the curiosity of the multitudes or preserved for the appreciation of the few?" (The Week 13 Jan. 1887). As Eva-Marie Kröller has noted, L. L. sees Italians as "childlike" (The Week 11 Nov. 1886). Her first impression of Rome "was not pleasant. [. . .] People and animals hust[ed] each other with unbecoming familiarity" (The Week 2 Apr. 1887). With "bovine," Louis Lloyd variously describes the faces of Italian peasant women, picknickers in Montreal's east end, and German immigrants on the CPR. "Swarms of half-clad sad-faced men" (The Week 14 Feb. 1890) in Calcutta correspond to the "swarms" of brightly clad children that my grandmother sees in Verona ("Our Trip" 19), and in Calcutta, the natives, like the later ones in Cairo, "sat doing nothing as only a native can" (The Week 14 Feb. 1890).

I confess to feeling some relief in noting that Lily Lewis's writing at least contains more remarks with feminist implications than does my grandmother's. I was always gratified when Louis Lloyd's observations during the world tour seemed to resist colonial attitudes more than Garth Grafton's did, but I was most



delighted of all whenever I came upon a piece of writing that I could classify, according to my notions of what constitutes literary merit, as "good." I am impressed, for example, by the precocity and erudition apparent in the twenty-year-old L.L.'s sketches from Italy and in the twenty-two-year-old Louis Lloyd's vignette about a hunting trip in British Columbia. I admire the interconnection I see in much of Lewis Rood's later work, and the simple stylishness that characterizes the sketch of the artist Puvis de Chavannes. In answer to the question, "Who has lost Lily Lewis?" my first response must be "I have, -- I and others like me whose critical consciousness has been formed in a climate that encourages a multifaceted political reading of the written work that we study, and at the same time requires that we continue to value in this work the stylistic sophistication that we have learned to associate with "literature."

*Élitism* has been both deplored and vigorously defended by feminist scholars. "No one is easier to mock than the 'privileged' woman" (62), Carolyn Heilbrun declares in an article entitled "Non-Autobiographies of 'Privileged' Women: England and America." Heilbrun writes, "not without trepidation" about the "select group of college-educated middle- and upper-class, married white women" (62) that the feminist movement has recently turned away from, or in many cases has turned towards with anger and accusation. Citing Cora Kaplan's remark that "privileged" women such as Virginia Woolf "fear above all the loss of social status" ( Kaplan 147), Heilbrun points to the prevalence of critical condemnation of "snobbism" (65) and concludes that "'elite' [is] inevitably a pejorative word" (65). While Heilbrun does concede that criticism of feminisms that emanated from positions of privilege is often well taken, she suggests that privileged women have suffered oppressions of their own, and that their class is, in some respects, the weakest of all because these women have been protected by men to the greatest degree and forced to a greater degree than other women to live out

plots designed by men. Furthermore, and conversely, Heilbrun argues that it has been privileged women, primarily, women like Virginia Woolf, who have worked against the grain to design new plots for their lives and their fiction and who have theorized new roles for "the daughters of educated men" (Woolf 16).

I found myself defending "Our Trip" on similar grounds. Despite attitudes that today seem unenlightened and writing styles that can seem unliterary, privileged women like my grandmother were writing about their responses to a world beyond their immediate environment, however much those responses might have been mediated by current discourses of imperialism and tourism. Although we might laugh, today, at the I.O.D.E. and its values, my grandmother was sharing her experiences with a community of women who espoused a common cause, and she was making an attempt, through writing, to understand an impending global war. And it was also privileged Canadian women, educated women from upper-middle-class backgrounds like Lily Lewis and Sara Jeannette Duncan, who began to design new plots for women at the turn of the century.

In one of my early conversations with Herbert Lewis, Lily Lewis's great nephew, he asked me, "What kind of a writer was she? Was she any good?" I fumbled a little, said some things about her being "very much of her time" and "very good in spots," and was forced to ponder, again, the question of literary value that always infuses recuperation projects, however much we claim to be concerned instead with cultural history. In a recent article, entitled, "In Praise of Talking Dogs: The Study and Teaching of Early Canada's Canonless Canon," Nick Mount deals with this very issue as he looks at evaluative criticism of nineteenth-century Canadian literature from a pedagogical perspective. Mount begins with Northrop Frye's description in his "Conclusion" to The Literary History of Canada of early Canadian literature as being "as innocent of literary intention as a mating loon" (Frye 214) and John Metcalf's later assessment of the same body of work as

"largely crappy" (Kicking Against the Pricks 149). Moving on to Frye's recommendation that "we must outgrow evaluative criticism and become instead cultural historians" (78), Mount suggests that serious contradictions still characterize our attitudes to early Canadian writing and that these contradictions have prevented our theorizing the full implications of the shift that Frye desired.

Western criticism in general, Mount says, has turned in recent years from the thematic to the ideological. The turn has been wholeheartedly embraced by critics of early Canadian literature, with the result that published articles about this literature tend now to "fall within either the postcolonial or the gender studies camp" (78). While literary value "mattered not a whit" (78) to criticism aimed at "generalizations about frontiers and garrisons" (78), it "leaks back in" (78), Mount argues, in the praise for early works found in the Introductions to the new anthologies and editions. Mount notes, as an example, how Germaine Warkentin, in her Canadian Exploration Literature: An Anthology, stresses in the Introduction an historical rather than a literary focus, then defends her Canadian selections individually and collectively on literary grounds. To compare David Thompson to Thoreau, Mount thinks, "is to go too far" (79).

Mount concludes his article by noting that his scholarship thus far has "served more to confirm than contradict Frye's and Metcalf's earlier evaluations" (91). Apart from "one or two very good novels" (91) ("Thank heaven," he says, "for Sara Jeannette Duncan" [91]), and "a handful of poems that could withstand international scrutiny" (91), he has found only "a collection of isolated moments that impress" (91) and too few good examples of early Canadian literature "to sustain a course premised on the existence and value of good books" (92). The answer, he says, would seem to be "to forgo evaluative criticism for cultural history" (92) as Frye suggested, but to do so would imply that we also move beyond imaginative texts, something with which our criticism and pedagogy has yet

to grapple. We need most of all, however, Mount claims, "to quit deceiving each other about the literary merit of those documents we study" (93).

I would argue that while Mount accurately assesses the failure in Canadian literary scholarship to theorize fully the shift in focus from evaluative to cultural criticism, he fails also to theorize the certainty of his own literary preferences. He knows, absolutely, which poems will "stand up to [. . .] scrutiny." He knows that Sara Jeannette Duncan's novels are "good," whereas most others of the period belong in the "mostly crappy" category, but he does not acknowledge or analyse the constructedness of his own opinions. For this reason, I find his comments helpful in describing my own contexts; they reveal to me the ambivalence of my own critical and evaluative attitudes at the same time as they identify continuing patterns in Canadian critical thought that determine, indirectly, what early work gets retrieved and what remains lost. I, too, considered Duncan's novels and stories "better" than any others I read, and I was disappointed to find no comparable fiction in Lily Lewis's *oeuvre*. I had considerable difficulty with the idea of retrieving and analysing work with a very limited imaginative component, but at the same time felt some relief at not having to deal with any "bad" fiction. In declaring that, like Marlene Kadar and Helen Buss, I want to read early writing as a feminist influenced by current theoretical and critical developments, I must also acknowledge that my reading consciousness will be influenced by many earlier attitudes as well. To cite an example, I recently read an article in which Carole Gerson examines the institutional context which has allowed Paul Hiebert's fictional prairie poet, Sarah Binks (1947), to be received into the Canadian canon while Edna Jaques, the real woman whose verse Sarah approximates, "remains the butt of critical disdain" ("Sarah Binks and Edna Jaques" 62). I agree completely with Gerson's assessment of the male bias in Canadian modernism and with her suggestion that Hiebert's parody ridicules not simply the Canadian Authors'

Association, trivial academic research, and all naive poetry, but specifically poetry written by women. However, I must admit that prior to and perhaps in spite of Gerson's reminder about the feminist values of community and friendship represented in Jaques's poetry, I have long preferred Sarah Binks to poetry that declares, in all seriousness, "My workbench is a kitchen sink" (Jaques 4).

I must also be aware that in my wish to expand the concept of literature to include less imaginative writing, I shall be working against my own constructed preferences. As scholars of nineteenth-century women's writing, we have begun to become aware of our own patronizing attitudes, however. Denigrating anything domestic is but one example of such attitudes, and studies like Buss's and Gerson's succeed in turning negatives into positives in this area. Shirley Foster similarly brings a domestic focus to criticism of women's travel writing. In Across New Worlds: Nineteenth-Century Women Travellers and Their Writing, Foster suggests that women travellers' accounts often focus on such domestic topics as appearance, dress, marriage customs, and female status because, she says, these women participated in two conflicting discourses, one involving the "objective, [. . .] colonial, [. . .] androgynous" (18) conventions of travel writing, and the other those of a female canon requiring a woman writer to write of romance, home, and family in a style "resonant with delicacy, emotion, and sentiment" (18). Other recent criticism evinces more tolerant attitudes towards the overt sentimentality that, as scholars, we have learned to disparage, and also towards the expression of strong religious beliefs so often encountered in early writing and so often dismissed in serious criticism as "piety."

Mount complains in his article about the extent to which critics whose focus is feminist or postcolonial transfer evaluative notions to their political context: anything that can be read as "counter-discursive" (87) is "good"; anything "complicitous" (87) with imperialism and/or patriarchy is "bad." In spite of their

more disparaging tone, Mount's remarks echo Marlene Kadar's concern about reading texts as more or less feminist than other texts. In a similar vein, Mount's ridiculing of the kind of criticism that finds an early work "mostly complicitous with its imperial pre-text" (87) and yet "violating [and] sublimating" (87) that pre-text in miniscule ways <sup>1</sup> by calling such practices "flexing holier-than-long-dead-thou political muscles" (88) has its own holier-than-thou attitude, but it forces me to acknowledge just such an attitude in my own responses to "long-dead" Mediterranean travellers' remarks.

Critiques of travel writing tend often to deal with several writers, all of whom write "counter-discursively" to some extent, with the last-discussed text being the most resistant to and the most subversive of imperialist and patriarchal discourses and values. The transfer from aesthetic to political evaluation that Mount sees is by no means complete, however. In a significant number of these critiques, the most "resistant" text is also the "best" in terms of literary merit. Liz Stanley, in an article about early women travellers in Canada, differentiates among "showers," "tellers," "slammers," and "questers," and she concludes her article by discussing Agnes Deans Cameron's 1910 account of her trip to the Arctic. She praises Cameron as a "quester" exhibiting restraint in her judgement of the indigenous people she encounters, and she notes also "the quality of writing" (58), and in particular, Cameron's "good sense of humour and colourful use of language" (58). Several studies of women's travel writing culminate with British traveller Mary Kingsley's *Travels in West Africa*. Mary Louise Pratt, for example, asserts that by describing everyone, including herself, as possessing a "bumbling, comic innocence" (215), Kingsley presents a new way of being a European in Africa. Pratt's reference to Kingsley's "extraordinary" (213) book and to the "masterful

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<sup>1</sup> Mount is referring to Robert Fleming's "Supplementing Self: A PostcolonialQuest(ion) for (of) National Essence and Indigenous Form in Catherine Parr Traill's *Canadian Crusoes*."

comic irreverence" (215) that has ensured its enduring popularity clearly reveals her admiration of the work for aesthetic as well as political reasons. In "First Impressions: Rhetorical Strategies in Travel Writing By Victorian Women," Eva-Marie Kröller looks at rhetorical strategies in Kingsley's book and Isabella Bird's Unbeaten Tracks in Japan, offering her highest praise for Kingsley's "narratological sophistication" (99). To exemplify Kingsley's literary skill, Kröller describes scenes of "virtuoso comedy" (97) wherein Kingsley recounts her experiences with wayward paths and crocodiles in "stinking slime" (Kingsley 89), sketches "hilarious pictures of herself tide-trapped [. . .] in swamps" (89), and "carefully crafts vision[s]" (Kröller 98) of "malarial mud--creeping and crawling [. . .] from between the mangrove roots" (Kingsley 97). The skillful alliterative patterns recur in burlesque scenes, Kröller notes, as, for example, in a story of a "man-eating paw-paw: pepsine, [. . .] papaine, [. . .] purloining pagan" (Kingsley 40). Lily Lewis's writing exhibits, with a few exceptions, little of the literary complexity admired by contemporary scholars.

National as well as political and aesthetic considerations increasingly impinge on any study of early Canadian writing. Nick Mount suggests that Canadian critics have been "haunted [. . .] by the idea that criticism must discover and demonstrate an indigenous literary tradition" (84), and he uses as an example the refusal of most contemporary critics to dismantle the myth that has placed Duncan Campbell Scott's In the Village of Viger "at the head of the tradition of the Canadian story cycle" (84).<sup>2</sup> Examples that would suggest a continuing adherence to the notion of a national literary tradition abound in criticism of early Canadian writing. Rae Goodwin's 1964 Master's thesis about Sara Jeannette Duncan's early

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<sup>2</sup> Mount refers to an essay by John Metcalf, "The New Ancestors," that argues against the commonly held notion that the linked story cycle is a predominant Canadian literary form, and that Scott's In the Village of Viger began the trend. Metcalf's essay, Mount says, has largely been ignored.

journalism notes how some of Duncan's articles, "especially one detailing a trip to the sandbanks, anticipate the introductory sketch in Stephen Leacock's Sunshine Sketches of a Little Town" (127). Carole Gerson suggests that Madge Macbeth's "undervalued, [. . .] 'woman-to-woman' novel, Shackles, anticipates Alice Munro's story, The Office" ("The Business of a Woman's Life" 94)). A 1996 dissertation by Jane Sellwood presents a theoretical analysis of Anna Jameson's Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada, Sara Jeannette Duncan's The Pool in the Desert, and Mavis Gallant's Home Truths. In labelling all three works linked stories within a Canadian tradition of linked stories, Sellwood also participates in the very tradition-building tradition to which Mount refers.

In a closely related Canadian literary issue, Leon Surette's much-discussed article, "Here is Us: The Topocentrism of Canadian Literary Criticism," identifies the "topocentric" focus of Canadian literary criticism. "Topocentrism," Surette explains in another article, describes the "belief that human cultures are in some not clearly specific sense the product of the physical environment" ("Creating the Canadian Canon" 23). Topocentrism in Canada, according to Surette, began as the assumption that a culture must somehow express "the collective genius of the nation out of which it arises" (46), evolved easily into "the proposition that a literature ought to *formulate* that genius" (46), moved through a phase in which "the topocentric axiom [became] internalized in Canadian literature" (50), and has become, today, "an essentially invisible intellectual environment" (52) that continues to imagine Canadian literature as a continuum delimited by national geographic borders. Surette concludes his article with an example that demonstrates the degree to which he claims that we, as Canadian critics, have internalized the pressure to equate the Canadian literary tradition with Canadian cultural integrity:



If one were to argue that Flaubert's Madame Bovary or Sinclair Lewis's Main Street were as--or more--relevant to a study of Sinclair Ross's As For Me and My House as The History of Emily Montague or the prairie landscape, one would inevitably run the risk of denying the integrity of Canadian literary culture. One would be tacitly questioning the postulate of a continuum running back from Ross to Frances Brooke, and replacing it with a dizzying "kaleidoscopic whirl" of cultural relationships incapable of being hammered into even so indistinct a shape as that of the beaver. (56)

While contemporary Canadian criticism, reflecting the preoccupations of poststructuralist theory, increasingly espouses a delight in crossing, breaking, and ignoring boundaries of all kinds, including national ones, and in eschewing theories based upon linearity, a nationally figured "intellectual environment" is nevertheless apparent in much of the criticism I have been reading. Helen Buss, for example, states in her article in McMullen's anthology, entitled "Women and the Garrison Mentality: Pioneer Women Autobiographers and their Relation to the Land," that all of the pioneer women autobiographers that she includes in her study "react to the strangeness of the Canadian landscape by merging their own identity, in some imaginative way, with the new land" (126). She provides several examples including Anna Jameson, who "enters into communion with the Canadian scene" (130) as she engages in a number of rituals with her new friends, three Chippewa women. With her persistent connections of self, other, and land, Buss definitely delimits her analyses within national geographical borders.

The same intellectual environment is discernible in many analyses by Canadianists of Sara Jeannette Duncan's novels and stories set outside of Canada. Misao Dean sees in all of Duncan's fiction and journalism the influence of the "popular idealism" (A Different Point of View 154), based on the notions espoused

by Thomas Carlyle and Matthew Arnold that pervaded Canadian intellectual life in the late nineteenth century. Dean calls Duncan's novels "colonial editions" (158), which "reproduce aesthetic and political controversies common to the English-speaking world from a Canadian and female point of view" (158). In her article about Duncan's A Daughter of Today, "Wild Colonial Girls," Carole Gerson articulates a similar perception of Duncan's novels and stories as expressing "a Canadian position, that of being within the Empire but not at its centre" (69). Thomas Tausky's article, "An Ordered Olympus Viewed From a Cane Chair," will provide one further example. Tausky analyses Duncan's autobiographical The Crow's Nest, her account of a month spent mostly outdoors at her summer home in Simla, India, as treatment for an attack of tuberculosis, as a text worthy of inclusion in the canon of Canadian women's autobiography (100). In referring to "the chief cause of her exiled condition" (103), her husband, as "Tiglath Pileser" (103), a term she used earlier in her Montreal Star columns to designate male friends when she wished to convey an attitude of amused exasperation, Duncan forges a link to her native country. And by importing Canadian goldenrod and peony seeds to grow in her Indian garden, Tausky suggests, she "enacts a nostalgia for Canadian associations" (110).

Janice Fiamengo's 1996 Ph.D. Dissertation, entitled, "Even in this Canada of Ours: Suffering, Sympathy, and Social Justice in Late-Victorian Canadian Social Reform Discourse," deals in a highly sophisticated way with many of the issues of nationalism and literary and cultural value that I have been discussing. Fiamengo examines several early sentimental novels by Canadian women writers together with non-literary texts concerning social justice. She deems literariness to be "beside the point" (269), and looks instead at the novels she deals with as "perform[ing] cultural work" (269), specifically contributing, in complex ways, to

"the Anglo-Saxon bourgeois hegemony" (10) of social reform discourse that Fiamengo sees as "the source of respectable left discourse today" (10).

I include this discussion of some current Canadian criticism, interspersed with my personal reactions and prejudices because I see in these intersections an articulation both of the contexts in which I undertake this study and some of the reasons why Lily Lewis's work has not attracted critical attention. Because Lewis's and Duncan's travel accounts contain little or no personal connection with a Canadian geographical space, for example, these works would not fit easily into a study such as Buss's, which relies upon recognition of such patterns across a number of writers. My question in my introductory chapter, "What is Canadian?" about Lily Lewis's work, especially her later work, exposes my own participation in the intellectual environment to which Nick Mount refers. I must admit that I have looked diligently for Canadian connections in Lewis's post-Canadian writing and have been disappointed that nothing corresponding to Duncan's The Imperialist exists. Similarly, I see very little class critique, such as Fiamengo detects in sentimental fiction and social reform journalism, in Lily Lewis's Canadian journalism that might make her work of interest to a critic wishing to connect early women's writing to "left discourse today."

On a more pragmatic level, simple editorial decisions have omitted Lily Lewis from many archival sources. Canadian Women: A History states in its preface its intention to include only women who spent most of their lives in Canada. To be included in Canadian Writers/Écrivains Canadiens (1964), writers must "have [. . .] produced a notable first or second book and have thereafter embarked upon a literary career with repeated publications of generally acknowledged merit" (69-70). In her article in McMullen's volume devoted to "Problems and Solutions" pertinent to research of nineteenth-century women writers, Frances G. Halpenny discusses the compilation of the Dictionary of

Canadian Biography. Only writers who died between 1800 and 1900 were included in volumes discussing nineteenth-century writers. She notes the lack of adequate documentation about early women writers and the often fragmentary and indirect nature of much of the documentation that is available: "The glimpses of a life," she says, "may be only through the fuller pattern of the career of a woman's father, husband, brother, or son" (37). Such is indeed the case with Lewis. Montreal archival records contain a wealth of information about her brother Lansing, but nothing about Lily. Halpenny illustrates the difficulty of writing the lives of less well-known women with a few examples. Susan Mann Trofimenkoff's biography of Montreal fiction writer Eliza Lanesford Cushing contains a large gap encompassing the last forty years of the woman's life. Lorraine McMullen's research into the life of Margaret Murray Robertson produced similarly incomplete results.

Halpenny's tone of apology for the incompleteness of the biographical profiles she describes is echoed in Carrie Macmillan's article describing her research on Nova Scotian writer Maria Amelia Fychte, in which she expresses her regret at knowing nothing, after her extensive research, about Fychte's education, her friends, or her many years in Europe. Shirley Neuman declares it "the biographer's mandate to account for the shape of the whole life and its relation to its historical and cultural context" ("Life Writing" 359), and goes on to argue that the absence of a strong personal component makes a biography much less effective. Despite the celebration of the fragmentary and of open-endedness that has seeped from poststructuralist theory into much of the discourse of daily life, and certainly of academic life, we still want the whole story when we write about historical literary lives. My relief at discovering that there were, indeed, personal documents and family stories to augment my collection of Lily Lewis's public writing substantiates the point in a real and immediate way.

An extensive and varied body of written work--wholeness in another sense-- is similarly requisite for a literary subject of life writing. Buss and Kadar, among others, stress the importance from a feminist perspective of reading a woman writer's novels and her published and private personal texts in conjunction with one another, but a more practical basis for this trend lies in current pedagogical practices. In their attempts to escape the confines of periodicity and national literatures, University English departments increasingly offer courses entitled "Autobiography," "Life Writing," and "Women's Life Writing." Instructors understandably include in such courses writers for whom published fiction and non-fiction, published and unpublished journals, diaries, and letters are available, and, ideally, about whom biographies have been written. Writers like Frances Burney and Mary Shelley and the modernists Virginia Woolf and Gertrude Stein meet these requirements, and in a Canadian context, Elizabeth Smart, Dorothy Livesay, Margaret Laurence, and, of course, Susanna Moodie, are but a few examples of writers who can be read and read about in a wide variety of forms.

Our desire for completeness in terms of having available all of a writer's works reveals, again, that our psychological habits continue to privilege wholeness, symmetry, and closure. My concern at embarking upon a critical study of Lewis's work without having located the account of the African journey that would correspond to Alice Jones's illustrates my point. The author of a 1980 doctoral dissertation about Sara Jeannette Duncan<sup>3</sup> writes in one section about Lily Lewis's and Duncan's corresponding newspaper accounts of their world tour and about Duncan subsequently publishing A Social Departure. The writer concludes this section with the remark that Lily's version of the trip is described in *her* novel,

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<sup>3</sup> Isobel McKenna. "Sara Jeannette Duncan: The New Woman. A Critical Biography." Diss. Queen's U, 1980.

Beggars All. Lily Dougall,<sup>4</sup> the author of Beggars All, a novel published shortly after A Social Departure and connected in no way whatsoever with Lewis, Duncan, or their trip, grew up in Montreal about the same time as Lily Lewis, married, and lived and wrote in Europe just as Lewis did. In this case, the scholar's passion for pattern and symmetry in her own critique overrode the need for full and accurate treatment of all of her subjects.

The importance of the book, as material object and as ideal, cannot be overestimated. The simple availability of texts in book form determines what will be read, studied, taught, and ultimately, valued. Most university instructors select texts in print for their course material. Most academic studies, as of travel accounts and autobiographies for example, discuss works published as books. The academic and archival value of the published book, as compared with the periodical, became apparent to me during my visit to the National Library. In the Introduction I noted my having attached a note to the 1896 copy of the Bookman in which I had located Lily Lewis's poems because the title was undecipherable. I was allowed to photocopy material from the journal myself, and then was to leave the item on a designated shelf. Five days later, it was still there. I also requested Alice Jones's novel, Gabrael Praed's Castle. With the book, I received white gloves and instructions to read it in a special area where I would be under constant surveillance. When I left this area for a moment, I was accosted immediately and asked to return.

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<sup>4</sup> See McMullen, DLB, and Neuman and Kamboureli for a description of Lily Dougall's life and writing.

## II. At the *Fin de Siècle*

The roots of many of our current critical habits and attitudes lie in the Canadian cultural milieu of the eighties and eighties, and the privileging of the book over less permanent forms of literary expression is no exception. Carole Gerson notes, in "The Business of a Woman's Life," how the book historically carries strong connotations of cultural and religious significance. The "objectified book," (80), she says, is furthermore "an intrinsically more male medium than is publication in a periodical, the mode of textual communication that more often accommodates women" (80). While money was often to be made from periodical publication, the book confers a sense of permanence upon an author or her work, and many writers, if they could afford to, paid publishers to print their texts. Gerson quotes Florence Sherk, who published a book of poems in 1919 with a simple purpose: "I don't want to be forgotten" (80). To return to present-day circumstances, Gerson notes that the indexes of the bibliographic records that map our literary history, such as Watters' Checklist of Canadian Literature, bibliographies of early Canadian imprints, and the CIHM microfiche series all record *only* books. For Gerson's own research project on early Canadian women writers, she says she has assembled files on more than five hundred Canadian women who authored an English-Canadian book of fiction or poetry before 1940 and about whom some biographical information has been found. Such projects, she admits, "privilege authors who could afford publication over authors who sold their work to periodicals, many of whom were women" (80). And, I might add, such projects also privilege the genres traditionally included in the concept of the literary and the writers who chose to work in them.

The history of early Canadian anthologies attests to the importance of the book as a specifically Canadian cultural icon. E. H. Dewart's Introduction to Selections From Canadian Poets (1864) illustrates how, in Dermot McCarthy's

words, beginning very early in Canadian literary history, "the gathering of scattered texts into a 'permanent form,' the selection and organization of a literary canon, and the ideological program of nation-building and identity-definition, all cohere isomorphically" ("Early Canadian Literary Histories" 33). Dewart articulates his aim "to rescue from oblivion some of the floating pieces of Canadian authorship worthy of preservation in a more permanent form [because] [...] a national literature is an essential element in the formation of national character" (Dewart vii).

Dewart's sense of Canadian literary culture as "a flotsom of unharvested fragments in need of gathering, ordering, and presenting" (McCarthy 33) and of the anthologer as moral synthesizer as well as instrument of national unity continues in W. D. Lighthall's Introduction to his 1889 collection of Canadian poetry, Songs of the Great Dominion, but the national sentiments he expresses become both more topocentric and more gendered. However persuasive the argument against a linear literary tradition, Darcy McGee's remarks in New Era, in 1858: "[A national literature] must assume the gorgeous coloring and gloomy grandeur of the forest" and capture the "ringing cadence of the waterfall" (24 April 1858) most certainly "anticipate" Lighthall's suggestion that through the poets in his collection "you may catch something of Great Niagara falling" and experience the "delight of a clear atmosphere" that runs through a northern country.

The language associated with falling water has moved towards a more masculine "cadence" in Lighthall's Introduction, and this connection between the nation and the masculine reverberates throughout the literary discourse of the latter part of the century. For Lighthall, the poetry of Charles G. D. Roberts is distinguished by "a manliness that renders him particularly fitted for the great work which Canada at present offers her sons" (xxv). Charles Mair "is a manly figure." Mrs. Sarah Anne Curzon "writes with the power and spirit of masculinity," and "the



Aboriginal male is the most perfect specimen of man imaginable." An 1899 article by W. A. Fraser in Canadian Magazine illustrates the gendering of critical language at its most blatant. The word "literature," Fraser claims, "has much too soft a ring. We need a word with a strong Saxon ring" to describe "stories of strong, true, beautiful deeds" performed by "a strong rugged people" in a "country of masculine beauty" (13 May 1899).

Literary criticism appearing in periodicals in the eighteen nineties follows the pattern established in Lighthall's Introduction. A strong northern sap worthy of commendation flows through women's poetry as it does through men's. Describing "Some Canadian Women Writers," Thomas O'Hagan writes of Miss MacDonald, whose work "is full-blooded and instinct with Canadian life and thought," and of Pauline Johnson, whose "voice is more than aboriginal" (Catholic World Sept 1896). For Hector Charlesworth, "The Canadian Girl" is synonymous with her landscape. Possessing "a strong and richly colored beauty" (188) in addition to her "love of sunshine and outdoor activities," and her "independent temperament," the Canadian girl, collectively, becomes "a school of women poets" (189) whose work reveals a "breadth and verity [sic]" (189) unapproached elsewhere on the continent. In Isabella Valency Crawford's lines, Charlesworth sees "delight in the vigor and beauty and freedom of Canada" (190). Her lines, in fact, "do not sound like a woman's at all" (190). He calls Pauline Johnson "the most Canadian of the Canadian girls [because] she has a heritage of aboriginal characteristics" (190). The Canadian girl, he concludes, "will bear noble sons, and that is more important than voting" (193). Charlesworth praises the Canadian girl's ability to get what she wants without strife. She possesses "practical independence, strongly marked, [. . .] [and she] partake[s] in no degrees the crude and vulgar revolt from restraint which begets the female stump orator" (187). In the Canadian valorizing of the masculine at this time, there is no place for the New Woman who loses "a dumure regard for

propriety and form" (180). Much preferred is the girl with "the typical Canadian ability to paddle one's own canoe" (192).<sup>5</sup>

Many of the attitudes that dominated literary and historical philosophy in the eighteen nineties intersect in Charlesworth's "Canadian Girl." Charlesworth's "types" (188) of the Canadian girl, with their "forms [. . .] elastic with a sap of life" (188) and their expressions showing "more keenness of perception and general alertness than are characteristic of the English girl and more health and magnetic glow than are possessed by the American girl" (188), correspond to the political "middle ground" favoured by proponents of Canadian imperialism, a self-contradictory movement that espoused both nationalist and imperialist principles and greatly influenced the cultural life of the period. According to the imperial ideal, Canada would achieve strong nationhood through her ties with the Empire, and, in turn, with her northern strength and her North American independence, she would alter, strengthen, and, some believed, ultimately lead the British Empire to further progress and prosperity.

In A Purer Taste, a comprehensive study of nineteenth-century Canadian fiction and its reception, Carole Gerson notes that throughout most of the nineteenth century, "the educated and influential elite excluded the novel from the highest forms of literature" (18). The Canadian Review and Literary and Historical Journal, in 1824, defined literature as "the study and knowledge of the languages of Poetry, of History, and of Philosophy" (July 1824), and throughout the eighteen eighties and into the eighteen nineties, the pages of The Week reflect and no doubt helped to sustain a similar attitude. An article by the poet Charles Mair stating his views on Canadian literature begins, "By the term Literature, you mean, of course, poetry: that imaginative and creative form of literary effort, which [. . .] stands at

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<sup>5</sup> Charlesworth borrows Pauline Johnson's metaphor by which she described her own life and work, and expands it to discuss Canadian women writers collectively.

the head of letters" (The Week 9 March 1894). Thomas O'Hagan declares, "I think it will be agreed that poetry is one of the highest coefficients in literature" (The Week 20 Nov. 1896), and J. G. Bourinot says, "I think [...] there have been enough good poems, histories, and essays, written and published in Canada [...] to prove there has been a steady intellectual growth" (The Week 16 March 1894).<sup>6</sup> While Charlesworth's "Canadian Girl" includes Sara Jeannette Duncan and several actresses, he focusses on the "school of women poets" that his "girl" fosters and represents.

From its very beginnings in Canada, fiction was regarded with suspicion, if not outright disdain. Attitudes changed dramatically in the eighteen nineties, however. Shortly after Sara Jeannette Duncan and Lily Lewis left Canada in 1888, The Week's columnists began to admire romantic fiction as healthy, wholesome, and eminently respectable. Long after Europeans and Americans had moved on to new literary preoccupations, Canadians began to look back to Walter Scott as representing a "lost Golden Age" (Gerson, A Purer Taste 34) of literature. The "good, old-fashioned romance" (Graeme Mercer Adam, The Week 15 Jan. 1885), Canadian in setting and theme, historical and agrarian, accorded with the growing public taste for fiction without sinking into sensationalism, sensualism, or excessive realism, all of which were believed detrimental to moral and national character. While prose fiction continued to hold less literary value than poetry or history, historical novels, often with pre-confederation rural Quebec as their setting and fantastical plots, gradually acquired a place in the collective effort to forge a nation and a literature.

Many of the novelists in the late eighteen nineties were also national leaders and proponents of imperial principles. Perhaps not coincidentally, many facets of the romance novel, as it evolved in its Canadian context, meshed well with the

<sup>6</sup> Gerson includes the foregoing examples in A Purer Taste (19).

values of the imperial ideal. The "signal feature of the late nineteenth-century historical romance," according to W. H. New, was not its moral instruction, but rather its "expectation (realized in the formal conclusions to literary works) that an orderly sequence would lead to a definite resolution" (New 81). Stories such as William Kirby's The Golden Dog and Graeme Mercer Adam's and Ethelwyn Wetherald's The Algonquin Maiden, with all the troubles at one end and all the happiness at the other, enjoyed enduring popularity, perhaps because they provided a literary counterpart for a country immersed in the belief that "progress provided a way of reading history [and that] history was the repository of heroic virtues and the record of material and intellectual advancements made possible by Protestantism" (New 92). Lighthall's main theme in his volume of "Songs," the preservation of imperial culture within a strong Canadian landscape, expands easily to encompass fiction and explains the popular appeal of frontier romances like Ralph Conner's, with their "muscular Christianity" (New 113). (New defines "muscular Christianity" as a celebration of the virility of religious belief operating in hard pioneering circumstances [113].) The concept is entirely consistent with the more general emphasis in Canadian imperialism on an idealized Canadian history, an admiration of martial vigour, and a belief in traditional values.

Canadian "girls" Duncan, Jones, and Lewis travelled in three different literary directions in the eighteen nineties. Sara Jeannette Duncan strongly supported the Canadian version of the imperial ideal, but her later serious fiction blends political idealism with something approximating the American realism practised by W. D. Howells and Henry James. Her residence in India and continued association with the literary life of London took Duncan far enough away from Canadian critical pressure to allow her to write complex works of fiction with a heavily ironic treatment of Empire and gender. For her first novel, A Social Departure, she ignored the Canadian propensity for muscularity and preference for

the rural and instead adopted the feminine form of the light social comedy of manners, and she aimed this work at a female audience by publishing it serially in a "charmingly illustrated" (Fowler, Redney 181) British women's magazine. Alice Jones's novels, with their rugged heroines and romantic *clichés*, conform more closely to what came to be the Canadian standard in the eighteen nineties, but an exaggeration of both the ruggedness and the *clichés* suggests that she was moving in the direction of satirizing that standard. Lily Lewis ended up "paddl[ing] her own canoe" in a venue with interests in neither Empire nor frontier, but one with a crucial Canadian context, nevertheless. The focus in Canadian literary history on nationalist and imperialist trends and on the relationship of Canadian writers and their writing to Britain and/or the United States has literally almost erased another historical Canadian preoccupation--interest in European cities and the culture to be found in them.

My title for this section is in some ways inappropriate: the term *fin de siècle* seldom, if ever, appears in the discourse of literary nationalism. Canadians cared about beginnings, not endings, at the end of the last century. I have chosen the term precisely because I want to foreground the often ignored intermingling and overlapping of national and cosmopolitan issues during this period. A properly educated and cultured late nineteenth-century Canadian knew about literature, art, and philosophy and travelled abroad to the great cities of Europe. While London, the centre of the Empire, was often the Canadian traveller's most important goal, and Rome represented, for the educated traveller, crucial associations with the Christian and classical past, Paris eclipsed in contemporary splendour and culture anything else Europe had to offer, as Eva-Marie Kröller notes in Canadian Travellers in Europe. Columns entitled, "Our London Letter," "Letter From Paris," "Parisian Notes," "Notes and News From Paris" occupy considerable space in The Week and attest to its readers' cosmopolitan tastes and interests. Correspondents

with the signatures "Zero," "x," and "L. L." contributed accounts about Parisian theatre, the Salons, Zola and the realists, politics, parties, and personalities. Montrealers perhaps responded to Paris as cultural centre more enthusiastically than other Canadians because of the strong interest in Montreal in the eighteen eighties in art and artists. One of the mandates of the Royal Society of Canada, formed in 1882, was the promotion and appreciation of art, and Montrealers were prominent in the Art section of the organization. Paradoxically, the same *élite*, educated Montreal public that wanted "Art Notes from Paris" often deplored the young woman who worked as a journalist abroad and sometimes became involved with the Parisian art world and its inhabitants. The prominent, highly respected Lewis family of Montreal was no exception. Lily Lewis's Parisian life disappeared, for a century, from the family's story.

As the Royal Society came to be dominated more and more by its Literary section, which in turn was dominated by such literary nationalists as William Kirby, Henry Morgan, and W. D. Lighthall, with their rural, agrarian biases, the cosmopolitan focus in Canadian arts and letters gradually disappeared, leaving the record of its existence submerged in the pages of weekly periodicals. Lily Lewis continued, in the eighteen nineties, to work within a value system shaped by her native city but later abandoned by it. Thus, someone who started out as a "typical Canadian girl," in many ways, became a relatively forgotten woman and writer because some quirks of history and personal circumstances coincided with larger patterns in literary history. A few more "quirks" deserve mention. The Canadian Women's Press Club, formed just after the turn of the century, identified and described the work of Canadian women journalists, but focussed on those still writing for Canadian periodicals at the time of its inception and later. Carole Gerson writes of the many early writers who simply left Canada for a climate more amenable to writing and publishing and, as a consequence, have been completely

forgotten. Lily married an American and published what little material she did publish in the United States, where, by the eighteen nineties, the literary establishment no longer documented the work of every new writer. Many writers cannot be identified because they wrote only under pseudonyms. The connections between L.L., Louis Lloyd, and Lily Lewis Rood are few and extremely obscure. Sometimes chance errors can contribute to erasures. Henry Morgan's entry, "Lily Lewis Rood," in the 1912 edition of Canadian Men and Women of the Times cites one of the publications to which Lewis Rood contributed as Gagliani's Messenger. I searched for months, perhaps for more than a year, for this title, to no avail. Eventually, I noticed that in the 1898 edition, the title was spelled Galignani's Messenger. This periodical existed (although the only copy I could locate "had been lost.").

### III. In the Middle Years

The history of Canadian journalism offers some further examples of how early critical attitudes have informed our current ones. In "Separate Entrances," Marjory Lang notes how structural changes in the ownership and operation of the press in the last decades of the nineteenth century opened up the possibility of journalism as a career for women. The urban dailies, aiming for political independence, competed fiercely for customers and began more and more to include sections "of interest to women" (79). The local press became more local and more personal, offering women several "portals" (80) of entry into the profession: reporting the civic reform activities of strong-minded women, reporting society news, offering advice to the lovelorn. Lang goes on to write of the "grudging acceptance and truncated opportunities offered women in the newspaper

field" (83), and she quotes as proof a sardonic remark by an editor of Saturday Night about "pink teas [. . .] [not] cut[ting] much of a figure on the front page" (83). She comments upon "the alacrity with which [. . .] Sara Jeannette Duncan abandoned the work-a-day world of journalism to pursue the 'higher flight' of distinguishing herself in literature" (84), and she cites Ethelwyn Wetherald's remarks to William Wilfred Campbell about always feeling, at the end of the day, "too tired to do any creative work" (84). For many women journalists, Lang writes, there were irreconcilable contradictions between their aspirations to be writers and the reality of their lives as journalists. After the initial cachet and gloss of the press world had worn off, unless they had the freedom to make a quick entry and exit, like Duncan, journalism impeded their literary ambitions, and left many women, in middle age, "doomed to hack work and a poverty very close to destitution" (Low 3).

Graeme Mercer Adam, complaining in a 1888 contribution to The Week that Canadian journalists treat Canadian literature too negatively, asks, "Is not the press but a branch of literature?" (5 Jan. 1888). There was, indeed, less differentiation between literature and criticism in 1888 than subsequently, but a remark by William Wilfred Campbell in another newspaper article indicates that poetry was nevertheless valued more highly than journalism. Commenting on the literary success of several Canadian women writers, and referring specifically to Ethelwyn Wetherald, Campbell declares that Wetherald "has not done justice to herself [. . .] as a poet" and says it is "a pity that such a woman [. . .] has given herself over to the drudgeries of journalism" because women "*can* write verse" (Toronto Globe 22 Oct. 1892). Lang notes the "lamentations" (85) upon Kit Coleman's death that "the greatest of all the nineteenth-century women journalists" (84) had not made a permanent contribution to Canadian literature, and she quotes at length from Coleman's obituary:



It is one of the tragedies of newspaper work that a great deal that deserves to live appears in the daily press, makes a strong impression for a day or a week and then is forgotten. [. . .] It isn't right that one who for a generation brightened and stimulated so many lives and who provided such faithful pictures of so many different phases of the Canadian life of her time should pass out of the public memory. (Edmonton Journal 21 May 1915)

It is apparent that by 1915, "the press" no longer qualified as "a branch of literature."

Specific choices and circumstances again left Lily Lewis more vulnerable and ultimately more invisible than many other journalists of her day. Despite her comfortable background, she seems to have encountered some economic problems. In letters to other family members, her parents complain not only about Lily's activities and relationships, but also about her continual requests for money. In her writing, Lily Lewis adopted neither the masculine voice of Canadian literary nationalism nor the feminized persona of women's magazine fiction, and, as a journalist, she did not address herself to a specifically female audience through association with any "women's" columns, although her "Louis Lloyd" persona was certainly female (though nominally male) and she certainly wrote about issues of interest to women, among many other things. While she might thus have avoided some of the outright sneers aimed at "society chatter" (Lang, "Separate Entrances" 82), she also missed the opportunity to create a legend about herself and her career as a journalist, as Kit Coleman did. In her emphasis, in Women Who Made the News, upon women's journalism directed towards a female readership, Lang neglects to discuss the many women journalists who, like Lily Lewis, participated primarily in the same discourses and debates as male reporters. While the current feminist critical focus on social, domestic, and relational matters is productive and

enabling for feminist scholarship in a great many ways, something of women's contribution to Canadian intellectual history is being lost.

Some roots of our present attitudes lie within the history of canon-making in Canada. In his Introduction to Canadian Canons: Essays in Literary Value, Robert Lecker expresses his hope that the articles in his collection, in "interrogating the forces determining canonical activity" (3) will destabilize and defamiliarize the notion of literary value, which is precisely what I hoped to do by beginning this chapter with the discussion of my grandmother's travel account. Quoting the new historicist Louis Montrose and echoing Marlene Kadar's views about redefining the literary, Lecker says that current theories about literary value will encourage us to "resituate canonical literary texts among [. . .] multiple forms of writing" (Montrose 6), while, at the same time, "recognizing that this project of historical resituation is necessarily the textual construction of critics who are themselves historical subjects" (6).

In a number of related articles, Carole Gerson discusses the changing contours of the Canadian canon, especially with respect to the influence of the international modernist movement on Canadian literature in the first several decades of the twentieth century. In all of these articles, Gerson emphasizes how a literary canon is "a malleable entity" ("Anthologies and the Canon of Early Canadian Women Writers" 56), a construct frequently reshaped, with its contours governed by the values of those with the power to do the shaping. Gerson interrogates canon formation from a feminist perspective, and describes a narrowing process that has left us, today, with a very false picture of nineteenth-century Canadian women's writing. While the literary periodicals of nineteenth-century Canada reflect a high level of activity among women writers, only Duncan and Isabella Valency Crawford are consistently included in anthologies intended for university undergraduates today.

In the post-Victorian era, from approximately 1918 to the nineteen forties, the especially transitory canon of English-Canadian literature began to be determined not by the reading public but by the "backstage decisions" (Gerson, "The Canon Between the Wars" 47) of several *élite* groups of publishers, editors, and English professors with "distinctly masculine" (47) tastes. Nationalists and modernists contended for domination as "cultural arbiters and shapers of their country's literary destiny" (48), but both groups demoted social and domestic issues as "sentimental" (46) in their attempts to define a Canadian literature characterized by "verile [sic] attributes" (48). The "old guard" (51): the literary nationalists of the Royal Society, now represented by McGill professors Pelham Edgar and Andrew McPhail and conservative publishers John Garvin and Lorne Pierce, tried to preserve the Society's nineteenth-century values, while the next generation, the Montreal Group, comprising the poets Arthur J. M. Smith, Frank R. Scott, Leo Kennedy, Leon Edel, and Abraham M. Klein, was beginning to make its presence felt in its challenge to those values. This new group paralleled in many ways the institutionalized Group of Seven landscape artists who, in the nineteen twenties, capitalized on a new nationalist climate and moved the already established equation between nation and landscape into new pictorial areas. Using bold colours and shapes to represent the Eastern Canadian landscape, characteristically that of Algonquin Park and the North Shore of Lake Superior, the Group of Seven artists translated the international modernist critique of Victorian values and forms into a uniquely Canadian art form, and the Montreal Group did something similar with Canadian poetry. Claiming a cosmopolitan rather than a national viewpoint and eliciting an *élite* rather than a popular following, the modernist poets demanded hard, muscular, learned verse. Smith, who published several anthologies of poetry, and Ralph Gustafson, the other major anthologist of the period between the wars, edited literary history to their own tastes, Gerson claims, reinventing the past in

terms of what Smith called "a contemporary and cosmopolitan literary consciousness" (Smith 3). Their anthologies, designed to re-educate a Canadian public raised on "maple fudge" (Gerson 61), remapped the contours of early Canadian poetry.

The modernists' attack on boosterism in Canadian literature and criticism sometimes took the form of outright ridicule of women's poetry. Frank Scott's 1927 poem, "The Canadian Authors' Meet" ("a nasty poem by an otherwise progressive poet" [Gerson, "Sarah Binks and Edna Jaques" 71], according to Carole Gerson), in its attack on the conservatism of the Canadian Authors' Association, mocks its female members. With its "Virgins of sixty/ who still write of passion" Scott's poem is still guaranteed a place in every contemporary anthology, much as Hiebert's Sarah Binks still enjoys tremendous academic popularity. As a result of the modernist attempt to purge Canadian literature of its residue of Victorian sentimentality and patriotism, the "soprano voices" that W. D. Lighthall had earlier predicted would increasingly sweeten Canadian literature virtually disappeared. As Canadian modernism moved in two sometimes different directions, one having an "Eliotian focus" (Gerson, "The Changing Contours of Canadian Literature" 50) typical of Smith and the other exhibiting the left-wing social consciousness motivating some of Scott's and Klein's work, a masculine exclusivity nevertheless continued to characterize the entire movement. Dorothy Livesay's under-representation in the mid-century canon reveals how even women who embraced modernist forms and subjects got relegated to the margins.

Values associated with the Canadian modernist movement continue to dominate our literary tastes and shape our critical strategies. The "cosmopolitan," "Eliotian" branch of modernist poetry became associated, internationally, with the American New Criticism, a literary critical movement that focusses in its analysis on a poem's "intrinsic qualities" (Baldick 150) rather than on its biographical or

historical context. Verbal complexities and ambiguities, synthesis, and "organic unity" (Baldick 150) characterize the well-crafted work of art, aptly described by the title of Cleanth Brooks's ground-breaking 1947 study of New Criticism, The Well-Wrought Urn. We still want the literary works we admire to be "well-wrought," complex, and in various ways, complete. Fiction replaced poetry as the most important literary form in the later decades of the twentieth century, but the two imaginative genres continued to monopolize the claim to literariness, and New Critical values gradually and rather loosely attached themselves to fiction. The actual popularity, at the beginning of this century, of L. M. Montgomery's and Nellie McClung's fiction has not been translated into canonical recognition. Duncan, today, remains the writer of the period most admired in academic circles, perhaps because her novels and short stories exhibit many modernist traits, such as ambiguity, undecidability, questioning of authority, and affirmation of the importance of art. Not insignificantly, Carole Gerson, Thomas Tausky, Nick Mount, and I, myself, earlier in this study, all acknowledge having responded to early Canadian writing with something resembling Mount's "thank heaven for Sara Jeannette Duncan." Another legacy of New Criticism, with which I shall deal extensively in a later chapter, is the prohibition against connecting a writer's life with autobiographical material in his or her fiction, although this prohibition has recently been challenged in diverse ways by Marlene Kadar, Nancy K. Miller, and Nicole Brossard, among others.

Something of the left-wing social consciousness of the other stream of modernist writing has infused Canadian literary and critical reaction against New Criticism, and, at the risk of greatly oversimplifying a formidably large and complex area of Canadian literary history, I would suggest that this left consciousness has contributed to such current trends in the study of early women's life writing as the revalorizing of social and domestic themes, preference for

theories of subjectivity that reassert community as opposed to individuality, and the denunciation of *élitism* of all kinds. Janice Fiamengo, for example, emphasizes the communitarian aspect of the early social reform movement, seeing in it something that might be used by critics as a counter to the extreme individuality of contemporary right wing Protestantism.

It would be as reductive, however, to perceive a left critical consciousness as a purely Canadian tradition as it would be to consider As For Me and My House only in terms of its Canadian precursors. National and cosmopolitan discourses always overlap. Canadian novelists participated as actively, for example, in European *fin de siècle* discourses about the New Woman, religious liberalism, and artistic decadence as in purely Canadian ones about heroes and virility, but the cosmopolitan works have received less attention. The Canadian imperialist ideal was itself both nationalist and cosmopolitan. Based on the Carlylian and Arnoldian principles of top-down acculturation and appreciation of all that was "best" in Western culture, the ideal was also both *élitist* and communitarian, but it is the communitarian aspect that gets foregrounded in contemporary Canadian criticism. Thomas Tausky and Misao Dean both refer extensively to the "red-toryism" (New 91) in Duncan's thinking, as does Laurel Boone regarding William Wilfred Campbell in her critical edition of his poetry and prose. Early Canadian red-toryism is interpreted today as an anti-republican, anti-realist, and anti-individualist stance that corresponds loosely but not insignificantly to the anti-Enlightenment-individualism of poststructuralist theory, generally, and more specifically, to the critical perception and valorization of "community" in texts. Not unrelated to this tendency is my defense of the *élitism* in my grandmother's travel journal on the grounds that she wrote as a member of a community of women.

Much Canadian criticism of the latter part of this century has been characterized by a confrontation between thematic and theoretical issues, and while these two strands of literary history can no more be viewed entirely separately than can the earlier national/ cosmopolitan clashes, some current debates about interdisciplinarity and English studies resituate Canadian literary criticism within a nationalist context in ways that promise to bring thematic and theoretical criticism together productively. Two articles published recently in Essays on Canadian Writing illustrate my point. Renee Hulan, in "Blurred Visions: The Interdisciplinarity of Canadian Literary Criticism," begins, as Surette does, with a statement about Canadian topocentrism and the assertion that "who and where we have been" (39) have been the main themes of both Canadian literary and Canadian cultural critique. The interdisciplinarity of Canadian literary studies, Hulan says, was assured by the institution of Canadian studies in English-Canadian universities, and Hulan would advocate for the future an interdisciplinarity radical enough to foster new knowledges and "collaborative explorations of which so far we have only dreamed" (53). The radicalism Hulan desires would "dispense with political claims" (52), of the type she refers to as "nostalgia for 60s struggle and social engagement" (44) characterized by a desire to erase boundaries between academic and public spheres, and also claims of the type associated with a postmodern aesthetic, as, for example, Frank Davey describes in Post National Arguments, favouring "national disunity" (46) and requiring an appreciation of and preference for postmodern writing.

Imre Szeman argues, in "The Persistence of the Nation: Interdisciplinarity and Canadian Literary Criticism," that interdisciplinarity as an idea or a practice "is political through and through" (17), and, in his view, its aim must be to "know differently" (20)--to be aware that the pursuit of knowledge is political, and that one's own mode of investigation has limitations. The result, he claims, is a

vigilance about the practice of literary criticism that will allow us to ask, "what is a literary text" (22), and to challenge, for the first time, "the literariness of the literary" (26). Szeman feels that the kind of vigilance he has outlined will enable a productive rethinking of the relationship of literature and criticism to the nation. Citing Robert Lecker's call for a criticism that is "both postnational *and* national" (33), Szeman looks to an interdisciplinary approach to Canadian literature that encompasses his concern that the "postnational," theoretical approach relates too closely to and perhaps promotes globalization and cultural imperialism. His approach would take seriously T.D. McLulich's insistence that Canadian cultural integrity depends upon a nation-based criticism<sup>7</sup> without overlooking theoretical reservations about the possibility, in the return to thematic criticism that McLulich desires, of oversimplifying the influence of context on text.

Interdisciplinarity as these writers understand it relates closely to new historicism and to the linked contexts that Marlene Kadar describes as necessary to "reading the forgetting" of early women writers. An interdisciplinary approach to recuperation provides a way to read early texts as a feminist and as a Canadianist, and as a nationalist and a theorist. Most importantly, an interdisciplinary approach to Lily Lewis's journalism, travel accounts, and later writing allows a reader to relate her writing to that of her contemporaries and to the interconnected, multi-disciplinary discourses in which it participates.

Questions always arise about the social, political, and aesthetic value of reading and studying rediscovered texts like Lily Lewis's sketches and prose poems. These works will add to our understanding of a particular time in Canadian literary history, and they will contribute to an examination of precisely what has

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<sup>7</sup> McLulich observes that the rise of thematic criticism in the late 1960s and early 1970s coincided with the impact of George Grant's *Lament for a Nation* and a surge of economic and cultural nationalism. He argues that the survival of the nation today depends upon the continuation of some form of thematic criticism that asks, "What is Canadian about Canadian literature?" (McLulich, "Thematic Criticism" 31)



shaped our notions about literary value. But perhaps most importantly, I would attest to the value of reading Lily Lewis for herself, as an individual woman responding to her particular world by writing about it, even though our understanding of the woman and the world must necessarily remain incomplete. In Chapter Three, therefore, I shall look closely at some of L.L.'s and Louis Lloyd's sketches in The Week in an attempt to "braid" Lily Lewis's written responses to her world, both at home and abroad, into the journalistic *milieu* of the late nineteenth century and the critical *milieu* of the late twentieth century.

## CHAPTER THREE

### Reading Lily: Not Always in the Background

#### I. "L.L.": A Journalist Abroad

Thirty-two columns by "L.L." appear in The Week between January 3, 1886 and June 9, 1887. Fourteen of these, appearing between November 4, 1886, and June 9, 1887, describe a tour of Switzerland and Italy. Louis Lloyd's "Montreal Letter" column begins November 10, 1887, and continues until September 28, 1888, after which "Louis Lloyd's Letter" describes the world tour with Garth Grafton. "Our Paris Letter" had previously been written by someone signing him/herself "Z," and the tone and content of L.L.'s first submissions differ very little from Z's. Marjory Lang and Douglas Fetherling, among other historians of early Canadian journalism, have noted that personal by-lines were discouraged in newspaper reporting until closer to the end of the century; consequently, regular columns were often signed by writers using pseudonyms, if they were signed at all. L.L., at first, simply follows Z's pattern of writing about Parisian political and cultural matters that might be of interest to readers, male or female, of The Week. Here and there, however, and increasingly often, L.L. allows her readers to see a little of who she is and what she thinks about the people and places she describes. In small but significant moments, L.L. emerges as a young Canadian woman, privileged, educated, lively and opinionated, and linked, in both blatant and subtle ways, to the Louis Lloyd of later years. Although I have located no archival proof

to support my contention, I am absolutely convinced as a result of textual evidence that L.L., like Louis Lloyd, is a persona adopted by Lily Lewis of Montreal.

In her column of May 6, 1886, L.L. describes her *pension* in an article that clearly illustrates Lily Lewis's predilection for character sketches and her interest in sketching places; this article reveals Lewis's sense of humour, tied, as it often is, in her writing, to her awareness of class distinctions, and it exemplifies the shift, apparent every so often, into autobiographical self-revelation, revealing in the early work a desire to be known and in the later work a desire not to be forgotten. At this point, L.L. has referred to herself only once, on April 22, when, after describing a performance in Paris by Franz Liszt, she says,

I was waiting at the *Hotel de Calais* [. . .] for an answer to the message I had left. What was my surprise when Liszt sent down word that he would receive me [. . .], the little music student. [. . .]

As I sat in the parlour the door of an adjoining room opened, and Liszt stood before me. It was a pardonable burst of enthusiasm to rush forward and kiss his hand, but he smiled and said, "No, no," while he kissed me in return. (22 Apr.)

One of the photographs of Lily Lewis that I received from Mr. Herbert Lewis reveals a fresh-faced, clear-eyed, pleasant and enthusiastic looking young woman several years younger than the one in another photo addressed to "Lansing and Katie" from Italy in 1892. The younger woman can conceivably be imagined as "a little music student" abroad on her own for the first time, living in a *pension* such as L.L. describes--the "perfect nest of artists," with its fifth floor view and "erudite" landlady--and trying her hand for the first time at the profession in which she will subsequently make her own living in the city in which she will eventually choose to live for many years. Louis Lloyd's later article from Paris (Montreal Star 8 June 1889), talking about having left Paris two years earlier and recalling in detail the

*pension and Madame*, offers the most significant connection between L.L. and Louis Lloyd; however, smaller remarks, word choices, and quotations in L.L.'s sketches provide glimpses of Louis Lloyd's and Lily Lewis Rood's later preoccupations and habits and generate small threads that connect Lily Lewis with both of her personae.

A biographical sketch of the French diplomat, educator, and scientist Paul Bert (7 Apr. 1887) following his death perhaps best exemplifies the many links between L.L.'s correspondence and Lily Lewis's later writing. An editorial preface introduces this item: "[The following letter from a correspondent residing in Paris exhibits the character of the late Paul Bert in an aspect so different from the one familiar to many of our readers.]"<sup>1</sup> L.L.'s second paragraph, describing Bert's scientific experiments, including "the uniting of a cat and mouse, the grafting of the latter on the back of the former, so that all sensations felt by the one were experienced by the other," no doubt addresses the matter interesting the editors: the practice of vivisection was widely and severely criticized at the time. "But Paul Bert was by no means so ruthless an amateur of vivisection as people imagined," L.L. claims. She begins and ends her tribute to Paul Bert not with his scientific achievements, which include the invention of chloroform, but with his contribution to women's education. If women are now taught more than dancing, embroidery, and the catechism, L.L. concludes, "it is due to Paul Bert" (who called for, among other things, the separation of church and state). L.L.'s stance here--not altogether that of a "typical Canadian girl" nor that of a typical female activist, yet epitomizing the Canadian New Woman of independent thought--appears often in Lily Lewis's journalistic responses to her world. Not aligned strongly with discourses of social

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<sup>1</sup> An article in *The Week* on December 23, 1886 expresses the attitude that would be "familiar" to readers. The writer castigates the "atheist and vivisectionist Paul Bert," who, according to something in the *New York Tribune*, now "proposed to vivisect criminals" and "hoped to find a Chinaman who would sell himself for the purpose."

reform, class critique, or sentimentality, but nevertheless strongly influenced by liberal theology and very concerned with women's education and general well-being, the *élitist*, culture-conscious Lewis charted a very individual course of both feminist<sup>2</sup> and traditional cultural participation.

L.L.'s comments concerning women's well-being often bring together education, religion, and art. In July of 1886, L.L. notes the vast improvements made lately in women's education in France. "The convent has become practically a thing of the past," she writes in this article. And because the French girl would still rather be "the coquette" than "the corsetted bluestocking, society's bane, alas," in other places, higher education for women will escape ridicule in France (22 July). Here, as elsewhere, Lily Lewis's feminist notions are adamant but selective and qualified—and not untypically Canadian in this regard. L.L.'s rather positive response to the move away from religiosity among Parisians is somewhat untypically Canadian, however. Eva-Marie Kröller describes the reactions of several notable nineteenth-century Canadians "horrified [and] appalled" (Canadian Travellers 125) by the worldliness of Paris, which several felt "resembled Rome in the last days of its decline" (124). Prevalent in Canadian descriptions of Paris, Kröller states, is the "bird's eye view" (128), a set-piece modelled on Victor Hugo's Third Book of Notre Dame de Paris, wherein the observer's "glance travels from symbols of worldliness--*le Dome des Invalides, [. . .] le Palais Luxembourg, le Quartier Latin, [. . .]* toward the symbols of Paris's Christian origins, [such as] the Pantheon" (128). L.L.'s view from her fifth *étage* parodies this form: "To the west," she can see "the hill of Meudon, [. . .] to the south, the domes of *Les*

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<sup>2</sup> "Feminism" was defined and understood in many different ways at the turn of the nineteenth century, as it is at the turn of the twentieth. My use of the term "feminist" in this dissertation, in a nineteenth-century context, generally corresponds to my use of it in conjunction with the *New Woman*, pp. 9-10.

*Invalides*, [then] the Pantheon and far away to the east, [. . .] Notre Dame." But she ends with a secular symbol, "the heights of Montmartre," a place of art and artists.

In a later "Montreal Letter" column, Louis Lloyd identifies herself as an "Arnoldian," and some of L.L.'s remarks similarly but more subtly reveal an awareness of and adherence to discourses currently in circulation, generated by such thinkers as Matthew Arnold, Walter Pater, Thomas Carlyle, and John Ruskin, about the importance of art in producing a moral and spiritual, yet secular, society. These philosophies, like the closely related Canadian imperial ideal that I discuss in Chapter Two, uphold the *élitist* notion of a superior class whose members exhibit superior manners, taste, and sentiments. Louis Lloyd's sketch of September 6, 1888, describing an American art exhibition in Montreal, brings together and clearly articulates ideas about art, religion, class, and taste that can be perceived throughout Lily Lewis's *oeuvre*. "No people," she begins, "understand the temper of the masses better than the Americans [. . .] but I very much fear those amongst us holding Arnoldian views look upon such pandering with dismay." She decries the extent to which "we (Canadians) freely import" the American "spirit of republicanism, [because] the day will be far off when an ordinary community's ideas on matters artistic will be of any intrinsic value."

An American is at present exhibiting here Philippoteaux's huge painting--"Christ Entering Jerusalem." The queen's hall has been darkened, and in the centre of its stage, solemnly hung with purple, stands the picture, lighted from above with gas-jets. An oppressive, churchlike stillness reigns [. . .]. Indeed, so awful seems the situation, [. . .] I find it unjust, inartistic, rude, to exhibit pictures after this fashion. [. . .] Christ appears, not as an exquisitely intelligent being, [. . .] the embodiment of compassion and suffering; [instead], the picture resembles an ecclesiastical ornament more than anything else. (6 Sept. 1888)

Here as so often in Lily Lewis's writing, liberal theology becomes an element of an upper middle class sensibility.

Taste, again implicitly associated with a class-based sensibility, also figures strongly in Louis Lloyd's response to the Salvation Army in Montreal. In one of her first columns she writes, "They say the Salvation Army came to us from Toronto--Thanks. While fully admitting the good these warriors have done, one cannot help regretting their establishment among us" (10 Nov. 1887). Later she describes "the heathenish uproar" created upon the occasion of the Army's sixth Canadian anniversary. A Hindoo Salvationist, "formerly a thieving drunkard," "told us all about his conversion," she says, and adds:

Such accounts must always be more or less ghastly to anyone who still retains some fine sentiments, some delicacy. In the present case, however, Mr. Horatulu's excessive volubility, picturesque appearance, and impish gesticulations were so delightfully entertaining, [. . .] that we quite forgot to be shocked. (18 Sept. 1888)

Duncan's writing reveals an attitude towards the Salvationists similar to the one Louis Lloyd expresses.<sup>3</sup> Garth Grafton notes that "John," one of the settlers from East London, "looks like a newly received member of the Salvation Army" (Star 20 Dec. 1888).

Lewis and Duncan also differ from many of their contemporaries in their ambivalence towards women's suffrage. Both write admiringly of such famous American leaders of the movement as Susan B. Anthony (Duncan, The Week 16 Mar. 1886) and Mrs. Blake in New York (Louis Lloyd, "From New York" The Week 3 May 1888), but they also remain at a careful distance from this movement's most outspoken Canadian advocates, as L.L. does from "bluestockings" in her

<sup>3</sup> Lewis's and Duncan's attitudes towards the Salvationists differ from those of many of their contemporaries. Agnes Maule Machar [Fidelis], for example, another frequent contributor to The Week, was closely associated with the Salvation Army and a strong supporter of its activities.

comments from Paris. Louis Lloyd concludes her article on a more generous note with a snippet about how the Salvationists "are accomplishing wonders in India [and thereby] redeeming the Englishman's foreign reputation" (18 Sept. 1888).

India and religion intersect again as Lloyd writes in The Week on May 17, 1888, of her meeting with a child-widow from India. She quotes this woman's scathing remarks about the plight of Indian women under British rule and repeats her "passionate prayer" that "we should not send out missionaries who believed however slightly in women's inferiority. [. . .] Why should man be spoken of as the head of the woman? Why the story of the Fall? Surely, today," Louis concludes, "we must feel relieved to discover work whose end may be found [. . .] simply in aiding human beings." Despite Lily Lewis's advocacy of secularity in most things, especially pertaining to women, L.L. writes sympathetically about convent life in Italy. Contemplating the Temple of Vesta in Rome, and the Convent of the Vestal Virgins, she says, "[. . .] like their modern sisters, the Vestals of ancient times discovered behind seemingly uncompromising walls a life still lovely, though dreamier, and with more quiet joys" (The Week 12 May 1887).

Exact repetitions of words and phrases, as in the two descriptions of the *pension*, provide direct links between L.L. and Louis Lloyd. L.L. quotes Shakespeare's Fool in King Lear (and Feste in Twelfth Night), for example, when she complains in Paris on June 24, 1886, that "The rain, it raineth every day. Rain for the *Bataille de Fleurs*, rain for the *Grand Prix*. [. . .]" "It raineth every day" again, "Alas!" in Montreal, December 22, 1887, as Louis Lloyd describes another series of sodden public events. Even more persuasive evidence, I believe, to support my contention that both L.L.s are Lily Lewis, is the preponderance of the adjective "bovine" throughout the articles. Louis Lloyd uses it to describe the Germans on the train in Canada (11 Oct. 1888), and earlier, in Montreal, she writes of a picnic in a park in East Montreal: "I don't know whether that bovine crowd



would have cheered [when a visiting prince walked onto the stage] unless someone had suggested it to them" (5 July 1888). L.L., contemplating the juxtaposition of past and present times in Rome, ruminates that "instead of a Cicero, [today] you see a harsh-faced orange woman or a campagna peasant of bovine aspect" (2 June 1887).

Pierre Rajotte discusses several ways in which space often is "made readable" in nineteenth-century French-Canadian travel accounts, and his insights, I think, apply equally to English-Canadian accounts. The travellers, Rajotte claims in "*Rendre l'espace lisible: le récit de voyage au XIX siècle*," cannot write simply what they see and experience because "discursive realities" --historical and literary connections anterior to the current experience--change the realities: "*Ces parcours subsidiaires [. . .] transforment l'expérience du voyage, prennent [. . .] la form d'un voyage dans le temps et celle d'un voyage dans les livres*" (131). L.L. expresses similar thoughts several times during her tour of Switzerland and Italy. "In a country so thoroughly, and so often, pictured by travellers, poets, and artists, one may with reason despair of finding an unsketched nook" (4 Nov. 1886), she writes, referring this time to Geneva. "We were fortunate, on our return home," she concludes, "to see [Mont Blanc] rise clearly against a sky of exquisite blue, and all bathed with the last rays of sunlight." Later, from Rome, she says, "I sometimes wonder how we should look upon this magnificent pile, nay on so much in Italy, if Byron and other poets to whom this land was so dear had never lived" (12 May, 1887). Back in Montreaux on November 11, 1886, she describes a charming scene of the vineyards around Clarens "literally ablaze with vivid colour," the great white mountains with "delicate mists" falling and rising and "delicate clouds wandering" among them. Above, "Chillon stands cruel and grave," and "[i]n the dungeon [. . .] we discover with pleasure the names of Byron, Georges Sand, Eugene Sue and Dumas." "Here we are in the home of *La Nouvelle Héloïse*" (2 Dec. 1886), she

writes in her next submission. "But a mile distant fair Julie lived, philosophised, and loved." Louis Lloyd's later response to the Canadian Rockies attests to the strength of this need for prior associations born of custom, this need to describe through an associative connection with the words of literary and historical figures. All Lloyd can say is, "It was Switzerland without her history [. . .] [and] [t]herefore, these Rockies leave me cold" (25 Oct. 1888).

As L.L. castigates the French for their refusal to travel, she reveals the profound importance of travel in the middle class Canadian imagination. It was most common, Eva-Marie Kröllner notes, for "elegant" young Canadians to complete their education with a trip to Europe, and this indeed seems to have been the case with Lily Lewis (Canadian Travellers 46). Thanks to burgeoning tour companies like Cook's, travellers in the latter decades of the nineteenth century followed approximately the itinerary of the Grand Tour undertaken by the leisured classes in the eighteenth century. According to Edmund Swinglehurst in his history of Cook's Tours, Cook's had developed, by the mid-eighteen seventies, a hugely successful tour of Switzerland and Italy involving tickets and coupons and the co-operation of railway companies and hoteliers, modelled on the earlier routes but boasting more comforts and conveniences.

Culture, not sunshine, drew travellers to Italy in the late nineteenth century, and the publishers of guidebooks capitalized on all of Italy's historical, artistic, and literary connections as they did on Switzerland's Romantic ones. As well, guidebooks constructed for tourists an image of Italians as childlike, deceitful, irresponsible, and somewhat gaudy that became strongly enough entrenched to remain virtually unchanged from the time L.L. writes of "this child-like nation" and "these dear, interesting, picturesque, lovable, lying Italians" (6 Jan. 1887) until my grandmother writes, more than forty years later, of "swarms of brightly clad children" and publicly urinating men. These "ways of seeing structured and

maintained by institutions" (Buzard 11) that James Buzard calls "the tourist gaze" (11) are recognizable at an earlier stage in Louis Lloyd's and Garth Grafton's Canadian accounts, with CPR interests and the policies of John A. MacDonald's government greatly determining how travellers perceive what they encounter.

In his Introduction to Canadian Travellers in Italy, Barry Callaghan notes that he used as the structure or backbone for his anthology Anna Jameson's route through Italy from north to south, coming through the Alps and ending at Pompeii, that she describes in her Diary of an Ennuyée of 1826. (L.L.'s route is similar, although she visits Naples and Sorrento in the south and concludes her journey in Rome.) According centrality to Jameson's accounts, Callaghan adds pieces by an anonymous "G" and Alice Jones, both taken from The Week in the nineteenth century, and a couple of bits on Pompeii and Vesuvius from Sara Jeannette Duncan's A Voyage of Consolation. While Callaghan treats Jameson's text as a travel diary, it was actually also a novel, modelled loosely on Byron's Childe Harold and Madame de Stael's Corinne, wherein, in both cases, a heartbroken hero/heroine wanders around describing exotic scenery and interesting places. Duncan's Voyage, like her Social Departure, similarly blends travel writing with fiction.

Kröller makes Alice Jones the central figure in her discussion of Canadians writing about cities in Italy, focussing on Jones's interest in art, as opposed to Grace Denison's and Kit Coleman's disinterest, and on her apparent immersion in the philosophies of John Ruskin and Walter Pater. To round out her portrait of this period, Kröller talks a little about the anonymous "G's" impressions of Rome. All of the writers articulate the difficulty they experience trying to describe places that have been so much "sketched" by others already, and Alice Jones undoubtedly carries to the greatest degree Rajotte's premise about making space "*lisible*": she associates literally everything she encounters with some literary figure. Similarities

also exist among these accounts that cannot be attributed entirely to the influence of guidebooks or even to more general discursive elements, but rather suggest subtle but direct influences. We cannot know for certain if any of the later writers had read Jameson's *Ennuyée*,<sup>4</sup> but I think we may assume that all of the writers associated with *The Week* would have been familiar with the work of their predecessors. I think, too, that any comparative discussion of this writing must include Henry James's travel writing as well as that of the Canadians. (Here is an example of a situation in which limiting a study within national boundaries would result in inaccurate conclusions.) Duncan's interest in James has been well documented, and James's accounts of his travels in Italy, as well as in France, were widely read and much imitated in the later nineteenth hundreds.

Shirley Foster, writing from a British perspective, talks about how, for the nineteenth-century traveller, Italy was "a land to dream of, a touchstone for everything magical and visionary" (29). Romantic expectations, awakened by Gibbon's writing and Reynolds' art and intensified by Byron's, Keats's, and Shelley's poetry, contributed to what she calls the "derivative quality" apparent in the women's travel accounts of the mid-century that she discusses. Several views of Florence illustrate how both the Romantic and the derivative qualities persisted towards the close of the century.

I went out to view the effect of the city and surrounding scenery, by moonlight [Anna Jameson's narrator writes]. . . . [H]ere art harmonizes with nature: . . . buildings, walls, flat . . . roofs, . . . statues, are all set off to advantage by the radiance of an Italian moon.

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<sup>4</sup> A comment by Duncan's Mamie Wick in *A Voyage of Consolation* suggests that Sara Duncan was indeed familiar with Jameson's *Ennuyée*. Mamie, discussing the "literary intention" that underlies her trip to Europe, says, "I transmit my European impressions through the prism of damaged affection. Nothing could be more modern" (19).

[. . .] I strolled beyond the Uffizi, [. . .] and looked back upon the city-- with all its buildings, its domes, its steeples, its bridges, and woody hills, and glittering convents, and marble villas, peeping from embowering olives and cypresses; and far off the snowy peaks of the Appennines, shining against the dark purple sky; the whole blended together in one delicious scene of shadowy splendour. (qtd. in Callaghan 70)

L.L. suggests, "Come it is Christmas morning, [. . .] we shall gain by contemplating the city from afar" :

Every here and there as we ascend [the gently-winding Via dei Colli], glimpses of the loveliest scenery may be had, but not until the Piazza Michelangelo is reached does the whole glorious panorama lie before us. We [. . .] stand on a projecting terrace. Above rises the church, with its adjoining convents and little cemetery; below stretches the valley of the Arno, and farther away, [. . .] the mountains. [. . .] It is the most charming of pictures in the fittest of frames. (17 Feb. 1887)

Alice Jones also describes Florence at Christmas, "under winter skies" in her "Florentine Vignettes" of 1892. She writes of climbing the same steep curves of the San Miniato Road just before sunset on Christmas Eve:

[. . .] just as the red flush was creeping over the mountains, [we] reached the terrace before the church and stood looking down on the domes and spires of the city, and on the hills that enclose it. A blue vapour hung over the town, through which the great dome of the cathedral rose majestic. (The Week 5 Feb. 1892)

In all three panoramas, a composed synthetic wholeness either explicitly or implicitly emerges from the act of description.

The most dreamlike place of all, Foster says, was Venice. This city, so unlike anything encountered elsewhere in Europe, represented most intensely a

realization of dreams and a mysterious escape from everyday reality. Jones's Venetian vignette, "Stray Thoughts in Venice" articulates Foster's claim almost precisely. "Awakening to a fine April morning in Venice," she ruminates about how, here, one's conscience tends to "tangle together fact and fiction in the most shameless fashion." Heroes, doges, and artists "are apt to get merged in the golden mist of romance that encircles Desdemona and Shylock." "Stageland," the name of one of Jerome Jerome's sketches, she goes on, "fits itself to my fancy of Venice":

Stageland--dreamland--the land where it is always afternoon-- [. . .] this wondrous place [. . .] with its absence of all fresh green life, [. . .] with its fresh ripple and splash of water, its breath and light of the sea [. . .] the curious unreality of it all. [. . .] (29 May 1891)

"Curious unreality" gets reproduced structurally in the form of self-conscious artistry as Jones's prose turns into poetry and the sound of her words replicates the sound of fresh splashing water.

According to Shirley Foster, Venice also embodies for the travellers an element of subversion--a fantasy that "unsettles as well as attracts" (44), which, she suggests, "encapsulates [. . .] the dichotomy between the allure of personal gratification" (45) and freedom and the awareness of sterner codes governing behavior. Again, the most recent of the travellers, Alice Jones, most clearly expresses this ambivalence in her account of her response to Venice:

Those marble steps somehow fascinate me. When the sea is up over them and the long green weeds wave softly, they seem to come up from blue-green depths of mystery to tell of stealthy black gondolas stealing up to midnight meetings, of sullen plunges that hide the traces of crime, of all sorts of old tales of medieval wickedness. (29 May 1891)

Such responses to Venice are not confined to women; Henry James encapsulates more succinctly the magic and mystery that this city evokes. The "essential color

of Venice," he concludes in the essay "Venice," included in his Portraits of Places (1884). "is a faint, shimmering, airy, watery pink; the bright sea-light seems to flush with it, and the pale whitish green of the lagoon and canal to drink it in" (15-16). The mental picture of this place thus becomes "almost [. . .] abstract" (Good 95): the name itself conjures "a patch of green water and a surface of pink wall" (James 16). Elsewhere, James notes that a scene speaks to him of the mysteries of Udolfo, alluding with the title of Ann Radcliffe's gothic novel to all the vague unspecified assumptions of dangers and romantically villainous characters associated with Venice.

L.L. describes a darker, murkier, but still dreamlike Venice experienced in the dead of winter; here the submerged element predominates:

[. . .] for the few wanderers of this colder season [Venice] makes no effort to hide the deep melancholy which hangs over her like some sad mist .  
[. . .] It is neither moonlight nor May. A drizzling rain falls. The few lamps flicker faintly. The water in the canals is very dark, and the gondola very hearselike. One fears to speak above a whisper. All the weird beauty seems of such stuff that dreams are made of [sic], and our first journey through this city of the dead, a Dantesque expedition indeed.  
(13 Jan. 1887)

The streets, too, have their threatening, albeit picturesque aspect: "The picturesque, toga-like cloak, so popular among Italians of the middle and lower classes, though charming in daylight, has an aspect sinister and threatening at night, especially when its wearer moves swiftly and shadow-like through streets dimly lighted, narrow, and mysterious" (13 Jan.).

The mystery and dreamlikeness associated with Venice extend to its most famous church, St. Mark's. In a piece included in Callaghan's anthology, John Unrau writes of how Ruskin's "evocation" (qtd. in Callaghan 45) in The Stones of

Venice, of the interior of St. Mark's, "creates a marvellous atmosphere of spatial mystery with glimmers of light wandering through shadows" (46) and "precisely focussed observations, especially of color, made mysterious by its astonishing gradation" (49), "indescribable tints" (51), and "textures, which give the final loveliness to color" (51). "Why try to write of what Ruskin [and others] have described over and over?" (The Week 29 May, 1891) Alice Jones asks, and adds some thoughts about St. Mark's being "such an embodiment of the spirit of worship." L.L. becomes especially "derivative" when confronted with St. Mark's: to be here is to "face one's heart's desire" (3 Feb. 1887). This cathedral, more than any other, "surpasses our brightest dreams of beauty and the ideal," and perhaps most distressing of all to our post-Romantic and post-New Critical sensibilities, its "exquisite colour" has been "wrought by time into a perfect whole." Here, as in the way she frames her view of Florence, L.L. adopts a conventional language of aesthetics that endorses James Buzard's assertion that the presumption of wholeness is as necessary to the discourses involving the picturesque as it is to New Criticism (Buzard 197).

Italy's endlessly noted merging of past and present finds expression in both L.L.'s and Henry James's nostalgic and melancholy comments about the Boboli Gardens of Florence. Kröller perceives L.L.'s remarks as "an observation tempered with fashionable *fin de siècle* world-weariness" (Canadian Travellers 84):

From the Boboli Gardens we take our farewell view of Florence. There is something very fascinating about these deserted grounds. In summer, when a motley crowd dances upon *les tapis vert*, and shrieks in the sombre alleys, it seems like desecration. No; one must linger in them at twilight, when all is still, or visit them on a winter's afternoon while the mists flit about their paths and groves like the ghosts of past joys. These gardens, and many others besides, seem like graves of so many delightful



pleasures--dead forever. To-day nervous excitement supplants a quiet enjoyment. *Le monde s'est fait vieux*, alas! (7 Apr. 1887)

James's earlier response includes a few more details but conveys a similar sentiment. He writes of "mouldy statues [. . .] rough-hewn and yet somehow elegantly balanced" (*Italian Hours* 424), of "mildewed sculptures" and a "dried up fountain [with] a fanciful formalism giving style to its shabbiness" (425), and of "shady vistas" where one may "wander on grey and melancholy days" (425). Both writers' language implicitly complies with James's often-discussed use of the picturesque as a counter to the cold utilitarianism of modernity (Buzard 197). L.L. sees another kind of sadness associated with the ignorance and bad taste prevalent in the modern world in the incongruity of a statue of Dante wearing a seventeenth-century wig and a toga, and in a statue of Jupiter bearing aloft a fount of holy water.

In his description of the colours of Venice, according to Graham Good, James connects self, place, and art (Good 93), and when L.L. describes and comments upon three Renaissance paintings of women, I think Lily Lewis is attempting to do something similar. The Madonna of Titian's "Assumption," the "St. Barbara" of Palma Vecchio, and Raphael's "St. Cecilia," she says, "portray three aspects [. . .] under which we are most wont to see the woman of our dreams." The first, "a creature infinitely gentle," inspires loving worship. The second reflects "all we look for in a queen, and the third, the sensitive artist soul, alive to every beauty in earth and heaven [. . .]--perhaps the dearest of all" (3 Feb. 1887). Here as in her view of Paris from her "little room" (*Montreal Star* 9 June, 1889), L.L. moves from a sacred to an artistic image, and in this case, her observations suggest a familiarity not only with Henry James's work, but also with Anna Jameson's well known criticism of European art, *Sacred and Legendary Art* (1848-52). In *Legends of the Madonna*, a volume of this work, Jameson pointedly translates the common

focus in art criticism on representations of the Madonna to those of the Magdalen.<sup>5</sup>

L.L. moves in another direction again--that "perhaps dearest" to her own heart.

Like so many travellers, L.L. writes of Rome's "narrow," "gloomy," and unpleasant streets. The Roman ruins seem, however, to have had a profoundly melancholy effect upon Lily Lewis, and L.L. represents them with a strange analogy:

I have seen somewhere a beautifully imagined representation of Hades, a sort of aesthetic Hades, not hideous with vulgar flames and rude noise, but filled with crumbling temples--the shattered life works of a hundred poor souls! Does the scene before you not seem a little like this? The tomorrow of human greatness--and yet, and yet not so, for the best part of it lives on in the world's brave, struggling hearts. (21 Apr. 1887)

This passage, like many others in Lily Lewis's travel sketches, blends something a tour guide has probably said with a suggestion of both a personal and a collective nostalgia for artistic efforts that do not last.

Back in Montreal, in the fall of 1887, Louis Lloyd informs her readers that she has been in Europe. When she writes about a violinist who "has taken up among us--heaven knows why" (17 Nov.), she adds, "I have heard him very enthusiastically applauded by a Paris audience." When she writes about the first Welsh concert ever given in Canada, she goes on: "If you have ever spent any time in Wales you will know what such entertainment means" (1 Dec.). And if Lily Lewis had visited England, she most certainly would also have visited Wales, with both of her parents having been born there. In a discussion about the duty levied on French wines, she includes something about having "sip[ped] those ambiguous decoctions at [. . .] a Parisian *Pension*" (28 June 1888).

<sup>5</sup> See Judith Johnston, *Anna Jameson: Victorian, Feminist, Woman of Letters*, Chapter Seven, for a comprehensive discussion of Jameson's treatment of representations of the Madonna and the Magdalen in Italian art.

L.L.'s penchant for "Dantesque expedition[s]" finds expression again as Louis Lloyd writes about sights encountered in Montreal:

You look in vain in day-light for anything picturesque [about] our wharves these days. But at night all is changed. The ships swell [. . .]. The men, [. . .] struggling, panting things [. . .] toil away under lurid electric lights. (9 Aug. 1888)

"It was Dantesque, horrid, [. . .]" but Lloyd describes this scene, she says, only to contrast it with the cheerful, cozy rooms of the new Sailors' Institute nearby. Several months earlier, Louis Lloyd had described the aftermath of a disastrous winter fire that "gutted three large buildings." Now, because of the intense cold, what otherwise would be "an unusually gaunt spectacle," is "encased in ice and icicles." The walls

stand glistening and glinting [. . .] like a huge stalactite cave open to the sun. [. . .] Soft white smoke pours continually from the building, and ever and anon a lurid glare fills one of the windows. The whole scene is beautiful and weird, and reminds us now of Dante's favorite haunts, now of a theatrical conflagration. (26 Jan. 1887)

With the word "theatrical" Louis Lloyd alludes subtly to L.L.'s earlier "Dantesque" expedition in Venice, where unreality is suggested by Shakespeare's "stuff of [sic]" which "dreams are made"<sup>6</sup> (*The Week* 13 Jan. 1887).

Kröllner notes how stereotypes about Italians generated by European tourism influenced Canadians' attitudes towards Italian immigrants in Canada. "For a long time," she writes, "a prejudiced public perceived them as knife-wielders, vagabonds, and organ-grinders, who could be best assimilated into Anglo-Saxon society by swift conversion to Protestantism" (148). Louis Lloyd's sketch of a journey to Montreal's Italian sector presents a vivid miniature portrait of this

<sup>6</sup> *The Tempest*. 4.1.156-7. ([Prospero] "We are such stuff as dreams are made on;")

particular pattern of discourse. Her friend, an artist, "was on the lookout for a model" (2 Aug. 1888). "The most picturesque of our community--poor French-Canadians" are also the most reluctant of models. So, to the Italian sector, where "we got a glimpse of no less than four families." Lloyd gives her readers a close-up view of one of these:

Let me show you the microscopic apartments of [. . .] the street musician. [. . .] It is a pawn shop. Articles of clothing hang everywhere. Ugh! How stifling! [. . .] Three women, four men, and children *ad infinitum* infest this hovel. [A] quick *donna* [. . .] with a gaudy shawl [. . .] will tell our fortunes. (2 Aug. 1888)

Even Henry James's "picturesque" pinks and greens find their way into this tableau: "Nobody but Italians could inhabit that [. . .] green house with the pale pink shutters." Inside, "some unsavory vegetable soup simmers on the fire," the husband snores from the bedroom, and "unwashed imps" complete the scene. The Neapolitan mother "seems intelligent enough" and the artist makes arrangements to engage two of the children as models. Louis Lloyd's sketches of her trip "round the world" begin along lines similar to this one, with various groups of people being stereotyped, categorized, and criticized, but as Lily Lewis moves across the country and beyond, her storytelling becomes more sophisticated, more generous (with notable exceptions), and more humorous, as well as more self-conscious about its own claim to artistry and more emotionally open.

## II. The Canadian Girl

Lily Lewis and Sara Jeannette Duncan embarked upon their journey across Canada on September 17, 1888. Lewis had been commissioned by The Week to

submit accounts of her experiences, and Duncan by the Montreal Daily Star. Duncan was supported as well by Joseph Pulitzer of the New York World, the sponsor, a year later, of the record-setting dash around the globe by the American Nellie Bly. Lewis and Duncan had probably met in Montreal between October, 1887 and March, 1888, when Duncan resided there and wrote a column entitled "Bric-a-Brac" for the Star. Both Lewis's persona, Louis Lloyd, and Duncan's Garth Grafton would by this time have been familiar to newspaper audiences, certainly in eastern Canada, and probably to some extent in the west, also. Louis Lloyd's "Montreal Letter" column began in November, 1887, and continued until mid-September, 1888. Duncan also wrote for The Week during this period. Grafton introduces her companion, "Louis who has been in England," in her article of October 6, 1888. Louis Lloyd begins her first account with a similar allusion to having been abroad, the first of many such hints: "Unless you have had the opportunity of becoming rather satiated with French gardens and English parks," she says, "the stumps and leafless trees [. . .] will begin to pall on you" (The Week 11 Oct. 1888). A visit of several months in England would explain the time lapse between "L.L.'s" last entry, from Rome, in June, 1887, and Louis Lloyd's first one in November. Duncan had spent several months in Ottawa as a Parliamentary correspondent, and prior to her brief residence in Montreal, she had lived in Washington, D.C., where she wrote for the Post. The narrator of A Social Departure describes her companion as being twenty-two, as Lewis would have been in 1888, and after commenting at some length about chaperones, she states, "Orthocia had simply prevailed, [. . .] as she told me in confidence there on the [platform] [. . .]" (SD 2). This, I suspect, might very well have been precisely what had transpired between a determined twenty-two-year-old Lily Lewis and her family as she obtained their permission to go round the world with her friend and colleague. As the journey progresses, Lily Lewis's voice becomes increasingly

strong and distinctive. As with her earlier travels as L.L., Lewis expresses views at times typically Canadian and at times uniquely her own. Here as in the earlier travel writing, her descriptions and evaluations participate in complicated and often contradictory ways in the intersecting popular discourses of tourism, feminism, religious secularism, and more noticeably here, Canadian nationalism. Her relationship with Duncan, in a personal and in a textual sense, has a profound effect on Lily Lewis's work; the relationship both enhances her visibility and contributes to her erasure.

As they cross the country, Louis Lloyd and Garth Grafton describe their experiences from the vantage point of the train and from a variety of somewhat less limited perspectives during the stop-overs that Lewis and Duncan made in Winnipeg, in Moosomin and Regina, at "a glacier in the Selkirks," and in Vancouver, where they decided to remain for a couple of weeks before taking a steamer to Japan. They relate their impressions of the landscape, the cities and farming settlements, their fellow passengers, including four carloads of immigrants bound for new land in the west, and the Indians.<sup>7</sup> Louis Lloyd and Garth Grafton and later the narrator of *A Social Departure* articulate some notions "typically" held by Canadians toward the end of the nineteenth century. Many of these were consciously generated by a political and social policy designed for nation-building. Their remarks often initiate, sometimes uphold, and occasionally begin to interrogate biases, stereotypes, and traditional patterns of writing and thinking.

As they travel from North Bay to Winnipeg, both Grafton and Lloyd describe Indians. Grafton writes:

Various little stations occur, and we get off occasionally, especially where there are Indians to return stare for stare. One would think they

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<sup>7</sup> I use "Indian" in this chapter in the sense of Daniel Francis's "Imaginary Indian," a collective image of North American indigenous people constructed by Europeans in the nineteenth century.

had a life-long familiarity with the camera, so naturally and easily they pose for observation. Moving off a little way at first, they all suddenly stop and turn and fall into position [. . .] mute and immovable. (Star 6 Oct. 1888)

Louis Loyd describes what was probably the same encounter as follows:

At Sevanne [. . .] the profound monotony was broken by a troop of Indians, [. . .] standing there like cattle, dark, strange, picturesque in the red sunlight. They looked at us with an amused, not to say sardonic, air, particularly irritating. (11 Oct. 1888)

Sara Mills notes having often encountered an irritation when the "natives' have the temerity to gaze back" (78) in nineteenth-century travel accounts. Also common among travellers and apparent in these two accounts is a connection of Natives with the picturesque.

The word "picturesque" comes up often enough in these sketches to warrant an explanation. James Buzard sees the picturesque as originating in the early eighteenth-century shift in travel writing to a visual, imagistic focus; travellers now saw themselves as creating a picture rather than explaining ideas, and they borrowed the language of landscape painting to use in their descriptions. The goal of picturesque description was a composed, aesthetic whole, a balanced synthesis of impressions; details that would detract from the completeness were blurred (Buzard, The Beaten Track 187-9). By the late nineteenth century, the picturesque was no longer associated simply with rural landscapes but had crept into the discourse of the description of cities. It included emotional aspects related to the "sublime," Edmund Burke's notion of awe-inspiring natural magnificence, and it embodied ideas of heightened taste and sensibility on the part of the observer. Many theorists of nineteenth-century travel writing suggest that women travellers both participate in this discourse and disrupt it. Elizabeth Bohls, for example, in

Women Travel Writers and the Language of Aesthetics, sees the language of aesthetics as inherently gender, race, and class based, and suggests that women travellers interrogate it in ways that include adding close-up, often unpleasant details to the scenes they describe, and responding to experiences with senses other than sight. However, Bohls claims that women travellers, like their male counterparts, use the language of aesthetics to distance themselves from "others" whom they find too uncomfortably different from themselves (47).

In Across New Worlds, Shirley Foster offers examples of how some travellers in North America used language to distance North American Aboriginal people from themselves. These extend from Isabella Bird's blatantly negative remarks in A Lady's Life in the Rocky Mountains, where her narrator says, "They were all hideous and filthy, and swarming with vermine" (5) to Catherine Parr Traill's admiring portrait of a young squaw whose "features were positively fine, [. . .] though of gypsy darkness" (The Backwood of Canada, 160) [. . .] and whose hair was not "hanging in shaggy masses, as is usually the case with squaws" (160). Louis Lloyd's dark and strange, picturesque, cattle-like and irritating Indians encompass almost the entire gamut of distancing tactics within a single sentence. Ironically, attempts to disrupt romantic patterns by employing realist ones often contributed to establishing stereotypes that persist today. We see an example of this in Duncan's description, in A Social Departure, of an encounter with "a solitary Blackfoot Indian" seemingly designed to appeal to a British audience as comedy as well as to deromanticize the popular image of the Indian as "noble savage":<sup>8</sup>

He wore a dirty blanket across his shoulders [. . .] and the remains of a silk hat on his head. [. . .] His countenance was not noble, acquiline, or

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<sup>8</sup> The term "noble savage" originated with Jean Jacques Rousseau's Romantic conception of the natural man, who, free from civilization's influences, would behave in socially positive ways, and it became associated with a Romantic view of North American aboriginal people. The term itself was first used by John Dryden in his play The Conquest of Granada to refer to the innate goodness of man in a state of nature (Francis 7).



red, but basely squat. [...] His hawklike eye was extremely bloodshot, and his long black locks were [...] greasily braided into a couple of unspeakable strands. [...]

"What's his name?" [Orthodocia] asked. [...]

"Oh, anything--'Left-Wing-of-a-Prairie-Chicken.' [...] 'He-Who-Stands-Up-and-Eats-a-Raw-Dog,' responded [Orthodocia's cousin] Mr. Love, with levity. (SD 27-8)

Garth Grafton aims for realism, without "levity," when, writing about having toured the North West Mounted Police Headquarters in Regina, she says, "We went forth to see the men's quarters [...] and the guard room where, for the moment, there was nobody but the guard and a foolish old Indian who lay like one dead in a lumpy heap under a blanket" (Star 27 Oct. 1888).

Louis Lloyd concludes her account about Winnipeg with an image that at once romanticizes, dehumanizes, and elegizes the Indians. Talking about a visit to Sir Donald Smith's house, she says, "He has some buffalo too, asthmatic things that look at you from their prison with the sad, fierce, mysterious resignation of the Indian" (The Week 11 Oct. 1888). As she concludes her account of the stop-over in Moosomin, Garth Grafton elegizes Canada's Indians with a Romantic set-piece:

There is time for a walk before supper and we wander to the outskirts of Moosomin. A single Indian, wearing his blanket as an Italian officer might his cloak, walks before us, tall and dignified [...]. When we turn he is still standing solitary against the burning sunset, looking across the land of his disinheritance. (Star 20 Oct. 1888)

Neither writer questions the underlying assumption of Canadian nation-building that the Anglo-Saxon culture that will replace that of the Indians is a more desirable one.

The travellers respond rather differently, though still ambivalently, to Louis Riel. Garth Grafton refers to Riel as "the patriot and the traitor, the man and the mercenary, the murderer and the martyr" (Star 27 Oct. 1888), and describes the window outside of which he was hanged in 1885 for his role in the North West Rebellion.<sup>9</sup> Louis Lloyd had written earlier about Riel's burial place in St. Boniface:

Louis Riel, you know, lies buried here. His name and nothing else is on the wooden cross that stands with flowers about its foot and a wooden fence around. [. . .] [F]or the moment, the pretty, melancholy spot quite fails to remind us that beyond, [. . .] across the bridge, Scott was murdered. (The Week 11 Oct. 1888)<sup>10</sup>

In A Social Departure, in the first of many instances in which Lily Lewis's words and perceptions become mixed together with Duncan's, the narrator remembers "the sun lighting up some marigolds on a quiet grave in sleepy St. Boniface," which the French half-breeds "have now forgotten" (38).

Lily Lewis's and Sara Duncan's personae both similarly reiterate some of the popular rhetoric about colonists and thereby contribute to some less often acknowledged but deeply rooted prejudices. Lloyd describes visiting a car full of "grumbling, scolding, [and] squalling" East-Londoners, who were demanding separate cars so as not to "be put with them furriners." The "much despised 'furriners'" "proved the most interesting, polite, and [. . .] cheery" travellers on board. She writes of having spoken to some Germans, and later, Grafton tells her

<sup>9</sup> The ambivalence apparent in Lewis's and Duncan's comments about Riel can perhaps be attributed to the influence of Nicholas Flood Davin, whom Louis Lloyd introduces, just after describing their visit to the NWMP Headquarters, as their "genial host" in Regina (The Week 25 Oct. 1888). Davin's most celebrated episode was his personal interview with Louis Riel on the eve of Riel's execution, after gaining entry to the prison disguised as a priest. Both Lewis and Duncan echo Davin's firm conviction that Riel must hang coupled with sympathy for the man himself.

<sup>10</sup> Ontario Orangeman Thomas Scott had been executed in 1870 by a provisional government established in an earlier Métis insurrection led by Louis Riel.

readers that Louis spoke in German to the inhabitants of a Russian German settlement in Assiniboia, attesting to the breadth of Lily Lewis's private school education. Of the Germans, Louis says, "In Winnipeg I learnt that these solid, bovine, patient, hard-working Teutons as colonists surpassed every other nation." Here as in so many other instances in these sketches, the choice of the adjective "bovine" qualifies the apparent admiration.

Metaphors of growth further qualify the travellers' admiration for these Europeans when they encounter them on the land. "Hungarians and Bohemians are taking root twenty miles away" (Star 20 Oct. 1888), Garth Grafton notes after a visit to some settlements near Moosomin. Louis Lloyd employs a similar metaphor to introduce the East Londoners who, sponsored by the Baroness Burdett-Coutts, were "planted on our prairies like noisome weeds" (The Week 18 Oct. 1888). "It shuffles," Grafton says of this "most unpromising specimen," adding that many of these Londoners "barely knew a plough from a hand organ." Garth Grafton's description of an English settler near Regina with a "snapping" wife and "eight squalid children" becomes gentler as the narrator of A Social Departure speaks with some sympathy for the displaced "Mrs. Growthem," who endured years of debt and disappointment and the death of her two-year-old baby before the family finally "[took] root in the land of their adoption" and became "picturesque" in the eyes of the narrator and her companion.

Both Lloyd and Grafton express their approval of the ideal western settler, the Scotsman from Ontario in their admiring, yet condescending, descriptions of this farmer's wife. Garth Grafton recalls meeting a "fresh-faced woman, with a wholesome voice and smile and her arms covered with flour" who "talks intelligently about crops and prices" (Star 20 Oct.). Louis Lloyd's ideal farmer has a wife with "that cool, fresh, heartlessly healthy look that only a life-long intimacy with butter and eggs can produce" (The Week 18 Oct.).

The two accounts of a Russian-German settlement near Regina also focus positively, but with strongly negative undertones, on the women. Garth Grafton writes of "round-faced, bright-eyed, slatternly women" who "laughed in toothless appreciation" (Star 27 Oct.) when Louis addressed them in German, while she, herself, inspected their "queer little interior." Louis Lloyd focusses on the difference between these apparently contented women and their East London counterparts, of whom not even the most destitute, she says, would set foot in one of these "rat-hole houses" (The Week 25 Oct.). Grafton concludes her sketch with a little vignette about a two-year-old Russian-German baby that somehow represents the "Canadian" view, expressed in various ways by the two journalists, of the resourcefulness and strength but profound social inferiority of the European immigrant. Her focus is obliquely feminine, but not in the sentimental vein of the little grave in the Growthem's yard:

A grimy faced baby of two crept with agility down into the room. [. . .] pulled a greasy frying pan half full of cold potatoes from the top of the stove, and began to regale himself as a more favored infant might in a jam closet. [. . .] He grovelled over them like a puppy. We got very close, in this populating of the plains, to the fundamental animal in our cultured selves. (25 Oct.)

This account undermines the implications of the picturesque, and at the same time employs an evolutionary framework to uphold a developing *élitist* and ethnocentric concept of Canadian cultural hierarchy.

The travellers also reiterate the government- and CPR-constructed notion of Winnipeg as a place of progress and promise. To Louis Lloyd, the wide boulevards and even the cow grazing on their hosts' front plot represent a warm welcome and guarantee an openness not possible in "those little, huddled-up European towns"

(The Week 11 Oct.). Garth Grafton wishes to dispell "impressions in the air at home that the place is treeless and colorless" as she paints a picture of

A soft gray September day, a dove-colored sky, two brown rivers meeting, [. . .] glowing brown and yellow poplars at their edges, bronze and reds in the oaks. (Star 6 Oct.)

"Artistic wooden houses" with lawns sloping down to the river where "young men and maidens" paddle and sing in canoes compose "an idyllic scene" in the evenings. Lloyd calls this district "the Fauberg St. Germaine of Winnipeg," reminding her readers, again, that she has been to Paris as she admires the sophistication she sees in Winnipeg.

The stop-over in Winnipeg has left some traces of information about Lily Lewis's life. "Our Winnipeg hostess lived in one of the Queen Anne houses" (SD 14), Duncan notes as she talks about Orthodocia's astonishment at finding Turkish rugs and Spode teacups in this place. Marian Fowler speculates in Redney that the young women were guests in Winnipeg at the home of Lansing and Katherine Lewis, Lily's brother and sister-in-law. Fowler describes Lansing as "a wiry little man with a neatly trimmed beard, who had advanced ideas about female suffrage and a flashing Welsh humour" (152). Fowler had probably garnered her information from Lansing's obituary in the Montreal Herald in March, 1924, and related articles, as well as from the Morgan and the Roberts and Tunnel volumes, all of which mention Lansing's support of women's suffrage. Lansing lived in Winnipeg between 1880 and 1892, where he operated an insurance company, and in 1888, he was also an *aide-de-camp* to the lieutenant governor of Manitoba. He had married Katherine Bate of Ottawa in 1887. "Redney [Duncan's nickname] enjoyed being a guest at Katherine and Lansing's gracious table" (152). Fowler concludes.

A slightly different story emerges from the two newspaper accounts and a letter from Sara Duncan to Lansing Lewis lent to me by Lansing's grandson, Herbert Lewis. Dated "October 12" beneath a "Vancouver, B.C." heading, and signed, "With kindest regards and sincerest gratitude, Yours very truly, Sara J. Duncan," the letter begins, "Dear Captain Lewis," speaks a little about the journey from Winnipeg to Vancouver and Lily's health, and notes that Lily has just been reading Captain Lewis's letter aloud. "We have enjoyed everything hugely," Duncan writes, "and nothing more than Winnipeg, where your goodness, and that of the benign bachelorhood of the Shanty--made a deep and lasting impression. I do hope the Shanty won't object very much to what I said in the Star. Please intercede for me if it should be so."

Garth Grafton had said in the Star:

Society in Winnipeg is noticeably young. [. . .] Its friendliness is delightful. We found relations of such amity existing that the unexpected friends of a temporary bachelor might be taken to breakfast at an absent neighbor's--truly a test of fraternity. [. . .] It is hardly possible to speak of society in Winnipeg without mentioning one of its best-known institutions--the "Shanty." [. . .] The Shantymen in brief are a number of young gentlemen who keep bachelor's hall together, who give dinners and drives in the most charming and formal fashion, and who form an important element in all that is "going on" in a social way in Winnipeg. (6 Oct.)

Lewis's account of a dinner with her brother and three other "enviable hosts" is at once both less and more personal:

Our first glimpse of society was afforded us at a charmingly convivial little dinner given by what, I suppose, are the most genuine specimens of N.W. knights. Comfort ye, comfort ye, mothers and sisters who have

vague fears concerning the temporal welfare of your idols! (The Week  
11 Oct.)

In between Louis Lloyd's rather fussy lines about a "heavy-laden board all a-sparkle," Lily Lewis assures the female members of her own family that Lansing is getting along just fine on his own in Winnipeg.

Along with Lansing's letter from Sara Duncan, Herbert Lewis lent me several photographs. One of these shows an attractive, serious-looking and stylishly dressed young woman wearing a jaunty hat. On the back is written: "Lansing and Katie, With Love, Lily. Italy, 2 Nov. 1892." This, together with the enthusiasm with which Lloyd describes the convivial little dinner and the drives around Winnipeg, and Lily's pleasure in Lansing's letter as revealed in Sara's, suggests a warm and intimate sister-brother relationship. We can only wonder what might have happened, sometime after 1892, to change things so drastically that Lansing barely spoke of his sister to his own children.

The prairies and the mountains affect the two easterners quite differently. Louis Lloyd's description, on October 18, of a buggy ride across the open prairie expresses the passionate sense of freedom from restraint that Shirley Foster notes having encountered often in accounts of travels to remote places by nineteenth-century women:

It was perfectly intoxicating to drive across that glorious rolling country, in a keen wind, behind two hot-blooded bronchos, across the soft, multicoloured ground, through the long grass, up and over the farm-dotted bluffs, and away and away under an immeasurable canopy of swirling clouds. We could see whole cities outlined against the sky-- towers and minarets in oriental profusion and delicate splendour--pine-cities they were, yet the illusion was complete. I should have been content to forget everything, everything but the free, wild, passionate,

deep-toned earth and heaven; to drink long draughts of the air that tasted like strange wine, till every vein throbbled again with a newly-found freedom. (The Week 18 Oct. 1888)

Duncan's narrator fails to describe any scenery around "Corona" because, she says, "No scenery whatever occurred during the whole twenty minutes" of the ride (SD 29).

Duncan appropriates Louis Lloyd's image of "towers and minarets" in Garth Grafton's response to the mountains, and her treatment of these images, in the sketch and in the novel, have the effect, I think, with respect to Lily Lewis, of a small act of erasure. "As I stood on the end of the car," Grafton writes, "I remembered that I should see mountains with towers and minarets, mountains like churches, like fortifications, like cities, like clouds. And I saw them all" (Star 27 Oct.). In the novel, the narrator and Orthodoxia stand together on the end of the car and together remember that they should see towers and minarets. In the novel, Duncan also attributes to Orthodoxia the words Garth Grafton uses to write of her impressions on October 27: "Let us go into abstractions for our similies; let us compare it to a thought, to a deed, that men have thrust high [. . .]" (SD 41, Star 27 Oct.).

Louis Lloyd's response is very different from Grafton's and Orthodoxia's, having in it something of Lily Lewis's recent visit to the Swiss Alps and something, too, of her unique and personal displeasure in this setting:

When I awoke and found myself surrounded by all that austere, cold, awful magnificence utterly free from any memory, I felt as if I had been suddenly transported into a scarcely finished Fifth Avenue palace. [. . .] [W]e must have the [. . .] quaint conceits and delicate similes, the softly burning memories [. . .]--a poet host to meet us on the threshold. It was Switzerland without her history, her guide books, her quaint villages, her



Byron and Rousseau. [. . .] At present, therefore, the Rockies leave me cold. (The Week 25 Oct.)

Lewis again hints of her connections with L.L., and again exemplifies the response that Rajotte describes --making space readable with literary referents instead of making it visible by telling readers what the place looks like. Duncan ironizes this approach and then participates in it with her suggestion that we "go into abstractions."

In her account of a chance encounter, "just after leaving Medicine Hat," with a famous American writer, Lewis deals implicitly with Duncan's tendency to erase her as Louis Lloyd writes explicitly about how "Garth always distances [her]." Charles Dudley Warner, well-known for his familiar essays and his personal travelogues and sketches as well as for his role as editor of several prominent American periodicals, claims, in Studies in the South and West with Comments on Canada, to have made a journey on the new Canadian railway line from Montreal to Vancouver in order to understand this country more fully, and he devotes a chapter of this volume to a description of "The Canadian Girl," discerning in this "type" "a distinctness, neither English nor American, [that is] noticeable especially in the women" (444):

[The Canadian Girl] resembles the American in her escape from a purely conventional restraint in self-reliance, and she has, like the English, a well-modulated voice and distinct articulation. In the cities, also, she has taste in dress and a certain style which we think belongs to the New World. In features and action a certain modification has gone on due partly to climate and partly to greater social independence. (454)

"We knew," Garth Grafton's account of the meeting begins, "that we were being followed closely by a private car." Grafton relates how she eventually determined the identity of its grey-haired occupant in the "soft black hat and pepper and salt

travelling suit," someone intimately connected with Harpers' Magazine, and the next-door neighbor of Mark Twain, and how he suggested to her "that a Canadian individuality has not yet been developed." "I begged my author to see otherwise," she concludes (Montreal Star 3 Nov. 1888).

Lewis's account of the meeting, Marion Fowler suggests, "not only gives us a fine closeup of Redney but also reveals how Lily habitually stayed in the background" (Redney 153). "Charles and Redney had an instant rapport" (155), Fowler speculates on the basis of Lewis's description of the meeting, and she credits Duncan with convincing her idol that "there is [after all] a Canadian type of woman" (Warner 454) and with providing Warner with a model of this type. I would argue that Louis Lloyd's account presents a Lily not at all content to remain in the background, a Lily Lewis who, by means of skilful self-deprecating humour manages to remove herself from the sidelines of this conversation and place herself squarely in the centre of it.

"Our train had just left Medicine Hat when Garth came up hurriedly, excitedly, with that peculiarly feminine interrogatory exclamation":

"*Do you know, do you know*, my dear, who the tall gray-haired man is to whom I've been speaking?"

I confessed my ignorance.

"That man is Charles Dudley Warner!"

"Charles Dudley who?"

[. . .] I was suddenly filled with a sickening sense of fear, of almost nameless dread. [. . .] [Louis admits she has never heard of Warner.] [. . .] Garth knows lots of American *literateurs* more or less personally. I don't think I ever spoke to a genuine author in my life; I mean one who has had his things printed without paying for it. [. . .] [Y]ou can understand how an unsophisticated young journalist should long [. . .] to

be "noticed" in high places, and [yet] feel faint at the thought of such notice.

[. . .] I knew how the whole thing must turn out. [. . .] Garth would talk Washington and New Orleans: [. . .] it is her fox's platter.

[. . .] We entered the cosy little drawing room at the back of the car. Mr. Warner was there. On looking at him again, [. . .] an indescribably re-assuring sensation came over me. I was certain a man who looked like that would be merciful. [. . .] [W]hen Mr. Warner smiled, [. . .] it began at the heart and worked upwards.

[. . .] No, Garth didn't start Washington, but she started something far worse--Commercial Union.<sup>11</sup> [. . .] I found myself out of the discussion. There remained an alternative between *Robert Ellesmere* and the prairie-- I chose the prairie. Our interviews *à trois* usually pass this way. Garth having been some years on American newspapers, always distances me. [. . .] Garth tells me that Mr. Warner said, among other things, [. . .] that the Canadian type had yet to be developed. (*The Week* 14 Dec. 1888)

This account, together with Lewis's version of a second, later, encounter with Charles Warner, clearly reveals a desire often apparent in Lewis's writing to become visible through writing, and it portrays a Lily Lewis who, along with Duncan, and every bit as much as Duncan, constitutes Warner's "Canadian Girl."

Hector Charlesworth's "The Canadian Girl" of 1893 implicitly responds to Warner's earlier text of the same name. He, too, compares the Canadian woman to her British and Canadian counterparts. As he moves back and forth in the article between references to the "girl-individual" (191) and the "typical Canadian girl"

<sup>11</sup> Commercial Union was a policy, favoured by the Liberal Party in Canada, of promoting freer trade between Canada and the United States. It developed in response to a depression in Canada resulting from the Métis rebellions, and it lost ground in the 1890s to a policy favouring imperial unity and the maintenance of strong ties with Britain (Berger, *A Sense of Power* 4).

(191). Charlesworth illustrates the frequent conflation of individuality and collectivity in people's consciousness at the time and points to the way in which identity construction in these nineteenth-century texts I am studying so often crosses the boundaries of absolute singularity.

After the visit with Warner, as Lloyd "sat there contemplating the prairies," an Englishman (real or imagined), "turned up," she writes. He talked about literature. "He knew Mrs. Humphrey Ward; he knew who the original was of almost every character in *Robert Ellesmere*, and he could [. . .] bemoan Mathew Arnold's death as if he had been a brother." He even "made some remarks about Mr. Goldwin Smith, full of insight and appreciation, and sensibility."<sup>12</sup> It is difficult to determine how much of this account stems from conventions of the time, such patterns of writing as Sara Mills insists serve to obscure the individual voice. To some extent, certainly, the Louis Lloyd persona responds in artificial pique to Garth Grafton's self-identification as the elder and more experienced traveller, correspondent, and conversationalist. I do not think it unreasonable to conclude, however, that we can also discern in this discourse the voice of Lily Lewis, the young woman who has recently felt herself "distanced" and wants to assert that she, too, knows about literature, philosophy, and trans-national cultural issues.

Lloyd notes at the end of her entry of December 14 that several days after arriving in Vancouver, they saw Mr. Warner again, and she says to her readers,

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<sup>12</sup> Both Louis Lloyd and Garth Grafton note the fact that they are reading Mrs. Ward's recently published and critically controversial novel about a minister who embraces a secular theology. Duncan has often in the past used Matthew Arnold's term, "Philistines," when writing about cultural utilitarianism, and Lewis has earlier referred to herself as an "Arnoldian." Goldwin Smith was a prominent Canadian supporter of Commercial Union between Canada and the United States. (Just prior to embarking upon this venture, Duncan had been a guest in New York of Chaz Wiman, owner of the New York and Toronto *Globe* and a vocal American proponent of Commercial Union.)

"I should like to tell you about our last talk with him before I begin to describe this place":

Mr Warner spent eight hours in Vancouver and then went on to Victoria. We were kindly invited to join "the party." [. . .] You can picture the hero of the expedition standing on the deck of the *Yosemite*, [. . .] a tall erect figure with grey beard and aquiline nose, pale cheeks and longish grey hair, and eyes. [. . .] I have never seen eyes at once so clever and so honest. [. . .]

We sat on the deck of the *Yosemite* as it flitted over the twilight waters--smooth, mist-haunted waters. [. . .] and listened to him talk [. . .]. [N]ot once did he allude to himself or to his own works; how I appreciated this reticence! His criticisms were fair and delightfully impersonal. [. . .]

And now I want you to catch a glimpse of Mr. Warner as I saw him last at the Hotel Vancouver. Everybody was bustling about. [. . .] I don't know exactly what I was doing at the entrance, but--well, Mr. Warner came up to say "good-bye." He didn't say only "good-bye," he said some other things I shall always remember and try to follow out. He told me above all things to be true and simple: to observe every detail with infinite care; to avoid "apt quotations" for they are lazy and slipshod.

Then he wished me success--There was a rush, a rambling of wheels, and he was gone.

Here again, the voice of Lily Lewis, the twenty-two year old girl enthralled by the charismatic older writer and appreciative of his attention that this time pointedly includes her, blends with that of Louis Lloyd, the "journalist" persona encountering a mentor. Mr. Warner's private good-bye and the advice that accompanied it seem to have been offered to Lewis, his new young friend, as well as to Lloyd, the "aspiring writer" persona.

Garth Grafton's account in the Star of November 3, entitled, "Cow-Catcher Moments: The Last Six Hundred Miles," includes the visit with Charles Dudley Warner, the first sight of the mountains upon awaking the next morning, a ride on the cow catcher, and an overnight stop at a chalet in the Selkirks. Louis Lloyd describes the same events in her account of December 14, and her version suggests that Lewis experienced some of these events rather differently than Grafton's account and Duncan's novel would lead their readers to believe. Grafton describes a sense of exhilaration similar to what Lloyd had earlier expressed regarding the ride across the prairies: "I haven't the vocabulary [to tell you what it feels like]. [. . .] There is no terror. [. . .] There is no heat, no dust, no cinder. You are projected swiftly into space [. . .]." Then Grafton's "you" becomes "we" in A Social Departure: "We were intensely exhilarated [. . .] and happy. [. . .] We were ahead of everything, speeding into the heart of the mountains. [. . .]" (45-6). One of the illustrations in the novel portrays two young women perched on a platform on the front of a locomotive. Louis Lloyd writes of their making friends with the chief engineer, then notes, "I regret to say that notwithstanding my having made friends with the engineer, notwithstanding his courteous permission, I did not ride on the pilot after all; please believe it wasn't fear that deterred me [. . .]" (The Week 14 Dec. 1888)

Grafton writes of a "two mile climb over rocks, [and] across torrent[s], [. . .] to the foot of the glacier. [. . .] [where they] entered and sat down in a beautiful ice-blue cave in its side, [. . .] and took two bad colds [. . .]" (Star 3 Nov.). Here again Lloyd's account contradicts Grafton's, and her version again provides a portrait of the younger Lily Lewis determined to tell her own story and create her own persona; at the same time, it serves as a caution against a too naive interpretation of any of this material as being entirely autobiographical. The next morning, while "Garth went to inspect the glacier more closely," Louis Lloyd says,

"I tramped off to look at one of the admirably constructed snow sheds built over the track," and she outlines an "almost unintelligible" conversation, upon her return, with a labourer (14 Dec.).

Duncan's letter to Lansing Lewis from Vancouver adds more detail to the contradictory picture that emerges from the two newspaper accounts. "We are both well and in excellent spirits for the sea trip," she writes, and then adds, "Lily was rather upset at the Glacier, where we got off for a day, but is quite herself again now. I don't think the north west air altogether agreed with her." Perhaps Lily actually did have a cold. Or maybe she had some regrets about the cow catcher or was upset about having been "distanced" in the conversation with Charles Warner. Or, perhaps Lily simply did not enjoy these mountains. Of the following day, Louis Lloyd writes, "After a morning spent in acute agony while travelling over the blood-curdling track that the train follows at dizzy heights above the Fraser River, we reached Vancouver in an exceptionally grateful frame of mind" (The Week 14 Dec. 1888).

Louis Lloyd's accounts also contain one or two other little narrative vignettes that she, alone, describes. Although the pronoun "we," indicating Louis and Garth, appears often in these stories, in each of them we get a sense of Lewis enjoying herself immensely. As Lloyd writes about Nicholas Flood Davin, editor of the Regina Leader, Member of Parliament for West Assiniboia, and the "genial host of [their] wanderings about Regina," she adds, "But we were perhaps more grateful to Mr. Davin for introducing us to 'Elaine'," whose real name she was "not yet at liberty to disclose." "[W]hen we accepted her hospitable invitation to dine in the evening, [w]e found a literary lady," she says, "but I hardly know which I enjoyed most, her coffee or her conversation" (The Week 25 Oct. 1888). Kate Simpson Hayes<sup>13</sup> and Davin never married but lived together for several years, had

<sup>13</sup> I have obtained my information about Hayes and Davin from the 1979 Herstory calendar and Neil K. Besner's article on Davin.

two children, and worked together for his newspaper. Hayes later became famous as Mary Markwell of the Winnipeg Free Press and was prominent among the organizers of the Canadian Women's Press Club. In choosing to have Louis Lloyd mark this meeting with a sister newspaperwoman and "literary lady," Lily Lewis perhaps reveals her own desire for a community of colleagues that, had she returned to Canada, she would most likely have found in the Canadian Women's Press Club. Lloyd's enthusiasm about "Elaine" also indicates a greater willingness on Lily Lewis's part to accept an unconventional viewpoint about marital relationships than she exhibits in her comments about Indians, Eastern Europeans, and lower class people.

An article on the front page of the Regina Leader, October 2, 1888,<sup>14</sup> corroborates Louis Lloyd's account of this dinner and provides additional information about some of the other activities in and around Regina that Duncan and Lewis describe in their accounts. "Miss Duncan and Miss Lewis visited Regina last week," the article begins. The ladies, each of whom "is well known all over the dominion by consequence of many a brilliant article," "were met at the station by Mr. Davin, M.P.," who "had already made Miss Duncan's acquaintance in social circles in the capitol." On Thursday evening, the article states, the travellers "dined with a lady of like literary tastes." The writer notes also a call at Government House, a "pleasant 5 o'clock tea" with Mrs. Fisher and her family at Bayswater Farm, a visit to the McIntyre farm, where "the strength and excellence of north west milk and butter [were] explained," a "rigorous" examination of the Barracks, a drive by the south shore of the Wascana, and a visit with "the German settlers who have taken up their abodes east of Broad Street," and all about whom "Miss Lewis, who is an accomplished linguist," "learned [. . .] in the German tongue."

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<sup>14</sup> See Appendix A-6.a.



Louis Lloyd concludes the Canadian portion of her account with a self-consciously literary sketch of a hunting trip up the Fraser River with three French gentlemen whom the girls met at the Hotel Vancouver. "While sauntering over the softly carpeted upper hall," Lloyd writes, she heard "bits of Chopin and *Carmen*, echoes from Parisian *salons*," and she "discovered Monsieur Hironnelle, working off on a mellow-toned grand piano the rather overpowering effects of his day's transactions, and his companions, Mssrs. Moineau and Pinson. The "duly chaperoned" party of seven was to go by steam yacht to the north arm of the river, camp out as best they could overnight, and next morning, "slaughter as many ducks as a pleasure expedition can."

In the evening [. . .] we all collected in the hall of the hotel.

Monsieur Hironnelle in English gaiters, his great coat done up *à la militaire*; Monsieur Moineau in top boots; Monsieur Pinson, tall and bronzed. [. . .] [We] had a moonlight night. The little yacht crept out steadily upon the dark water. [. . .] Then we sped away and away [. . .].

(The Week 28 Dec. 1888)

In a "gently curving bay" the party embarked at the hut where they were to spend the night. "The situation charmed me," Lloyd says, although the last inhabitants had left the hut "in a sorry mess" with leaves and greasy papers everywhere. "French fastidiousness" soon took care of the mess, whereupon M. Hironnelle "sat himself down before the hearth, a delicious picture of artistic shiftlessness," and talked about "simplicity in art." Later, having enjoyed a delicious supper and retired to "bracken couches," Louis says she "looked out sleepily from her dark corner and saw a very picturesque group low over the fire." And, true to the rules governing the picturesque, the gentlemen are described in non-specific, romantic terms: they have "delicate features," "golden features," "charming features." Louis then recalls having dreamed that night a dream that subtly undermines the

picturesque and comments upon European civilization and its values as they are being transported to "wild" places. She was "in a battle between the French and the Prussians." (She was one of the Prussians.) The Prussians "had web feet and flapping wings and their brass helmets were continually slipping down over their beaks" (28 Dec.).

The dream dramatizes and lightly interrogates some international and national gender stereotypes. It plays, for example, with the commonly-held notion of the French as an effete, feminized people, as opposed to the masculine and militarized Prussians. It plays with Canadian nationalist ideas about the need for a strong, masculine literature to reflect and produce a rugged northern consciousness by introducing into the picture these charming, fastidious, delicate Frenchmen who behave like nurturing women *and* shoot at everything in sight *à la militaire*. The dream also fits nicely into contemporary criticism that looks for multiplicity as opposed to unified individuality in women writers' expressions of subjectivity. Here, Lily Lewis might be expressing her own deep ambivalence between national and cosmopolitan allegiances.

### III. A Little Book of Japanese Sketches

"By the end of the first week in November," Marian Fowler writes, "Redney and Lily felt ready to leave Vancouver for the Orient. By this time they were such relaxed travellers, so content to drift rather than steer, that they almost missed the ship" (Redney 157-8). Fowler summarizes the girls' experience of Japan, from Duncan's perspective, as "a supremely happy" (159) time, because it "satisfied [Redney's] highly developed aesthetic sense" (159). Beauty blossomed everywhere; everything in Japan delighted the senses. One aspect of Japanese life

"angered Redney," however, Fowler continues, "the position of women" (160), and some of the feminist views she had aired in earlier columns "resurfaced" (160). But otherwise, Japan, with its "long happy days" (159), "was a dream, an idyllic interlude" (160), a "beautiful kaleidoscope [that] inspired some of her finest writing" (161).

Shirley Foster notes that Japan is "imaged as dreamlike" (133) throughout the nineteenth-century women's travel accounts that she has studied: "If Italy was magical, [. . .] Japan was a legendary fairyland" (133). Travellers described effects such as a seductive sense of illusory timelessness, a "feeling of magical transcendence" (134), and a thrilling harmony, which Foster considers to be to some extent a strategy for dealing with the overwhelming inaccessibility of this place by associating it with prior images. Invariably, a heightened aesthetic quality characterizes descriptive passages in these accounts. Foster sees, as well, some traits of "orientalism" (Edward Said's term for Europeans' "fixing" Eastern lands and people according to preconceived assumptions [Foster 133]) and distancing strategies, but claims that female observers often "seek to establish familiarity and mutuality, qualities of cultural or moral relativity which permit new habits and insights" (133). All of these qualities appear in both Duncan's and Lewis's accounts of their experiences in Japan.

No doubt in part due to her friend's influence and in part simply to maturation as well as to the effects of the earlier part of the journey, Lily Lewis seems to have arrived in Japan in a mood much like Duncan's--"relaxed and floating, open to new experiences, ready for anything" (Fowler 158). More spontaneous, more open to genuine laughter and personal revelation than the L.L. who wrote rather doggedly and exhaustively of Italy, Louis Lloyd's style now reveals a writer who has selected and organized her material with an eye to its aesthetic integrity. Lloyd describes the magical effects of the scenery, self-

reflexively including in her scenes their effects upon her and the prior images that infuse them. Lewis discusses Japanese women as Lloyd focusses on two contrasting individuals, her servant, Tomi, ever eager to please and even more eager to learn English, and a little geisha, O Mitsu-San, to whom she and Garth and their friend O Taro-San pay a visit "one mild evening" (2 Apr. 1888) and to whom, she says, "we lost our hearts." Lewis expresses her opinions about the western influence on Japan as Lloyd relates the story of her friendship with O Taro-San, "a typical modern Japanese gentleman" (7 June 1889). She comments about art and religion and marriage as Louis Lloyd describes a ladies' art school, a Buddhist shrine, and a visit to Nagasaki, and over her composite picture of Japan she casts an aura of elegiac nostalgia reminiscent of L.L.'s feelings about the Boboli Gardens of Florence and Louis Lloyd's about the Indians of the Canadian prairies. In both of his "Lily Lewis Rood" entries, Henry Morgan includes the "Little Book of Japanese Sketches" that Mrs. Rood was "about to publish" in 1898, indicating the status, in Lily Lewis Rood's own consciousness, of this group of sketches as a separate, integral, and specially regarded work of literary art. To underline their importance, the Japanese sketches have distinct titles, unlike the "Louis Lloyd's Letters" that serves as heading for the earlier accounts. Not altogether unlike the linked stories so heavily and sometimes infamously associated with Canadian writing, these sketches bear the titles, "Arrival in Tokyo," "Taro-San: Our Official Friend," "Something About Buddha," and "Sayonara."

In her most stunningly effective descriptions of Japan, Duncan connects travel writing and water colour painting precisely as Henry James does with the "faint," "shimmering," "watery-pink" "essence" that becomes his portrait of Venice. In The Observing Self, Graham Good expresses some ideas about James's "variations on [his] dominant color-theme" (95) of pale pink and green. Gently curving lines are "washed with a pearly white" (James, "Venice" 17) in April. In

May, "infinite variations of blue, and rosy walls [. . .] began to sparkle and shine-- began as the painters say, to 'compose'" (18). "The scene seems to come to life and become art in the same process" (Good 95), Good claims, much as James's essays themselves represent a "settlement between past and present [and] between art and life" (Good 97). In her Star column, Garth Grafton describes a trip "through the pines" to the northern temple city of Nikko:

The color, that December morning, was dainty and cool, in clean, delicate washes of grays and blues, as it might have come from the brush of a water-colorist with a firm hand for detail. And away off, describing a long arc through the fieldlets, and making apparently for a funny little mountain that stood all alone in the midst of a wide flatness, shrieked another tiny locomotive, leaving an erratic smoke-track along the sky.  
(21 Mar. 1889)

For her "good-bye" to Japan, Duncan creates a slowly changing kaleidoscope in red and white, and the corresponding change in her language as it moves from prose into poetry affirms the value of art. "The sky was flat and gray and furry and it was softly cold," Grafton writes of the January night that she and Louis left Tokyo. "I carried a budding camelia branch with one conscious red flower opened-eyed. Suddenly I saw my camelia through the darkness red and white. I looked up--the snow had come." "It fell silently, lightly" at first. "It whispered among the twisted branches of the tall pine trees as we rode deeper into the shadows." Then "the flakes began to fall more thickly" and soon "[i]t was fairyland overtaken by a blizzard." Later, as they move slowly into the "liquid silence" of the Inland Sea at Kobe, and embark upon "a voyage through the scenery of a dream," a "burnished bar" "glows and melts" and "drops to a red burning" and finally "slips into the dreaming gray and white water" (27 Apr. 1889).

Louis Lloyd, too, creates an impressionistic picture full of strangeness and motion as she begins her first account of Japan: "And so we had arrived in Japan, in the land of tinted films, and cobweb lines and the quintessence of things [ . . . ]". The entry concludes with something resembling a previously acquired image of Japanese art.

Strange-looking boats flecked the sea. [ . . . ] [ L ] large birds floated, and wheeled and shrieked through the air, and over everything stretched a sky of tender, hazy blue. [ . . . ] [ I ] it all seemed like a medley of beauty and grotesqueness as ever artist imagined for a Satsuma vase. ( 18 Jan. 1889)

Tokyo, "intoxicating, [ . . . ] fantastic, vapoury, and exquisitely lovely," surpasses all expectations as "a city fashioned in the image of a dream":

Lanterns bobbed and trembled everywhere. [ . . . ] We shot along wide streets where the crowds tottered vaguely about in the mist-tempered moonlight; we plunged into mysterious alleys where the few lanterns we found seemed to have lost themselves; we flitted under the shadow of huge stone gateways; we glided past black, threatening moats [ . . . ].  
(Louis Lloyd 25 Jan. 1889)

Of the visit to the tea house, Lloyd writes:

One mild evening when a full moon was rising lazily over Tokyo [ . . . ], when the dark palace grounds before our house seemed full of a fantastic mystery, and the city at our feet a lantern-studded mist, we suddenly longed for a little romance, Garth and I. ( 21 June 1889)

She and Garth were wondering how they could pass a "genuine Japanese evening " in a quaint tea house, she continues, when Taro San appeared with the announcement that he had arranged just such an evening. "So we went forth, Garth, Taro San, and I [ . . . ] out into the witchery of the moonlit streets, [ . . . ] among the eccentric shadows of the avenue of leafless cherry trees." The country around the

tea house, now bare. "seemed only a delicate sketch awaiting the paintbrush of spring" (21 June 1889).

Delight with the strangeness of things and distancing strategies often blend together in the same descriptions. "They had told us of a land of paper houses and of toy gardens," Lloyd notes, "where the fascinating beauties of the tea chests walked the streets." "They had insisted [that] our foreign sensibilities would be often shocked, [. . .] notwithstanding our delight at the new charm of things" (The Week 18 Jan. 1889). Often descriptions become imitations of the tea chests, the blue plates, and all the other Japanese images currently popular in the West. And from "a funny little mountain" and crowds that "totter vaguely about" on clicking pattens, it is but a short distance to funny little people who become the objects of much hilarity.

In my perusal of the Pall Mall Gazette, I came across a book review published on July 11, 1890, entitled, "How Two Young Ladies Went Round the World." "This is about the most charming book of travels it has been our good fortune to come across," the review begins. "Very entertaining" is the "borrowed" aunt in Assiniboia. "Entertaining is the small boy guide to the Great Glacier." But these are "nothing to the Japanese reporter who interviewed them on their arrival at Yokahama." "We defy anyone not to giggle a score of times," this writer concludes, following a lengthy excerpt from the interview, "if not at the Japanese reporter, then at the Japanese railway officials or household [. . .]." Thomas Tausky remarks that "[t]he two visitors manage to laugh in Japanese faces a distressing number of times" (Novelist of Empire 58), although he sees their "enthusiasm for Japanese ways" (58) as more significant. Lewis and Duncan do seem at this stage of their journey not only to be especially sensitive to aesthetic impressions but also to be always ready to laugh uproariously, at situations and at themselves, as is apparent in some excerpts from the three accounts of this interview.

"He was the most unaggressive reporter I have ever seen," says the narrator of A Social Departure, and continues:

"How do you do," I said.

"Yes!" he responded. [. . .]

"How old is rady?" calmly, deliberately.

"I--I forget". [. . .]

"Other rady [. . .]--not so old? [. . .] more old?"

"I am twenty-two years of age," said Orthodocia, gravely. [. . .] "and I weigh ten stone. Height, five feet eight inches [. . .]."

"Radies will study Japanese porryticks--please say."

Orthodocia, suavely: "Are they produced here to any extent?"

"We have many porryticks--ribarer, conservative, monarchist."

"Oh." (59)

Orthodocia keeps having to go to the window or leave the room, convulsed with laughter. The reporter reappears the next day with his translation, which claims, among other things, that the "[o]bject of radies' rocomotion [is] to make beautiful their minds" (63). Louis Lloyd's version, (as Tausky has noted), "is much more sympathetic to the reporter's plight" (Tausky 62): "You--you must think foreigners very rude." I stuttered. "Yes," was the somewhat unexpected reply" (18 Jan. 1889).

The "greater sympathy and warmth for a person of a different culture" (Tausky 62) that Tausky attributes to Lily Lewis is indeed evident in Lloyd's descriptions of her Japanese friends. "When we first met Taro San," she says,

he seemed to us only a nervous creature [. . .] at once shy and oddly brusque [. . .]. Upon further acquaintance, [. . .] we discovered that he possessed a cleverness, a receptiveness, a quick appreciation which would astonish and charm even in a European. Taro San was a person to know. [. . .] But it is our official friend's capacity to puzzle, to mystify



people utterly every now and again, which makes him most attractive. (7 June 1889)

Of her little maid, Tomi, "fascinating," "sweetly provoking," "meek to the point of inspiring admiring pity" (22 Feb. 1889), Lloyd says, "The more I saw of her, the more she interested and fascinated me." O Mitsu-San, "Miss Honey" of the tea house, spoke in a gentle, pleasing, and "peculiarly flattering tone." "But she is a maiden of yesterday," Lloyd concludes (21 June 1889). She recalls thinking in the moonlight the night they went to see the little geisha and hear her sing, that "[a]ll this beautiful, strange, free life was going to end." Often in Louis Lloyd's accounts, Lily Lewis seems not entirely convinced that Japan will benefit by adopting western culture. Here, Lloyd's elegiac tone of sadness has a personal component as she expresses an empathy with O Mitsu-San, the woman who, she says, "has touched her heart," and articulates her regret at having to leave the Japan she has come to love. Louis Lloyd says she could not quite express to her friends "what [she] felt at leaving them and their beautiful country" (9 Aug. 1889), and her regret somehow feels very genuine, as she fuses her own loss of this "fairylane" and these friends and "all the charm of their soft ways" with the world's loss of "a civilization all naive love, and naive art, and naive bravery." Duncan, more inclined, always, in Tausky's words, towards "detached amusement" (Tausky 62), emphasizes difference and distance as Garth Grafton creates a portrait, again in red and white, of a strange, "weird" woman whom the two women encountered after visiting several of the temples at Nikko.

We climbed to the tomb of Iyeasu [. . .]. We saw a pale weird woman in all waving white draperies with scarlet under them, make strange passes with a fan and a bell-rattle, strange posturings, strange measured steps in a semi-circle, within the cell-like little temple where she sat all day long to do her religion this service. And when that pale weird

woman sat down again among her draperies and cast one level look upon us from beneath her lowered lids, a mechanical incurious look, we felt that no sum of years or miles or of human difference could avail to express the shivering distance between her and us. (*Star* 21 Mar. 1889)

Grafton writes of Louis's "saddest of countenances" (*Star* 27 Apr. 1889) prior to leaving, and then makes much of Louis's nineteen teapots and twenty-four additional packages. Lloyd describes "a little time on shore" at Nagasaki on that last day and writes of sitting on the floor in a music shop with the entire street's occupants gathered about her, "convulsed with laughter" as she tried *à la* phrase book to inquire whether "O Kiki Sama," the "Madame Chrysanthemum" of Pierre Loti's novel, might actually live among them. "I laughed too," she says, "One loses so many laughs by not laughing at oneself" (9 Aug. 1889).

The derivativeness that Shirley Foster sees in travel writing about much-visited places is certainly evident in both Louis Lloyd's and Garth Grafton's references to Japan as "dream" and as "fairyland," but a more direct and explicit derivativeness might also be discernable in some of their writing. "Among us" on board the steamer from Vancouver, Grafton notes, "were four copies of 'Robert Ellesmere,' [. . .] 'The Rebel Rose,' [. . .] 'Miss Bird and Pierre Loti'" (*Star* 27 Apr. 1889). Lloyd openly acknowledges her indebtedness to Pierre Loti as she writes about her visit to Nagasaki: "I confess it quite frankly that what interested me most about Nagasaki was the fact that the French writer, Pierre Loti, had lived there and had written all about the little town in 'Madame Chrysanthemum'" (9 Aug.). Pierre Loti has described the "bows," the "laughing," and the "compliments" of the Japanese "with the most exquisite of modern art," she says.

He is first of all an artist, his book first of all a picture, but a picture delicate and minute as Japanese bronze work, perfect in its imperfection, like the suggestion of things the Japanese paint across their fans; a picture

where you can feel the soft Japanese air, and smell the discreet perfume of Japanese flowers; where you can see delicious sketches of Japanese sky, and all the dainty confusion of Japanese life under it--temples and tea-houses, shaven priests and laughing *mousmes*, nights of strange dreaming to strange music, and nights of fairy revelry by lantern light. Before I had arrived in Japan Monsieur Loti had taught me to love it, and when I was going away it was no small consolation to know that I carried in the pages of "Madame Chrysanthemum" something more than a memory of all that had so fascinated me. (9 Aug. 1889)

Lloyd's/Lewis's sympathetic attitude to "Miss Honey" in Tokyo and her ability to suspend western judgement about Japanese customs, generally, might be attributable, at least in part, to Loti's story of his "little marriage" to "Chrysanthemum" of Nagasaki.

In an article entitled "First Impressions: Rhetorical Strategies in Travel Writing by Victorian Women," Eva-Marie Kröller looks at Isabella Bird's Unbeaten Tracks in Japan, published in 1886, as an example of the kind of multiplicity that is often apparent in the personae of Victorian travel writers and is responsible for conflicting rhetorical voices in their accounts. Kröller argues, very much as Marlene Kadar does with respect to women's life writing, in favour of a critical approach that views the Victorian woman traveller and the present-day researcher as both "writing inside and outside the discursive traditions that precede them" (88). Such an approach will counter the "monologism [that] may be imposed by [a] [. . .] perspective [. . .] determined to [. . .] tell a [. . .] feminist success story" (89). Rather than expressing dismay at early writers' conservative politics or sense of racial superiority, Kröller says, researchers might better analyse the implications of the ambivalences they uncover. Noting Dea Birkett's assertion in Spinsters Abroad that such ambivalence often extends to travellers' conceptualization of their servants

as child-like, Kröller sees, as well, a disturbing tension in Bird's book between text and index. The text attests to Bird's rapport with and gradually-increasing respect for her servant, Ito. She parts from him "with regret," saying, "I miss him already" (Bird 321). Her index, however, tells a different story. Here, Ito is itemized like any object of scholarly study, and the list of his attributes moves from "apt pupil" and "fairly honest" steadily downward to "surliness," "selfishness," and finally, "cruelty" (Bird 331).

Louis Lloyd's sketches bear some similarity to Bird's book. Taro "has been by no means an easy subject to study," she says (7 June 1889). His "cleverness," "receptiveness," and "quick appreciation" are matched with "self-satisfaction," "shrewdness," "boyishness," and "incomprehensible reticence." Like Ito, with his "singular intelligence [and] [. . .] anxious[ness] to learn good English" (Bird 87), Tomi is voracious for words and phrases: "When I told her one word after another, the clever thing wrote them [. . .] in wonderful characters" (22 Feb. 1889). As she writes of her sadness at having "to go away, horribly away, and perhaps forever [. . .]," (9 Aug. 1889), Lloyd says, "It was like saying good-by to a child." The "infinite regret" with which she parts from her friends is tinged with "a sort of vague fear" for their impending loss of innocence. Louis Lloyd's farewell emotions portray the ambivalence that Kröller describes in women travellers: their desire to relate closely to people different from themselves is tempered by a simultaneous need to establish distance between themselves and these places and people whose strangeness they ultimately cannot penetrate. As she leaves, she says, "Taro San was bowing low to me and O Mitsu-San bowed low to somebody else." The two were giggling together on the wharf, "laughing their incomprehensible little laugh." "They give to everyone but feel for none," Lloyd muses through the mist of her own tears, as she and the Frenchman who had introduced them to Taro San stand together at the railing, marvelling at the inscrutability of these people.

One of the items in Bird's index under "Ito" is the word "smitten." On the page indicated, the narrator talks about how "Ito was smitten with the daughter of the house master at Mororan" ( 287), and she emphasizes the inappropriateness and even the ridiculousness of this affection. Taro, too, has been in love, and here I cannot believe the similarity to be entirely coincidental. From conversations with the Frenchman, Taro San's "most intimate foreign friend" (7 June) who "had known him since he worked as a guide" in Yokahama, and from remarks made by the Frenchman's daughter, Louis Lloyd says she has "been able to make a rough sketch" of this puzzling and fascinating man who has opted for western rather than traditional Japanese ways. "When Taro was ridiculous enough to fall in love with my daughter," she quotes the Frenchman as having said, "and I told him to his face I would as soon see her marry a Zulu, [. . .] he simply grinned" (7 June 1889). Thomas Tausky refers to Lily Lewis as a "lover of Japan and cultural philosopher" (Tausky 64), and here she uses the character sketch to express a philosophical view similar to Duncan's in her treatise on "foreign wives" of Japanese men. The people telling you about these marriages, Garth Grafton says, usually include a statement "to the effect that if they had a sister or a daughter they would rather see her in a shroud than attired for a Japanese wedding" (9 Mar. 1889).

Tausky goes on in the same sentence to note that the Lily Lewis he has just described "does not bear much resemblance to" (64) her fictional counterpart, Orthodocia Love, of Wittingdon, Devonshire. The "Louis Lloyd" of Garth Grafton's "Special Correspondence," however, bears more and more resemblance to Orthodocia Love as the journey progresses. Earlier in the trip, when she writes of Winnipeg, for example, Grafton presents interesting factual information about the city, whereas the narrator of A Social Departure focusses, instead, on Orthodocia's surprise at finding things so civilized. Garth Grafton's descriptions of the prairie settlers include no "Growthems" and no cousin Jack Love. However, both Louis

and Orthodocia leave Japan encumbered with nineteen teapots. As both newspaper accounts move in different ways towards fiction, something suggesting real happiness and friendship and shared laughter between these two young women nevertheless shines through the many undiscernable layers of truth inhabiting the lines. Another jinriksha is always bobbing along nearby in the various sketches, and the companion's face always appears about to burst out laughing. What emerges is, as Nicole Brossard has said of more recent writing out of shared experiences, not "reality" or "fiction," but "literature," literature that escapes here and there from boundaries imposed by genre and monologic narrative custom.<sup>15</sup> A sense of multiple subjectivity somehow pervades all three accounts of Japan, arising from this doubleness of impressionistic response, together with the many contradictions in rhetorical stance; during the remainder of the trip, however, Lily Lewis's voice grows fainter and eventually almost disappears.

Lewis and Duncan left Japan late in January, 1889, and after short stops in Hong Kong, Singapore, and Penang, spent several weeks in Ceylon, and sailed on to Calcutta at the end of February. They visited Madras, Bombay, and Agra, site of the Taj Mahal, where Duncan's future husband, Everard Cotes, proposed to her. In March, they headed for the Suez and Cairo, and arrived in London on May 1, 1889. Twenty-three of the total forty-one chapters of A Social Departure describe this latter part of the journey. Twenty-two of Garth Grafton's accounts in the Star correspond to these later chapters. Following Orthodocia's engagement to Jack Love (he proposes at the Taj Mahal), entire chapters are often identical to the newspaper accounts. Only three more columns by Louis Lloyd appear in The Week after her "Sayonara" to Japan on August 9, 1889: "An Incident By the Sea," about Ceylon, on December 27, 1889; "A Sunday in Calcutta," February 14, 1890; and "Looking Back," about Hong Kong, on March 28, 1890. Of the trip to Agra

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<sup>15</sup> Address, University of Saskatchewan, 5 Feb. 1999.

and all that occurred afterwards, there is nothing. Louis Lloyd's last words at the railing as Japan recedes into the mist: "[...] the music and the laughter have died away and the lights have gone out, and now it is gray morning" (9 Aug), seem to have been prophetic. As Louis Lloyd's joy fades, and the colour fades from her picture, Lily Lewis, herself, begins to fade from the picture in which she has tried so hard to include herself.

These three later columns themselves correspond to the portrait I have been building of Lily Lewis. The first evinces the careful attention to artistry apparent in Lewis's accounts of Japan. Louis Lloyd declares, for example, by means of a conversation with a crow on her window sill, that she is here (in Columbo) not "to learn about [...] legislation, but about "where the loveliest loiterers are to be found" (The Week 27 Dec. 1889). In the second, Lloyd describes a sad Calcutta in tune with Lily Lewis's seeming loss of interest in this later part of the excursion. There is "no awakening to new life" in the early morning. "Melancholy oxen jog along with [...] resigned conviction," while the city, full of "half-clad, sad-faced men," "smiles [...] like someone remembering a sorrow" (The Week 14 Feb. 1890). The final column, "Looking Back," is out of place chronologically. Appearing four months after the Columbo piece, it describes the voyage from Japan to Ceylon. "Time in the east," Louis Lloyd writes here, "is a passing from a darkened room into a light one, and back again into a darkened one" (The Week 28 Mar. 1890), and her words resonate with those about the light fading as she left Japan.

In a comparison of Lewis's and Duncan's accounts from Columbo, I can perceive another small act of erasure. In a little moment of one-up-manship, Duncan subtly undermines an unsophisticated slip into *cliché* in Lily Lewis's narrative, rather as she did earlier with her more self-conscious treatment of "towers and minarets" in the Canadian landscape. Louis Lloyd's "[i]ncident by the sea"

involves a trip, "one evening after sunset [. . .] into the *Petta*, the native quarter," to purchase "native material" for a dress. On the way back, as her *jinrikisha* was passing a big pond of lotuses on the outskirts of the native town, Lloyd writes, a native who had been lurking around the shop she had visited "started up from the bushes" and began pushing from behind, his "hot breath" close on her neck. A "British Theseus in white ducks" "arose" from a bicycle in time to rescue her from the "horrid" possibilities associated with the "two dark faces in the still, pale starlight" (27 Dec. 1889). Grafton writes of passing the same pond, and of a native "going in up to his neck" to fetch lotuses for her and Lloyd, pointing with the pond to her more contemporary treatment of the Victorian *cliché* about sexually threatening native men. Despite Garth Grafton's more sophisticated treatment of native men here, when she talks about visiting a "Hindu man dressmaker" in Columbo, she concludes that she does not want a dress because this "great mass of barbarism becomes so revolting by daily contact that even its decorative ideas are objectionable by association" [*Star* 10 July 1889]. Louis Lloyd, by contrast, more generously and humorously rejects one "zoologically inspired" pattern because she fears she "might be mistaken for an animated chart of the animal kingdom of the country" (*The Week* 27 Dec. 1889).

Lily Lewis also begins at this point to disappear from the Canadian "picture." Between Lloyd's accounts of Japan and the three later ones, five accounts by Louis Lloyd appear in the Montreal *Star* between June and October, 1889, and two in *The Week* in September describing the Paris exhibition. After "Looking Back," nothing by Lily Lewis appears in Canadian publications. The first of the columns in the *Star*, entitled "In Holiday Attire," connects in a variety of ways with some of Lily Lewis's other writing. "From the trees on the bank of the Seine," Louis Lloyd writes, "red lanterns hung like huge red berries [. . .]." (8 June 1889). Resonating clearly in these words is Lloyd's description of the Tokyo



streets, where "[l]anterns bobbed and trembled and danced everywhere, [and] [o]ver the balconies of the teahouses they hung like berries" (25 Jan. 1889). A more overt attempt to reconnect this persona with an earlier Canadian one, and thereby become more visible in a Canadian context, is Louis Lloyd's story of going "to see Madame at the pension" and of engaging, again, but this time "for ten francs a day," her "dear dirty little room under the roof," which she now finds "as uncongenially immaculate as a convent dormitory." L.L.'s earlier account called the *pension* "a perfect nest of artists" (The Week 6 May 1886). Now, Lloyd finds in the little room "torn wallpaper, the victim of the decorative instincts of successive generations of artists," and the parquet floor "stained by successive artistic feasts." Lloyd writes of going out from this room to see this new Paris "at her brightest and best" with its new *Tour Eiffel* and Trocadero Palace. "And they were happy, these Parisians, looking at these things," she concludes. As had become characteristic in her Japanese sketches, Louis Lloyd includes in her observations artists, herself and others, observing and creating art. For the Canadian researcher trying to find and read and know the later Lily Lewis, art will provide an international, interdisciplinary, intertextual, and arguably feminist thread with which to connect the Canadian Girl, the New Woman, and Lily Lewis Rood, the individual woman.

## CONCLUSION

### Keeping Lily in the Picture

In Lily Lewis's later writing, the connection between art and her self-consciousness becomes increasingly apparent. In the Japanese sketches, especially, a consciousness of connoisseurship as traveller and as art critic frequently overlap. Louis Lloyd and Garth Grafton both paint themselves into their word pictures about Japan as writers possessing taste, sensitivity, and humour, for example, and to exemplify their artistic taste, both Lloyd and Grafton describe and comment upon Japanese art. Garth Grafton writes of finding, amongst many commonplace and often tawdry artifacts designed for the foreign market, a *cloisonné* piece "captured on the way to the Paris Exposition, [. . .] a ball-shaped vase [with a] [. . .] polish so perfect it seems to gleam through from the inside." In language reminiscent of Ruskin's describing St. Mark's in Venice, Grafton claims that "all tints imaginable contribute to its color harmony, yet it leaves in the main a soft rich brown impression" (*Star* 16 Mar. 1888). As Louis Lloyd writes of a Girls' Industrial School, she expresses her distaste for its product--"monumental" and "preposterous" balls of beautifully made flowers designated to "be hung up in a European house." This was the work of young girls who had been taught only a few years before to display "a spray of red berries or a bunch of plum blossoms or a chrysanthemum alone in a vase." "Had they no conscience?" she wonders, but tempers her criticism after seeing that "those skillful little designers" made exquisite and unique patterns for Japanese materials as well as handkerchiefs for

foreigners, and learning that upon completion of the program, each will work in her own home and thus become "a true artist" (The Week 15 Mar. 1889). The lovely, elegant, single bouquets that Lloyd prefers epitomize "simplicity in art," an idea that seems always to have held a strong appeal for Lily Lewis. Her use of the phrase in her later writing alludes, perhaps, to her earlier days as a reknowned and respected Canadian journalist beginning to develop a self-consciously creative style.<sup>1</sup> "Simplicity in art" becomes a motif, I think, by which Lewis's later texts resist the erasures and "forgettings" that have all but removed her from what we understand, today, as late nineteenth-century writing.

Louis Lloyd's remarks about "The Compleat Angler"<sup>2</sup> in the two articles that frame the Japanese sketches seem designed to reveal the humour and sensitivity of the writer behind the persona. In her article of June 11, 1889, as Lloyd writes about the voyage to Japan, she describes among the other passengers an American who complains about everything and who, even in mid-Pacific, when spirits had sunk and beards had grown, generally, appeared "as fresh and rubicund as a rain-soaked cabbage rose." "The Compleat Angler" reappears on the P & O ship to Ceylon. Here he is suffering volubly from the heat and "looking under his monster green-lined topee, and in his garment of pongee, very like something hot and fluffy and unhappy under a mushroom" (The Week 28 Mar. 1890). When this gentleman laughingly announces one day towards the end of the earlier voyage that "a Chinaman [who] had taken an overdose of opium" has died on board the ship, he opens up a space for a more sensitive Louis Lloyd to respond. "I laughed something back in reply," she says, but then adds, "My cheeks burned and I felt ashamed for both of us" (11 June 1889).

<sup>1</sup> Lewis first used the phrase when, as Louis Lloyd, she wrote about M. Hironelle sitting by the fire and talking about "simplicity in art" (The Week 14 Dec. 1888).

<sup>2</sup> Izaak Walton (1593-1683), editor, biographer, and literary philosopher, published The Compleat Angler, or the Contemplative Man's Recreation in 1653 (Baugh 609-12).

A few points of intersection between Louis Lloyd's sparse later accounts and Garth Grafton's numerous ones also allude to notions of self and artistry. At one of these points, both Grafton and Lloyd present to their readers little narratives depicting the lotus as the Ceylonese counterpart of the Japanese chrysanthemum. Garth Grafton writes of passing, at the end of a tour of Columbo, by

a wonderful place--a great shining lake [. . .] with grassy banks and mangoes and palms and tulip trees reflected in it, half covered with the broad green leaves and the marvellous blossoms of the lotus. It was afternoon and the shadows were long and grateful, and the native groups all red and white and yellow.

Grafton tells of beckoning to one of the natives and offering him money. His "heathen mind assimilated [her] sinful idea instantly, [she goes on] and he went up to his neck": "[W]e had a lotus apiece and were off. [. . .] We walked back along the curving pink shore, [beside an] opal sea, light and delicate in all its lines. The sky was a strange pale green [. . .]" (*Star* 28 Mar. 1890). Duncan uses her lotus to link art and self with a Jamesian description in opals and pale greens.

Louis Lloyd tells a different story: "I was sitting in our room in the Galle Face Hotel," she writes, pondering over a pamphlet of statistics.

Suddenly Garth came in on tiptoe and put something between the pages of the pamphlet of statistics. It was a flower. It was a very large flower, with a multitude of velvety rounded petals, pearly pink, like the lining of a shell. I took it up in my hands. I looked into it as one looks in the face of a living thing. Its perfume was fine and strong. I bent lower over it with a sort of rapture. I put my lips close, close to its warm soft leaves. Then I felt my brain grow giddy. It was the heart of India that I held.

Between me and the pamphlet of statistics Garth had put a lotus. (The Week 27 Dec. 1889)<sup>3</sup>

Louis Lloyd uses this poetic symbol to include herself in a journalistic conversation in which Garth Grafton has been engaged in the Star. Both Grafton and Lloyd mention the presence among the passengers on the ship to Ceylon of "Mr. Henry Norman." Louis Lloyd simply notes that he was there, aboard the *Sutlej*, along with the *Compleat Angler* (The Week 28 Mar. 1890). Grafton, like Lloyd, comments upon the Angler: "the stout incensed gentleman from New York [. . .] [looking] round and rubicund and New Yorky." There, too, she adds, "was Mr. Henry Norman, whose facts we had been speculating, whose theories we had been disputing, whose footsteps we had been finding all over Japan" (Star 29 June 1889). Henry Norman was describing in a column running in the Star, the Pall Mall Gazette, and apparently some American dailies, a trip similar to Duncan's and Lewis's. In Japan, he did many of the things Lewis and Duncan did. He, too, rented a Japanese house and lived in it Japanese-style with several servants; he, too, visited Buddhist shrines, art schools, and bazaars, and his descriptions contain precise and voluminous details. Garth Grafton refers to his accounts occasionally to emphasize Duncan's and Lewis's choice not to concern themselves with facts, but rather to concentrate on conveying their impressions to their readers. With the simple visual image of Garth's placing the lotus between Louis Lloyd's face and the pamphlet, and with Louis Lloyd's multi-sensual pleasure in its beauty, its perfume, its softness and warmth, Lily Lewis, too, asserts her intention to focus on beauty and art and to describe these places to her readers through her own sensual, spiritual, emotional, and aesthetic responses to all that she encounters.

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<sup>3</sup> Louis Lloyd's article describing the voyage to Ceylon (The Week 28 Mar. 1890) was published four months after her article describing their visit to Ceylon (The Week 27 Dec. 1889). Duncan's article about Ceylon was published in March, 1890.

"Simplicity in art" is perhaps most simply exemplified in Louis Lloyd's oblique intertextual reference to Garth Grafton's and the narrator of A Social Departure's descriptions of the "Towers of Silence." In a grimly explicit newspaper account, Grafton describes a visit, in Bombay, to "five round white towers with hollowed stone troughs inside where the Parsees laid their dead":

They carry the body to the receptacle, and lay it there. [. . .] Then the corpse-bearers go away, and the vultures come. [. . .] The air seemed full of the flapping of dark wings and hoarse cries. [. . .] We turned away in loathing, sorry we had come. (Star 11 Feb. 1890)

Duncan tones down the realism for A Social Departure. Its narrator describes driving past tall houses, temples, and mosques and then ascending along paths in a tropical garden to the five strange white structures. The hideous birds wait. The corpse-bearers come with the body of a child. Dark wings flap, and the visitors "turn away in unspeakable loathing" (319). Louis Lloyd says only, "It is six, A.M. The first few hours after sunrise [here] are the saddest I've ever seen. Great flocks of birds float cawing through the air as if they were preparing for a funeral, and the city all the while smiles sadly in the morning light" (The Week 14 Feb. 1890). Although these lines can stand alone, in one particular sense, they have most meaning in relation to Duncan's story.

Connections between Lily Lewis's and other people's writing become more and more crucial in any attempt to recover something of her life and writing after the tour with Duncan. We can imagine to a limited degree something of Lily Lewis Rood's absent account of her journey up the Nile with the Princess Gortschakoff from a familiarity with her style and patterns of writing, from a knowledge of the constraints of the discourses within which she operated, and from the availability of texts by other writers whose work would be affected by similar patterns and constraints. Most travellers, for example, in Asia as in Switzerland and Italy,

reiterate to some extent the rhetoric generated by tour companies and their literature. Thomas Cook's contrasts between Japan--"a land of great beauty and fertility" (qtd. in Swinglehurst 68) and China, which he found full of "narrow and offensive streets and almost choking bazaars with pestering and festering beggars in every shape and hideous deformity" (qtd. in Swinglehurst 68) are evident in Louis Lloyd's brief remarks about Asian countries other than her beloved Japan. Hong Kong's "China town," for example, she finds saturated with "sickly perfume" and cluttered with "shops where they sell all sorts of evil-smelling food [and] [. . .] vulgar Chinese art" (The Week 28 Mar. 1890). Here the discourse of tourism reinforces Canadian stereotypes about the Chinese. Swinglehurst writes about the "tougher breed" (94) of Cook's tourists who patronized the desert tours, a "good-humoured and tolerant lot" (94) willing to mount horses, camels, and mules, and we can discern this construction of the traveller in the antics of Duncan's narrator and Orthodocia as they visit the pyramids on and off of various mounts. And as my grandmother recorded in her journal, "even [her] mother and Mrs. Hinder "consented to ride on horseback" to view the sphinx (9). In the eighteen eighties and eighteen nineties, Swinglehurst continues, "everybody who wanted to be thought a *bone fide* traveller went to Egypt and the Nile--most on a Cook's tour" (97). The list of passengers "read like a Who's Who of late nineteenth-century royalty" (97). Everyone in the Russian court, he says, "from the czar downwards" (97) travelled up the Nile, and he outlines the circumstances by which Cook's, as a result of their involvement in a British Army expedition in the eighteen eighties, developed a set of "Ramses" vessels designed for greater or lesser degrees of adventure and excitement at various stages up the river. Lewis's account would probably have in it something of the *joie de vivre* of this new Paris-centred, pleasure-seeking travelling class and something of what we see in Alice Jones's account in The Week of her trip aboard several Cook's boats in 1895 with its often

"typically Canadian" responses. It would also have in it something of Lily Lewis's own distinctive but always changing voice, and something of her tendency to engage in textual communication with her travelling companion and with various texts that she has been reading.

Jones writes of Arabs and Egyptians with the biases towards non-Anglo-Saxons often encountered in other travellers' texts. She notes the "weird supernaturalism" of the Theban tombs and describes a "magic world" where Arabs live in tents, and says, sounding rather like my grandmother, "I do not like the looks of them" (*The Week* 10 July 1895). Noisy women seize her feet as she rides through a village. She writes of "seven river days" of beauty and intensity between Cairo and Luxor:

Seven days of the crisp delight of the morning air, of the white intensity of the noontide light, of the glory of sunset and moonlight; seven days of energetic pleasure or lazy comfort, of riding over the plain, or watching the long panorama of the banks, or the river boats sweeping down with the northerly breeze piled high with the white porous jugs of Keneh, or piled with a human freight. (26 July 1895)

She writes of going ashore "in the cool of the late afternoon" and finding "there is a pleasant sense of civilization in everything." There are no railways or big white houses, but "the cleanliness is pleasant," the gardens are bright, and the inhabitants look prosperous. Jones writes approvingly of an American mission school and the work it is doing to turn around the "duplicity and dishonesty" of the long-persecuted Copts, expressing optimism that "some fresh life may be grafted into the drooping tree of their Christianity" (26 July 1895). Lily Lewis tended more often to be critical of missionaries and their missions and to appreciate the value of other belief systems for other people. In Japan, Louis Lloyd comments upon the rightness of Buddhism, with its emphasis on pleasure, for the pleasure-loving,



present-focussed Japanese people, whereas Garth Grafton notes the utterly incomprehensible strangeness of Buddhist practices. In Calcutta, Louis Lloyd describes seeing "here and there Mohammedans [. . .] praying as I thought men had forgotten to pray," and coming upon a solitary worshipper "oblivious to everything" with a light in his "passionate eyes {that} seems almost sacred" (The Week 14 Feb. 1890). Garth Grafton concludes her narrative about the lotus blossom with the image of an Afgan kneeling in prayer, and says, "We did not think it wonderful that he prayed" (Star 20 July, 1889). It would not be unreasonable, I think, to assume that Lily Lewis's response to religious matters along the Nile might be more that of the "girl-individual" than of the "typical Canadian."

Jones writes about boarding "Ramses III" with a wind whispering "Come away to the South and the hot sun of the desert." She describes the handsome, flirtatious doctor who will organize the "social efforts," the Italian manager with high yellow boots and a heavy hunting whip for controlling "extra-unruly" mobs, and the crew members--"the heavily-built Nubian with the low Negro type of face" "who is always to the fore in any necessary exertion of strength" and who leads the "wild Sudanese dance" after games, and the "tall thin sailor, the facsimile of hundreds of figures on the monuments of old Egypt." Only now, she says, can these "fellashin" "raise their heads and breathe freely under the just and beneficent English rule," free for the first time from the "government of the whip" (2 Aug. 1895). I am not sure the irony was intentional.

Pierre Rajotte's observations about some of the strategies by which nineteenth-century travellers make new spaces readable are as applicable to travellers in Egypt as they are to those in Italy. Italy might evoke the Caesars or the Capulets or it might remind the traveller of Saskatchewan. Invariably, Rajotte claims, Canadians in Italy include in their stories the brigands with their dark cloaks and their aura of mystery, as L.L. does in her account of Verona. Egyptian

travellers also often substitute discursive referents--literary, historical, or geographical--for natural ones. Alice Jones describes watching the descent in open boats of a cataract near Aswan: "It was inexpressibly weird and desolate, those black, tortured, twisted rock forms--that tumult of waters--the wild brown figures that leaped, dived and swam among the rocks and rapids," then notes how astounded these Arab navigators had apparently been to learn of the Canadian *voyageurs* who had done similar things elsewhere and earlier. "There is about Aswan," she concludes after relating something she has learned about the notorious rule of the dervishes, "every feeling of a frontier town. It is a strange sensation in the present day to find oneself so near the domains of savagery, and blood-thirsty cruelty" (9 Aug. 1895).

Alice Jones concludes her "Nile Vignettes" by speaking of "the hours spent at Karnak," a great ruin near Luxor. Here as in Italy, she suggests that "the pen and thought of Ruskin might do" to describe Karnak and the way "it takes weeks to print the impression of its different effects in morning joy and evening calm and moonlight solemnity on one's memory" (6 Aug. 1895).

A partial picture, only, of Lewis's account of her voyage up the Nile can be constructed through Jones's "Vignettes." "How hard it was to turn and retrace our steps northwards [. . .] and how much I have always regretted that we did not go on to the second cataract," Jones says, as she concludes her description of a trip to Aswan, the northernmost point of the cruise (9 Aug. 1895). Lily Lewis Rood, according to Henry Morgan, went "as far as Dongola," which is just past the third cataract and about twice as far up-river as Aswan. Morgan's remarks about Lewis and her companion being "the first white women" to go this far evokes a travelling persona rather different from the "typical Canadian girl-individual" willing to admit to having been afraid to ride on a cow catcher in the Canadian Rockies. Without the presence of Lewis's own voice, however, laughing and arguing with and

commenting upon her companions, without her own senses smelling and touching the lotus flowers and seeing and breathing the pastel-coloured mists, our picture of what her account of this voyage might have contained remains dim and unfocussed. This very lack of clarity can serve as a caution against assigning too much theoretical importance to the role of discursive constraints in constructing the subject we encounter in travel accounts and too readily discounting the validity of the individual voice.

Newspapers everywhere in the eighteen and nineteen hundreds frequently featured articles with such titles as "A Lady's Trip to Darkest Africa" (Pall Mall Gazette 9 Feb. 1891), and "Return of an Adventurous Lady Traveller" (Pall Mall Gazette 19 Jan. 1891), and Louis Lloyd's sketches about well-known people that appear in the Pall Mall Gazette in the summer and fall of 1890 similarly participate in a popular *milieu*. Prior to Lloyd's "Parisian Personalities," the paper had run three consecutive series: "Celebrities and Their Portraits," "Private Views in the Artists' Studios," and "Artists at Home." All include several articles in which "a representative" presents a portrait of a member of the Royal Society of London based upon his/ her personal interview(s) with the celebrity. A sketch in the issue of July 22, 1889, just prior to these three series, entitled "The Peasant Painter of France: A Visit to Millet's Birthplace at Gruchy," has a similar format and is tantalizingly signed "G.G." Its style suggests both Garth Grafton's and Louis Lloyd's writing. In her sketch, "The Artist *fin de siècle*: M. Van der Beer," Louis Lloyd describes "atelier eccentricities that rival only the 'Eastern Fantasies' of Benjamin Constant" (19 Sept. 1890). On November 19, 1890, Lloyd writes about the Princess Gortschakoff, then Lily Lewis disappears, in terms of my research, aside from the 1892 photograph from Italy, until 1895, when both her article in Modern Art and her book on Puvis de Chavannes were published.

Lewis had always written about artists. She had written about de Chavannes and his work in her "L.L." days in Paris. In her article in The Week of May 13, 1886, for example, L.L. describes some of de Chavannes's work "in the picture galleries" that season. As Louis Lloyd in Montreal, Lewis had written several articles about herself as an interviewer visiting artists' studios. "Far away in the dingiest, busiest, smokiest part of the city," Lloyd writes on February 9, 1888, "is the studio of an artist [. . .] in the truest sense of the word--William Brymner. [. . .] Mr. Brymner studied in the French school and every inch of his work betrays it," the visitor goes on, and describes some of the pictures in the "rambling attic studio," including "The Swing" and "Old Woman at a Loom," noting how Brymner's treatment of light is "real" in the manner of the French Impressionists.<sup>4</sup> In other articles, Louis Lloyd mentions having visited the studios of artists Edmund Morris (The Week 23 Feb. 1887), "Mr. J. Harris" (The Week 15 Mar. 1888), "Mr. Benson" in Boston (The Week 3 May 1888), and the establishment of Montreal art dealer, William Scott (Montreal Star 16 Sept. 1889).

Lloyd's account about Brymner perhaps best exemplifies the link between Canadian artists and the Parisian schools and the fascination these schools inspired in the newspaper-reading public. Brymner went to Paris for the Exhibition of 1878 and remained to study for several years at the famous Julian's school. Upon his return in 1886, Brymner became president of the Art Association of Montreal School and he taught many now well-known Canadian artists.<sup>5</sup> After Lewis's time, The Week continued often to print articles with titles like "Some Paris Ateliers" (1

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<sup>4</sup> Marian Fowler writes of Duncan's being introduced to Achille and Annie Fr chette in Ottawa by Mr. Brymner, whom she had met in Montreal through a colleague (Redney 128). Perhaps the colleague was Lily Lewis.

<sup>5</sup> Among Brymner's students were Montreal painters W. H. Clapp and Helen McNicoll and "Group of Seven" member A. Y. Jackson (Harper, Painting in Canada 212, 234, 236).

Nov. 1889), "Canadian Artists at the Paris Salon" (3 June 1891), and "Canadian Art Students in Paris" (1 Jan. 1892).

Pierre Puvis de Chavannes was the focus of considerable international attention in the early eighteen nineties. An article in the Boston Evening Transcript on July 4, 1892 describes the recent split between the "Old Salon" and the "New Salon," a break-away society led by several famous French and American painters, featuring an exhibition at the *Champs de Mars*. The writer lists among these artists "Mr. Whistler," "Mr. Sargeant," and "the greatest of all, [. . .] Pierre Puvis de Chavannes." Then he/she describes M. de Chavannes's "vast canvas called "Winter" as "art based upon conventions" with "great simplification" being "the most needful" convention of all. (In an earlier edition [28 May, 1891], a correspondent had commented on de Chavannes's panel, "Summer," in Paris's *Hotel de Ville*.) Lily Lewis Rood's sketch of de Chavannes, therefore, entered an established cultural *milieu*, just as her account of the trip up the Nile would have.

The twenty-nine page monograph about Puvis de Chavannes has none of the sensationalist voyeurism sometimes apparent in Louis Lloyd's jaunts into the "darker" "haunts" of Montreal and none of the romantically effusive praise that characterizes Lewis Rood's feature in Modern Art.<sup>6</sup> The author writes first of de Chavannes's newly acquired role as head of the New Salon, and of the schism that has resulted in the existence of two rival groups. Then she describes the artist's home in the Place Pigalle in Montmartre, a "quarter where artists live who can afford to discard all society but their own" (6). Lewis Rood writes of the "little old lady and little old dog" who "keep guard" over the place (6), and of the neighbor, "Gyp," who drops in often with her favourite poems. She writes of the man's tact

<sup>6</sup> The language in the article is simply more conventionally romantic than that in the monograph: "Nature has made him [de Chavannes] one of her rare confidants" (107), for example, and "by and bye he whispers again of summer. [. . .] where the hills have shut out the day, and the muses are wakening to the fresh air" (108).

and magnanimity, his charm and principle. She describes what he likes to wear and how he lights a pipe in private. She relates anecdotes he has told her about his young models and she outlines his education and training as an artist. "Puvis de Chavannes walks outside the strife of schools" (15), she concludes. "He has found nature" (15) in a mood that is uniquely his own. The text includes photographs of the artist and of some of his work. Lewis Rood notes De Chavannes's indifference to Ruskin's praise or censure and relates how she, herself, "had the delightful privilege of bringing him all Zola's enthusiasm for de Chavannes's work, as Zola had just expressed it to [her]" (15). She mentions the patriotism that makes the artist's decorative works a labour of love, and writes of the "perfect simplicity" (27) that characterizes these works. She concludes with a description of the "tense, inexhaustible labour" that, M. de Chavannes has told her, "rests [him] more than anything else" (28). The entire little book has about it a light stylishness that suggests to me "simplicity in art."

This monograph participated in a developing *milieu* in terms of form as well as content. Gerd Bjorhovde notes in Rebellious Structures, as does Elaine Showalter in Cultural Anarchy, the tendency at the *fin de siècle* for writers, in general, to move away from huge, triple decker novels like Mrs. Ward's Robert Ellesmere and to publish, instead, slim volumes of fiction in new forms that openly reject the Victorian novel and the values it represents, as well as non-fictional material, often in the form of monographs or individual studies of character. Most studies, today, of women writers of this period focus on writers of fiction and therefore miss a significant body of texts. That Lily Lewis Rood wrote in genres other than fiction has, of course, contributed to her marginalization. Her choice of genre also allows us to examine how her life and writing participated directly and indirectly in some larger discourses of the period, and to approach writing by Canadian women from a new and different angle. That she wrote in an

androgynous voice as well as in a feminine and/or feminist one, relates significantly to the role that her writing plays as a producer as well as a product of Canadian literary and cultural discourses.

Newspapers everywhere also reflected and inflamed the pervasive arguments about the New Woman and the Woman Question, with the most central gender issue, internationally, being, as Sarah Grand claims in an article entitled "The New Aspects of the Woman Question" (1894), "the marriage question" (276). Grand, a British novelist whom Bjorhovde and Ann Ardiss, among others, praise as a participant in the creation of "a subversive tradition of unconventional heroines who [. . .] survive" (Fiamengo 215), argues in her article that both sexes will be "better, [. . .] stronger and wiser" (272) as a result of women's current revolt. Grant Allen, author of the ultimately conservative *The Woman Who Did*, suggests in "Plain Words on the Woman Question" (1889) that the very survival of the human race is being jeopardized by the reluctance of some modern women to become wives and mothers. Conservative novelist Lynn Linton asserts in "Wild Women as Social Insurgents" (1891) that the "Wild Woman"<sup>7</sup> who "preaches the 'lesson of liberty' [. . .] exemplifies how beauty can degenerate into ugliness. [. . .] [The Wild Woman] appears on the public stage and knows no shame in [. . .] showing her legs" (600). "Sometimes our Wild Women break out as adventurous travellers," she continues, but "[t]he adventures they write about are, for the most part, fictions [. . .] we have ceased to believe, and certainly to respect" (602). "Aggressive, disturbing, officious, unquiet, rebellious, [. . .] [these women] are about the most unlovely specimens the sex has yet produced" (604). In "A Defense of the So-Called Wild Woman" (1892), Mona Caird replies that the emancipation and

<sup>7</sup> Carole Gerson refers, in "Wild Colonial Girls," to the term "Wild Women" as "one of the epithets applied in Britain to the phenomenon of the independent, rebellious middle-class female who dared to transgress conventional gender norms [. . .] [before the term New Woman became stabilized in 1894" (63).

increased self-reliance of women will transform both marriage and social relations between the classes. Both Carole Gerson and Janice Fiamengo note that Canadian women writers produced no truly radical and subversive literature about the New Woman.<sup>8</sup> However, Canadians did respond from a variety of oblique angles to the subject of independent and rebellious women. Canadian periodicals focussed on less radical aspects of the Woman Question than marriage issues, and, like Canadian fiction about independent women, tended mostly to uphold a middle- and upper-middle-class notion of propriety in terms of women's behavior, appearance, social values, and motivations.

Strong hegemonic pressures came to bear on the woman who travelled. Cartoons of the period often depicted female travellers as grotesque creatures and any praise they received came with qualifications. For example, the "representative" who writes in the Pall Mall Gazette about her interview with "the lady" about to "penetrate into parts of 'Darkest Africa' where the foot of white woman has never trod" insists that "there is nothing of the virago or prying old spinster about this lady," and admits to having difficulty "trying to imagine the elegant lady with the crown of beautiful brown hair and the large laughing blue eyes, who toyed endlessly with the diamond rings on her white hands, pressing onwards through endless uncivilized forests [ . . . ] (9 Feb. 1891).

Hector Charlesworth's "The Canadian Girl" performs a similar controlling function in a Canadian context. The "practical independence" that Charlesworth says "we [Canadians] find in our women" is "combined with a demure regard for propriety and form" (187). His "girl" "participate[s] in no degree of [any] crude and vulgar revolt" (187) that might be associated with the lower classes. "Miss Duncan," he says, "whose "self-relian[ce] and achievements are exactly typical of her nationality, [ . . . ] went round the world and wrote about it as none have done,

<sup>8</sup> See Fiamengo, 9, and Gerson, A Purer Taste, 148-51.



preserving refreshing vitality and force, while at the same time never stepping across the line of good form and propriety" (188).

"Other women of this continent have made the same journey and earned only a reputation for lack of femininity" (188), he concludes, no doubt referring indirectly to the American Nellie Bly and her attention-getting race in 1889 to cover the globe more quickly than Jules Verne's Phineas Fogg had done. Marjory Lang notes the infrequency of such journalistic stunts by Canadians,<sup>9</sup> attesting to the lasting influence of the attitudes that Charlesworth's remarks represent.

Charlesworth's article continually blurs the imaginary lines that would separate his "Canadian Girl," the things she writes, and the place that is both producing and being produced by this "girl." In Chapter Three, and perhaps especially in the section dealing with Louis Lloyd's and Garth Grafton's travels across Canada, I tried to illustrate how Lewis's and Duncan's personae participate in complicated ways in discourses about race, class, and ethnicity as they pertain to the expanding and developing country. The translations, clearly visible because the three accounts can be juxtaposed, that occur as descriptions and impressions move from one or the other of the newspaper accounts into the novel make especially transparent the uncertain lines that separate fiction, travel writing, newspaper reporting, and autobiographical life writing. I want to suggest, now, that Lily Lewis's life and writing continue to participate in complicated ways in the mid-nineteen nineties in discourses about Canadianness, about the New Woman, and about the relationship between life and art.

Women who travel, who go to Paris and associate with the art community there, and who write about artists often appear as subjects in novels by Canadian women writers at the *fin de siècle*. Lily Dougall's The Madonna of a Day (1895), for example, begins with two Canadian women journalists completing a world tour.

<sup>9</sup> Women who made the News 38.

The younger one falls off the train in the wilds of British Columbia and has some melodramatic adventures with unscrupulous men. Dougall's "Madonna," Mary, starts out as a bold, unconventional woman who has been partying with admiring men while in Vancouver, then, as Janice Fiamengo points out in her assessment of this novel as an example of the "social purity" narrative prevalent in Canadian women's writing at the time, inspired by the purity of the landscape, she transforms herself into the kind of New Woman who will save men from drunkenness and debauchery. Religious liberalism characterizes Mary's philosophy as it does Lily Lewis's, but Dougall's participation in Canadian social reform discourse limits the manner in which that can be expressed. Under the sub-heading, "Disciplining the New Woman," Fiamengo suggests that the heroine of Amelia Fytche's Kerchiefs to Hunt Souls (1895) similarly chooses a way of being a New Woman that does not exceed the limits within which she can be both a feminist and a Canadian nationalist. After a disastrous foray into the art community of Paris, she will work for the proper education of women from a safe and respectable position within the middle-class family.

Duncan's A Daughter of Today offers a complex treatment of the tensions in *fin de siècle* society between positive and negative views of the New Woman. Fiamengo sees Duncan's novel as another narrative that "discipline[s] the New Woman" (246). Carole Gerson also sees the failure of resistance to convention that the novel represents in a Canadian context. Such "Bohemian irregularity" ("Wild Colonial Girls" 63) as Elfrida's character exhibits would be simply unimaginable in a Canadian character, and a writer attempting to "write herself back to Canada" (63) must condemn it. Ann Ardis includes A Daughter of Today in a category of texts that she calls "boomerang books" (148), wherein the too-rebellious New Woman character reconsiders her rebellion. The novel "boomerangs," she says, when Elfrida admits that she "should not have danced in the music halls" (153). Marjory

Lang sees Duncan's novel as "a condemnation of vulgar sensationalism" (Women Who Made the News 38) in journalism and claims that Elfrida's "moral and artistic downfall underscores Duncan's own apprehensions about the too-eager woman writer's vulnerability in the commercial world of the press" (38). Marian Fowler, like Lang, looks at the novel from an autobiographical perspective, seeing in Elfrida's suicide the "death of [Duncan's own] impulsive younger self" (217) following her marriage and exile in India, and finding "no fixed ironic point of view" (218) in the novel. Misao Dean, in her Introduction to the 1988 reprint of the novel, suggests that this text, like all of Duncan's fiction, incorporates the *fin de siècle* debates between realism and idealism and shows how art can create a balance between the two. Thomas Tausky, like Fowler, finds "no moral norm" (A Novel of Empire 119) against which Elfrida's excesses can be measured.

I think Duncan's novel supports all of these evaluations. I am especially interested, however, in Ann Ardis's concern with the intertextuality and extratextuality of the novels of the New Woman of the eighteen nineties and with her suggestion that a "decentred subjectivity" makes these novels direct precursors to the modernist writing of the nineteen hundreds. The New Woman novels, she says, "defy formalist assumptions about the 'unity' of a literary work" (4). In their frequent references to circumstances outside of the text, they resist efforts to separate the literary from the historical and political. And in their insistent references to one another, these texts refuse "to be read singly or separately" (4). Many critics, as I noted in the Introduction, have recognized aspects of Duncan herself in both Elfrida and Janet. I shall argue that Sara Duncan's treatment in this novel of the tensions between art and life is more complicated than dividing her own attributes between the two characters, and more complicated, also, than mixing her own real-life character and experience with that of a generally conceptualized New Woman figure. Rather, I think she blends elements of her own and Lily

Lewis's self and experience together with social and fictional discourses about the New Woman. What emerges is a not-entirely fictional representation that cannot easily be categorized or even analysed.

Elfrida resembles Lily Lewis in many specific ways. Working in the summer for The Illustrated Age, Elfrida writes "about colonial exhibitions and popular spectacles and country outings for babes of the slums" (127). Louis Lloyd writes in the summer of 1889 about a Canadian wigwam at the Paris Exhibition (Star 27 July 1889), and the illumination of every dome and palace in the city (Star 8 June 1889). Earlier, L.L. writes about "excursions by poor people to see water" (The Week 22 July 1886), "outings" in which poor children are treated to a charitable day at the beach, then returned to their unhealthy and unchanged everyday situations. Elfrida confesses that she "has often thought the atelier would make a good subject" (40) for descriptive articles, and later she tells Lawrence Kendall about a prospective series,--"In the Ateliers' or 'Through the Studios' or something" (92). It will be "about artists and their ways of working and their places and their ideas and all that" (92). She will describe "paper, litter, old coats" (92) as naturalists do (and as Louis Lloyd does in the sketch of the hunting trip in British Columbia). Elfrida "want[s] to write for Raffini's Chronicle" (38), a title not unlike Galignani's Messenger. Her little Buddha in the apartment in Rue Port Royale (the former name of Montreal) corresponds, perhaps, to the little Buddha that Louis Lloyd writes of having acquired on the trip to the shrines of Nikko in Japan. And, in perhaps the most striking connection, Elfrida receives an invitation to a lavish entertainment from a "Princess Bobaloff" (48).

The well-known and controversial French naturalist, Émile Zola, occupies a central position in Duncan's novel, in cultural discussions, generally, at the *fin de siècle*, and in Lily Lewis's writing. Elfrida refers to herself as "a female Zola" (101), because she "wrote the [. . .] naked truth about the [. . .] Quarter" (100). The

Age wanted something more conventional, not "a female Zola." Lewis, as Louis Lloyd, comments several times in her "Montreal Letter" about Zola, and never from the usual Canadian position of disgust and condemnation.<sup>10</sup> On May 31, 1888, Louis Lloyd quotes someone talking about how in Canada, there is "little demand for sensational works of the Zola type," and adds, "I wonder what the great French naturalist would say to 'sensational'?" On July 26, 1888, Lloyd notes that "advanced books are prohibited here [in Montreal]. Nevertheless, Monsieur Zola [. . .] looks sardonically from shop windows upon our gaping community." Elfrida "describe[s] her religion which embrace[s] Arnold and Aristotle and [does] not exclude Whistler" (127), and which is, in fact, "a composite creed" (127). Louis Lloyd, too, calls herself an "Arnoldian," as I have noted, and later Lily Lewis Rood praises Whistler through relating Puvis de Chavannes's admiration of him. Lewis Rood goes farthest in designing a "composite creed" when she claims, in the Puvis de Chavannes sketch, that Zola had said to her that "French feeling was undergoing a reaction in favour of idealism and religion, and that de Chavannes satisfied this need in the highest degree" (15).

Elfrida argues, *à la* Zola, for art as truth while Janet mentions W. D. Howells admiringly (14). Duncan incorporates Howells's more optimistic realism into Janet's ironically happy ending and the naturalists' pessimism into Elfrida's too-extreme suicide. Real friendships dissolve into literary animosities in the novel much as real individuals become literary stereotypes. An extremity in the language at the end of the novel, however, corresponding to the extremity in the plot and character, suggests a hint of satire directed at the unsatisfactory ending itself.

<sup>10</sup> Carole Gerson claims in *A Purer Taste* that in the 1880s, Zola "provided a convenient focus for Canadian discussions of the boundaries and abuses of fiction" (28). His naturalistic picture of the real world posed too much of a threat to "all that Victorian Canada valued in life and literature" (19). She quotes "pejorative adjectives" (28) from *The Week*: "repulsive"; "slimy"; "foul"; "debased" (25), used to describe "the worst garbage of modern literature" (29). Louis Lloyd is not alone in expressing a positive response to Zola in *The Week*, however; British writer Edmund Gosse credits Zola with the "careful formulation and control of an important new literary experience" (*The Week* 13 June 1990).

Elfrida's "fiendish destruction" (273) of the painting that exposes her egotism and the narrative remark about Elfrida's "place [being] [. . .] pregnant with the presence of death," not to mention the very notion of a "suicide ring" (66), the thick, clumsy ring Elfrida calls her "dear little alternative" (66), something she says she will use when she is "quite tired of it all" (66), suggest that Duncan perhaps distances her authorial self from the novel's apparent condemnation of Elfrida.

Elfrida's refusal to associate her gender with her art, her insistence on being "pas femme--artiste" (281), articulates the limited constructions of gender available to women who wanted to be artists. Alice Jones's Gabriel Præd's Castle (1904) depicts just such a character, perhaps for the first time in Canadian fiction, in a positive, enabling way. Harriet Oakes, a "hard-featured middle-aged newspaper correspondent" (17) lives in "a shabby attic room" in a *pension*, and, "using her surroundings for copy" writes for Galignani's and the Boston Transcript. This capable and sympathetic American supports the younger women characters and offers to them an example of an independent woman who understands "the soothing power of [a] day's impersonal work" (260).

Ann Ardis discusses a few "retreats," in addition to the "boomerang" endings, by which women writers at the turn of the century avoided the extreme discomfort that would accompany writing fiction depicting the New Woman entirely favourably. One such retreat was to move away from or stay away entirely from writing fiction. Lily Lewis Rood exemplifies the latter. Lily Dougall, after writing several novels, turned instead to essays about religion and society. She, like Lewis, Duncan, and Alice Jones, moved away from Canada and never returned to live. Another retreat was to write for a short while, then simply disappear, as did Amelia Fyche, Lily Lewis Rood, and innumerable other women. Lewis Rood's two prose poems of 1896 capture the ephemeral quality of her own writing and that of many women writers who shared some of her circumstances.

In the first of the two poems (Bookman, 1896), "The Face in the Mirror," a third-person narrative voice relates a little vignette in which the woman often lost her way in the fog. This foggy night, she stops before a tall house, enters, creeps up to the top floor, and, using her key, noiselessly enters a room that is "all dull silver and pale green." A man and a woman are standing in front of a mirror. The man looks up and sees in the mirror a face as white as the fog and "eyes like flickering blue lamps." The figure in the doorway vanishes, but the eyes remain reflected in the mirror. The poem concludes with the woman back in the street, "lost in the shrouding fog." Mirroring becomes a gothic device in the poem. "Drowning" lights and "shrouding" fog outside are perversely reflected in "eternal" kisses and "unceasing" smiles inside, casting a macabre mood around the notion of disappearance. Similarly, the notion of disappearance becomes infused with the dramatic intensity apparent in the sexual triangle suggested by the "mute" speech in the narrative. The second poem, "A Perfume," has a first-person narrator, a passenger reading a book on a hot, dusty, smokey, and crowded train. Another passenger occupies the adjacent seat for a short time. The narrator notices a perfume, a dress of "old-time flowered silk patterned with little faded roses." The woman's bonnet "might [be] of brown straw with velvet geraniums." Sweet-smelling waves of the perfume come "carressingly, appealingly" to the speaker. The train stops, and the woman disappears in the crowded station. The narrator follows the trace left by the perfume until it, too, "fade[s] into the city air [and is] lost." The speaker in the second poem might be either male or female. The disappearing figure, however, is indisputably female in both texts, and its vagueness, its inability fully to materialize corresponds, perhaps, to the particular disappearance of Lily Lewis herself after a brief appearance as a writer, but the image can be applied at the same time to many less specific disappearances of early women writers.

The concern with disappearance discernible in these prose poems resonates with Louis Lloyd's earlier remarks about the Montreal "ancestors" listed only as "Inconnus" (The Week 29 Dec. 1887), and less directly with L.L.'s speculations about the fate of "these outcasts of society" as she writes about Hugo's "Marian de Lorme." Sardon's "Georgette," and Daudet's "Sappho," all being the subjects of current Parisian plays (The Week 3 Jan. 1886). It resonates, too, with L.L.'s imagined "aesthetic Hades" in Rome, full of "shattered life works" (The Week 21 Apr. 1887) and her empathy for the mouldy and unvisited statues in the Boboli Gardens. The form of these texts recalls Lily Lewis Rood's reference to Pierre Puvis de Chavannes's funeral oration for his precursor as President of the New Salon, Meissonier, as "a prose poem in five lines, a single perfect flower thrown on the coffin" (Pierre Puvis de Chavannes 16). This image, in turn, recalls Louis Lloyd's recollection of her delight in the lovely lotus blossom in Ceylon, and Lily Lewis's emphasis, ironic and otherwise, throughout her work, on "simplicity in art."

The poetic language in "a Perfume" resonates strangely and interestingly, in fact, with Louis Lloyd's prose description of the lotus flower. The "velvety rounded petals" of the lotus, "pearly pink, like the lining of a shell" (The Week 27 Dec. 1889), reappear, in altered form, in the faded roses patterning the "old-time" dress and the "velvety geraniums" that the poem's speaker imagines adorning the hat. Lloyd says she "felt [her] brain grow giddy" (27 Dec. 1889). Here, in the poem, "dusty, giddy heat" fills the car. Louis Lloyd "looked into the flower as one looks into the face of a living thing" (27 Dec. 1889). This speaker imagines the face of the woman as "crumpled tea roses, perhaps." The repetition in "old-time patterned silk," "old-time flowers," and "old-time garden" evokes a gentle nostalgia that is reinforced by another near-repetition. The train "sped more quickly and more quickly," recalling earlier descriptions of Canadian travels when a horse and carriage "sped away and away" across the open prairie (The Week 18 Oct. 1888)



and when a pleasure yacht similarly "sped away and away" into the pine woods of British Columbia" (14 Dec. 1888). Lewis Rood uses poetic techniques to connect ideas within her poem, and also to connect her present writing self with a number of earlier ones.

These connections between Lewis Rood's poetry, long considered a relatively closed form, and moments from her earlier, more autobiographically-based travel sketches point to the relevance to my work of Celeste Schenck's assertion about "the functional identity between the two genres [of poetry and autobiography]" (290). The two genres can work intertextually, Schenck declares, in what she calls "a multiplicity of self-representation" (290) to "sketch a self in time and over time" (290), and thus record, in a poetic equivalent of a series of photographs, a "process of becoming during a period of historical change" (290). In this kind of life writing, the singular self of the prose accounts begins to acquire a more multiple character as it blends with the larger "I" that we have been taught to perceive in poetry. The effect, enhanced by Lewis Rood's choice of the blended genre, suggests a *fin de siècle* version of the Jeanne Perreault's feminist "energy [of] [. . .] transformation," the kind of energy that Nicole Brossard describes as emanating from writing in a zone where an autobiographical "I" encounters the collective "we."

I refer often in this dissertation to the sketches that I discuss as "vignettes." The blurred, fuzzy, indefinite quality of the disappearing figures in Lewis's prose poems corresponds to the O.E.D. definition of "vignette" as "an illustration not in a definite border, a photograph with background gradually shaded off, short description, character sketch" (O.E.D. 843), and this description matches the way that Lily Lewis and her work "shade off" into obscurity after the publication of these texts. As the sketch alters the picturesque in landscape aesthetics, blurring the edges and clarifying parts of the centre, my writing of Lewis's life similarly

provides moments of clarity and a great deal of uncertainty. I am hoping that some Lewis family members' diaries, purportedly still in existence, will provide information about Lewis's later life. Meanwhile, I shall be content with fuzziness and incompleteness. The open-endedness of my work is actually compatible, I think, with my concern about the limitations sometimes imposed upon scholarship by an almost universal academic insistence upon completeness, clarity, and closure, even while we espouse theories that interrogate those values. I am encouraged by A.S. Byatt's satirical treatment in her novel, Possession, of the academic desire for absolute comprehensiveness in literary research. As her scholars seek desperately to know everything about their nineteenth-century subjects, we see the ludicrousness of their obsessions but recognize similar desires impelling our own behavior. And just as the open-ended sketch earlier became a form with which women could challenge the masculine biases in landscape aesthetics as well as begin to acquire a public voice, my "sketching" of Lily Lewis's life becomes a way for her particular voice to begin to be heard.

My work is but one of an endless number of possible sketches, or vignettes, about Lily Lewis. My choice to ground my analysis in theories of life writing and to portray, and to some extent construct, Lily Lewis as a Canadian New Woman both unique and typical, expressing a sense of herself in both singular and not altogether singular ways, and exhibiting a rather unusual, contradictory, but nevertheless feminist resistance to many of her society's values, attests to my participation in a particular set of current critical discourses. My study has been informed by a continually developing and changing Canadian nationalism, a mingling of New Critical values with those of feminism and post-colonialism, and a general left-leaning in Canadian literary critical discourse in the later part of the twentieth century. It reflects and participates in current preoccupations with multiple yet "grounded" subjectivities, with interdisciplinarity, with contextuality,

and with the contradiction central to new historicist practice. I shall make a modest claim about the literary value of Lily Lewis's writing. While her work occupies a very small literary space, I nevertheless see in it numerous "moments that impress," to borrow Nick Mount's phrase, without losing sight of the constructedness and arbitrariness of my own evaluative response. From a less individual perspective, Lily Lewis represents one more example of a nineteenth-century Canadian woman responding to her world by writing about it. Looking at her work in terms of life writing as critical practice, I believe, can offer contemporary literary critics, cultural historians, and feminist scholars what I hope are some enabling ways of reading that response. The pleasure I have experienced in reading and working with these texts ultimately reinforces my belief in the value, as well, of reading Lily Lewis simply for herself.

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## APPENDIX A

### Finding Lily

Most of the contents of this Appendix have been copied from material loaned to me by Mr. Herbert Lewis of Vancouver. I am deeply grateful to Mr. Lewis and to his wife, Mrs. Cynthia Lewis, for their kind hospitality, for stories shared during a visit to their home and in several telephone conversations, and for entrusting me with family documents and photographs. (Mr. and Mrs. Lewis have four children, Geoffrey, Belinda, and Blakeney, all of Vancouver, and Annabelle, who lives in Australia. My husband and I had the pleasure of meeting Belinda and Geoffrey when we were guests at the Lewis's home on October 12, 1999.)

Appendix A-1 (page 185) is a verification of Lansing Lewis's baptism in 1875, courtesy of the Quebec National Archives. One of the signatories is Lily Lewis, and until I located Mr. Lewis in the 1979 Canadian Who's Who, this was my only concrete evidence that she had existed at all.

Appendix A-2 (page 186) is an undated photograph of Lily Lewis, courtesy of Mr. Herbert Lewis.

The photographs reproduced in Appendices A-3 and A-4 (pages 187 and 188), also courtesy of Mr. Lewis, show Lily Lewis with members of her family. On the cardboard frame of the photograph in A-3, someone has written names beneath each person represented. From left to right, these are "Aunt Ella," "Grandfather," "Father," "Grandma Lewis," "Uncle Albert, and "Aunt Lilly." I presume that Herbert Lewis's father, Mostyn Lewis, wrote these names; "Father" would be Lansing Lewis. Since the clothing is the same as in the photograph in Appendix A-3, we can conclude that Appendix A-4 is a photograph of Lily Lewis and her brother Albert.



The photograph of Albert and Lily together suggests a special closeness between these particular siblings that might have resulted from similarly rebellious temperaments. Mr. Lewis told me a story about how "Albert Edward" purportedly disappeared one day, leaving behind his wife and numerous debts. His cloak was found in a field with a bullet through it. A Pinkerton detective eventually located Albert Edward in Japan, and later, as I noted earlier, in a letter to his parents, Albert offered to give up his inheritance "because of all the grief that he and Lily had caused the family." Herbert and Cynthia Lewis also discovered, after moving to Vancouver in 1974, that this same Albert Edward had lived in Vancouver, become a prominent citizen, and had donated one of the stained glass windows in an Anglican Church on Burrard Street, presumably also to make up for past misdeeds.

Appendix A-5 (page 189), a notice from a Winnipeg newspaper about Miss Duncan and Miss Lewis "stopping over for a couple of days with Captain Lewis," is pasted inside the front cover of a copy of A Social Departure (courtesy of Mr. Herbert Lewis). "Lansing Lewis" is also written on the inside cover of this book.

Appendix A-6.a (page 190) shows the page of the Regina Leader with the article describing in detail the visitors' activities during their stop-over in the city. I suspect the article was written by the "literary lady," Mrs. Hayes, who, in 1888, was writing a women's column in the Leader under her pen name "Mary Markwell," and also doing regular editorial writing. Appendix A-6.b shows the article itself, magnified.

The letter from Sara Duncan to Lansing Lewis shown in Appendix A-7 (pages 192-5), courtesy of Mr. Herbert Lewis, is pasted between flyleaves of the copy of A Social Departure mentioned previously in conjunction with Appendix A-5.

The photograph of Lily Lewis shown in Appendix A-8.a (page 196), also courtesy of Mr. Lewis, is the only dated photograph in this collection (1892).

Appendix A-8.b shows the inscription on the back, which suggests that Lily Lewis sent this photograph to her brother Lansing and her sister-in-law, "Katie" (Catherine Bate Lewis).

Appendices A-9.a and A-9.b (pages 200 and 201) are copies of photographs taken by Mr. Herbert Lewis of the Lewis family headstone in the Montreal Cemetery in May, 1999. (Courtesy, Mr. Lewis)

Baptism - Lansing Lewelyn Mostyn Lewis

Lansing Lewelyn Mostyn Lewis, son of John Lewis, Surveyor of Customs, Montreal and of Matilda Caroline Snowden, his wife, was born on the seventh day of March one thousand eight hundred and fifty four years and was baptised by me on the twenty fifth day of April, one thousand eight hundred and seventy five years

Garni Lang  
 John Lewis  
 Matilda Cheney  
 Eliza Ida Lewis  
 M. J. Snowden  
 J. J. Lewis - Elder  
 Frank Murray  
 Maggie Palmer Murray  
 Lily Lewis  
 Philip H. Carpenter  
 Lansing Lewelyn Mostyn Lewis

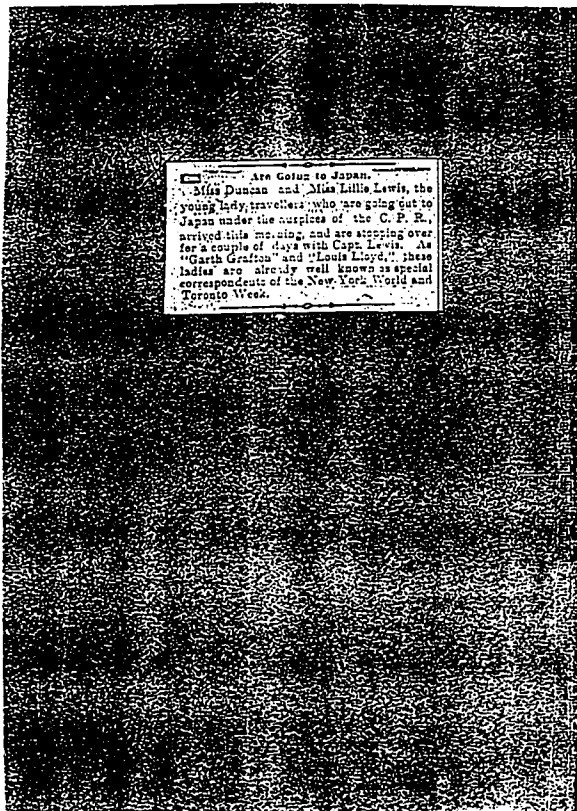




Appendix A-3.



Appendix A-4.



Are Going to Japan.  
Miss Duncan and Miss Lillie Lewis, the  
young lady travelers who are going out to  
Japan under the auspices of the C. P. R.,  
arrived this morning and are stopping over  
for a couple of days with Capt. Lewis. As  
"Guth Grafton" and "Louis Lloyd," these  
ladies are already well known as special  
correspondents of the New York World and  
Toronto News.





island face was suddenly  
 aged. He held a tin  
 or considered the  
 policeman who was  
 before him started to  
 that he should be  
 to accept the  
 challenge. He  
 as he said, "I go  
 in, and when I only  
 ground the balloon  
 cried: "For God's  
 sake, but the only  
 frantically in the air  
 Get in some of the  
 were interested in  
 tion associated pay  
 be fulfilled.

**THE MISS**

ent in Chicago  
 Michael

is the operators in  
 to-day, and it de-  
 of a material ad-  
 many had expected  
 or the closing price  
 \$1.20, with large  
 \$1.25. This was the  
 day, but none the  
 the advance of 1/8  
 members and 1/8  
 scored an advance  
 unsettled and  
 characterized the  
 trade closed, the  
 and deals were re-  
 curb-stone men at  
 as \$1.31.

**REAL**

street-Moore on  
 th-West.

Henry E. Moore,  
 of the London Times,  
 from a tour in the  
 the very highly of the  
 hat raising and cattle  
 men, joined for the  
 the final man, who, it is  
 an abortion on a  
 of a French Cana-  
 This was a  
 by whose march  
 he hands of a private

(a) has been created  
 an action instituted  
 Donald against Pro-  
 for education under  
 Hopkins promised  
 to appear from her  
 the circumstances  
 he accomplished his  
 on in September 4,  
 Hopkins, Hopkins  
 the city. He has  
 property, which has  
 the damages which  
 is \$5,000.  
 in September, \$807,  
 ore \$807.478.

**RE-BROWN.**

ing and found that five bushels were  
 three and every three minutes. Mr. Dele  
 suspects a yield of 3,000 bushels of grain  
 from 100 acres of land. Mr. J. J. Lundy  
 secretary of the Wisconsin and Leo  
 Olson accompanied the party.

**SPRING-TIME COUNTRY.**

Miss Sarah J. Duncan, (Garth Granton  
 of the Municipal Star) and Miss Lewis  
 (Louis Loyd of the Rock) visited Regina  
 last week. On Tuesday night they were  
 invited to the station by Mr. Davin, M. P.  
 who had already made Miss Duncan's ac-  
 quaintance in social circles in the capital  
 of the Dominion. Each lady is well  
 known all over the Dominion by con-  
 sequence of their brilliant articles. They  
 are on their way to Japan and may go  
 round the world. They took in Winnipeg  
 on their way, where an Ottawa friend was  
 presiding at Government House, and  
 Regina. On Wednesday morning they  
 saw all the points of the Capital of the  
 Territories, and in the afternoon called at  
 Government House, where Miss Royal,  
 who had known Miss Duncan in the east,  
 thought it was not her day, and Govern-  
 ment House was only emerging from being  
 called by a public ceremony, and very  
 graciously received the visitors. After a  
 pleasant chat about east and west a visit  
 was made to the barracks, when Major  
 Cotton, showed them what a mounted  
 policeman's life is. The party then drove  
 out to Mr. Fisher's and called Baywater  
 Farm, spending a pleasant half an hour at  
 6 o'clock tea with Miss Fisher and her  
 family. After dinner they went to the  
 head hall, not in evening dress, because  
 their bell dresses had preceded them to  
 Vancouver, so they sat in the gallery.  
 On Thursday a visit was made to Mr.  
 John McIntyre's. Having seen the farm,  
 they were led by Mrs. McIntyre to the  
 dairy, and after the strength and excel-  
 lence of North-West milk, and butter had  
 been explained, the mysteries of the wild  
 fruits just were told. Then to Mr.  
 James' garden, thence to the farm and  
 garden of Mr. T. C. Johnstone. After  
 a visit to the Bank of Montreal in  
 business, and an opportunity was seized  
 of making the courteous manager dis-  
 cuss all he knew about the financial con-  
 dition of the country. Then the team  
 departed for the Regina race course, where  
 for a while was subjected to a rigorous  
 examination. The excellent music  
 of the Police band was greatly appreciated.  
 They then drove by the "White Horse" of  
 the West and crossed the bridge over  
 town, much interested by the fine sheet of  
 water on which the wild duck filled un-  
 conscious that in the morning the fowling  
 might mark them for his prey. In the  
 evening they dined with a lady of like  
 literary tastes. On Friday morning they  
 left for Vancouver, having crowded more  
 work than most visitors into their two  
 days' visit. Especially were they inter-  
 ested in the German settlement, who have  
 taken up their abode east of Broad St.  
 The most interesting of these houses struck  
 them, and Miss Lewis, who is an accom-  
 plished linguist, learned all about it in the  
 rich German tongue.

The influence that is brought to bear  
 upon a child during the first decade of  
 life will have a decided effect in deter-  
 mining the power of self-control in  
 later years. This is the case, however,  
 things in many other phases of the in-  
 fluence must first be exercised, and  
 upon such a foundation and parents  
 devolve their most important duty, a  
 responsibility which should be its  
 own light, because a child is a  
 sacred trust. A child cannot under-  
 stand the "why" and "wherefore" of  
 many things which his parents are  
 perfectly plain and intelligible. It is  
 a child, and naturally, although from  
 slight and sounds which he hears are  
 strange and unaccountable. To in-  
 crease a child's self-control, he must  
 be very frightened, a child is not only  
 thoughtful and careful, but he is  
 self may be followed by a serious  
 For one to say that no harm will in-  
 tended, and that it was only in fun, is no  
 excuse. It is one of some of the ways  
 in which this habit is sometimes formed,  
 and their consequent attendant evils,  
 that I wish to speak.

There are some people who seem to  
 take a morbid satisfaction in frighten-  
 ing young children by abnor-  
 mally appearing before them with their  
 face hidden by a mask or the entire  
 body covered with a sheet, at the same  
 time uttering loud and unnatural  
 sounds and peculiarities of a wild  
 and fraudulent manner. Occasionally we  
 find a person who is so regardless of  
 possible accidents as not to hesitate to  
 point a child's gun, or pistol, and en-  
 courage to strike him with a knife or  
 hatchet. The setting of a strange dog  
 upon one who already shows signs of  
 fainting, or the sudden barking of the  
 animal in some cases followed by un-  
 expected and painful results. For little  
 acts of disobedience, children are  
 sometimes shut up in a dark closet or  
 temporarily confined in the attic or  
 cellar. At other times they are told  
 strange stories of ghosts, and threat-  
 ened that if they do not behave they  
 will be sold to the rag-picker, or that  
 wandering gypsies will steal them and  
 carry them away.

These and other such frightful ap-  
 paritions are relics of barbarism and  
 superstition, which should have no  
 place in the Christian light and intelli-  
 gence of this nineteenth century, and  
 not only this, such scenes, stories and  
 threats are grossly indecent and de-  
 liberate falsehoods, the nature of which  
 the child will some day understand,  
 and thus will be very likely to form a  
 just estimate of the moral character of  
 those who are so concerned and nervous  
 so firmly believed. It is also to be re-  
 membered that it is possible that a  
 child, perhaps so often frightened in  
 one way or another as to eventually  
 weaken his character and even some-  
 times produce a deplorable state of  
 mental instability; and there are many  
 cases on record where a child has been  
 so frightened as to cause insanity,  
 convulsions, and death. Good House-  
 keeping.

**To Keep a Bouquet of Flowers Fresh.**

A queer way to keep a bouquet of  
 flowers fresh, but a very striking and  
 effective one is thus described. In a  
 vessel of water place a plate, and on  
 this stand a bouquet of flowers, weight-  
 ed at the bottom so as to stand up-  
 right. This being done, the bouquet is  
 covered with a bell glass, the rim of  
 which ought to fit exactly the flat part  
 of the plate, the bell glass should be

Appendix A-7.

Sanicoma B.C.  
Oct. 12

Dear Captain Luis,  
12-

Last we have  
arrived, as it is  
quite unnecessary to  
say both well and  
in excellent-spirits  
for the sea wife.

— Lily was rather  
upset at the Glacier  
where we got off  
for a day. But is  
quite herself again  
now. I don't think  
the fresh mountain air  
altogether agreed  
with her. She has  
just got her mail  
and is reading your  
letter aloud to me

Many thanks for  
 my part of the message  
 which I appreciate.  
 "Hafane" notwithstanding  
 We have enjoyed everything  
 hugely, and nothing  
 more than thinking  
 where your goodness,  
 and that of the  
 benign bachelorhood  
 of the Shanty made  
 a deep and lasting  
 impression. I do hope  
 the Shanty will object.

said in the Stat. Please  
 intercede for me if it  
 should be so.  
 We were met here by Liu  
 Uncle who has been very  
 kind, as has also the  
 Manager of the "Fancourt." We  
 happened to know Mr. Lee  
 in Montreal and has given  
 us a very gorgeous suite  
 of rooms in consequence.  
 Mr. Lupton shall have  
 series - finally we have  
 been "interviewed" here - the  
 first!  
 With kindest regards and  
 sincere gratitude  
 yours very truly  
 L. L. Lupton



Lansing & Ratic -  
 With Love.  
 Lieg.  
 Sangi mig ~~ffill~~  
 Stacy ~~ffill~~  
 ffill. ~~ffill~~ 1892



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## PROSE POEMS.

## I.

## THE FACE IN THE MIRROR.

In the fog the lights of the streets were as drowning stars, and the woman often lost her way. When they passed into the white flare before the windows the few people lingered a moment reassured, but when they walked through the uncertain darkness again they hurried by the other shadows suspiciously. Before a tall, still house the woman stopped, and at her ring the door opened with a snap and closed behind her noisily. Then she crept up a

dark flight of stairs, and another, and another till the topmost landing was reached and light flecked the chinks of the door opposite. Her key opened it without noise, and beyond she drew aside a curtain. The room was all dull silver and pale green. Cupids threw each other eternal kisses from its corners, and at either end of the mantel a Sevres shepherdess and Marquis smiled unceasingly. A man and woman standing before the mirror, and stretching their hands to a flaming fire smiled too, till the man looked up and saw in the mirror a face as white as the fog, and

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eyes like two great blue lamps with flickering lights. For an immortal moment the mate face spoke and was answered, then the figure in the doorway vanished. And the man bent down to her who had stopped nearer the fire, unconscious.

But when later he looked up again into the mirror, and later still, the lamp-like eyes had remained, while the woman in the street was lost in the shrouding fog.

## II.

## A PERFUME.

The car was filled with a dusty, giddy heat, the floor crackled, and a curtain of smoke fell across the door. Gusts blew the cinders through any open window. Every place was crowded but the one beside me. And we rushed on, the people too feverish and intent to speak.

Another passenger entered at a wayside station. I heard a stiff silk rustle behind me, and could feel a scrutinising pause, then a quick movement forward, though there was no rival for the empty place. Nodding reluctant assent, I did not turn my head, but read on, now crowded with the rest.

A space of rumbling, whizzing, shaking, and a perfume came toward me.

The woman seemed to sit stiffly erect. My book tumbled at her feet. Picking it up, I saw that her dress was of old-time flowered silk, patterned with little faded roses on brown with bars of black. She held a bunch of old-time flowers, straight out, as if in the heat the flowers panted for breath. I leaned back, shutting my eyes, tired of my book. I thought her bonnet might be of brown straw with velvet geraniums, her face of crumpled tea-roses perhaps.

The perfume came to me again, carelessly, appealingly.

The train sped more quickly and more quickly, so that when I looked out the blurred landscape seemed swimming under water.

And another sweet-smelling wave, like low-toned voices from an old-time garden.

Then the train stopped, and the feverish crowd pushed forward. The woman was suddenly hidden when I turned to go, but the perfume called back to me, and I followed, forgetful of everything, dreaming, through the glare of the station and the crowd, till the perfume faded into the city air, was lost, and I stopped and smiled at myself pitifully.

Lily Lewis Reed.



Appendix A-10.a.



Appendix A-10.b.