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CANADIAN LITERARY PILGRIMAGE: FROM COLONY TO POST-NATION

by

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Department of English  
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Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfilment of the  
requirements for the Ph.D.

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### Abstract:

This thesis establishes the presence of pilgrimage in Canadian literature as reflective of Canadian cultural and global changes. It shows the enduring archetypal characteristics of pilgrimage from the earliest pre-Confederation travel writing to contemporary and postmodern novels. The topic of Canadian literary pilgrimage allows for an eclectic and necessarily multi-disciplinary approach and also for the study of the earliest Canadian letters and contemporary novelists, as well as for a breadth of forms, including journals, letters, archival sermons, dramatic works, poetry, and contemporary Canadian novels.

Chapter one begins with the cultural figure of Brébeuf as pilgrim first in The Jesuit Relations (1632-1673), proceeds to E.J. Pratt's long-poem *Brébeuf and his Brethren* (1940), on-site research at the memorial to Brébeuf in Midland, Ontario, and concludes with the post-colonial revisiting of this figure in James W. Nichol's dramatic work, Saint-Marie Among the Hurons (1980), and in Brian Moore's Black Robe (1985). Chapter two turns to Oliver Goldsmith's *The Rising Village* and explores Protestant pilgrimage, marking the material and spiritual progress of that pilgrimage. The thesis then looks at Goldsmith's work in conjunction with the influential sermons and journals of Bishop John Inglis of Nova Scotia. Chapter three follows pilgrimage into more contemporary works in Robertson Davies' Fifth Business and Jane Urquhart's The Stone Carvers, incorporating post-structuralist discussions of the nomad as pilgrim or anti-pilgrim figure and the implications of homelessness to the pilgrimage paradigm. Chapters four and five analyze Richard B. Wright's The Age of Longing and Clara Callan, and Timothy Findley's The Butterfly Plague and Headhunter, which are explored in light of some of Jacques Derrida's writing and the critical utopian studies of Ernst Bloch.

### **Introduction:**

This study will follow a structure suggested by prominent scholars of pilgrimage in first giving broad definition to the key term “pilgrimage” and then focusing on the pilgrimage accounts of particular texts. In order to show the complexity and multifarious applications of my key term, I begin here with a brief survey of the primary definitions given by those working in the field of pilgrimage studies.

Jean Dalby Clift and Wallace B. Clift write that “pilgrimage is a journey, a ritual, a commemoration, a search for something, perhaps even something the pilgrim does not fully perceive. [...] A term in such constant and common use is inevitably used for many different kinds of activities” (9). Coleman and Elsner introduce Pilgrimage this way: “A pilgrimage is not just a journey; it also involves the confrontation of travellers with rituals, holy objects and sacred architecture. [...] Moreover, pilgrimage is as much about returning home” (6). According to Tomasi, “Pilgrimage can be defined as a journey undertaken for religious purposes that culminates in a visit to a place considered to be the site or manifestation of the supernatural” (3). Tomasi expands this definition as follows: “Pilgrimage has also been validly described as ‘an individual, but more frequently collective, journey toward an ‘elsewhere’ sometimes more desired than known, and which in certain respects may assume utopian features in the imaginations of those about to undertake it’” (3). Eade and Sallnow acknowledge the competing nature of the discourses surrounding and within the scholarship on pilgrimage. In the introduction to their ground-breaking work and in opposition to the deterministic and structuralist definitions of earlier paradigms (namely those of Turner and Turner), they write: “pilgrimage is above all an arena for competing religious and secular discourses, for both

the official co-optation and the non-official recovery of religious meanings, for conflict between orthodoxies, sects, and confessional groups, for drives towards consensus and *communitas*, and for counter-movements towards separateness and division” (2).

The field of pilgrimage studies is diverse and politically charged, addressing a number of issues of secular and sacred importance, as I will attempt to show in a focussed study of pilgrimage literature in the Canadian context. In light of the proliferating definitions of pilgrimage, it is necessary to narrow the definition of pilgrimage to those aspects most relevant to the study of Canadian literature. To date, there is no scholarly study in any field (historical, sociological, religious or anthropological) that gives definition to the distinctive or particular nature of pilgrimage in Canadian history or literature. I will therefore propose characteristics distinctive to Canadian pilgrimage. Drawing on the numerous broad definitions, I contend that pilgrimage is a journey usually undertaken as the result of a particular call. The pilgrim generally makes a vow involving the intent of his/her journey. It is important that the pilgrim follows the sacred trail or the charter pilgrimage of the founder, and the pilgrim must seek, expect, and/or be capable of transformation as a result of the journey. Other characteristics that contribute to the journey of pilgrimage are encounters with supernatural beings, miracles, rituals, sacred architecture, the journey home and the recounting of the pilgrimage. Obviously, as with the aforementioned pilgrimage theorists, this is a broad definition and not every aspect of this definition applies to every pilgrimage.

As is also evident from the diversity of the definitions of pilgrimage, it would be unwise to adhere to one definition, thereby oversimplifying and possibly neglecting

important types of pilgrimage in favour of one Procrustean model. Rather, I will begin by keying my definition(s) to the types of pilgrimage that are a part of the Western tradition. Unfortunately this means that I will not be looking at Muslim, Indian, or Buddhist pilgrimage, or pilgrimages that are specific to Far-Eastern religions, or non-Western locations. I will be focussing on Western pilgrimage, which finds its precedent and archetypes in the Jewish, Christian, Greek, and Roman religions, cultures, and literatures. These religions and cultures do not have the same forms of pilgrimage, although they inform what is broadly seen as Western pilgrimage traditions. Most comparative studies of pilgrimage include a section on Jewish pilgrimage (both historically and in the contemporary context).<sup>1</sup> According to Coleman and Elsner, in a chapter entitled “Exile and Return: Jewish Pilgrimage,” “As in other world religions [...], the sacred texts of Judaism prescribe the act of pilgrimage as one of the obligations of the believer” (34). It is as important to note that Judaism began as a nomadic religion: “The earliest Judaism had no fixed religious domain, but—according to Jewish myth—an original nomadism was converted into an enforced wandering” (34-35). Coleman and Elsner continue in their analysis of the sacred texts and the history of Judaism to state that “motifs of exile and return have become central to Jewish tradition” (35), and likewise the motif of wandering has been ritualized into a form of pilgrimage (Passover, Shavuot, and Sukkot are the three annual pilgrimage festivals).<sup>2</sup> Following the destruction of the

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<sup>1</sup> Part One of Sacred Places and Profane Spaces: Essays in the Geographics of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam deals with Jerusalem in the contemporary context as the site of pilgrimage for Jewish, Christian, and Islamic believers. Glenn Bowman likewise in Sacred Journeys: The Anthropology of Pilgrimage deals with competing pilgrimage discourses of Holy Land pilgrimage in chapter 8 entitled “Pilgrim Narratives of Jerusalem and the Holy Land: A Study in Ideological Distortion.” For further discussion of Jewish pilgrimage and Jerusalem, see Eade and Sallnow chapter 4.

<sup>2</sup> For further discussion of wandering as part of ritualized pilgrimage in the Jewish tradition, see John Durham Peters, “exile, nomadism, and diaspora: the stakes of mobility in the western canon,” chapter two of Home, Exile, Homeland (1999).

temple, Jews continued to make pilgrimages to the shattered Jerusalem, and they make pilgrimages to the remaining wall of the temple (the Wailing Wall) to this day. In fact, the pilgrimage of exile (in Egypt, later Babylon, and today) and return (to the home and the Holy Land) is a pilgrimage that informs other Western pilgrimage traditions—Christian, Greek, and Roman. I will be addressing the pilgrimage of exile and return and the pilgrimage of wandering specifically in the chapters of the present study on Oliver Goldsmith, Richard B. Wright, and Robertson Davies and Jane Urquhart.

Christian pilgrimage has two forms: Roman Catholic and Protestant. By far, the greatest amount of pilgrimage literature addresses Roman Catholic pilgrimage. Of particular importance are the events of the *via dolorosa* or Christ's journey to Calvary and the re-enactment of this journey. Although there is no special instruction to Christians to visit Jerusalem, the journey to Jerusalem as the site of Christ's ministry and crucifixion is meaningful. In fact, there are records of Christians making the pilgrimage to Jerusalem as early as the first few centuries of the Christian era. The Middle Ages was a time when whole routes of itineraries were created and pilgrims went not only to Jerusalem but also to Rome, Santiago de Compostela, and many other holy sites. In the Middle Ages, according to Swatos and Tomasi, "pilgrimage was conceived mainly in terms of penitence, expiation, purification and redemption" (13). However, following this period the focus of the individual changed to a concern with personal transformation on the journey. Interestingly, it was also following the Middle Ages that the focus of the pilgrimage changed: "while the destination and faith were central to the pilgrimage, in the case of the journey it was the experience of traveling itself that mattered" (Swatos and Tomasi 13).

Protestant pilgrimage is the most neglected type of pilgrimage in anthropology, sociology, and pilgrimage studies in general. Although neglected, it is often encompassed under the broader rubric of “Christian pilgrimage” where life itself is viewed as the pilgrimage. According to Martin Robinson, “For the Christian pilgrim, pilgrimage acts as a symbol for the Christian life” (2). For Clift and Clift, Protestant pilgrimage “begins with Luther” (29), from which contention we can understand that the writing of the Protestant and Reformation tradition on pilgrimage begins with the leading proponent of the Reformation. Martin Luther himself as a Roman Catholic had gone on a pilgrimage to Rome in 1510. And Luther came to view pilgrimage as one of the acts that emphasized good works and consequently denied justification by faith through the work of the Holy Spirit (as opposed to the “work” of the individual on the pilgrimage). Luther wrote: “All pilgrimages should be stopped. There is no good in them: no commandment enjoins them, no obedience attaches to them. Rather do these pilgrimages give countless occasions to commit sin and to despise God’s commandments” (qtd. in Clift and Clift 29). And he proceeded: “In former times saints made many pilgrimages to Rome, Jerusalem and Compostela in order to make satisfaction for sins. Now, however, we can go on true pilgrimages in faith, namely, when we diligently read the psalms, prophets, gospels and so on. Rather than walk about holy places we can thus pause at our own thoughts, examine our hearts and visit the real promised land and paradise of eternal life” (qtd. in Clift and Clift 30). According to Coleman and Elsner, “Calvin [...] came to regard pilgrimage as a vain attempt to gain salvation through mere action and emphasised instead an interiorisation of faith which came to be seen as characteristically Protestant” (119). Further, in England the iconoclasm of the Reformation worked very nicely with

the politically motivated desire for the wealth of the shrines and cathedrals of the Catholic church. Elsewhere in Europe, Reformers like Karlstadt and Zwingli similarly led iconoclastic bands, which in the latter half of the sixteenth century often became violent. Coleman and Elsner conclude that “such violence was a symptom of a new Christianity which asserted a transcendent God who disdained all the fripperies of the world and detested such ‘Popish’ activities as pilgrimage, relic worship and elaborate ritual” (120). Like Bunyan’s Christian pilgrim, the Protestant tradition preferred to view life itself as a pilgrimage and eschewed the ritualization of this transformative journey. However, in recent years a revival of pilgrimage has occurred in the Protestant tradition, with individuals making journeys to the various sacred sites in the Holy Land and Jerusalem. Tomasi quotes the following from Turner and Turner’s Il pellegrinaggio:

If the Protestant ethic, with its emphasis on hard work, thrift, virtue and moral probity in the secular vocation of everyone, and with its conviction that one’s place in the world was a sign of faith and of election by God, was really, as Max Weber thought, a “precondition” (a necessary but not sufficient cause) for capitalism, then the “pilgrimage ethic,” with its emphasis on the “holy journey” and the benefits deriving from it, helped to create the network of communications which subsequently made mercantile and industrial capitalism a vital system at the national and international level. (Trans. and qtd. by Tomasi 10)

Max Weber’s “The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism” has a number of applications to the Canadian Protestant version of pilgrimage. At the present time, I can draw attention only to a few of the more important applications of his argument. Chapter

III of Weber's work, entitled "Luther's Conception of the Calling" (79-92), takes us back to the very source of Protestant theology and the beginning of Protestant anti-pilgrimage writing. Most pilgrimage narratives—for present purposes The Jesuit Relations, Pratt's poetic long-poem version of their journey, and my chapter on Robertson Davies and Jane Urquhart—emphasize the "call" to pilgrimage and the subsequent vow of the pilgrim. The Biblical/archetypal stories of "calling" include Moses and Aaron's call to lead Israel to the Promised Land, Jonah's call to convert Nineveh, and other commands or calls by God to fulfill various missions on earth for a heavenly purpose. However, according to Weber, the first instance of the use of calling to denote "life-task, a definite field in which to work" (79), is in Luther's translation of the Bible. Luther uses this term only once, but it is an idea that becomes very important in the Protestant vision of purpose on earth. "Calling" as "life-task" is uniquely Protestant and includes the Protestant emphasis on the idea of individual call (84-85). There is a call to labour and, as Weber writes, "treatment of labour as a calling" (179). In the Catholic tradition and indeed in the Western pilgrimage tradition of Canada's history, the initial "call" is a very important aspect of the pilgrimage. The "chosen ones," another term of the Protestant tradition, are known or recognized by the blessing of God. According to Weber, "God Himself blessed his chosen ones through the success of their labours" (133). Closely related to this idea is the principle of "grace," which is uniquely related to "calling" in the Protestant vision. While "grace" cannot be earned by the works performed, man to be certain of a state of grace must, according to Baxter, "do the works of him who sent him, as long as it is yet day" (158). The distribution of grace and goods is a special dispensation of divine providence (177), and "labour [is viewed] as a calling, as the best, often in the last

analysis the only means of attaining certainty of grace” (178). Various aspects of Max Weber’s discussion of the Protestant ethic, then, have parallel applications to central motifs of “pilgrimage” that will be further explicated in relation to particular chapters that follow.

Finally, I will be looking at Greek and Roman pilgrimage<sup>3</sup>: “the archetypal myth of journeying and return” (Pilgrimage 10) as a central and underlying motif of pilgrimage. Coleman and Elsner begin their chapter entitled “Piety and Identity: Sacred Travel in the Classical World” by quoting from the Odyssey book I. They write: “Many of the themes of pilgrimage—the sense of a difficult journey fraught with sufferings, the intense yearning for a distant goal—are encapsulated in what became a classic text for the ancient Greeks and Romans. [...] Like pilgrimage, the voyage of Odysseus became in the ancient allegorical tradition (both pagan and Christian) a potent symbol for the inner spiritual journey to one’s authentic home” (Pilgrimage 10).

The characteristics of pilgrimage that I will discuss in detail in most of the individual Canadian works are these: the originary call or command to pilgrimage, geographical and/or spiritual movement in pilgrimage, the difficulty of the pilgrimage journey, encounters with supernatural religious beings and miracles on pilgrimage, change and transformation as a result of pilgrimage, the founding of ‘religious’ communities and sacred centres of pilgrimage, and the re-telling of pilgrimage stories. Some of the more complex and unique concerns particular to the Canadian context include the following: in the Jesuit pilgrimage, problems of language and representation, nation building, and contemporary representations of their pilgrimage in touristic

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<sup>3</sup> Swatos and Tomasi and Turner and Turner likewise mention (although not in such detail) pilgrimages from Classical antiquity. Swatos and Tomasi in particular discuss pilgrimage sites and shrines in Classical times.

pilgrimage sites; in Oliver Goldsmith's Protestant pilgrimage, "calling" as vocation, material blessing as evidence of God's blessing, and the resulting conflation of Christian and secular progress; in Richard B. Wright's works, the personal and public archive of the small-town as a sacred site, the return of the pilgrim to the Canadian small town, and the personal traumatic cycle as reflecting Canadian (and global) movements towards increasing violence and loss of faith; in Davies and Urquhart's novels, nomadic wandering as an archetypal form of pilgrimage and as a critique of the nomad as the postmodern "hero"; and in Timothy Findley's postmodern pilgrimage fictions, the predominantly contemporary critique of religious revelation as madness, and the Canadian and global progress towards destruction of the planet.

Chapter One will focus on E.J. Pratt's long poem, Brébeuf and His Brethren.<sup>4</sup> I follow the scholarly trail of Pratt himself by beginning with the writings of Brébeuf and the other French Jesuit Fathers, published from 1632-1673 as The Jesuit Relations. Pratt says that he made "a number of visits to the shrines and sites of the ancient missions to get some knowledge of the topography, of the flora and fauna, of the rocks and trees, the trails, the waterways, the edible roots, and the proper names, personal and geographical" (qtd. in Gingell xxiv). Beginning then with a careful topographical examination of the martyrs' shrine and the reconstructed Jesuit and Huron village of St.-Marie-Among-the-Hurons, I too begin with what Professor J. Preston in Sacred Journeys refers to as the "sacred trace" (41), those markings of the sacred in the land and the architecture that are a "sign of the former presence or passage of some person, thing or event" (41).

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<sup>4</sup> D.M.R. Bentley takes note of the generic and ideological aspects of the long poem. For a further discussion of the particularly Canadian qualities of the long poem see "Colonial Colonizing: An Introductory Survey of the Canadian Long Poem" (Bolder Flights: Essays on the Canadian Long Poem).

While the “official story” of the pilgrimage site of the martyrs’ shrine in Midland Ontario is important as one aspect of the story, the historical problems of the Jesuits inform an understanding of the unique problems of Canadian pilgrimage. E. J. Pratt himself discusses problems of language and the representation of “Christian” ideas to the Wendat nation who had their own system of belief. These “language” problems form a bridge to the more contemporary problem of representation and the post-colonial concerns with religious “conquest,” where missionary activity can be viewed as crusade and colonial expansion. These problems are not addressed at the Jesuit shrine. I will look at James W. Nichol’s play entitled “SAINT~MARIE AMONG THE HURONS” (1980) and Brian Moore’s novel Black Robe (1985) in conjunction with my own analysis of The Jesuit Relations, Brébeuf and His Brethren, and the martyrs’ shrine in order to question the imperial values that were a part of the historical culture of these works. Also, I will show the psychological and critical changes to pilgrimage itself, as the now modern texts write onto Brébeuf’s pilgrimage contemporary critiques of “faith” and expressions of guilt.

Chapter two will look at the Canadian Oliver Goldsmith’s autobiography as a Protestant pilgrimage text—a work that records his search for a “calling” or vocation in the Protestant sense (which I will have discussed as a parallel to the Catholic pilgrimage “call”), including his “pilgrimage” to the site of his great Uncle’s literary “Auburn,” which was based on the village of Lyshoy (a literary pilgrimage site), and his wandering (an archetypally Jewish and Greco-Roman form of pilgrimage) in Europe. I will also be discussing the “founding pilgrimage” (a term employed by Turner and Turner for the founder’s journey or the first pilgrimage to a place or of a particular type of pilgrimage

that is later re-enacted), in this case a poetic pilgrimage and repetition or continuation of the poetic journey of the fictional “pilgrims” of Auburn to the “Rising Village” of the Canadian Goldsmith’s poem. It will be of particular importance to show how the pilgrims (as they are described in The Deserted Village) continue in the Canadian context. For example: in the Anglo-Irish Oliver Goldsmith’s poem the moral structure of the town is centred on the example of the beloved parson and his humble home and fireside, whereas this figure is absent in the village that develops in The Rising Village. I will show that the absence of a parson in the Nova Scotian community is important to both the moral import of the poem and the unique problems of Nova Scotia in 1825 and 1834. In fact, this very lack of moral guidance resulting from the absence of qualified missionaries and ministers in Canada is the subject matter of much of the historical Bishop John Inglis’s sermons and letters home to the Church of England, the Bishop John Inglis who published a letter of recommendation in The Rising Village. Further, Bishop Inglis’s journals of his travels through the province and visits to the local churches record this very problem while providing an analysis of the topography of his route, both of which figure in Goldsmith’s poem. The “threats” to the survival and morality of the community come both from untamed nature and from the lack of moral guidance. The interpolated tale of Flora and Albert suggests the need for taming human nature and for the type of reform and guidance that Bishop Inglis calls for in his sermons and journals.

Here, I will also be employing Weber’s The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism to explore the Protestant version of pilgrimage in terms of “calling,” material blessing as evidence of grace, and “Christian progress” in the material realm as a parallel to geographic or spiritual progress in Catholic pilgrimage. Bishop John Inglis’s concern

with “Christian progress” (a combination of hard work, church building, and moral strengthening of the community) is considered in Weber’s analysis of Protestant philosophy and economics to constitute a Protestant economic agenda, and Inglis’s admonition figures in Oliver Goldsmith’s poem as a pilgrimage of “Christian progress.” It is of note that Protestant pilgrimage is linear in nature, and as such is reflected in the term “Christian progress” (implicitly linear).

George Woodcock’s Odysseus Ever Returning: Essays on Canadian Writers and Writings (1970) is the only work of Canadian criticism that looks at the subject of this dissertation. Woodcock examines the Odyssean cycle and characteristics of a number of writers and poets; particularly relevant is his analysis of Hugh MacLennan’s work, where there is a re-occurring cycle of “exile” and “return.” Woodcock’s study has some relevance as a starting point for my examination of Richard B. Wright’s small-town fiction and particularly of the modern-day Telemachus and Odysseus characters of The Age of Longing (1995). Chapter Three will show how many of Wright’s narratives are structured by the Greco-Roman or Odyssean pilgrimage model (also the Jewish model of pilgrimage). The Age of Longing uses Homer’s Odyssey as a point of reference and as a way of structuring both the father’s departure, return, and final departure, and the narrator’s, Howard Wheeler’s, quest to make sense of his parents’ life together (this being the sacred goal of his pilgrimage and the reason for his return to the small town). I will show that Wright uses the Odyssean model of oral story-telling that, rather than following the linear or chronological plot line (such as those of the Catholic and Protestant pilgrimages of the previous chapters), uses the stories of others, the topography of the town itself, overheard stories, letters, and newspaper clippings, to weave together a

pilgrimage narrative. I will discuss the town itself as a sacred site (one of many in the text), and as both the beginning and the return point of the pilgrimage (Wright actually alludes to the Odyssean model), and the people and places of the town as an archive and memorial. Using Jacques Derrida's discussion of the archive and memory in Archive Fever, I will examine how the small town figures centrally in Canadian literary pilgrimage as a repository of memory and a site of memorial. I will also be looking at Wright's Clara Callan (2001) within the Odyssean cyclical pilgrimage model. I will show how the cycle of rape trauma experienced by Clara Callan in fact reflects the national and global pilgrimage of increasing violence and return of violence.

Robertson Davies' Deptford trilogy of novels, and particularly Fifth Business (1970) and The Manticore (1972), are important pilgrimage works in the Canadian literary canon. They also serve to introduce central pilgrimage issues that figure in the later works of Jane Urquhart and Timothy Findley. Chapter Four of this dissertation will begin with an examination of the personal quest and pilgrimage of Robertson Davies (his quest for literary and psychological truth as well as his journey, as a writer and scholar), and show how Davies' literary quest is transformed into the pilgrimages of various characters in the novels of the Deptford and Cornish trilogies (particularly The Rebel Angels [1981]). I will then be exploring the confessional quality of Fifth Business in relation to other texts of this genre (St. Augustine's The Confessions of St. Augustine and Rousseau's Confessions). From this, it should be apparent how Davies' personal call to literary pilgrimage is related to the fictional calls to pilgrimage of the characters of the Deptford and Cornish trilogies. Fifth Business in particular serves as an apt introduction to two types of pilgrimage to which characters are likewise called in Jane Urquhart's The

Stone Carvers. Poststructuralism has looked to the figure of the nomad as the embodiment or actualization of the fluctuating/unfixed quality of postmodern identity. Both Davies and Urquhart have multiple and central nomadic figures that allow for an interrogation of the contemporary and historical figures of the nomad. Engaging with the growing body of theoretical material on nomadology (Braidotti; Deleuze and Guattari; Peters), I will be suggesting that both Davies and Urquhart undermine the contemporary doctrine of rootlessness by suggesting (among other things) that the nomad or wanderer is constantly remembering home and looking backward and forward to the site of home (in fact archetypally gesturing to the Odyssean wanderer). I will also be looking at the pilgrimages that various characters make to the sites of battles in WWI and WWII, both for personal and national memorializing reasons. In doing so, I will be examining how historical events are memorialized and how the pilgrimage changes when it moves from religious to nationalistic and historical concerns.

Jane Urquhart's The Stone Carvers, in many ways the secondary text in the fourth chapter, is a novel that both interrogates the source of pilgrimage and re-inscribes historical pilgrimage with current motifs of obsession, memory, story-telling, and personal as well as nation-building pilgrimages. The novel opens with Father Gstyr commanded, or called, in true pilgrimage fashion, by God to "Go to Canada" (The Stone Carvers 7). This initial summons to pilgrimage is followed by an arduous journey that ends with his arrival at a lumber camp in a valley that is transformed in his vision into a German-Canadian community. Father Gstyr's founding pilgrimage and establishment of a sacred site involve faith, miracles, and eventual transformation. His transforming pilgrim's vision includes "turn[ing] a barren hilltop into the site of a pilgrimage church"

(25). While this historical pilgrimage is the basis for the Canadian town from which the modern pilgrimage stories will emerge, the central figures of this text are called away from the town (much like Wright's characters). Typically, their journeys involve wandering and following the flights of birds, re-enacting the journey of a lover and nation to war, and building or creating their own sacred sites in memory of love and to celebrate an emergent national identity. I will show how the various inter-texts of actual historical and memorial sites, along with the mythologizing of the journeys of the artists, allow for an expression of the artistic component of pilgrimage and the building of pilgrim sites. Rather than merely recounting the physical journey of pilgrimage, The Stone Carvers is preoccupied with both the internal journey and the externalizing and memorializing of such pilgrimages in works of art. Architecture and the sacred iconography of pilgrimage are both important in the historical memory, as they allow for the possibility of re-enacting the pilgrim journey. This visual and artistic component is thus integrated by Urquhart into the historical and contemporary story of pilgrimage.

Chapter Five focuses on Timothy Findley's postmodern pilgrimage texts which, while preoccupied with various forms of individual and societal madness, also enact pilgrimages through history and to the sacred sites of history. As well, Findley's pilgrimages function as journeys that take individuals further and further down the river and into the Kurtzian heart of darkness—an important form of pilgrimage in a postmodern, secularized Canada. Beginning with The Butterfly Plague (1969) and its pilgrimage of butterflies and animals, Hollywood Beach dwellers, and Nazi Germany as being part of a collective pilgrimage towards destruction, I look to the writing of Ernst Bloch to articulate the inter-species connectedness of this pilgrimage. Headhunter (1993)

uses Joseph Conrad's Heart of Darkness as its subtext. Kurtz, the fictional character, is summoned by a madwoman or spiritualist to embark on a contemporary journey, and his dark pilgrimage is unstoppable except by a contemporary Marlow. This pilgrimage functions again on both the individual and societal scale with all of the literary trappings and icons of the motif. The talismans are Peter Rabbit's little shoes, various literary texts that function as prayers and the stations of the cross: interestingly, the flight of birds also figures as part of the journey motif and as spiritual symbols of pilgrimage in Jane Urquhart's The Stone Carvers. As will be shown, Findley's texts question and destabilize both the linear and temporal elements of traditional pilgrimage texts.

Thus the five chapters of the study that follows offer a cohesive analysis of the historical and contemporary nation-building and literary components of the Canadian pilgrimage paradigm. Each chapter defines, describes, and analyzes part of the larger Canadian pilgrimage cycle: "charter pilgrimages" and early Canadian pilgrimage, Protestant pilgrimage and "Christian progress" in the early Canadian long poem, the small town as a site of pilgrimage and return, contemporary historical fiction and the secularization of pilgrimage, and postmodern Canadian literary pilgrimage. By covering such a range of texts and times, this extensive and intensive study establishes the heretofore ignored importance of the trope of pilgrimage in the continuum of Canadian literature.

**E.J. Pratt's Brébeuf and His Brethren: Mapping the Charter Canadian**

**Pilgrimage**

Brébeuf and His Brethren (1940) is a poem concerned with a faith journey that, while the result of a missionary call, is in many ways what Turner and Turner refer to as a “charter pilgrimage,” laying the groundwork for both Catholic pilgrimage and a poetry that deals with the root of pilgrimage: the emulation of Christ’s journey and the active faith journey of the participants. Brébeuf and His Brethren was written in 1940, inspired by the massive works of Pelham Edgar on the Jesuit missions, and by the source material in The Jesuit Relations first published in France from 1632 to 1673. These letters, written by the Jesuit fathers who were working in the mission fields of what later became Canada, record their journeys through the wilderness and their interaction with the five indigenous tribes that made up the Wendat nation (later named the Hurons by the French). While evidence and writing about the site of the Jesuit mission (called Sainte-Marie among the Hurons) and the nearby site of the martyrdom of Brébeuf and other Jesuit priests date back to as early as the mid-nineteenth century, it was not until 1940, when the site came back into the hands of the Jesuits, that real interest was revived in preserving, excavating, and memorializing these mission and martyrdom sites.

E.J. Pratt’s Brébeuf and His Brethren has, like many pilgrimage sites and foundation narratives, become itself a contested site of historical, literary, and theological or religious authority. The overwhelming emphasis in the critical discussions of this poem focusses on issues outside the text of the poem, drawing on other writings of Pratt and the biographical details of his life in order to support or discredit readings of the poet

as “purely humanistic,”<sup>5</sup> as being in a crisis of faith,<sup>6</sup> as atheistic, as agnostic, or as Pelham Edgar suggests, as “a Protestant poet [who] writes the greatest Catholic poem of our day” (Wilson, Milton 58).<sup>7</sup> In fact, Angela T. McAuliffe, in Between the Temple and the Cave: The Religious Dimensions of the Poetry of E.J. Pratt, goes so far as to suggest an “Ignatian spirituality” (187) in the poet that she describes earlier as a “Wesleyan Methodist by upbringing” only (187). Peter Hunt, following on the work of a variety of critics who make these claims as to the faith inclinations or disinclinations of the poet, presented a paper at the University of Ottawa’s 1977 Pratt Symposium (later published as part of the *ReAppraisals* series) that looks at the critical work surrounding Brébeuf and

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<sup>5</sup> Vincent Sharman in the Pratt issue of *Canadian Literature* writes that “For Pratt, what men must understand is that their salvation lies in themselves, not in Nature, God, systems or in ignorant pride in machines. To maintain life should be the end of men’s actions, the accomplishment of which, in times of conflict, is dependent on defiance, determination and Reason under the control of the heart. But illusions persist: men kill men, die for ideals which embrace death and delude themselves with hopeful prayers addressed to the ‘unhearing ears of God.’ Imperfect men must make direct their feelings for other men for the sake of life. For life is, finally, all that men have, and only men can care at all whether men live or die” (Critical Views on Canadian Writers: E.J. Pratt 151). The humanistic readings of Pratt and his poetry may in fact come from his own reading of the character of the Jesuits and their mission. Pratt writes that “in the course of their religious endeavours they never ignored the humane and social side of their ministrations. They strove to reduce disease in the villages, to improve sanitation and hygiene, to mitigate, if they could not abolish, the torture of captured enemies. They taught new methods of cultivation” (in Gingell 118). Pratt concludes that his role is “to humanize, as far as possible, the priest” (in Gingell 124).

<sup>6</sup> Sandra Djwa first misrepresents Pratt as having been ordained as a minister in the United Church when in fact he served as a minister in the Methodist church and then goes on to attribute Brébeuf and His Brethren to an apologetic impulse on the part of the poet to his father and as further evidence of his “crisis of faith.” Djwa writes, “[s]cattered comments from those who knew him and the evidence of the unpublished *Clay*, written just as he was concluding his doctorate (on Pauline eschatology) suggest that Pratt suffered a crisis of faith and came to the conclusion that he was not suited for the religious life. We might speculate that part of the appeal of the Brébeuf narrative may have been that it was the account of a man who did continue in the religious life; in Pratt’s *Brébeuf* the focus is very often upon motivation. Furthermore, the poem is dedicated to Pratt’s father who was for many years a Methodist minister in Newfoundland. In this context, the poem may be seen not only as an exploration of the religious experience but also, perhaps, as Pratt’s own apologia to the father whose example he could not follow” (Djwa 93).

<sup>7</sup> According to Milton Wilson Pelham Edgar is “the man responsible for hiring him [Pratt] at Victoria [...] whose interest in the history of New France lies behind Pratt’s decision to write his most ambitious poem. Edgar’s selected version of Parkman, called *The Romance of Canadian History* and published as long ago as 1902, restricts its pages on the Jesuit missions almost entirely to the fall of Huronia and the deaths of Brébeuf and Lalemant” (55).

His Brethren, claims that the poem is “largely misinterpreted by the critics” (69).<sup>8</sup> Rather than entering into a debate of this nature and involving either myself or the poet in a struggle for religious or theological definition, it will suffice to note that this poem and poet, like the Father/Saint Augustine who is claimed by both the Catholics and Protestants, are claimed by many different traditions of belief. The poem appeals to the varieties of faith experience and belief through an enlivening historical re-telling of one of the foundation narratives and pilgrimages of Canadian letters and history. In part, Pratt himself responds to questions regarding his religious orientation with these words: “whether one is Protestant or Catholic, one may feel as I did when I stood with Mr. Wilfrid Jury, the archaeologist, within a few feet of the place where Brébeuf offered up his life. It was indeed sacred ground” (in Gingell 121).<sup>9</sup>

While I have taken some pains to mention the critical debates of the past twenty years surrounding E.J. Pratt, particularly with regard to the religious orientation of the poet, the spiritual journey or pilgrimage of the poet himself is only of interest in so much as it can be seen to have influenced his understanding of Brébeuf and his creation of this poetic persona. In fact, I will be giving a great deal more attention to the poetic process of the poet, a pilgrimage of sorts, and the rendering of a reading of the primary material and “trace” narratives that Pratt himself looked to as both source and inspiration for his

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<sup>8</sup> Peter Hunt claims that critics writing about this poem do not understand Christian belief and that understanding of this poem “depends on response to the whole of the Christian tradition, both as it is seminally embodied in the *New Testament*, and as it may be apprehended in the religious history of the past two thousand years” (70). Indeed, Hunt actually drops the critical debate as to the religious orientation of the poet and takes on the religious orientation of the critics suggesting that their beliefs lead to false readings.

<sup>9</sup> In 1948 archaeologist Wilfrid Jury headed up a group of archaeologists funded by the University of Western Ontario. E.J. Pratt, a friend and confidant of Wilfrid Jury, visited the site and consulted Jury about various topographical and anthropological issues in his research for the writing of Brébeuf and His Brethren.

writing. In this case the document that will be under examination is the actual memorial site and martyrs' shrine in Midland, Ontario. This site becomes the source for topographical, geographical, anthropological, religious, and historical information that can be mapped through the poem. I will first introduce the poet's experience of visiting the site, engage in a "close reading" of the site, and show the relevance of this site to the pilgrimage process and experience of the poem. From this vantage point I will examine some of the linguistic and representational problems that the poet gestures towards in Brébeuf and His Brethren and then explore these issues of contemporary postcolonial discourse as they emerge creatively (and by extension critically) in the representations of Brébeuf that evolve in the years following E.J. Pratt's poem. I will turn then from a mapping of the chapter to the charting of Pratt's Brébeuf and the particular position of the historical Brébeuf's "charter" pilgrimage within the emerging Canadian poetic pilgrimages.

Pratt's upbringing and early adult experience inspired in him an interest in sacred callings and pilgrimage. As the son of a missionary and later as an out-port preacher for the Methodist church, he was intimately involved in activities of faith and the experience of faith journeys. Quoting Pratt, Pitt writes that Pratt thought of his father as "a bit of the saint and a lot of the martyr" (4), and as "a sainted fallen warrior" (69). In Between the Temple and the Cave, John Pratt is remembered after his death as "another John the Baptist, 'a burning and shining light' (John 5:35), by which 'many were enabled to find their way to the cross, and to the City of God'" (5). On E.J. Pratt's father's memorial plaque the connection between E.J. Pratt's Father and the founding father of the Catholic tradition and pilgrimage in Canada is made even more explicit: "[John Pratt] alone was

destined to fall at his post during the first century of Methodism in Newfoundland” (5). Describing E.J. Pratt’s own ministry, Pitt writes: “often he had to preach three times on a Sunday and walk fifteen miles, frequently in the vilest of weather, to complete his round of pulpits. It was a baptism of fire” (70). Undoubtedly the poet’s own “faith” journeys and the model of his father as a martyr and a saint contributed to his vision of the Jesuit pilgrimage and to the character of the sainted martyr, Brébeuf. Surely E.J. Pratt’s earliest years of schooling in the Christian faith, although not in the Catholic tradition, had a great deal to do with his later vision of the instruction of the Hurons in the Christian faith by the Jesuit fathers. Pratt describes his experience: “Oh, the preaching I listened to as a boy! We got heaven and hell drummed into us. At seven or eight years of age, I listened to the actual crackling of flames” (in Gingell 42). Later, drawing from his early experience with death in the treacherous seas of the outport communities he questioned the message of God’s goodness in light of the fact of human suffering, which led him on a quest not unlike a pilgrimage for an understanding of truth. Pratt writes, “We were brought up in the belief of the goodness of God and yet we had to reconcile tragedy with it. We were always under that shadow” (in Gingell 43).

In the years that followed, Pratt went on to study for the ministry at the University of Toronto where he engaged with the life and works of Paul, a figure who in many ways, like his own father, can be seen to resemble the sacrificial figure of Brébeuf. In “Studies in Pauline Eschatology and Its Background,” Pratt closely examines the following verses written by Paul to the Romans: “For if we become united with him in the likeness of his death, we shall be also in the likeness of his resurrection” (Romans 6:5) and “If so be that we suffer with him, that we may be also glorified with him”

(Romans 8:17). Writing of Paul, he presents a vision of a missionary figure with methods much like those of his later poetic reconstruction of Brébeuf. Pratt writes:

His method is not that of a theorist who wishes to construct a view of the universe that might satisfy a logical test, but that of a missionary who brought a practical ingenuity to bear upon the multifarious moral and social needs that grew in proportion to the expansion of his churches, and demanded sometimes immediate adjustments. [...] And to accomplish this, he adopted the customs, modes of thought, and phraseology native to the peoples amongst whom he laboured. (32-33)

While it is clear that for E.J. Pratt the writing of this poem was a quest—one that was invested with the colours of his early instruction in the Christian faith, the example of his father, his own arduous journeys while working as a preacher, and his earlier work on Paul and interest in sacrifice—it is most clearly in the poem itself, with its sacred callings and journeys, that he gives a picture of the faith invested in the founding pilgrimage story of Brébeuf and the other Jesuit fathers. S.H. Soper writes of E.J. Pratt (known to Soper and other friends as Ned): “I think it can be said that Ned Pratt set out on a kind of quest, which had as its goal nothing less than Truth—with a capital T” (87). He concludes, “I am sure he realized that the truth might turn out to be a rather bleak affair, but that didn’t deter him” (87). Indeed Pratt writes of his own journey from out of the shadow of the meaningless deaths of fishers in the out-port communities of Newfoundland to an understanding of sacrifice: “This constitutes the main problem for idealistic literature: to get the anomalies explained, to find a place for man in a setting that makes sense to our baffled understanding, and the more we find ourselves in the

presence of sacrificial deeds, the closer we get to the heart of life and the heart of the universe” (in Gingell 128). Indeed, the connection between faith and sacrifice is explicit in the lives of the earliest Jesuits:

“Brébeuf and Lalemant wished for death. They had asked themselves long before: Shall I go through with this mission work in New France and take everything that’s coming, or not? They were continually putting themselves into a condition of capture. They knew death by hatchets would come someday. There was an ecstasy in their hearts at the time of death.” (in Gingell 47)

Brébeuf’s letter of 1635, published in The Jesuit Relations and said by Pratt “to loom in history” (114), calls for more labourers on the fields of New France (the same problem that Bishop Inglis and Oliver Goldsmith would lament more than two centuries later in the Eastern Provinces), and exults in the suffering of the journey and life in the colony. Writing from a tabernacle grove in the midst of winter, Pratt’s Brébeuf encourages: “To share our labours, come; for you will find / A consolation in the cross that far outweighs / Its burdens” (114). The path of the pilgrim is indeed filled with miracles to compensate for the struggles and suffering of the road.

As Turner and Turner, Morinis, Coleman and Elsner, and others have shown, most world religions and particularly Catholic pilgrimage involve encounters with supernatural beings. In Catholic pilgrimage, the main figures of supernatural encounter are Mary, Christ, the Cross, and prophets and apostles. Jean de Brébeuf had visions of the cross, and his visions of Mary are memorialized in a prayer garden at the

site of his martyrdom. These visions are placed by the poet alongside those of biblical letter-writers and missionaries:

The priest would wander to the pines and build  
 His oratory where celestial visions  
 Sustained his soul. As unto Paul and John  
 Of Patmos and the martyr multitude  
 The signs were given—voices from the clouds,  
 Forms that illumined darkness, stabbed despair,  
 Turned dungeons into temples and a brand  
 Of shame into the ultimate boast of time—  
 So to Brébeuf had Christ appeared and Mary. (115)

Morinis writes in the introduction to Sacred Journeys: The Anthropology of Pilgrimage that “Pilgrimage is inclined to vows and promises because the solutions to the seemingly insurmountable difficulties that motivate a sacred journey must come from a higher order of power” (27). Indeed, after his encounter with Mary and Christ, Brébeuf has an experience similar to the “call” and “command” of Saint Augustine under the pear tree, which figures as the story of Augustine’s conversion in The Confessions (and is similar to the fictional pilgrimage call of Father Gstyr in Jane Urquhart’s The Stone Carvers). However, for Brébeuf this is not the Augustinian or Pauline converting voice of God, but a pilgrimage command like the one heard by Moses and Jonah. The command of God is then associated by Pratt with Brébeuf’s subsequent pilgrimage vow. Pratt writes: “One night at prayer he heard a voice command— / ‘Rise, Read!’ Opening the *Imitatio Christi*, / His eyes ‘without design’ fell on the chapter, / *Concerning the royal way of the Holy*

*Cross, / Which place upon his spirit 'a great peace'”(115). In the passage that follows, Brébeuf makes a vow to follow the path of Christ and continue on the pilgrim's road:*

*And then, day having come, he wrote his vow—*

*'My God, my Saviour, I take from thy hand*

*The cup of thy sufferings. I invoke thy name;*

*I vow never to fail thee in the grace*

*Of martyrdom, if by thy mercy, Thou*

*Dost offer it to me. I bind myself,*

*And when I have received the stroke of death,*

*I will accept it from thy gracious hand*

*With all pleasure and with joy in my heart;*

*To thee my blood, my body and my life'. (115)*

Brébeuf's encounters with Mary, the Cross, and Christ, and the resulting vow that he took to give his life, body, and spirit to the mission fields and eventually to martyrdom, are all memorialized in various paintings, statuary, plaques, stained-glass windows, and in excerpts from The Jesuit Relations at the martyrs' shrine in Midland, Ontario. The shrine site was visited by E.J. Pratt during his research for the writing of Brébeuf and His Brethren, and he later translated Brébeuf's experiences and writings into his 1940 long poem, Brébeuf and His Brethren.

As a prelude to exploring the sacred site that inspired Pratt's poetry, it is important to understand the theoretical importance of this exploration in terms of the anthropology of pilgrimage. Victor and Edith Turner, the most prominent

anthropologists and scholars in the area of pilgrimage, characterize this journey as follows:

Pilgrimage is one way, perhaps the most literal, of imitating the religious founder. By visiting the sites believed to be the scenes of his life and teaching mission, the pilgrim in imagination relives those events. (Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture 33)

They go on to conclude that “pilgrimage may be thought of as extroverted mysticism, just as mysticism is introverted pilgrimage” (33). While the Turners discuss the mystical aspects of pilgrimage, Alan Morinis tries to break down these aspects of the mystical into components that contribute to what he calls “spiritual magnetism”: the quality that draws the pilgrims to the actual site of pilgrimage, the place where the events discussed by the Turners are repeated or re-enacted in particular ways. Morinis writes that “Places of pilgrimage are endowed with spiritual magnetism by association with (1) miraculous cures, (2) apparitions of supernatural beings, (3) sacred geography, (4) [and] difficulty of access” (Sacred Journeys 33). Morinis proceeds to suggest that “there is something energizing about locations where encounters with deities once happened, even though these events may have taken place thousands of years ago” (34).

E.J. Pratt’s creative process in the writing of the long poem Brébeuf and His Brethren takes place in what could be considered reverse order. He starts with the ending and works his way to the beginning, in pilgrimage terms reversing the journey and beginning with the sacred site and moving towards the point of origin. In “A Profile of a Canadian Poet,” Pratt says, “Always in my mind is the importance of having the ending right; that’s the reason why I write the end first” (E.J. Pratt on His Life and Poetry 18),

and later in the same talk he describes the process as follows: “I gradually weave my way back to the beginning” (18).

In Sacred Journeys James J. Preston suggests that “pilgrimage sites are often found in the most dramatic locations on the globe and inspire lofty emotions and high spiritual values” (35). Sacred sites such as Mecca, Rome, and Jerusalem are “located at the crossroads of previous civilizations that have been transformed and synthesized time and again into new world views by saints and prophets” (35). These places of cultural and faith transformation become the “focal points for movements of large numbers of people towards centers of civilization” (35). E.J. Pratt was acutely aware of how important it was to pay attention to geography, architecture, and topography in recounting the foundation pilgrimage or charter narrative of the earliest Canadian pilgrims. He writes that he made “a number of visits to the shrines and the sites of the ancient missions to get some knowledge of the topography, of the flora and fauna, of the rocks and trees, the trails, the waterways, the edible roots, and the proper names, personal and geographical” (in Gingell 123). Indeed, one component that seems particularly important in the charter journey of Brébeuf and the other Jesuits is the difficulty of access to what became the site of their martyrdom, the site which was originally established at the crossroads of traditional Huron culture and French imperial expansion (both temporal and spiritual).

In order to reconstruct the sacred site that would later become a Canadian pilgrimage site, it was necessary for Pratt first to find the traces of this pilgrimage both in the literature of early Canada and in the land. Preston discusses the way of connecting through what he calls the “sacred trace”:

The phenomena of an invisible reality made visible in the world is what I call the sacred trace. Trace is defined in the dictionary “as a visible mark of sign of the former presence or passage of some person, thing or event.” It also means, in its archaic usage, “a path or trail through a wilderness.”...The sacred trace is located at the core of every pilgrimage. It takes many different forms. In some cases it is the relics or tomb of a saint; it may be the place where Muhammad delivered his sermon, calling together the Brotherhood of Islam or where Jesus of Nazareth rose from the dead. The trace is the source of spiritual magnetism of a shrine, its power house, so to speak. By participating in the epiphany manifested at a particular place of pilgrimage, the pilgrim ingests and carries home the trace of his tradition, then anchors or implants it in his home community. This is part of the reason why sacred objects (sacramentals) of all sorts are purchased and brought home from pilgrimage shrines. (in Morinis 41)

Pratt’s own early experience of faith and death in the colony of Newfoundland is everywhere compared with his experience of working on the trace narratives in the land and the literatures of the North American Jesuit mission: “The search for the lost is particularly a characteristic of the Newfoundland tradition as it is part of the Christian tradition” (in Gingell 18). At the “core” of the sacred journey of Pratt and Brébeuf is the spiritual magnetism of the site at which Brébeuf and other Jesuit priests were martyred. This site is also marked by the relics of these early pilgrimages, by the encounters of Brébeuf with Christ and Mary, and by visions, miracles, and what could be considered the daily martyrdom of the Jesuits in the camps of the Hurons.

The sacred traces that Pratt started with at the pilgrimage site in Midland, Ontario, allow the poet to work backwards through the entire sacred journey. Indeed, when writing of the site, Pratt imaginatively draws from the traces of those early journeys. In the final passage of Brébeuf and His Brethren, the poet writes:

The trails, having frayed the threads of the cassocks, sank  
 Under the mould of the centuries, under fern  
 And brier and fungus – there in due time to blossom  
 Into the highways that lead to the crest of the hill  
 Which havened both shepherd and flock in the days of trial. (151)

In the “shepherd and flock” of the pastoral scene of this pilgrimage site, Pratt appeals to one of the re-occurring pilgrimage motifs of Catholic tradition. Turner and Turner show that most foundational narratives include the pastoral elements of the foundational narrative of the Christ story—shepherds seeing the sacred signs and being led to an encounter with the divine. Turner and Turner, writing about what they call the “shepherd component,” connect this aspect of pilgrimage explicitly with “the charter narrative of the Birth of Christ in Luke 2:7-20” (42). The idea of this biblical motif, as it occurs and influences the later cycles of sacred journey, is summed up as follows:

shepherds have a vision (of ‘an angel of the Lord’), and go on a kind of pilgrimage to witness the ‘sign’ (the infant Jesus laid in a manger, traditionally in a cave), and to pay their respects to the holy family. An Old Testament prototype was the peregrination of Abraham, the pastoral nomad and exile seeking Canaan. (42)

While in the days of “their trial” the sacred site of the Jesuit martyrdom “havened both shepherd and flock,” thus invoking this pastoral motif of both foundation narrative and later charter narratives in the pilgrimage tradition, Pratt’s description of the martyrs’ shrine also gives detailed topographical description of the actual wilderness setting of this scene. This occurs in the first lines of the poem, and again in the final verses in his description of the “winds of God” that blew through France and are now

blowing once more through the pines  
 That bulwark the shores of the great Fresh Water Sea.  
 Over the wastes abandoned by human tread,  
 Where only the bittern’s cry was heard at dusk;  
 Over the lakes where the wild ducks built their nests. (150)

This inspiring wind leads to the fire of the martyrs, the Hurons, and the starry expanse of the skies, where even now the traces of this pilgrimage are found in the agricultural motif here invoked in relation to the martyrs: “The years as they turned have ripened the martyrs’ seed” (150). All of this seeds the foundation of the sacred site and martyrs’ shrine in Midland, Ontario, seeding later figures in the agricultural metaphor of missionary conquest.

As E.J. Pratt began his work with a study of the martyrs’ shrine, so too my research includes a careful examination of the topographical, architectural, and touristic elements of the martyrs’ shrine in Midland, Ontario, and the reconstructed fort across Ontario Highway 12, just outside of Midland, of Saint-Marie Among the Hurons. A descriptive topographical analysis of this fort is helpful in understanding both Pratt’s

vision and those elements of the site that likewise commemorate the lives and mission of the Jesuits and the Huron people.

The sacred architecture of the Cathedral itself is likely to hold the pilgrim in awe upon first arrival to the site. I visited the site on the fourth of October 2004 on a sunny autumn day, the streaming sunlight reflecting on the brilliant colours of the fall leaves and through the sacred scenes of the Cathedral windows. Centini, in the first chapter of From Medieval Pilgrimage to Religious Tourism: The Social and Cultural Economics of Piety, discusses the importance of elevation in sacred architecture:

the theme of elevation [is] reflected in religious architecture. From the menhir to the pyramid, from the ziggurat to the stupa, to the steeples of our churches, the desire to erect a structure able to form a “connection” between earth and heaven is striking. It marks the continuation of an iconographic tradition which makes no concession to symbolism but has instead maintained its profundity since ancient times. (11)

The road to the shrine winds up a fairly steep incline with large steps leading up to the cathedral; the rising pathway is flanked on either side by statues of the first two Jesuit Canadian martyrs, Saint Isaac Jogues and Saint Noel Chabanel, with the first native martyr, Catherine Tekakwitha, off to the right under a flaming maple tree near the shrine gift shop and cafeteria. As Centini observes, elevation is a part of the majesty of both the architecture of the cathedral and the natural setting. The eyes of the pilgrim are always being drawn heavenward, sweeping up the hill to the cathedral steps and up the steps to the cathedral and up the cathedral to the towering double steeples and the heavens above.

The journey up the hillside and steps leaves the pilgrim breathless at the entrance to the cathedral.

The 37 stops on a clearly marked map of the site begin with a visit to The Shrine Church, built in 1926. Elaborate baroque paintings of the stations of the cross lead the pilgrim around the perimeter of the cathedral. Beginning to the right of the door there are guides for the pilgrim in languages including Ojibway, Japanese, Italian, Hungarian, and the two official Canadian languages, English and French. Interspersed between the painted depictions of the stations of the cross are stained glass windows of the native Saint Catherine Tekakwitha, and Brébeuf meeting with Chiwatenhwa, to name just a few. As the pilgrim's eyes soar up the cathedral's walls to the coloured light streaming through the high windows of the cathedral, s/he sees the eight Jesuit martyrs this site was established to commemorate depicted in stained glass, raising their hands to the light of God. To the right and left of the altar are the crypts of Lalemant and Brébeuf, followed by a reliquary containing their remains and the relics of Brébeuf's skull and the bones of other martyrs. Over the altar is a painting showing the eight martyrs' joined together like dark Jesuit angels, administering the sacraments and presiding under Christ and over the congregation at the altar.

Exiting the Cathedral on the left, the pilgrim's gaze is again drawn upwards, towards a shrine to Our Lady of Huronia, and upwards again towards a fountain honouring St. Joseph, and through bronze statuary stations of the cross. The fourteen stations lead the pilgrim up the mountain side under a natural cathedral of maple trees. At the top of the hill is a wooden structure that looks somewhat like a look-out. Upon arrival the pilgrim reads a plaque in the two official languages that suggests that this

would indeed have been a lookout spot for the Hurons and French of Fort Saint Marie—a point from which they could see the trade routes, watch for marauding enemies, and generally see the spread of waterways and Georgian Bay. Today this point looks out over the town of Midland, and the sprawl of highways and industry scarring the landscape. Gazing back at the martyr's site, the pilgrim looks down on the stations of the cross and across a field of simple wooden crosses to an open-air cathedral, the site of Pope John Paul II's visit in 1984, which contains a painting of the eight martyrs much like the one in the cathedral. Descending from the lookout the pilgrim can gain closer inspection of the open-air cathedral by winding through the wooden crosses scattered across the field. Turning back towards the highway, the pilgrim can begin the descent down the hillside, this time stopping at Brébeuf's prayer garden, said to be the site of his visions of Mary and the martyrdom cross—a quiet place surrounded by the wild growth of late autumn forest and foliage. Emerging from this quiet place, the pilgrim will again pass the final stations of the cross, ending near the gift shop and canteen.

Many of the sites above and below the cathedral, including those on the apex of the hill, are shrines for various ethnic groups in Canada. These include: Our Lady of Czestochowa outdoor altar (Polish), Fatima Shrine (Portuguese), First Nations Park, Ukrainian Shrine, Slovak Cross, St. Lorenzo Ruiz Shrine (Filipino), Belarusian Cross, Holy Crucifixion Shrine (Community of S. Nicola da Crissa), Holy Family Shrine (Italian), Slovenian Cross, St. John Neumann Shrine (German), and an Irish Peace Garden. Likewise the site also commemorates not only the martyrdom of the first Jesuits and Native converts, but also the history of the Jesuit movement and the contemporary Catholic involvement. There is the St. Ignatius Prayer Room, statuary of St. Francis of

Assisi, and stained glass of warrior-priest Loyola. There is also a Papal Altar, a Papal Visit Monument, and a Wood carving of Pope John Paul II. The gift shop is likewise a place filled with commemorative statues and pendants of the martyr saints and contemporary literature in various languages on all aspects of the Catholic faith.

The pilgrim now has the choice of driving across the highway to the reconstructed fort or of following the walkway by the river, under the highway and past the grave of Brébeuf. On my visits, school groups and tourists were often seen to visit the reconstructed village without crossing the highway to the site of the martyrs' graves or shrine. The sacred journey around the stations of the cross that ends and begins with the marks of consumerism are even more evident in the overtly touristic character of the reconstructed village. As has been suggested, "tourism and pilgrimage are [often] forged together, amplified, and orchestrated to reinforce nationalistic/ethnic identities" (Sacred Journeys 36).

The site of the village of Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons is the place where the excavation activities supported by the University of Western Ontario in the 1940s took place, a process which E.J. Pratt himself witnessed in the uncovering of the layers of the village intermixed with the Jesuit relics. Every visit to Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons begins with an educational video that outlines the history of the fort as a trade post, a Christian settlement, and a garrison in the midst of warring tribes. The contact between the Jesuits and the Wendat people, the five tribes that came under the French name of Hurons, is shown in staged video footage and excerpts from The Jesuit Relations. The fort itself shows the Church of Saint Joseph and the Native church, the living quarters of the soldiers and priests, the Christian Longhouse and Christian wigwams and traditional

Wendat quarters, and the agricultural activities area, livestock area, fleshing area, granary, carpenter shop, blacksmith shop, waterways, tailor/shoemaker shop, apothecary, and hospital. School groups are instructed in the way of life of the priests and Natives, and guides dressed in Native and Jesuit attire talk to the tourists and are on hand for photographing. However, when E.J. Pratt began his research, the village was only under initial consideration as the site of an archaeological dig. Based on the original artefacts that were found, the later historical society reconstructed the village and the artefacts of the village, housing the originals in the museum.

While the village gives a sense of the topography of the actual fort and is set in the natural and actual landscape of the original site, everywhere the marks of years of change and progress are evident. Like the earlier view of industrial areas and the network of highways, this site is embedded in a contemporary landscape that caters to the tourist's interest in seeing "relics" of the past. The dark interiors of the Jesuit sleeping quarters and the smoky skyline of the longhouses add to the feeling of mystery and magic, but the groups of screaming schoolchildren and tourists are a part of the contemporary situation and once again the tour ends at a gift shop with many of the same artefacts as were to be found in the shrine gift shop.

The particularly Canadian landscape or topography of this pilgrimage was part of the earliest "call" or "vision" of Brébeuf and a part of the careful research of the poet in reconstructing the originary moments of call to the missionary and pilgrimage journey. The first call of Brébeuf does not give his name, but describes him as "a neophyte" and recounts the vision of the pilgrimage path. In the opening lines of the poem, E.J. Pratt writes of Brébeuf's call and vow as follows:

In contemplation saw a bleeding form  
 Falling beneath the instrument of death,  
 Rising under the quickening of the thongs,  
 Stumbling along the Via Dolorosa.  
 No play upon the fancy was this scene,  
 But the Real Presence to the naked sense.  
 The fingers of Brébeuf were at his breast,  
 Closing and tightening on a crucifix,  
 While voices spoke aloud unto his ear  
 And to his heart—*per ignem et per aquam*.  
 Forests and streams and trails thronged through his mind,  
 The painted faces of the Iroquois,  
 Nomadic bands and smoking bivouacs  
 Along the shores of western inland seas,  
 With forts and palisades and fiery stakes. (94)

While the initial images of the call are visions of the sacrifice or martyrdom of Christ, they are in fact set realistically in the Canadian setting, about which Brébeuf had learned from explorers' journals:

[t]he stories of Champlain, Brûlé, Viel,  
 Sagard and Le Caron reached his town –  
 The stories of those northern boundaries  
 Where in the winter the white pines could brush  
 The Pleiades, and at the equinoxes

Under the gold and green of the auroras

Wild geese drove wedges through the zodiac. (95)

It is in this vision of sacrifice in the land of the North that Brébeuf takes the vow of sacrifice that haunts the rest of the poem and pilgrimage: “*I shall be broken first before I break them*” (95).

The physical journey begins with the “three thousand miles of the Atlantic” (96)—a trip that takes seven weeks. What follows is a description of the journey that rivals the travel log/touristic details of Charles Sangster’s topographic description in The St. Lawrence and the Saguenay (1856), and follows for the pilgrim/missionary journey “the same route Champlain and Le Caron” had followed in their explorations of the land. The description of the journey is worth quoting because of the trials described that are particular to the ardours of Canadian travel and because of the sense it conveys of the first Canadian pilgrimage trail over land and water—an aspect of the journey perhaps unique to the Canadian pilgrimage experience:

Through steep gorges where the river narrowed,  
 Through calmer waters where the river widened,  
 Skirting the island of the Allumettes,  
 Thence to the Mattawa through lakes that led  
 To the blue waters of the Nipissing,  
 And then southward a hundred tortuous miles  
 Down the French River to the Huron shore. (98)

This first part of the journey gives the most basic of topographical details: the width of the river, the calmness of the water, the colour of the water, the names of the lakes, the

length of the journey, and the arrival at the destination. Moreover, these details are complete with the beautiful native names of the rivers, an aspect of the poetic language that makes this charter pilgrimage distinctively Canadian. The lines that follow give a sense of the torture involved in this journey for Brébeuf as well as from the mental and actual re-living of the pilgrimage in the days that follow.

The record of that trip was for Brébeuf  
 A memory several times to be re-lived;  
 Of rocks and cataracts and portages,  
 Of feet cut by the river stones, of mud  
 And stench, of boulders, logs and tangled growths,  
 Of summer heat that made him long for night,  
 And when he struck his bed of rock—mosquitoes  
 That made him doubt if dawn would ever break. (98)

This detailing what he endured is followed by the realistic physical description of the land and place names beginning with Georgian Bay, the number of days the journey took, the number of miles, description of the landscape, and finally the home they built and the length of time they lived there: “’Twas thirty days to Georgian Bay, then south / One hundred miles threading the labyrinth / Of islands till he reached the western shore / That flanked the Bay of Penetanguishene” (98). The journey concludes with “The course of a small stream [reaching] Toanché, / Where for three years he was to make his home” (98). In some ways the ardours of this first physical journey from the comforts of home in France to the wilderness of Canada are only a glimpse or a foretaste of the journey that is to follow. Like Christ’s temptation in the desert, the real testing would come in the walk

of the cross and the death of the cross, and so too for Brébeuf this journey was only the first trial of many that would follow, the first taste of the cup of suffering from which he freely drank in the years that followed.

The next pilgrimage journey in some ways repeats the earlier journey “eight years before” (104). However, by 1634 “the native mood/ [w]as hostile” (104). First Davost, “robbed of his books”(104), is deserted “at the Island of the Allumettes,” and then the others are one by one put ashore and deserted. The priests continue their journey on foot and “[y]et all in turn,/ tattered, wasted, with feet / Bleeding—broken though not in will, rejoined / The forest shores of the Fresh Water Sea” (104) and eventually make their way, guided by the “sight of smoke” (104), to “[t]he village of Ihonatiria” (104).

In both the “1626” and the “1634” sections, an agriculturally oriented passage follows the Canadian pilgrimage journey, describing the work of the priests on the land and employing the metaphor of farming for the tilling and harvesting of native souls (agricultural work and “Christian Progress” will be explored in the chapter that follows). The intimate connection between the conquest of land and souls and the sum of the imperial project is never more apparent, although the precedent for this metaphor is found in the writings of St. Paul, which were discussed in Pratt’s theological work. Like Paul, Pratt uses agriculture as a way to describe the missionary practices of the Jesuits with the Huron tribe: “From the pursuit of agriculture he took the figure of sowing and reaping, of germination and increase...” (33). In the section entitled “1626” the poet writes: “’Twas ploughing only—for eight years would pass / Before even the blades appeared” (98). The metaphor is made more explicit with clear colonial implications in the “1634” section:

A year's success flattered the priestly hope  
 That on this central field seed would be sown  
 On which the yield would be the Huron nation  
 Baptized and dedicated to the Faith;  
 And that a richer harvest would be gleaned  
 Of duskier grain from the same seed on more  
 Forbidding ground. (104-5)

Here, there is no question that the subject is the Native of a “duskier grain.”

The next phase of colonization and the “pilgrimage” conquest of the Jesuits is the building of a “mission house” and the establishment of permanent dwelling among the Huron people. Utilizing the labour of the Natives, “The Fathers built their mission house—the frame / Of young elm-poles set solidly in the earth; / Their supple tops bent, lashed and braced to form / The arched roof overlaid with cedar-bark” (105). Although the Fathers use the materials native to the land, everywhere the comparison is made to the cathedrals and dwelling places in France. Quoting from The Jesuit Relations, Pratt notes, “No Louvre or palace is this cabin,” and the comparison continues to describe the Native-style equivalents to the rooms and chapels of France. The second mission of St. Joseph is described in garrison language:

The place was fortified, ramparts were strengthened,  
 And towers of heavy posts set at the angles.  
 And in the following year the artisans  
 And labourers from Quebec and Du Peron,  
 Using broad-axe and whipsaw built a church,

The first one in the whole Huronian venture

To be of wood. Close to their lodge. (116)

The chapel in the fortified town is called “their Rheims Cathedral,” again making explicit the transposition, and imposition, of European and French values and culture to Native soil.

The pinnacle of French temporal and spiritual achievement is the building of a French-fortified city described in the poem as “(THE FOUNDING OF FORT SAINTE MARIE),” destined to be a place where “[t]he priests with their attendants might pursue / Their culture, gather strength from their devotions, / Map out the territory, plot the routes, / Collate their weekly notes and write their letters” (118). A process of both colonization and a physical mapping of the territories covered in their missionary journeys takes place within the walls of the fort. This record becomes important in later anthropological reconstruction and the poetic mapping of the topography of the journeys, forts and sacred sites that were constructed during the days of Jesuit pilgrimage and missionary activity. The fort, while constructed as a religious centre for the Jesuits, also “received approval from Quebec, / Was ratified by Richelieu who saw / Commerce and exploration pushing west, / Fulfilling the long vision of Champlain— / *‘Greater New France beyond the inland seas’*” (119). In Fort Sainte Marie the vision and call of the explorer, the economic demands of the Imperial power, and the establishment of a central sacred site are all combined in the garrisoned Fort nestled in the Canadian landscape:

The fort was built, two hundred feet by ninety,

Upon the right bank of the River Wye:

Its north and eastern sides of masonry,

Its south and west of palisades,  
 And skirted by a moat, ran parallel  
 To stream and lake. Square bastions at the corners,  
 Watch-towers with magazines and sleeping posts,  
 Commanded forest edges and canoes  
 That furtively came up the Matchedash,  
 And on each bastion was placed a cross. (119)

The fort's construction is completed with the sacred approval of the symbol of Christ's death and suffering and the power of the Church in the new world. This section ends with "a census of the Huron nation; / Some thirty villages—twelve thousand persons. / Nor was this all: the horizon opened out / On larger fields. To south and west were spread / The unknown tribes—the Petuns and the Neutrals" (120). Again these verses reinforce the idea of the "Huron nation" and "the horizon" beyond this nation as "fields" for exploration, conquest, and cultivation, employing the agricultural metaphor to both the known and unknown territories. The estimates of the numbers of Hurons by the Jesuits and those quoted here by Pratt ("thirty villages—twelve thousand persons") continue to be used in the anthropological studies of the Wendat nation and appear to be fairly accurate estimates for that region and time.<sup>10</sup>

The further journeys into the interior of the land, away from Georgian Bay and into the bleak Canadian winter landscape, are described in "(THE MISSION OF THE PETUNS AND NEUTRALS)," dating 1640-1641. The poet writes, "In late November Jogues and Garnier / Set out on snow-obliterated trails / Towards the Blue Hills south of

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<sup>10</sup> For a more detailed discussion of the various estimates of numbers and territories of the Hurons and the various explorers, anthropologists, and sociologists to make these estimates see Bruce G. Trigger's The Huron Farmers of the North.

Nottawasaga, / A thirty mile journey through a forest / Without a guide” (120). Without trails or guide the ardors of the journey, including “swamps with fallen logs” and “Tangles of tamarack and juniper,” all contribute to the bleakness of the journey as well as to the characteristic difficulty of a pilgrimage. The description ceases to be that of the explorer and becomes more characteristic of the wanderer in the desert of the Canadian winter: “Ever in hope their tread was towards the south” (120). Their search is described as “hopeless,” but they ever give thanks to God for the cathedral of “a fir grove” where, following prayer, they “lay down and slept” (120). These verses both echo the description of Christ and his disciples praying on the night before his betrayal, complete with the outdoor/wild garden and the eventual exhausted sleep of the disciples, and foretell the eventual betrayal and martyrdom of Brébeuf. At the same time Pratt also invokes the Hebrew tradition of pilgrimage. Just as the Israelites wandered through the desert in hope of the promised land, their only guide by night the pillar of fire, the priests are likewise guided by their hope and the “smoke” of the Indian village fires. However, by this point in the Jesuit missionary activities, finding the Indian villages is only the signal of further suffering. The Jesuits had come to be related to plague and death, and they are “driven from town to town with all doors barred” (121). The wanderings and suffering of Jogues and Garnier are only a prelude to the “bleak outlook” that was to await Brébeuf also in his “November tramp” (121). Brébeuf spends four months tramping through the forest, blood mixing with the snow led

Along an incandescent avenue

The visions trembled, tender, placid, pure,

More beautiful than the doorway of Rheims

And sweeter than the Galilean fields.  
 For what was hunger and the burn of wounds  
 In those assuaging, healing moments when  
 The clearing mists revealed the face of Mary  
 And the lips of Jesus breathing benedictions? (121)

The barren winter snows then mix with the blood of suffering and on this bleak landscape appear the visions of divine mercy and blessing possible only in the extremes of suffering and privation. Brébeuf's final vision in this section as he comes "limping through the postern of the fort" (124) is of "a moving cross," which he writes of in his letters as "huge enough to crucify us all" (124).

The poet's vision and Brébeuf's vision end with the image of the cross, an image which stands in Catholic and Christian iconography for ultimate sacrifice and ultimate love. However, the tourist or pilgrim of today cannot help but see that the vision of these earliest Canadian pilgrims and the construction of the site and the text of Brébeuf and His Brethren is riddled with problems of representation, empire-building, and indeed the problems of constructing a nationalistic memorial for a movement that was inspired by faith but resulted in the death of the martyrs and colonial expansion. In fact, at the shrine today the monument that follows the walk through Brébeuf's Prayer Garden, the site of his visions of the cross and sacrifice, is a single cross made of field rocks and intended to represent the sacrifice of the Huron nation. Gazing at the rocks lumped together as a Catholic memorial of the Hurons' sacrifice, it becomes necessary to look at it and the Catholic narrative of Christian sacrifice in terms that also include postcolonial questioning of representation. One of the major issues to which Pratt himself draws

attention is the problem of the translation of the French terms for Catholic principles and the medieval iconography that was used in the place of language. In order to convey his understanding of the Jesuit mission, Pratt draws on his own experience of the beauty and difficulties of the Huron tongue and the information that he is able to gather about the experience of the Jesuits' learning of the Huron language.

The problem of language for the Jesuit priests is expressed by Elizabeth Hay as follows: "In 1649, father Brébeuf and Lalemant were trussed up with thongs of bark dipped in pitch and resin and set on fire. When Brébeuf continued to call upon the Iroquois to accept Christ, they cut off his lips. So much for Canadian eloquence" (The Only Snow in Havana 70). While this postcolonial historiography is an interesting place to begin examining the distinctive difficulties and qualities of translation and language as part of the Canadian/French/Huron pilgrimage, it is important to understand that the distinctive problems of language and translation are one of the characteristics that Pratt himself emphasizes with regard to the Jesuit and Huron experience and the Jesuits' record of their activities. In fact, I would go so far as to say that engagement with language, along with the Canadian topography, is one of the major characteristics of this pilgrimage that makes the charter pilgrimage of the Jesuits and "Canadian" unique (and not silent or cut off as Hay appears to mockingly suggest) from the European and American.

Gingell notes that "The theme of language—or in broader terms 'communication'— as Northrop Frye has pointed out, is central to Pratt's work" (xxv). From the first lines of Brébeuf and His Brethren Pratt draws attention to the function of language in the historical and poetical movement of the poem. He writes, "The winds of

God were blowing over France,/ Kindling the hearths and altars, changing vows, / Of rote into an alphabet of flame” (1-3). These lines echo the scriptural lines of John that refer to a “spirit led” pilgrimage: “The wind blows wherever it pleases. You hear its sound, but you cannot tell where it comes from or where it is going. So it is with everyone born of the Spirit” (John 3:8). While having a Biblical precedent, it is important to note the context of these opening lines of the poem in the early seventeenth century; that is, within the winds and heat of the counter-Reformation, during which the Catholic Church was being forced to re-examine and defend Her practices. As the reformers had shown, the Catholic Church had indeed become a secularized and in some ways spiritually disinterested institution. As a result of the Reformation, the Catholic Church in its violent reaction to the work of the reformers was indeed in the process of “kindling” its diminished corporal body into a spiritual flame. However, the poet here is particularly focussing on transformation by the breath of God of the Catholic vows. Indeed, the vows of “rote” are transmuted into “an alphabet of flame,” suggesting at once the flame of the anti-reformation, martyrdom, and the living nature of the breath of God. The next lines of the poem suggest that as the result of this transformation of language, “The air was charged with song” (4). This suggestion of the music of language is not new to the work of Pratt. In “The Music of Language” Pratt discusses language as “symphonic characters conceived in the mould of the music of the language” (247) and describes “the sound echoing the sense” (249), suggesting both the musical and the natural quality of language, echoing across lakes or canyons. The sound in the poem comes from “birds” (5), “laughter” (7), and “bugles,” all set in the natural scenes of mist and seas, the birds and

bugles hearkening to the final call of martyrdom just as here they bring forth the roll of saints of old.

In fact, the “song” of the language and the “flame” that was kindled was a missionary call, explaining in part why the initial song had echoed over sea, mist, and map. Loyola, “soldier-saint” and founder of the Jesuits, was “guided by a voice” (94). Of this voice we know nothing more than that it called him to lead the “Company of Jesus” and that this spreading flame and song is the beginning of “[t]he story of the frontier” (94). The “story of the frontier” that spread in the tongue of flame and lit the lips of the martyrs of old, “[s]ang through the cells and cloisters of the nation / Made silver flutes out of parish spires, / Troubled the ashes of the canonized” (94) and “caught the ear of Christ” (94). Language has the power to raise the dead, stir a dying faith and a complacent nation, summon soldiers and priests, and reinvigorate the stone statue of Christ so that at the whisper of language his hands are reveined and he “bid[s] his marble saints to leave,” summoning the armies of heaven and earth by the music and fire of language to cross the oceans to the frontier. In fact, Pratt’s use of language and application of the music of language to the description of the missionary “call” makes it difficult not to get caught up in the zeal of the Jesuits. The call starts with the dead vows becoming a flaming alphabet; by the end of this opening section, language has brought the stone statue of Christ to life and the stone saints in the church are miraculously answering to the words of his command to join the mission. The birds, bells, flutes, and voice of Jesus join together and harmonize with the nation’s call to the frontier—blurring the stories of the frontier with the voice of Jesus and suggesting at once the divine and

secular call, with the promise of new life to the dead stones of society and the Catholic Church.

The focus of language changes when Pratt takes us across the ocean and into the new world. Brébeuf is shown in Quebec “[l]earning the rudiments of the Huron tongue” (96). Speaking of Brébeuf and His Brethren Pratt says:

I used to be under the impression that a primitive tongue would be somewhat simple in its structure, until I saw how bewildered Brébeuf was at first trying to construct a grammar. Several of the priests confessed their failure—three genders, three numbers, a feminine conjugation, the endless compounds, and their difficulty in expressing generic notions. (in Gingell 125)

Pratt further describes Brébeuf learning the language as follows: “He bent his mind / To the great end [...] For that the first equipment was the speech. / He listened to the sounds and gave them letters, / Arranged their sequences, caught the inflections, / Extracted nouns from objects, verbs from actions” (99). Indeed Pratt’s interest in language and translation predates the discussions of this poem. Translation was earlier of importance in his studies of the modifications of the Hebrew and Greek and the biblical translations of Paul’s writings. Language itself had been important from his earliest years in the outport communities when his father instructed his children in the proper uses of language and forbid them from adopting the outport slang of the community. While this set the Pratts apart, it also made the poet aware of the power and importance of language for belonging to a particular group as much as for communication (E.J. Pratt on His Life and Poetry 6).

Thus from his earliest days Pratt was concerned with the power of language, and while he invokes the “magical” properties of the flaming alphabet in France to turn stone to life and call the saints of old to the mission field, the potency of utterance is never more apparent than in his descriptions of the medicine men or sorcerers of the Hurons:

With what forebodings did he watch the spell  
 Cast on the sick by the Arendiwans:  
 The sorcery of the Huron rhetoric  
 Extorting bribes for cures, for guarantees  
 Against the failure of the crop or hunt!  
 The time would come when steel would clash on steel,  
 And many a battle would be won or lost  
 With weapons from the armoury of words. (99)

Indeed Pratt writes earlier in “The Outlook for Poetry” of the properties of a word spoken particularly in the Hebrew: “When a word goes out it cannot be recalled. The Hebrew literature reflects this truth in so many forms. Words possess hidden potencies: they cast spells either of favour or malediction.... It is this contact between life and letters of which I want to speak” (Pursuits Amateur and Academic 235).

Terry Goldie, discussing Orality and Literature, writes, “The fact that oral peoples commonly and in all likelihood universally consider words to have magical potency is clearly tied in, at least unconsciously, with their sense of the word as necessarily spoken, sounded, and hence power-driven” (Fear and Temptation 109). However, writing, and through it language, detach from the power of immediacy and action and become more related to the technologies necessary for reproduction and the “higher” thinking involved

in abstract thought. What astounded both Pratt and Brébeuf was in part the vibrancy and strength of action that was a part of the very function of the spoken language of the Huron people:

Pratt noted with delight the resonance of the personal and place names of the Indians as the strength and character of those of the French. He became fascinated with the nature of the Huron language and in one of the commentaries draws an analogy between the effect of the lack of labials in the Huron language (which resulted in war harangues being delivered with the mouth wide open) and modern totalitarian oratory. (Gingell xxv-xxvi)

Brébeuf observes the power of the oral Huron culture both through the labialless oratory of the chieftans and the chanting of the medicine men. However, it is through the written word, technology, and science that Brébeuf and the Jesuits' convince the Huron people of the strength and power of the Catholic God:

As great a mystery was writing—how  
 A Frenchman fifteen miles away could know  
 The meaning of black signs the runner brought.  
 Sometimes the marks were made on peel of bark,  
 Sometimes on paper—in itself a wonder!  
 From what strange tree was it the inside rind?  
 What charm was in the ink that transferred thought  
 Across such space without a spoken word?  
 This growing confirmation of belief  
 Was speeded by events wherein good fortune

Waited upon the priestly word and act. (106)

The stronger “magic” of the written word is connected by Pratt, the Jesuits and Hurons with the magic of the magnets, the clock that “was alive” (106), the magic of the nine masses releasing rain, and the “magic” technology of warfare, all displaying the power of the French God. During plagues and famines the sacraments of baptism seemed to promise healing, and later the Jesuits and their mutterings came to stand for an evil magic that brought plague and death wherever they went. Language and naming also came to represent and promise transformation and growth (as it had in Old and New Testament conversion, and, as will be shown, in the “twice-born” figures of Davies). When the first Huron convert, Tsiouendaentaha, was given a new name, his “Christian name—to aid the tongue—was Peter. / Being the first, he was the Rock on which / The priests would build their Church” (117). And so, like the stone statues of the saints and Christ coming to life by the power of the “flaming alphabet,” the Huron warrior through conversion and the transforming power of language comes to stand for “the Rock,” or a Peter for the new world. Pratt writes, “The Huron was exorcised, sanctified, / And made the temple of the Living God” (118). Indeed, language in the mouth of the French Jesuits had the power to re-name and claim both people and land for the French nation, French God, and French tongue.

The difficulty with language, and the translation of key concepts of Christ, heaven, and hell, was for the most part overcome by the use of medieval Christian iconography, which had begun an entire tradition of medieval pilgrimage and crusade iconography. Pratt invokes this tradition in his depiction of the images used by the Jesuit

priests in their conversion/conquest or “translation” of the core messages of Christianity.

Pratt translates the letters of the Jesuits into a vivid depiction of damnation:

[The Jesuits] sent appeals to France for pictures—one

*Only* of souls in bliss: of *âmes damnées*

Many and various—the horned Satan,

His mastiff jaws champing the head of Judas;

The plummet fall of the unbaptized pursued

By demons with their fiery forks; the lick

Of flames upon a naked Saracen;

Dragons with scarlet tongues and writhing serpents

In ambush by the charcoal avenues

Just ready at the Judgement word to wreak

Vengeance upon the unregenerate.

The negative unapprehended forms

Of Heaven lost in the dim canvas oils

Gave way to glows from brazier pitch that lit

The visual affirmatives of Hell. (117)

When language and translation fail to be comprehended, the iconographic representation of Christian redemption and damnation is brought in to transcend the difficulties the priests had in learning the Huron tongue and translating Western Christian concepts into a language with its own symbolic religious mythology.

Quoting Todorov, Goldie asks the important question: ““Yet is there not already a violence in the conviction that one possesses the truth oneself, whereas this is not the case

for others, and that one must furthermore impose that truth on those others?” (Todorov qtd. in Goldie 86). While clearly the faith of Brébeuf and the faith journey of pilgrimage necessitate belief in the truth of that conviction and even in the “capital T truth” that Pratt has dedicated his life to seeking, the resemblance of the Jesuit missions to the earlier Crusades is unmistakable (Parkman 207). Pilgrimage could be “considered the mother of crusade and crusade the mother of missionary conversion” (Pilgrimage 99), clearly connecting faith, violence, empire, politics, and the pilgrimage journey of the Jesuits. Indeed, the Jesuit faith was founded by Loyola the “soldier-priest” (93) and, following the example of Christ, was necessarily to participate in the re-enactment of his violent death in the sacrament of communion and in the violence of the vision of his death and the cup of that suffering that would necessarily be drunk by those who sought fellowship in his glory. Moreover, Brébeuf’s connections to a tradition of imperial violence and conquest was not merely through the soldier-Father of the Jesuit tradition or the violence of the Christ figure, but also through a personal family pedigree that boasted participation in the Crusades. The oath of Brébeuf, “*I shall be broken first before I break them*” (95), suggests a mutual violence both physical and mental. Following the scene of Brébeuf’s utterance of this oath, Pratt gives the outline of his connection with the historical mothers and daughters of pilgrimage:

The oath Brebeuf was taking had its root  
 Firm in his generations of descent.  
 The family name was known to chivalry –  
 In the Crusades; at Hastings; through the blood  
 Of the English Howards; called out on rungs

Of the siege ladders; at the castle breaches;  
 Proclaimed by heralds at the lists, and heard  
 In Council Halls: the coat-of-arms a bull  
 In black with horns of gold on silver shield.  
 So on that toughened pedigree of fibre  
 Were strung the pledges (95)

Like the foundational narrative of Christ, the nobility of Brébeuf is connected not to the warrior King David, but to the British equivalents, the knights and nobility of the Crusades, and the “gold and silver” of pedigree and power.

The violent and bloody tradition of the Natives is likewise invoked both at the beginning of the narrative poem and throughout in their treatment of prisoners from warring tribes and in the final demise of Brébeuf. Terry Goldie claims that E.J. Pratt’s Brébeuf “uses both aspects of the violence commodity to claim a superhuman religious power for the Jesuits” (93), and that “here indigene violence is a demonic quality which defines Brébeuf’s virtues through opposition” (94). However, Pratt’s representation of violence and bloodshed is far more complex than Goldie recognizes. Although earlier long poems such as The Rising Village (1825) and novels such as Wacousta (1832) exploit indigene violence and the counter-perseverance of the imperial forces as a commodity to create suspense, interest, and pathos, the violence in Pratt’s poem leads ultimately not to rebuke or victory of either indigene or priest, but repeatedly to images of death and crucifixion for the ultimate purpose of sharing the redemptive vision of Brébeuf’s pilgrimage as he stood at the site of his martyrdom. This is not to say that violence does not have inherent fetishistic qualities or exchange value as a commodity

symbol, but rather that if there is an exchange value and fetishistic elements, the aim and the ends are rather the presentation of the faith of the Jesuits and the “realistic” qualities of the exchange of values and knowledge as they are represented first in The Jesuit Relations.

In Pratt’s first presentation of indigene violence in “the High Feast of the Dead,” the description of the celebration is given not in gory detail but in simple language: “When, at the High Feast of the Dead, the bodies / Lying for months or years upon the scaffolds / Were taken down, stripped of their flesh, caressed, / Strung up along the cabin poles and then / Cast in a pit for common burial.” The description is followed by the reaction of Chabanel and a corollary description of the Christian “Feast of the Dead” quoted directly from The Jesuit Relations: “I, Noel Chabanel, / Do vow, in the presence of the Sacrament / Of Thy most precious blood and body, here / To stay forever with the Huron Mission” (102). The paralleling of the imagery is unmistakable. While the “Feast of the Dead” involves the stripping of the body of flesh, there is no mention of the actual eating of the flesh; in the Jesuit practice the eating of the flesh and the drinking of the blood are part of the ceremony described—and in the Catholic mystery of transubstantiation, this act is not merely symbolic but involves the actual body and blood of Christ. Within the first year of the mission the priests learn further aspects of the death rituals of the Hurons and what awaits them in the days and years to come. Through the eyes of Brébeuf the Huron rituals of torture are again compared to the Christian counterpart in the Crucifixion. Pratt meditates on the torture applied to the Iroquois captive and its equivalents in Western history: “A captive foe. The warriors had surprised / A band of Iroquois and had reserved / The one survivor for a fiery pageant. /

No cunning of an ancient Roman triumph, / Nor torment of a Medici confession /  
 Surpassed the subtle savagery of art / Which made the dressing for the sacrifice / A ritual  
 mockery for the victim” (110). The poet continues the description making more explicit  
 the comparison between the sacrificial victim, the future martyrdom of Brébeuf, and the  
 crucifixion of Christ: “And what forebodings of the days to come, [...] / before / His  
 eyes—the crude unconscious variants / Of reed and sceptre, robe and cross, brier / And  
 crown! Might not one day baptismal drops / Be turned against him in a rain of death?”  
 (110).

The violence enacted here and through the conclusion of this scene is represented  
 as being a part of the very cultural practise of the Natives, which the children learn and  
 imitate in their education: “[Brébeuf] saw the way the women and their broods / Danced  
 round the scaffold in their exaltation. / How much of this was habit and how much /  
 Example?” (112). The Hurons participate in the torturing of the Iroquois warrior in a  
 way that at once foreshadows the final crucifixion of Brébeuf and reinforces this type of  
 violent sacrifice as being a pre-colonial and traditional practice of Native culture.  
 Brébeuf observes that “A human art was torture, / Where reason crept into the veins,  
 mixed tar / With blood and brewed its own intoxicant” (111). Hence, the violence of the  
 Natives in response to the attempts of the white missionaries to colonize their minds and  
 their spirit world is actually not brought on by the activities of the colonizers but is rather  
 an inherent and inhuman response of the “race so unlike men” (Pratt 114), counter-  
 claiming the “inhumanity” of the Natives in the same section that he has claimed the  
 “human art” of torture. In the section following this torture scene, Pratt suggests that in  
 order to train the children out of the practices of “the brutes” (111), Brébeuf had “Two

plans [...] in his mind—the one concerned / The seminary started in Quebec. / The children could be sent there to be trained / In Christian precepts, weaned from superstition / And from the savage spectacle of death” (111).

Goldie argues that the Jesuit missionary activity is a history of physical violence because it is a violation of physical space. The missionary activity of the Jesuits was a movement through a foreign landscape that was a part of the invasion of the French for land and natural resources. The fort itself, while established ostensibly for the Jesuits, was also the home of trade activities and soldiers—all a part of the three-pronged invasion. The very site of the fort is now commemorated as a place of meeting between the Natives and the French, and yet this “meeting” place was finally burned to the ground and abandoned, becoming the commemorative site of violence enacted upon both the French and Native peoples.

Goldie’s analysis of colonial activities and representation is particularly concerned with blood: “blood-lust, drinking blood, mingling blood” (92-93). Yet while Goldie argues that the highlighting of these activities is used by colonial writers to demonize and dehumanize the indigenous peoples, Pratt shows the torture techniques in a way that is balanced, at the very least in terms of language, with the communion rites of the French Catholic priests. Here, in the poetic persona of Brébeuf, he claims that torture is at once a “human art” and that those who practice it are a “race so unlike men.” However, regardless of the balance that Pratt attempts to achieve rhetorically in his portraits of the blood-related activities of the Natives and the French, or in the split-persona of Brébeuf in his claims of the “human art” of torture by a “race so unlike men,” Pratt admires the Jesuits for the strength of their faith. Discussing the Jesuit

determination unto death, Pratt says, “In respect to certain expressions of the human spirit—courage, faith, self-effacement, endurance—that sheer holding on at solitary posts in the darkness of an approaching catastrophe which had all the earmarks of material failure—those twenty years of the Huron mission can stand, with any of the blazing periods of history” (in Gingell 114). The courage, though, of “those twenty years of the Huron mission” is not merely the one-sided courage of the “approaching catastrophe” and “earmarks of material failure” for the Jesuits; the failure that appears to go somewhat unmourned in the pilgrim’s progress of this poem is the failure of the Wendat nation to survive the colonizing activities of first the French and later of the English. The ruins of the fort and the tourist replica and shrine at the site of its remains cover over the remains of another nation, one that had previously not been confined within the walls of a Christian fort or under the cross of their God: the “heathen” long-house confined the unconverted to the far reaches of the fort, away from the Jesuit and Native places of worship, sources of food and livelihood, and next to the sick huts of the dying Hurons. While the shrine itself acknowledges an unnamed number of Natives who lost their lives during the period of Jesuit missionary activities, the shrine and fort in no way memorialize the direct relationship between the sacrifice of the Hurons and the conquest activities that Brébeuf and the Jesuit brothers themselves promoted, both in the presentation of the images of the power of their God and the wooing of converts with promise of His healing and protection.

In the shrine itself there are many representations of the Faith Fathers and the martyred priests, but there are only two Natives represented, both converts who were later canonized. Jean-Paul Sartre writes in the preface to Fanon’s *The Wretched of the*

*Earth* that “Violence in the colonies does not only have for its aim the keeping of these enslaved men at arm’s length; it seeks to dehumanize them” (15). It is only with conversion that the Natives are represented within the memorialization of this period in history and, in fact, in the poem itself. The non-converted Natives are either those who turn the Christ-like Brébeuf away as he walks the *via dolorosa* or those dying like animals. Healing, and perhaps even humanization, can only happen with the transforming power of the Holy Spirit at conversion within the Catholic schemata that has been reproduced in the poetic persona of Brébeuf and the numerous direct quotations from the Jesuits’ letters. Fanon describes a manicheism that “turns him [the Native] into an animal” (42). I would add to this a conversion process as a result of baptism and the rites of Christian fellowship that promises the “animal” humanization within the church and the promise of eternal representation as part of a God/man human iconography of Catholic memorialization—a process that is amply illustrated at the martyrs’ shrine in Midland, Ontario. The martyred priests are repeatedly represented/depicted in the windows and paintings of the cathedral, the open-air worship area, and in the statuary. The martyred men and women of history are represented with their hands raised to God, and the human marks of suffering and worship are transformed in the art to show the divine blessing of the reciprocating sacrifice of the Christ figure that looms above them in the Cathedral. This imagery is repeated in the Christ-like figure of Brébeuf and the other Jesuits during their sanctification process, walking their *via dolorosa* pilgrimage among the “heathen” and dark forces that surround them.

While a postcolonial perspective can lend an interesting insight into the representations of the past and the literary and historical work of building a tradition—in

this instance a pilgrimage tradition—it is even more revealing, I believe, to look at more recent literary re-writings of this charter pilgrimage or founding narrative. Also, while looking at the language and vision of Pratt gives insight into his historical moment and its representation of this originary call and mission, I would like to turn attention to two other more recent re-writings of this earliest of Canadian pilgrimages: James W. Nichol's dramatic work, Saint-Marie Among the Hurons (1980) and Brian Moore's novelistic representation in Black Robe (1985). Pratt himself recognized the importance of developing on the literary traditions of the past. Responding to Jed Adams' question on the relationship of the past to the future, Pratt said, "the logical development of an art is from tradition into a modification of that tradition, a change of that tradition. We belong to the past as surely as we belong to the future. I certainly believe that a developing tradition is the most logical and sensible direction in which to move" (in Gingell 54).

Saint-Marie Among the Hurons (1980) was first performed at Theatre London in London, Ontario on November 19, 1974, and again three years later on January 10, 1977 at the National Arts Centre in Ottawa, Ontario. The text of this dramatic work opens with four quotations from The Jesuit Relations, two from Father Jean de Brébeuf, one from Father Le Mercier, and one from Father Jerome Lalemont. The quotation from Father Le Mercier from a letter of 1635, suggests the success of European and French reason over Native superstitions: "The Indians are quick to see how our doctrine conforms to reason, and how inhuman and senseless are their own superstitions" (Saint-Marie Among the Hurons 5). The second quotation, from Father Jerome Lalemont's letter of 1638, highlights the concern of Saint-Marie Among the Hurons with Native resistance to conversion and Native loss of life as a result of the activities of the French missionaries.

Moreover, it is important historically for its acknowledgement of loss of life as a direct result of the Jesuits' activities and also as a way of showing the Jesuit belief in God's control and direction over the Native loss of life. Lalemont writes:

It has happened very often, and has been remarked more than a hundred times, that in those places where we were most welcome, where we baptized most people, there it was, in fact, where they died most. On the contrary, in the cabins to which we were denied entrance, although they were sick to extremity, at the end of a few days one saw every person prosperously cured. We shall find in Heaven the secret but ever adorable judgments of God therein. (Saint-Marie Among the Hurons 5)

More than Pratt, Nichol highlights in Brébeuf the contradictions of the martyr and man by dividing the character into Martyr and Blackrobe, the Martyr being a kind of consciousness that speaks to Blackrobe and questions his intentions in the New World. The first scene opens with Martyr describing his martyrdom ("I burned like a candle. In Nero's garden" [12]), and Blackrobe reminiscing about his childhood fascination with the book of martyrs and his dreams of martyrdom.

Act I, Scene II gives voice to the Hurons' dilemma in their relations with both the traders and the French Jesuits. While the Jesuits claimed to be independent of the French concerns for land and trade, the reality of the situation was far more complex. Broken Rock, speaking of the French, says, "They said—take him with you or bring us no more furs" (17). Broken Rock goes on to say, "If our harvest fails ... if the fish do not run to our nets ... I will speak in the councils for your death" (18). Although the Blackrobe of this drama is confused by the Huron hostility to his presence, Sleeping Water explains

why Broken Rock is angry: “He doesn’t know whether he likes this French trade or not. He reaches out with his one hand, but his other hand is behind his back. The trade is too one-sided, he says. It makes him nervous” (19). Blackrobe responds with a lack of understanding of the complexity of his position in the Huron land: “But I have nothing to do with trade,” and later, “Surely he can see that I can do no possible harm. How could I? One man against thirty thousand” (19). This scene aptly illustrates the conflicted interests of the Hurons and the lack of comprehension of the Blackrobes, who saw themselves as being with the Hurons only for the glory of God and the conversion of their souls, but who were also, if unaware, emissaries of imperialist values, tied to both trade and conquest. In this scene the very orders of the French to take the Blackrobes into the Huron land or risk losing the trade alliances on which they had come at once to depend and despise illustrates the embeddedness of Jesuit relations with the Hurons.

Blackrobe claims, “I am the way of your salvation” (20), invoking the tradition of looking to and following Christ; however, the Jesuit presentation of the Christian pilgrimage message is not effective in the Huron context. Although later in Saint-Marie Among the Hurons Sleeping Water accepts the salvation message of the Jesuits, the message itself undermines the entire Huron way of life and belief system. Much of the drama of this work is to be found in the conflict of the traditional Huron way of life and the “stories” and message of the Jesuits. Blackrobe presents the Christian creation story to both Broken Rock and Sleeping Water as follows: “In the beginning, there was nothing of the sky and earth, except a vast expanse of water. And there was no light, but an absolute darkness across the face of the water” (21). Broken Rock laughs at this story and presents the Huron version of creation: “In the beginning, Ataenstic, the mother of all

men, lived in a forest above the sky. One day she was hunting and her dog ran a bear into a deep cave. Atanestic followed and she fell into the sky” (21). Blackrobe and Broken Rock continue to exchange their creation stories until Blackrobe finally screams “No!” (23), claiming with this gesture and the explanation that follows that there can be but one God, one story, and one pilgrim path or journey to the heavenly city. The momentum of the scene continues to build as Broken Rock and Sleeping Water celebrate the feast of the dead for their mother. The final words of Sleeping Water are “But this world is different from your world. Our gods are different from yours” (28). Blackrobe responds that the Huron god is “Iouskeha ... prince of darkness” (28). There is no resolution between the Jesuit and Huron characters—only a vast and growing darkness in their understanding of the beliefs of the other. In fact, it seems in this representation of the Jesuit and Huron relations that the fetishization of bloodshed and violence in the feast of the dead actually conforms to Goldie’s argument. While the characters take on human dimensions, Nichol emphasizes the gory details in order to build both interest and suspense. In the scene that follows, Blackrobe, speaking of the feast of the dead, tells Sleeping Water that “When you stripped your Mother’s flesh off as if she were an animal, you condemned her soul to hell!” (32), but this seems to suggest that the animal native can be transformed through a process of conversion not into a mere human but into an angel (33). The animalistic and violent qualities of the Huron are further reiterated in the scene that follows when Broken Rock, speaking of the caressing of an Iroquois warrior, screams, “And all he could do was crawl around on his hands and knees and spit blood in the snow! Iroquois dog! [...] And in the spring, I’ll cook your flesh before your eyes!” (33).

In Act II the pace changes slightly with the arrival of the Superior and the discovery by the newly arrived Jesuits that there are in fact no converts in the Huron nation. They suggest, as the opening quotation from The Jesuit Relations had earlier illustrated, that the pestilence and death among the Hurons were the result of their failure to accept the gospel. This explanation was in fact the one used by the writers of The Jesuit Relations. Father Henry says, “The Hurons are saying that wherever we preach, that is where the sickness is greatest” (50). The “miracles” that are performed in the scene that follows are also a part of Pratt’s long poem, The Jesuit Relations, and Brian Moore’s Black Robe. The Jesuits use advanced technology in the form of a clock and writing to amaze the Hurons into belief in the power of their God and the superior knowledge that comes with belief in the French God. Father Henry goes so far in this scene as to read the Bible (their book of magic in the Huron’s eyes) in such a way as to prove that God has told them to come to this land.

The first Huron conversion is dramatized by Sleeping Water and Blackrobe. What follows portrays the effects of Sleeping Water’s conversion on his relationship with his brother, Broken Rock, and indeed constitutes a very contemporary scene of doubt played out by Blackrobe. Broken Rock, speaking to Blackrobe, says, “You open your Raven’s mouth and death flies out. Our flesh is corrupted by your demons. He indicates Sleeping Water. You tame this Huron like a dog. The ones you cannot tame, you kill! Keep away from us, Raven. Do not come near anymore. Your dog ... your dog ... destroys my mind!” (61). While Blackrobe sees conversion as a process that transforms animal into angel, Broken Rock views what has happened as an animal-taming: “You tame this Huron like a dog” (61). The Martyr praises Blackrobe for the miracles,

harmony, and “a nation of heathens lifted unto grace” (62), but Blackrobe is disturbed by doubts when he looks at the results of the missionary work. He responds to his Martyr self with these words: “But there is ruin all about me! It was not so before I came. They were strong!” (62). While the 1980s version of Blackrobe is willing to question the role of the Jesuits in the destruction of the Wendat nation, this seems a rather unlikely doubt to attribute to the writers of The Jesuit Relations, who seemed more likely to claim, as they did in the opening quotation, that the pestilence was from the hand of God and the result of the Huron’s failure to accept the message of grace through Christ.

While in Pratt’s Brébeuf and His Brethren the feast of the dead and the sacrament of communion are set side by side, in this dramatic work the scene of communion appears much later than the feast of the dead and is presented from the perspective of the colonization-resistant Broken Rock: “This Jesus that you have brought in secret into our land. This corpse. I have seen you eat its flesh. I have seen you drink its blood. You have hidden it from our eyes and you feed on it. It makes you grow strong, but it sickens my people and we die!” (64). Broken Rock further accuses the Blackrobes, calling after Father Superior, “You Ravens eat the dead! You open your mouths to us and we are consumed by sickness. You must show me this corpse!” (65). Sleeping Water and Broken Rock discuss Jesus as both light and stinking corpse (66). In the final scene, Blackrobe reflects, “But death and I have walked through this land, arm in arm. Just count the souls I’ve sent to heaven! I am a saint!” (76), again underscoring the Jesuit perspective with a very contemporary sense of the irony of the Jesuit mission to the Hurons.

Brian Moore's Black Robe (1985) opens with a very traditional statement comparing life with pilgrimage. Father Laforgue, the principal Jesuit character of this work, says, "The journey, like our lives, is in God's hands" (6), a statement that demonstrates a trust that will be tested on his pilgrimage to what becomes the site of the first martyrdom. Towards the final movements of this journey, the lay-worker Daniel asks Father Laforgue, "Do you ever have doubts? [...] About this journey" (202). Father Laforgue, after the trials of sickness, desertion by his guides, Iroquois caressing, and days of starvation, can only respond, "Yes, I have doubts" (202). Again these "doubts" of faith and purpose are ones that appear to be contemporary questions reassessing the historical role of the Jesuit pilgrims and the entire imperial project, though they are questions that do not appear to have troubled the Jesuits at the time of their letter writing. While a postcolonial critic and writer cannot help but see the intrinsic problems of the "conversion" pilgrimage, these first pilgrims were following the sign of the cross with the image of their saviour ever before them, like the Brébeuf of Pratt's poem. However, the questions of this journey, postcolonial and otherwise, are important aspects in the contemporary revisiting of the charter Canadian pilgrimage, Christian and colonial, of the French Jesuits.

While Pratt invokes Champlain as the writer of documents that inspired Brébeuf and the other Jesuit Fathers to make the pilgrimage to and in the wilds of the new world, Brian Moore situates Champlain in Quebec as a figure involved with the Jesuit missions. However small his role in the actual narrative, it is worth noting that Champlain, like Pratt's Brébeuf and the Jesuits of Moore's narrative, is caught in a moment of remembering or nostalgia for the comforts of France. His reflection on the past takes him

through the moment of his decision to send a Jesuit priest and a boy on the long pilgrimage to the missionary outpost of Ihonatiria. Champlain notes, “The journey to almost certain death of a priest and a boy, against the chance to save a small outpost for France and for the Faith. In the conquest of a nation, lives are the currency” (7). While Champlain’s actual role in the narrative is relatively small, the connection between trade and missionary activity is made abundantly clear throughout the text in the relationship between traders, trading, and the travel of the Jesuit priests. In fact, their pilgrimage inland and Laforgue’s journey to the first Canadian martyrdom site are only made possible through a number of trade transactions first between Champlain and the Huron guides, then between Laforgue and the Hurons on the first part of the journey (in the form of tobacco), and later between traders they meet en-route, and then the Allumettes on the final leg of the journey. The final scene of this text also depicts exchanges between the priest and Natives as equivalent to life (spared from martyrdom) for baptism and baptism for life (spared from fever). The overt quality of this commodification of the gospel message and the various transactions that take place is undoubtedly a contemporary interpretation of the nature of the “free gift of eternal life” that the Jesuits brought to the Huron people.

In the opening scene as Father Laforgue and Daniel, the lay worker who accompanies him on the journey, make preparations for the journey, Father Laforgue observes that the traders are living like savages and wonders how a Frenchman can “go from all that we know and are back to that brutish state” (22). Father Laforgue proceeds to consider the reciprocal nature of the values that are being exchanged between the Natives and the French: “We’re not colonizing the Savages. They’re colonizing us” (22).

Interesting indeed is the fact that Moore allows for this reflection and then shows this “charter pilgrimage” to be one undertaken in Native terms. Laforgue sets out to travel with and like the Natives, and the dangers and perils that are a part of pilgrimage in the Canadian context are characteristic of Huron life: desertion, starvation, sickness, Iroquois attack, and temptation to the “degradation” of the animal/Native way of life. The Superior warns Laforgue that “It is travel of the most difficult sort [...]. Yet it is also the most advantageous way in which to make the journey” (23).

While many pilgrimage narratives begin with a clear first call to pilgrimage, Laforgue’s call is presented in the context of nostalgic memories of France. Like Pratt’s Brébeuf and Nichol’s *Blackrobe*, Laforgue had dreamed of martyrdom, and he remembers his mother praying at the site of Joan of Arc’s martyrdom and suggesting his special calling: “Because God has chosen you, just as He chose the Maid” (33). As Laforgue sets out on the journey he reflects, “Today he set out for that place where martyrdom was more than just a pious hope. This is my hour. This is my beginning” (34).

As was evident in Pratt’s work on the Huron tongue and language, Brian Moore also deals with the importance of representing the communication between the French and the Hurons. In the “Author’s Note” introducing *Black Robe*, Moore discusses the difficulty the French Fathers had in learning the “scatological tongues” of the Hurons. Throughout the text Laforgue has difficulty understanding their speech, often picking up only the curse words that he had taken pains to learn in order to be able to recognize them. Laforgue says of the Hurons: “They speak as dogs would speak, if they had tongues” (38). In fact, the affliction from which Laforgue suffers at the beginning of the

pilgrimage is one that has to do with his ears, which makes it even more difficult for him to hear the Native tongue. While Laforgue compares the Native language to that of animals, Daniel notes that “They lie to us as they would never lie to each other, because they do not think of us as men but as monsters” (58), or in the case of the Blackrobes, as demons.

While such pilgrims as those about whom Chaucer writes welcome temptation and take joy in lust and gluttony, for the Blackrobes the temptations of the flesh and gluttony are most acute. Daniel, the lay-worker, is in love with a Huron girl. Their love story is an important source of information about Huron beliefs and customs, and likewise a source of drama and tension between Father Laforgue and Daniel. Foucault writes of the problem of the confessor in a way that illuminates the struggle of Father Laforgue in seeking Daniel’s repentance and confession: “And here is what is directly of concern for the confessor: how is one to lend one’s ear to the recital of abominable scenes without sinning oneself, that is, taking pleasure oneself” (Power and Knowledge 214). When Father Laforgue first witnesses Daniel with the Huron girl, “He watched and watched, afraid of being seen, his mind flooded with visions of lust. He felt his penis swell and stiffen until it hurt” (55). In the scene that follows, “Laforgue began to fumble with the buttons of his cassock. Kneeling, still staring, his breathing harsh as a tearing sheet, he began to jerk furiously until his semen spurted, spilling on the ground” (56). Laforgue punishes his body, “scourged his back, lash after lash, as blood spilt into the folds of his lowered robe, until his flayed back was purpled as the sky above” (56), and says, “I have tortured my Savior, and for a girl who is not a girl but a wild animal” (59). The view that sex is both sinful and shameful is part of what the Hurons cannot

comprehend about the priests' beliefs. The Hurons were generous with their women and came to believe that the Fathers' abstinence from sex was part of what gave them power and strengthened their magic. In Levi-Straussian terms, ceremonial gift exchange and particularly the exchange of women was central to Native kinship, and became the basis of symbolic exchange in language. The Jesuit Fathers refuse to participate in the exchange of women and instead attempt the "gift" of "eternal life" in the symbolic form of language, but to the Hurons, whose most important gift of women had been rejected, the entire basis of their culture—ceremonial gift exchange—was being rejected.

Laforgue eventually comes to view the land as "this land God gave to Cain, the devil's land, living among barbarians" (91). As stated earlier, the specifically Canadian physical and topographical elements of the journey are an integral part of the narrative. In fact, as most of Black Robe is set in the wilds and on the journey to the out-post missions, the elements of weather, making camp, eating, paddling, and portaging come to the fore rather than being merely the backdrop for the faith journey. As in the earliest Biblical and Medieval pilgrimage stories, the actual physical journey, rather than the arrival at the sacred site, is the pilgrim story. The arrival at the site of the first Jesuit martyrdom is merely the concluding chapters of the journey and a summing up of the devastating effects for the Hurons of the Jesuit mission to their land. The many descriptions of the journey into an increasingly winter landscape are intermixed with the Jesuit Father's experience of the hardships of the journey:

He ran down to his canoe, throwing in his cloak, pulling off his clogs to wade in the icy water, scrambling over the side of the fragile craft as the Algonkian paddlers watched. The canoes, forming a long snake, moved

swiftly out into the great river. Snow blinded Laforgue as he removed his wide-brimmed hat so as not to impede the vision of the paddler behind him. Two dogs clambered over him to nestle in the pile of belongings in the center of the canoe. (91)

The description of the storm and the landscape continues with details of the river's edge and the sky:

All morning the canoes moved upriver. The storm did not abate. At times the wind seemed to shift and the snow beat upon their backs instead of their faces. On either side, the forest, mantled by snow, seemed to blur and disappear into the white woollen cloud of sky, as though the land itself had melted into the desolation of winter. (91)

While Pratt used the landscape as a mirror for the spiritual journey and the interior landscape of the soul, Moore's focus is on the physical hardship, danger, and indeed struggle or questioning of faith. When it comes to the overland aspects of the journey, once again the focus is on the hardships of winter and the difficulty Father Laforgue has in adjusting to the Huron way of travel: "And so, moving among sparse trees, plodding on the wide, flat snowshoes, Laforgue followed the hunters into the white unknown. A chill wind caused powdered snow to blow off the tops of drifts in a fine, sugary mist" (93).

While the hardships of winter travel for the Jesuit priest and his increasing doubts of faith are emphasized, for the Hurons the spiritual journey is a natural aspect of their land. The Hurons ask Laforgue, "If you do not dream, how can you see the journey ahead?" (183). For the Hurons, the land of dreams and the command of dreams are a

part of their way of life. In fact, this was the main problem for the Hurons in terms of accepting the French religion. The Hurons say to Laforgue, “If we do these things and if we give up our belief in the dream, then the Huron life, the way we have always known, will end for us” (230). The Hurons’ belief in dreams govern their journeys in this life with a surety that “if you dream[ed] it, it will come to pass” (125), a faith system that has surprising parallels to the earlier Hebrew faith in prophesy and dreams, but one that had been rejected by the rationalist belief system of the Jesuits. The dream journey, from the start of Moore’s narrative, actually propels the story forward and governs the actions of the main players in this text. The Hurons participate in the dreams of the members of their community in order to make the dreams come true and follow the commands of the dreams. It is as the result of a dream that they become suspicious of Laforgue, eventually abandon him, and force him in the final moments to enter the Huron village alone (204).

As the Canadian charter pilgrimage, as well as one of the first documents of travel literature, exploration, trade, and colonization, the Jesuits’ pilgrimage begins with the call of God, becomes the record of difficult travel and miraculous intervention, and ends with the contemporary repetition of this charter pilgrimage in the textual transformation of various writers, as well as in the personal and mostly unrecorded journeys of various pilgrims to the martyrs’ shrine. The distinctive qualities of this pilgrimage in terms of geography, topography, and language, meld with those traditional pilgrimage motifs of calling, geographical movement, and miracles in the textual pilgrimages that base their narrative on the actual journey of the historical Jesuits. While the current climate of

postcolonial questioning and problematizing of faith journeys lends some interesting insights to this pilgrimage, contemporary theorizing does not ignore the faith aspects of the journey—rather it looks at the problems of faith alongside its realization in miracles. But at the end of this charter pilgrimage we are left with a problem that outweighs the problems of the journey or the questions of the postcolonial critic; it is a problem that Pratt himself attempted to overcome, but one that can only be left to readers' hearts and minds—and that is the problem of faith. Language through metaphor attempts to represent faith, but to those who have not been initiated into the experience of the “wind,” as Pratt figured it, or the “spirit” that the Biblical writer John experienced, faith remains something beyond rational comprehension or the apprehension of the senses. But it is faith that led Pratt to “know” he was on holy ground, faith that led the Jesuits to martyrdom and death, and faith that leads pilgrims every day to bow their knees in prayer as they enter the cathedral at the martyrs' shrine. Without this understanding and belief, it is impossible to understand the “faith journey” of Pratt or the poem as pilgrimage; and failure to comprehend the role of faith leads to misunderstandings and critical judgements that “miss” or mistake the complex meanings of the poem. Robertson Davies' belief in the “psychological reality” of faith and other contemporary writers' mythologizing of faith messages can stand alongside the “faith” of Pratt or Brébeuf. Whatever the faith of the pilgrimage participants, whether reader or neophyte, the experience of the journey both literary and actual leads to transformation, encounters with supernatural forces, and questions towards which language can only begin to gesture.

**“Christian Progress”: The Economy of Pilgrimage in Oliver Goldsmith’s The Rising  
Village and Bishop Inglis’s Writings**

In Roman Catholicism, pilgrimage holds an important and undisputed place. So much so in fact that the position of the Catholic Church on the institution of pilgrimage requires no extensive discussion. Within the Protestant tradition, however, the role of the pilgrim and pilgrimage is far more complex. As discussed in the introduction, according to Clift and Clift, Protestant pilgrimage “begins with Luther” (29). In this we can understand that the writing of the Protestant and Reformation tradition on pilgrimage begins with the leading proponent of the Reformation, Martin Luther. Luther himself went on a pilgrimage to Rome in 1510, and came to view pilgrimage as an act that emphasizes good works and consequently denies justification by faith. Luther writes: “All pilgrimages should be stopped. There is no good in them: no commandment enjoins them, no obedience attaches to them. Rather do these pilgrimages give countless occasions to commit sin and to despise God’s commandments” (qtd. in Clift and Clift 29). And he proceeds: “In former times saints made many pilgrimages to Rome, Jerusalem and Compostela in order to make satisfaction for sins. Now, however, we can go on true pilgrimages in faith, namely, when we diligently read the psalms, prophets, gospels and so on. Rather than walk about holy places we can thus pause at our own thoughts, examine our hearts and visit the real promised land and paradise of eternal life” (qtd. in Clift and Clift 30). John Calvin follows as the next formative Reformation theologian and apologist to write on the act of pilgrimage. Writing of his view of pilgrimage, Coleman and Elsner say, “Calvin [...] came to regard pilgrimage as a vain

attempt to gain salvation through mere action and emphasised instead an interiorisation of faith which came to be seen as characteristically Protestant” (119). Further, in England the iconoclasm of the Reformation fit nicely with a politically motivated desire to acquire the wealth of the shrines and cathedrals of the Catholic church. Elsewhere in Europe, Reformers like Karlstadt and Zwingli similarly led iconoclastic bands, which in the latter half of the sixteenth century often became violent. Coleman and Elsner conclude that “such violence was a symptom of a new Christianity which asserted a transcendent God who disdained all the fripperies of the world and detested such ‘Popish’ activities as pilgrimage, relic worship and elaborate ritual” (120). Like Bunyan’s Christian pilgrim, the Protestants preferred to view life itself as a pilgrimage and eschewed the ritualization of the transformative journey in pilgrimage. However, in recent years a revival of pilgrimage has occurred in the Protestant tradition and some Protestants now make journeys to the various sacred sites in the Holy Land and Jerusalem.

Regardless of the theological or political opposition of the Reformers and the Protestant tradition to pilgrimage, the Protestant tradition grew out of a Catholic one that celebrated pilgrimage. Importantly, the archetypal attributes of pilgrimage—including the difficulty of the journey, transformation, and geographical movement—could be said to be present in the Protestant forms of the pilgrimage journey. While archetypal pilgrimage becomes more important in my later discussion of Davies and Urquhart, it is important here to mention “archetypal pilgrimage” as it relates to the Protestant pilgrimage of life. The “official” sanction of the Reformation against pilgrimage means simply that this form of the archetypal journey changes its name and that the activities and rituals are re-designated and made manifest in other aspects of life.

This chapter will examine Oliver Goldsmith's autobiography and long poem, The Rising Village (1825; 1834), in order to highlight significant aspects of the journey to the New World that relate to the "Christian progress" version of Protestant pilgrimage. I will be focusing on the parson of The Deserted Village in order to emphasize one of the problems of the colony as discussed by Bishop John Inglis (the Anglican Bishop of Halifax, who wrote a prefatory letter recommending The Rising Village)<sup>11</sup> and at work in the rising village of the poem. Bishop Inglis's work will likewise be examined as it relates to the topographical accuracy of the poem and the economic agenda of "Christian progress." As a prelude to a detailed discussion of the Oliver Goldsmiths of this chapter and the related work of Bishop Inglis, it is necessary to discuss further the Protestant paradigm. In some ways this will be an elaboration, via Weber, of the idea that the archetypal characteristics of pilgrimage occur in the Protestant tradition, albeit redesignated according to the Protestant understanding/explication of various passages of scripture.

Tomasi discusses the following from Turner and Turner:

If the Protestant ethic, with its emphasis on hard work, thrift, virtue and moral probity in the secular vocation of everyone, and with its conviction that one's place in the world was a sign of faith and of election by God, was really, as Max Weber thought, a "precondition" (a necessary but not sufficient cause) for capitalism, then the "pilgrimage ethic," with its

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<sup>11</sup> As detailed on page 91, Bishop Inglis was the author of the preface of *The Rising Village*, writer of sermons and addresses, traveller and extensive chronicler of conditions in the colonies, and, perhaps most significantly for present purposes, friend and mentor to Oliver Goldsmith.

emphasis on the “holy journey” and the benefits deriving from it, helped to create the network of communications which subsequently made mercantile and industrial capitalism a vital system at the national and international level. (qtd. in From Medieval Pilgrimage to Religious Tourism: The Social and Cultural Economics of Piety 10)

In a manner similar to that of Tomasi and Turner and Turner, I will show that Weber’s discussion of the Protestant ethic and its relation to capitalism has a number of applications in the Canadian pilgrimage paradigm. However, I will be emphasizing the “pilgrimage” nature of a number of aspects of the Protestant ethic, and showing how Weber’s designation of various aspects of the Protestant world view apply to the Protestant poet Oliver Goldsmith and the writings of Bishop Inglis, and how in fact the Protestant ethic is another manifestation of various aspects of the pilgrimage motif. To this end, I will be discussing the Anglo-Irish Oliver Goldsmith’s poetic charter pilgrimage, how the Canadian Oliver Goldsmith follows his uncle’s example, and how the poet emphasizes or de-emphasizes various aspects of the senior poet’s vision in order to accurately portray the concerns of the New World colony. Also, I will be looking at the work of Oliver Goldsmith’s friend and advisor, Bishop John Inglis, at how his vision compliments and reiterates the Protestant version of pilgrimage.

Max Weber’s famous essay, “The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism” (1904-5, Trans. 1958), relates in many ways to the Canadian Protestant version of pilgrimage. The first section of Weber’s work I will discuss is Chapter III, entitled “Luther’s Conception of the Calling” (79-92). Most pilgrimage narratives emphasize the

“call” to pilgrimage and the subsequent vow of the pilgrim.<sup>12</sup> The Biblical/archetypal stories of “calling” include Moses and Aaron’s call to lead Israel to the promised land, and Jonah’s call to convert Nineveh, among many others. However, according to Weber, the first instance of the use of calling to denote “life-task, a definite field in which to work” (79), occurs in Luther’s translation of the Bible. Luther uses this term only once, but it is an idea that becomes very important in the Protestant vision of human purpose on earth. “Calling” as “life-task” is uniquely Protestant and includes the Protestant emphasis on the idea of individual call (84-85). There is a call to labour and, as Weber writes, “treatment of labour as a calling” (179). In the Catholic tradition and indeed in the Western pilgrimage tradition of Canada’s history, as was seen in the first chapter, the initial “call” to pilgrimage is a very important aspect of the pilgrimage. This is amply illustrated in both The Jesuit Relations and Pratt’s version of this charter pilgrimage. Indeed, the idea of the pilgrimage “call” is part of the founder’s narrative, and reappears in the pilgrim journeys that follow the founder’s path. However, the Protestant version of the call is uniquely adapted to denote at once the entirety of life (life as pilgrimage), and to suggest that the call is to labour or work. This life’s call, then, is pilgrimage, and the pilgrimage is one of work. The individual must bow to the “call” of God to a particular task in life, for the furtherance of God’s kingdom on earth, and her/his individual life’s work as pilgrimage. The individual Christian/Protestant Pilgrim then progresses towards the heavenly city by being faithful to “the straight and narrow” path of her/his work.

The “chosen ones” are known or recognized by the blessing of God. According to Weber, “God Himself blessed his chosen ones through the success of their labours”

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<sup>12</sup> In this study typical instances of the pilgrimage “call” can be found in the chapters on the Jesuits and Pratt’s poetic version of their journey, and chapter three on Robertson Davies and Jane Urquhart.

(133). Closely related to this idea is the principal of “grace,” which is uniquely related to “calling” in the Protestant vision. While “grace” cannot be earned by the works performed, to be certain of a state of grace a man must, according to Baxter, “do the works of him who sent him, as long as it is yet day” (158). The distribution of grace and goods is a “special dispensation of divine providence” (177), and “labour [is viewed] as a calling, as the best, often in the last analysis the only means of attaining certainty of grace” (178). This ethic further dictates that “Not leisure and enjoyment, but only activity serves to increase the glory of God, according to the definite manifestation of His will” (157). Labour is seen as both a defence against temptation (158), and as a benefit to the common good (162). On the other hand, it is the “impulsive enjoyment of life, which leads away both from work in a calling and religion” (167), often the result of “awakened pride” (as the result of sports) [167]. While sports and leisure are condemned, the Protestant ethic has “high esteem for agriculture” (173).

Alish Farrell notes in his discussion of Emily Carr that “[a]mong the marks which distinguish a Calvinistic response are an awareness of the unpredictable and exceptional in human experience, a sense of something which leaps when least expected and thwarts every effort at methodization and formalization, of something behind the appearance of things that will not be tamed and brought to heel by man” (“Signs of Reform: Aspects of a Protestant Iconography” 321). While Farrell is writing specifically of Emily Carr’s relationship to Protestant theology, the applications in a broader sense to the writing and thought of nineteenth-century Canada are unmistakable, traces of which can be read in Oliver Goldsmith’s The Rising Village. While I will be discussing the interpolated tale of Flora and Albert to very different ends in a discussion of Inglis and “Christian

Progress,” it is worth noting here Flora and Albert’s relationship to the broadly applicable ideas of the unpredictable and in some ways unknowable marks of grace. The “chosen ones” of Protestant and Calvinist theology are always and already on the brink of something unpredictable, so much so that a “fall from grace” and the thwarting of every human effort almost comes to be expected. Perhaps, then, the “warning” tale of Flora and Albert represents the “unpredictable and exceptional,” but the madness that follows is hardly new to the Protestant experience.

There are a number of ways in which Weber’s analysis of the Protestant work ethic relates both to the life of Oliver Goldsmith as represented in his autobiography, and to his long-poem, The Rising Village.<sup>13</sup> As shown, Weber has suggested in his historical analysis of the Protestant roots of capitalism that the source of “calling” as vocation is to be found in Luther’s translation of the bible. Faithfulness to the appropriate type of work was the way a person fulfilled God’s calling for him on earth. For Oliver Goldsmith the search for the appropriate vocation or “calling” began at eleven years of age. Early in his autobiography, in fact as one of his first memories, he recalls the commencement of his career. His first placement was in the Dispensary and Surgery of the Naval Hospital (32). Oliver remembers: “I commenced my professional career with becoming propriety. I mixed up Pills, made Poultices spread Sticking Plaster, attended the Surgeon with the Tray through/ the different sick Wards, was present at the cutting off [of] sundry extremities of the Body corporal” (32).<sup>14</sup> The description of this position continues until the day when he witnessed such a beating in the Hospital’s court yard that

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<sup>13</sup> D.M.R. Bentley’s “Oliver Goldsmith and *The Rising Village*” (SCL 1990) makes use of a biographical reading, but to the end of answering accusations that the poem does not accurately portray the setting and problems of a town in Nova Scotia.

<sup>14</sup> Goldsmith uses the back-slash in irregular ways throughout his autobiography. Here and in the text that follows I keep his original punctuation in tact.

he “cried and was quite sick” (32). Following this experience he “went no more to the Hospital” (32). His search for vocation took him next to an Ironmonger’s Shop where he “weighed out Nails of all Sorts, Pots and Pans, Swedes’ Iron, and other ferruginous Articles which compose *a store*” (34). The attempts at finding the necessary and appropriate calling for the young boy continued, taking him through work at a booksellers “where [he] learned to fold paper, stitch Pamphlets, and to a trifle in the Binding Line,” followed by work for both a lawyer and a merchant, plus some schooling as a remedy for his lack of success in securing a permanent “calling.”

Finally, at the age of sixteen, Oliver Goldsmith’s father “determined [that he] should go into the Army” (35). The passage that follows this decision is interesting in part because of the description of the careful placement of various family members in particular vocations: “His eldest Son, Henry, was a lawyer, his second Son, Hugh Colvill, a Lieutenant in the Royal Navy, and his fourth Son, Charles, a Midshipman, in the same service, so it was decided that I, his third Son, should be a Soldier, and I was devoted to the glorious Profession of Arms” (35). Notice not only the careful placement of various family members in particular, and hopefully God-honouring careers, but moreover the particular choice of words in relation to his own placement in the Army. Oliver Goldsmith is “devoted” in terms that are often used to describe the dedication of a son or daughter to the church or to God, to the “glorious Profession.” The word “glorious” to describe a “Profession” is worthy of even further notice in the present discussion. The Psalms in particular use “glorious” generally in describing God or His handiwork, and

never in relation to the profession or “calling” of the soldier.<sup>15</sup> From this point onward, the entirety of Goldsmith’s autobiography in part outlines the rise and fall of his own career, his movements around the globe in relation to his career, and his miseries in relation to reduction to half-pay, and eventual early retirement. However, hard work and good work are rewarded in the Protestant paradigm and prove a person worthy of God’s blessing. Of his initial appointment Oliver Goldsmith writes: “On the 25<sup>th</sup> September 1810, I was made Clerk and Issuer at 5s. per day, and placed on the Establishment. I wrote a good Hand, was/ well acquainted with Figures, and my assiduity and attention gained me, during the summer of 1811, I forget the precise date, a Treasury Clerkship” (36). Through a “good Hand” as well as “assiduity and attention,” the reward of a better post is “gained.” Progress, in this case in the pilgrimage of his calling, is to be earned by hard work. Of his later selection for half-pay he tellingly writes, “I was much grieved [...]. I had worked very hard [...]. I could not have been more usefully employed” (36). This dialogue joins the Weberian discourse of hard work to usefulness. Oliver Goldsmith reveals an astounded and “grieved” sense that hard work and usefulness did not at this point, in terms of the Protestant paradigm, earn him a blessed career.

Following Goldsmith’s description of his initial loss of position as the Deputy Assistant Commissary General, he takes the reader through his wanderings, purposeful travels for work, migrations, and tourist tours. These travels, although in most cases they can be read as pilgrimages of sorts within the Protestant pilgrimage paradigm, lend little to an argument for the pilgrimage of work, except perhaps in those cases when his movements are specifically for the purpose of work. The relationship of his

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<sup>15</sup> For further Biblical use of “glorious,” and particularly in relation to the name of God see 1Ch 29:13; Ne 9:5; Ps 66:2; Ps 72:19; Ps 111:3; Ps 145: 5; Isa 4:2; Isa 12:5; Isa 42:21; Isa 63:14; Isa 63:15; Jer 13:18; Mt 19:28; Lk 9:31 to name just a few.

autobiography to the “calling” as vocation as it relates to the “calling” to pilgrimage has already been discussed. However, pilgrimage, at least in its ordinary sense, generally necessitates some topographical description, sacred purpose, and geographical movement. In these instances, at least so far as topography and geography are concerned, and in so far as the Protestant ethic views work as a “sacred calling,” the autobiography of Oliver Goldsmith can be viewed as more than merely a travel document. In fact, Protestant views on pilgrimage, as evidenced by such charter pilgrimages as those of Augustine and Bunyan, portray life itself as a pilgrimage, and the autobiography as a life-as-pilgrimage travel journal. The life-as-pilgrimage or autobiography of Oliver Goldsmith is therefore abundantly relevant to a reading of his long poem in the Protestant pilgrimage paradigm.

Following Goldsmith’s reduction to half-pay, he was sent to England in an attempt to repair his career. Of this he writes, “the step promised me the pleasure of seeing more of the World, and / obtaining a more agreeable station” (37). Going to England then was both a “step” of progress in terms of his career, and an opportunity to combine the “travel” or geographical movement of pilgrimage with the Protestant progress in career. He describes London minimally as “grand and gloomy” (37), but focuses two paragraphs, as he does much of his text, on the financial difficulties he faced there. However, what is of particular interest is his invocation of two motifs of pilgrimage—interestingly in the same paragraph. He writes: “I literally wandered about the Streets, up one and down another, losing myself or finding myself all right as it may have happened. I may truly say that I saw the whole exterior of London; as to the interior my slender purse forbade the gratification of my Curiosity. Nevertheless, this Street

Knowledge was afterwards very useful” (37). Wandering is one of the archetypal forms of pilgrimage.<sup>16</sup> Further, one of the major reasons for going on pilgrimage is curiosity.<sup>17</sup> Therefore, although wandering is a form of pilgrimage and curiosity a reason for making a pilgrimage, in Goldsmith’s travels abroad, and as would be expected in an argument for the relationship between work and pilgrimage, the underlying “command” to go on this pilgrimage came not from inner curiosity or the sacred “call” of God but rather from Goldsmith’s career ambition.

The next major “pilgrimage” of Oliver Goldsmith’s life and career was the result of the command to return to Halifax for work. This followed shortly on his movement to England for the same reason, and Goldsmith in fact responded first by saying (like Jonah to God) that he was “most desirous of going elsewhere, and that [he] would gladly accept any place whatever it might be rather than return” (39). However, the prompt response was that he should rather return. The account in his autobiography is an appropriately difficult, dangerous, and arduous narrative of travel or pilgrimage for his work. He has a great deal of trouble on a number of occasions, beginning in the Port of Liverpool with securing an appropriate vessel (in part because the journey was being made at an inappropriate time of year). However, if difficulty in finding a vessel was the only trouble, it would have been minor indeed. Of sailing Oliver writes:

The Commencement of the Voyage was very prosperous, as we reached the Banks of Newfoundland in 18 days, but from that time we encountered a succession of gales of Wind and heavy seas. One man was lost

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<sup>16</sup> Wandering as an archetypal and contemporary form of pilgrimage will be elaborated upon in the chapter dealing with Davies and Urquhart.

<sup>17</sup> For a further discussion of the historical relationship of pilgrimage to curiosity see Christian K. Zacher’s Curiosity and Pilgrimage: The Literature of Discovery in Fourteenth Century England.

overboard, the Decks were swept, and the Boats carried away. The crew were violent and mutinous, and a short allowance of food and water rendered the/ Voyage still more disastrous. At the end of 10 weeks we anchored in the Harbour of New York. (39)

He is forced to make a trip overland to Boston that, although lacking in details of either the land or the particular hardships, is described as “a long and severe Journey of nearly 300 Miles, which, as well as I remember, occupied a week before I arrived” (39). Once in Boston, again “the prospect was gloomy indeed” (40). Travel at this time of year overland was expensive and nearly impossible. When Oliver finally finds a British Schooner, he “embraced the opportunity with alacrity” (40). But this sea journey is even more difficult and disastrous than the preceding one, and he elaborates at length on the disasters as they relate to the landscape, weather, and other difficulties:

At the end of Six days the prospect of a speedy termination to the voyage was most favourable. Grand Manan was in sight, and there were only a few miles more to run, when a Snow Storm came on, drove the vessel to leeward, and all human exertions powerless, she was cast ashore at daylight on Hat Island, one of the Outer Islands which fringe the Coast of Maine, and was uninhabited. I was washed from the Deck on the top of a wave which carried me to Shore, and I managed to cling to a rock/ whilst the wave receded, and before another returned I had scrambled into a place of Safety. I was much bruised and my hands were cut by the Barnacles. I lost everything I had with me. The Master and crew were all saved. The Island was small and well wooded. I commenced to beat

down a path where the snow was nearly two feet deep, and here I trotted backward and forward to keep myself warm as I was quite wet, and this plan was adopted by all until the gale abated. After a search in the wreck for the proper materials, some powder and/ some tow, a fire was fortunately made, and but for that every one would that night have perished from the excessive cold. (40)

While again he ends his narrative by saying “It would be too long to give all the Details of this Shipwreck” (40), the details that are given are sufficient to convey a sense of the landscape, the cold, and the extreme difficulty faced by the author in his “pilgrimage” to the work he had been called to in Halifax. The account makes clear that Goldsmith conceived journeying to work in pilgrimage terms, and that he had from personal experience knowledge of both the land and the difficulties it presented.

It is shortly following this experience that Oliver Goldsmith tries his hand at poetry.

While Goldsmith’s travels to Hong Kong, Newfoundland, and later Corfu are interesting accounts of travel, they have little relevance to pilgrimage in Canada; however, I will discuss at some length his “return” pilgrimage to the ancestral home of his namesake, the Anglo-Irish Oliver Goldsmith. The younger Goldsmith writes: “I had always entertained an earnest desire to visit Sweet Auburn” (49), which he goes on to describe as a “very natural wish” to visit the “Birthplace of my father” (50). Like the Jesuit missionary pilgrims (and even Urquhart’s Klara, discussed in the following chapter), who are described as always having a desire to make a particular journey, so too Goldsmith asserts that he had “always entertained an earnest desire” to make this pilgrimage. While he gives a detailed account of where he went and descriptions of the

architecture and touristic sites of the cities he stopped in along the way, it seems more relevant to focus immediately on his arrival at the Lissoy House—the former residence of Reverend Charles Goldsmith. The Canadian Oliver Goldsmith quotes from The Deserted Village when he describes this house as the “Village Preacher’s Modest Mansion.” Goldsmith continues in his descriptions of the place to quote from The Deserted Village: “The decent Church that topped the neighbouring Hill,” the now silent “busy Mill,” the “Hawthorn bush” that had been removed piece by piece by pilgrims to this place, the “Village School,” the “House where nut brown draughts inspired.” He observes the transformations that have taken place to the church and the site since the descriptions of the Anglo-Irish poet. He goes on to say that “the only relic I saw was a Copper Bowl, with a wooden Handle about two feet in length, and used for the purpose of collecting Alms” (52). While the description is short and modest and the quotes from The Deserted Village and their connection to the site similarly brief, this is near the end of Oliver Goldsmith’s life-as-pilgrimage narrative, and seems to be an event to which he had looked forward and of which he had dreamed for much of his life. It is also an important biographical bridge to the representation of Protestant migration and, indeed, of pilgrimage in The Rising Village.

The Deserted Village itself footnotes the title as the location of “poetical pilgrimages” (129). The Anglo-Irish Goldsmith notes of the village:

The locality of this poem is supposed to be Lissoy, near Ballymahon, where the poet’s brother Henry had his living. As usual in such cases, the place afterward became the fashionable resort of poetical pilgrims, and paid the customary penalty of furnishing relics for the curious. The

*hawthorn bush* had been converted into snuff-boxes, and now adorns the cabinets of virtuosi. (129)

The unmistakably literary quality and designation of this pilgrimage are nonetheless marked by the rituals and practices of “sacred” or religious pilgrimage. Pieces of the actual hawthorn bush that inspired the poem have been taken by the pilgrims as relics, so that on the occasion of the Canadian Oliver Goldsmith’s pilgrimage to the site of his forefathers, the tree no longer exists, but is marked in its absence as the site of many previous poetical pilgrimages (as noted by the Anglo-Irish Goldsmith).

Many critics have drawn parallels between The Rising Village and The Deserted Village.<sup>18</sup> However, while this sets an important precedent for a later discussion, it seems worthwhile to give some attention to another work by the Anglo-Irish Oliver Goldsmith that could be viewed as a “charter” pilgrimage or more simply as part of the model that the Canadian Oliver Goldsmith intended to imitate, at least in part as an economic warning or model, when he wrote The Rising Village. The Traveller; Or, A Prospect of Society (1787) in its very name is worthy of mention in a discussion of pilgrimage. The older Goldsmith’s “prospect of society” lays down some foundations for a good society that are worthy of note in particular because the younger Oliver Goldsmith sees their worthiness and makes similar statements or warnings with regard to wealth and vice. It has been contended that Oliver Goldsmith misreads The Deserted Village and thus came to some very different conclusions about wealth and progress: as a colonialist and as the descendant of United Empire Loyalists, he may have failed to see the ironic parallel

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<sup>18</sup> Desmond Pacey’s 1951 article “The Goldsmiths and their Villages” questions: “To what extent is the Canadian poem an imitation of its model” (27), taking for granted that the Canadian Oliver Goldsmith’s model is *The Deserted Village*. This discussion of the two poems is continued by Kenneth J. Hughes in 1977, and in 1978 *The Rising Village* is said by W.J. Keith to “indisputably derive” from *The Deserted Village*.

between the economic “slavery” of the colony, and the powerful and destructive force of the “landlord” of the elder’s poem.<sup>19</sup> However, I would prefer to focus for the time being on the more explicit and to date neglected discussion of some of the parallels between The Traveller and The Rising Village.

The Traveller is dedicated to Henry Goldsmith, brother of the Anglo-Irish Goldsmith, just as The Rising Village is dedicated to Oliver Goldsmith’s brother Henry. Oliver Goldsmith follows the model of the dedication to Henry Goldsmith in The Traveller, including a discussion of the “prospects” of the rising village that parallels the “prospect of society” of the elder’s poem. In fact, it appears that The Rising Village is intended to be the “Wild Oswego” of The Traveller that Goldsmith mentions in the dedication to his brother. Likewise, just as the elder Oliver Goldsmith suggests that Henry is the best suited to judge the “prospects” of the poem, so too the Canadian descendant is said to be suited to “judge more correctly of the truth of the descriptions” (200). However, in the dedication of The Traveller, Goldsmith writes: “I have endeavoured to show, that there may be equal happiness in states that are differently governed from our own; that every state has a particular principle of happiness, and that this principle in each [state, and in our own in particular] may be carried to a mischievous excess” (149). The Canadian Oliver Goldsmith, on the other hand, attempts to capture the “truth” in his descriptions.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> David Jackel makes a great deal of this reading of the poem in “Goldsmith’s Rising Village and the Colonial State of Mind” (1980).

<sup>20</sup> Kenneth J. Hughes’s “Oliver Goldsmith’s ‘The Rising Village’” discusses the lack of specific detail given in *The Rising Village*. Hughes emphasizes the universality of the poem in order to argue that the rising village could be any town in Nova Scotia. As such, he participates in a long critical discussion that pits local detail against universal qualities in Canadian Literature.

The Traveller furnished, then, the subject (brother Henry) of the dedication, the destination of the pilgrims (in the location “Wild Oswego” given in The Rising Village and taken from The Traveller) and, in the figure of the wanderer or traveller, the pilgrim, the prospects for an ideal society, as well as suggesting the vices that threaten society and the rising village itself. The traveller of the poem can be taken as the poet himself, surveying the different scenes or countries of Europe and commenting on each in his search or prospectus for the “ideal” society. Taken in parallel with the Canadian Oliver Goldsmith’s “God’s-eye-view” of the village rising from the pilgrim train through time to its final demise (the rise and fall), it is interesting to note that there is a model perspective in the “God’s-eye-view” of the traveller viewing the rise and fall of various countries. He comments on the views of each nation on labour, their natural proclivities, their wealth, education, view on the arts, and the natural benefits to each country afforded by the setting. Of course, this could describe the method of the Canadian Oliver Goldsmith’s poem. However, there is one major difference. The Traveller moves geographically as well as temporally through four different countries in Europe, praising their treatment of the traveller (in a similar manner to the treatment of the traveller who arrives in the rising village), and decrying the threat of vice as a result of wealth and ease. The major difference is that the Anglo-Irish Oliver Goldsmith is the solitary traveller through space and time, observing the different countries, whereas the Canadian Oliver Goldsmith moves his pilgrims *en-masse* to “Wild Oswego” so that they themselves are the pilgrims. Then, from the perspective of the “God’s-eye-view,” the rising village moves temporally through what has been described as the four stages of the “rising” village, showing also what I would suggest is perhaps the fifth stage: the threat of future decline of the village.

The four stages theory of the village and the “rise” and “fall” of the village, are acknowledged in readings of the poem given by D.M.R. Bentley and Gerald Lynch. I make no attempt to draw a parallel between the Italy, France, Holland, Switzerland, and Britain of The Traveller and the various “stages” or phases of development that the poet moves through in his account of the village. But the temporal movement of The Rising Village, following the *en-masse* migration or pilgrimage of the pilgrims of The Deserted Village, allows for a reading where the village itself becomes the pilgrim moving temporally (rising or progressing) rather than geographically.

The Rising Village, for all that has been made of the influence of the elder Goldsmith’s poetry, consciously departs from the Anglo-Irish Oliver Goldsmith’s The Traveller and The Deserted Village. In spite of years of critical commentary on The Rising Village as a poem stylistically inferior to its predecessor-model, the Canadian Goldsmith could undoubtedly have given an “accurate” topographic portrayal of the scenery of the village during the various times of year rather than showing the village at different times in its history and highlighting various problems that differ markedly from the problems and concerns of the countries of The Traveller and the situation of The Deserted Village. It is my contention that Oliver Goldsmith was deliberate in his portrayal in order to highlight the economic, educational, and moral problems of Nova Scotia, of which he was well informed as a result of the work of Father Inglis. Indeed, Goldsmith’s poem bears striking parallels to the writings of Father Inglis, who was the Bishop of Nova Scotia, author of the preface of The Rising Village, writer of sermons and addresses, traveller and extensive chronicler of conditions in the colonies, and, perhaps most significantly for present purposes, friend and mentor to Oliver Goldsmith.

Previous criticism dealing with the moral structures of the poem takes no notice of the prominent position of the parson in the senior Oliver Goldsmith's writings and the complete lack of a parson in The Rising Village.<sup>21</sup> In the discussion that follows, I draw attention to this difference in the two poems in order to highlight the significance of this absence to the pilgrimage of the rising village. The lack of ministers was a problem in the colony. In the place of a parson there appears a moral fable about a sporting hero, Albert. Along with warning against the dangers of pilgrimage, both Luther and Calvin warn against sport as leading to moral decay. I will show how the lack of a parson is one of the important elements that contributes to the realism of the poem, and is also important as part of the moral message for and about the pilgrimage of the village. Importantly, moral example and teaching and the possibility of personal and collective transformation is a significant element of pilgrimage that are threatened by the lack of a parson.

The Canadian-born Oliver Goldsmith was the new-world descendent of a long line of parsons and vicars, both familial and literary. As I have mentioned, the vicarage and the familial trade of ministry are of particular importance in relation to the older Goldsmith's work; his novel The Vicar of Wakefield and The Deserted Village both highlight the character of the parson as central to the structure and character of the work. It seems odd that the Canadian Goldsmith, a poet of such acute moral sensibilities and such derivative talent, would fail to include a parson in his portrait of The Rising Village. Surely, in a poem concerned with the morality of the village, the moral example and teaching of a parson would be of importance to the moral foundations of the community.

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<sup>21</sup> Previous discussions of the moral structures of the poem include Gerald Lynch's "Oliver Goldsmith's *The Rising Village*: Controlling Nature" and Ronald E. Tranquilla's "'Empires Rise and Sink': *The Rising Village* and the Cyclical View of History."

This is particularly noteworthy in that the portrait of the village parson in The Deserted Village is the most extensive portrait of any character in the village, and is indeed central to the depiction of both country charm and community virtue. The portrait of The Deserted Village's parson is nestled in a description of happy gardens and country flowers: "Near yonder copse, where once the garden smiled, / And still where many a garden flower grows wild." The parson himself is described as a man "to all the country dear." In this pastoral setting, "Remote from towns he ran his godly race" (The Vicar of Wakefield and Poems 215). The parson is known as a godly example and his home is a safe haven to all those who pass over its welcoming threshold. The passage here quoted at length is central to the portrait of the parson and on a larger scale to the moral message of The Deserted Village:

His house was known to all the vagrant train;  
 He chid their wanderings, but relieved their pain:  
 The long-remember'd beggar was his guest,  
 Whose beard descending swept his aged breast;  
 The ruin'd spendthrift, now no longer proud,  
 Claim'd kindred there, and had his claims allow'd;  
 The broken soldier, kindly bade to stay,  
 Sat by his fire, and talk'd the night away;  
 Wept o'er his wounds, or, tales of sorrow done,  
 Shoulder'd his crutch, and show'd how fields were won,  
 Pleased with his guests, the good man learn'd to glow,  
 And quite forgot their vices in their woe;

Careless their merits or their faults to scan,

His pity gave ere charity began. (The Vicar of Wakefield and Poems

215-216)

As this portrait suggests, the parson is unconcerned with material progress or worldly glory. His home is the meeting place for those distressed people who live in the village, or travellers who are passing through. Around the fire the “broken soldier” and the “ruined spendthrift” tell their “tales of sorrow done” and of the parson: “His pity gave ere charity began” (216). This central meeting place, the warm fires, and the sad broken stories of the wanderer contrast sharply to the place where the “weary traveller” finds “snug and safe repose” in The Rising Village. Rather than a welcoming home, with a moral and charitable teacher, the community of The Rising Village boasts “the tavern first” (132). In The Rising Village, “Here, oft the weary traveller at the close / Of evening, finds a snug and safe repose. / The passing stranger here, a welcome guest, / From all his toil enjoys a peaceful rest; / Unless the host, solicitous to please, / With care officious mar his hope of ease, / With flippant questions to no end confined, / Exhaust his patience, and perplex his mind” (133-140). The people in need of rest in The Deserted Village find solace and comfort, but in The Rising Village they are further exhausted by the endless questioning of the host and the curiosity of the villagers.

The Deserted Village continues in the following four stanzas to outline the parson’s bedside manner with those “parting life” (216) and, with no mention of the physical architecture of the church, effectively portrays the “grace” and “steady zeal” of the parson, and the train of children and villagers who trusted and followed him, “allured to brighter worlds” (216). The Rising Village has no parson, but rather boasts among

other characters a “half-bred Doctor,” whose questionable methods suggestably push people on their way to the next life. In The Deserted Village no doctor is necessary, for the parson is the one who comforts the body and mind of those on the threshold of eternity: “Beside the bed where parting life was laid, / And sorrow, guilt, and pain, by turns dismay’d, / The reverend champion stood. At his control / Despair and anguish fled the struggling soul; / Comfort came down the trembling wretch to raise, / And his last faltering accents whisper’d praise” (216). In lieu of a parson, the “half-bred Doctor” of The Rising Village “cures, by chance, or ends each human ill; / By turns he physics, or his patient bleeds, / Uncertain in what case each best succeeds” (220-223). While the parson has “despair and anguish” in “his control,” the Doctor’s intervention is one ruled by “chance”— as often ending the life of the patient as curing. Therefore, in The Rising Village the central image is one of chance and disorder rather than the spiritual control that is apparent in the parson of The Deserted Village. Likewise, while the parson is central to the poem, the church itself is mentioned only as a place “at church,” where the parson ministers to the people of the town. However, in The Rising Village, in the absence of any spiritual example or leader, the description is of the grounds, the church, and the physical adornment of these and the villagers. There is no mention of any central spiritual figure, although the discussion of God seems to suggest His larger presence ministered directly rather than through the person of a parson.

The Rising Village presents the church as follows:

In some lone spot of consecrated ground  
Whose silence spreads a holy gloom around,  
The village church in unadorned array,

now lifts its turret to the opening day.  
 How sweet to see the villagers repair  
 In groups to pay their adoration there;  
 To view, in homespun dress, each sacred morn,  
 The old and young its hallowed seats adorn,  
 While, grateful for each blessing God has given,  
 In pious strains, they waft their thanks to Heaven. (165-175)

What follows is a discussion of the “solace” of faith, and the power of God to help and save. However, while it is important that the poet preaches a mini-sermon on personal faith, it is nonetheless a poet who transmits this message with these words and not a parson, as in The Deserted Village. In fact, while the younger Goldsmith follows, or imitates the structure of The Deserted Village (just as the villagers follow the leadership of the Parson), this strange absence of a parson seems to suggest something that is very true of the colonies in the nineteenth-century: there was an extreme shortage of trained ministers willing to go to the colonies. Likewise, there is a problem with education; the few teachers that exist are ill-prepared for the task. However, the critique of the educational problems in Nova Scotia are not of the lack of teachers, as it is with the shortage of parsons, but with the quality of their instruction. The portrait of the schoolmaster in The Rising Village suggests the problems created when teachers are unprepared and lack the discipline or knowledge to inspire their pupils. The teacher of The Rising Village is “unequal to the task” (236), and like the doctor appears to be undermining the moral order of the village. The minds of the young, like the bodies of

the old and indeed the souls of the villagers are left to chance, each “free-born soul,” (246) like chaff, blown to and fro by the whims and winds of change.

The question then is why the poet, like his great Uncle, is preaching a sermon of warning—one which, it has been suggested, has been expounded in the moral tale of Flora and Albert.<sup>22</sup> Here, however, instead of a portrait of the destruction of moral leadership by the abuse of power and wealth, is a warning about the lack of a parson and proper educational instruction, and a moral fable regarding the possible fate of the village. The question of why the poet finds it necessary to take up these questions of the church, parsons, and education is answered in part by a comparison of his work to that of his uncle. In part, the Canadian Oliver Goldsmith is fulfilling the family call to preach moral order, and even in petitioning for more aid to the colonies.

But Goldsmith’s sermonizing on the problems of the colonies has a source much more immediate than the moral influence of his predecessor’s poem, or the familial vocation as vicars. Previous research has made some mention of Bishop Inglis; D.M.R. Bentley shows that Oliver Goldsmith was “cosily aligned with a colonial elite whose generally Tory and loyalist views accord with what can be deduced of his own” (27), and Michael Holmgren likewise notes in his discussion of education that Bishop John Inglis “took part in the debate of 1814, writing that the schools run by the dissenters were ‘composed of low and illiterate men, some of whom are as vulgar and illiberal, and wild and mischievous as they are illiterate’” (66). While both of these critics mention aspects of the social influence, political and educational, that Bishop Inglis had on the young Oliver Goldsmith, they fail to account for the entire breadth of the social and moral

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<sup>22</sup> The Flora and Albert story or parable is particularly addressed as a moral exemplum by Gerald Lynch in “Oliver Goldsmith’s *The Rising Village*: Controlling Nature.”

concerns that trace their way through The Rising Village. I will suggest, necessarily relying on the published documents of John Inglis, Bishop of Nova Scotia, that the social, religious, and educational aspects of the vision of the Bishop are indeed the concerns of The Rising Village, suggesting at once the importance of this friendship and possible collaboration, and attesting to the realism of the poem in depicting the struggles of Nova Scotia in the nineteenth century.

Bishop Inglis provides the topographical and economic analysis of the small villages of the province that supplies Goldsmith with the “charter” work in topographical analysis (an important aspect in distinguishing and defining Canadian pilgrimage). Bishop Inglis also writes the preface to both the 1825 and the 1834 editions of The Rising Village. In both prefaces he recommends the work of his friend, and in the 1825 edition he suggests that the poet needs to raise funds through this publication for the care of his aging mother in England.<sup>23</sup> Bishop Inglis, adept at making pleas for funds both in the colony and back in the mother country, here makes a personal appeal on behalf of the poet’s family in England. While the preface of the 1834 edition still contains something of a moral plea for the rewards of hard work and “earnest endeavours,” the message changes to one that acknowledges the poet’s concerns for the welfare of the colony.<sup>24</sup> Thus, while Bentley suggests an autobiographical reading, even the poet’s friend and advisor, John Inglis, amends the personal appeal of the 1825 preface to make a statement

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<sup>23</sup> John Inglis writes in the 1825 preface to *The Rising Village* in an attempt to secure funds for the poet: “For he has an aged and widowed mother, now residing at Plymouth, whose comfort it is his chief delight to promote; and if his talent and his pen can be instrumental to such a purpose, they will engage his very earnest endeavours” (*The Rising Village of Oliver Goldsmith* Ed. Michael Gnarowski 17).

<sup>24</sup> Inglis amends his mercenary appeal of the 1825 edition to a well-wishing statement on behalf of the poet for the welfare of the colonies. He writes of the poet’s “sincere and ardent wishes for the prosperity and welfare of the Inhabitants of Nova-Scotia and New Brunswick” (*The Rising Village of Oliver Goldsmith* Ed. Michael Gnarowski 18).

in the 1834 preface of the poet's more far-reaching concerns for the Christian progress of the colony.

The published documents of Bishop Inglis include a number of travel journals and, importantly for a discussion of the parallels between Bishop Inglis's message and the concerns of the poem, his charge to the clergy and sermons at various churches in the colony. The charge to the clergy calls particularly for "Personal holiness, and godly example of others" as being of primary importance to the ministry in the colonies ("A Charge Delivered to the Clergy of his Diocese, by John, Lord Bishop of Nova Scotia" 11). But, as shown, the "godly example" which is recognized repeatedly in the parson of The Deserted Village is absent in The Rising Village. The youth of the village instead have stories of rising mercantile success, and role models like the doctor and the schoolmaster, who are hardly capable of putting forth the necessary example of steadfastness and faithfulness. The passage preceding the Flora and Albert sequence suggests what rises in the place of the godly example of the clergy are the sites of the village games: "life's gay scenes in quick succession rise, / To lure the heart and captivate the eyes" (287-88). It seems that it could be the villagers fixing their eyes on these "gay scenes," rather than the steadfast example of a parson as in The Deserted Village, that directly results in the vice that is described in the lines that follow: "Soon vice steals on, in thoughtless pleasure's train, / And spreads her miseries o'er the village plain" (289-290). It is hardly surprising, given the absence of godly example (at least one according to the prescription of Father Inglis) that in the parable that follows, the leader of these village scenes, Albert, would be unfaithful, and that Flora would end her days with a mind unhinged by his unfaithfulness. These are the results of the lack of this

necessary “godly example” (“A Charge Delivered to the Clergy of his Diocese, by John, Lord Bishop of Nova Scotia” 11). This charge continues to detail the exemplary practices expected of the clergy. They are to be “well grounded” and devoted to “exercise of a discreet and active zeal” (12). The clergy are further urged to teach the “great and leading doctrines of the Gospel” (16) with the insistence that these “leading doctrines alone can reach the defects and sinfulness of the human heart, and there alone can supply the wants, and satisfy the desires of the soul” (17). The clergy are to encourage the regular catechizing of children from an early age as this “sows the seed from which [they] may hope, by the blessing of the Lord of the harvest, to see beautiful plants of holiness bearing their fruit abundantly” (21). Like the parable of the sower in the gospels, the Bishop is urging that the instruction of the children in catechism will in time bear the fruits of righteousness. This brings to mind the parable-like story of Flora and Albert, echoing the gospel parable of what happens to the seed that goes unnurtured. The seed that falls on the rocky soil of Nova Scotia, without proper care, can only spring up to die in the first season of life. The Bishop is urging that with the right example and right teaching, this will not take place; there will be the examples of consistency and faithfulness and the seeds that were planted in youth will bear the fruits of righteousness in adult life.

The Bishop next encourages pastoral visits to the sick and dying. The clergy are to encourage the sick with “hope of life to come” (26), and to instruct that with “Christian faith, and patience, and hope, and joy, this passing world’s disquietudes will appear at once in all their proper insignificance” (26). Like the parson of The Deserted Village, the clergy are the ones called to be at the bedside of the sick and dying. The “half-bred

Doctor” of The Rising Village, scorned by the poet, could be replaced at the sick-bed by the encouragement and hope that the clergy are charged to minister.

The 1832 “Sermon, Parish Church of St. Paul,” delivered just two years before the revised version of the poem was released, clearly connects some of the major mercenary concerns of the poem and the colony under the auspices of missionary work for the enlargement of God’s Kingdom on earth. The sermon enlarges on Psalm 62 verse 2: “That thy way may be known upon earth; Thy saving health among the nations” (1). Bishop Inglis says, “This psalm ... is described as a Prayer for the enlargement of God’s kingdom, to the joy of the people, and the increase of God’s blessing” (6). The Bishop continues to urge the people, “whatsoever your hand findeth to do, do it with your might” (7), encouraging the congregation in their hard work towards the prosperity that The Rising Village boasts. Indeed, around the fire the villagers tell the stories of the original settler’s “dire distress / That marked his progress in the wilderness; / The danger, trouble, hardship, toil, and strife, / Which chased each effort of his struggling life ( 161-164). However, what follows this “hardship” and “toil” is the “Christian Progress” that the Bishop praises and the poet celebrates: “Its limits increase, and still its fame” (198). Through the hard work that the Bishop urges, “thus the village each successive year / Presents new prospects, and extends its sphere, / While all around its smiling charms expand, / And rural beauties decorate the land. / The humble tenants, who were taught to know, / By years of suffering, all the weight of woe” (249-254). The fruits of hardship for the villagers are the “new prospects” of the village, but also the moral laxity that follows, as the poet illustrates, and which, as the Bishop suggests, is due to the lack of proper example and training in moral law. The Protestant work ethic then, at least

according to the poet and the Bishop, is not sufficient for the moral well-being of the colony. "Election," while marked by hard work in the Protestant mentality, must also include moral example and teaching. Without these the "Christian Progress" of the colony would, like the Jesuit missions of the earlier chapter, be marked for failure.

The Bishop moves from this appeal to the people for hard work to a specific promotion of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, a portrait of what the colony would be like without this society, and an appeal for funds for the continuation of this work.<sup>25</sup> John Inglis claims that without the Society, children "would have grown up untaught ... In the dark and dreary spiritual wilderness the light of life would have been unseen" (13-14) underscoring again the need for moral teaching and example. Even with the Society, many parts of the colony endure "the severest of these privations," including lack of ministers for baptisms and marriages. Indeed, perhaps the placement of Flora and Albert's wedding at an unusual time of year and the eventual desertion of Albert have something to do with exactly this problem—the lack of ministers for the regular service of sacraments. However, Albert and Flora do not contribute the only dark element of the poem, as it appears that their story is merely a parable of a more far-reaching problem

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<sup>25</sup> In the 1825 version of *The Rising Village* Oliver Goldsmith remarks on the work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel: "I must here express the gratitude that is due to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, whose funds are so nobly appropriated to the support of schools in the province. There are, at present, forty schoolmasters, who receive a small salary from the society; twelve scholarships at King's College, and twelve exhibitions at the Collegiate School, in Windsor, to assist the education of persons destined for Holy Orders" (*The Rising Village of Oliver Goldsmith* Ed. Michael Gnarowski 46). However, the note promoting and thanking the society was removed in the 1834 version and two years prior to this Bishop Inglis's made what became his final appeal on behalf of the Society. Michael Gnarowski notes and Gerald Lynch concurs that: "If Goldsmith had felt that his remarks on education had already become dated in 1824 so much so that he had to qualify them ('The remarks which I have made on schools are however, more strictly applicable to a former period...'), how much more so, then, ten years later. Consequently, Goldsmith did away with 'Notes' 2 and 4, and, incidentally, did away as well with his earlier expressions of admiration for the work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel." 'Note' 2 concerns the Society's religious activities rather than its educational efforts, although the two were usually connected (*The Rising Village of Oliver Goldsmith* Ed. Michael Gnarowski 43-44).

that results from the lack of proper teaching and example. As John Inglis would suggest, the children of the village “have grown up untaught” and the place of the village is figured as both a “wilderness” and a “desert,” images of both material and spiritual lack of nurture, and that the villagers, while overcome in a material sense by hard work, have not been guided by a parson who would provide moral example and teaching. The Bishop goes on to make a strong appeal for the need for funds to remedy this problem, an appeal which makes its appearance in all of the seven documents of his journals and sermons.

While the message of the Bishop and the poem could appear to be a strange mix of appeals for funds and a collection of dire pleas or parables to illustrate the result of a lack of a parson, their mutual concern with hard work and worldly success and spiritual progress were indeed wed in the colonies and in the Church of England. The Capitalist and moralist agenda as promoted by the poet were accurate depictions of the situation in the colonies, and particularly in nineteenth-century Nova Scotia. In response to Desmond Pacey’s 1951 article which claims that Goldsmith “admires Nova Scotia; but does not fully understand her” (29), Bentley, among others, has gone to great lengths to show the personal connectedness The Rising Village evidences for the particular problems of Nova Scotia in Oliver Goldsmith’s day. Indeed, on the evidence primarily of Oliver Goldsmith’s autobiography, Bentley details the parallels between Goldsmith’s experiences in the colonies and passages detailing hardships in the new settlements—the “half-bred Doctor” and the “Ironmonger’s Shop,” in particular (24-25). Building then on this autobiographical evidence of personal awareness of the particularized problems of the colony, I would yet question whether Oliver Goldsmith was aware of the larger social

and economic problems of the colonies in his day. In fact, it seems that without first-hand evidence of the diverse problems in the various communities, or accurate journalism, it would be difficult for the poet accurately to depict a “typical” community in Nova Scotia. The capital was not a “rising” village, although the problems of Halifax may have paralleled some of the problems of the out-lying villages. In terms of understanding the relative realism of this poem and the readings of this poem that suggest extended allegory, such as Gerald Lynch’s discussion of the moral implications of the Flora and Albert sequence, it is necessary to question the poem’s topographical accuracy and attempt to determine the source, or indeed sources, for the village. Is this every village? Is this an inner landscape of what life would have been like if the poet had lived outside of the capital? Or perhaps there was an inspirational source, beyond family responsibilities and emulation of successful forebears, that inspired the writing of this poem?

Bishop Inglis travelled extensively through the diocese of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and indeed all the maritime region. A descriptive writer by nature, keeper of extensive journals, preacher and fundraiser by trade, it is evident from his journals, addresses, and sermons that Inglis played a key role in making the mother country and the inhabitants of the new colony aware of the spiritual, financial, and educational problems that faced all the small communities in his region. His long trips were detailed in daily journal entries describing at great length the condition of the roads, the homes, the farms, the churches, the weather, and the schools in each of the small communities. The Bishop went on a number of major trips, travelling by horse, foot, canoe, or other vessel, to visit the members of the Greater Church of England.

These trips were ostensibly to dedicate churches and graveyards, and to confirm, baptize, and marry members of these congregations. The communities were for the most part scattered across the provinces, days of travel and hundreds of miles from the capital or major regions of settlement. Many of the people were struggling to clear the land and erect the most primitive of shelters for themselves and their families. In long and detailed entries, written presumably as a report for the mother Church of England with the hope of raising financial support and securing funds for the training of men for the ministry, almost every entry laments the lack of appropriate worship facilities, or praises the humble efforts of the impoverished community in erecting simple churches that were packed beyond capacity for his long moralizing sermons urging “Christian Progress” in the furbishing of the dwelling of God. In the first entry of the first of these journals, writing of the church at St. Peters, Inglis observes:

it was a gratifying sight to see seventy-two of this little flock coming forward, with every appearance of devout and intelligent attention, to receive the blessing of confirmation. The rain and roads and the storm were forgotten, and we were truly happy. I preached to attentive hearers, if any reliance can be placed on their appearance, which bespoke deep and pious and holy impression (A Journal of Visitation in Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, and Along the Eastern Shore of New Brunswick 3).

The Bishop repeatedly describes the piety and eagerness of these little flocks without the care and guidance of missionaries or priests, and commends this and other communities, for “the building of a church in this secluded and poor settlement was a great achievement” (3). The very next entry describes a similar flock in a “neat little church”

(4) that was so crowded the people were spilling out the doors. Again he emphasizes the lack of a preacher and the eagerness of the flock for spiritual guidance in the daily observances of morality.

Clearly, while accurately describing from his travels his impressions of the roads, weather, people, and architecture, Bishop Inglis has an agenda more far-reaching than poetic realism, or even topographical accuracy. As evidenced even in the opening two days of travel and writing, Bishop Inglis is primarily concerned with the economic hardships in these communities and their effects on the communities, particularly where these difficulties influence the building and furnishing of churches and the calling and supporting of a missionary or parson. It also becomes clear that this concern is not just for the moral and spiritual leadership of the flocks, but also for the educational deprivation in these communities, as the Church of England, and indeed the missionary societies such as The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel were inextricably linked to the educational system in the outlying regions of the colony. Although the mention is rare, occasionally the Bishop takes note of his “glad[ness] to find a good school” (26). At other times there is a school-house that, the Bishop notes disdainfully, doubles for both religious and educational facility, with the schoolmaster often acting as both the minister and schoolmaster (26).

The Bishop is continually concerned with an ethic of progress, and takes every opportunity to voice his “encouragement of Christian progress” (21) by emphasizing the physical and material ways the building of churches are examples of “good progress” (22). At times the Bishop’s zeal for the appearance of progress becomes more evident than at others; at Beaver Harbour on Salmon River, he writes: “I addressed the

confirmed, and afterwards encouraged the little flock in their earnest endeavours, through God's grace, to adorn their profession. The frame for a church in this place is already provided, to be raised on a beautiful spot on the glebe" (25). When more material steps have been taken for the "Christian progress" of the settlement, the Bishop says: "I was rejoiced to find the church greatly improved, and the addition of a respectable tower and spire. I made a visit to the Academy, a new and excellent building" (32). Again the church and school are wed in the trope of progress and particularly in the encouragement of material progress, although the Bishop endorses these achievements as "Christian Progress."

This agenda, then, of "Christian Progress" endorsed by the Bishop when evidenced in the material markings of this trope with his recording of the architectural sites of this achievement, suggests something of the mentality of progress that was evident in every facet of society in the colonies. However, to condemn this idea of progress as anathema to Christianity, or at odds with Oliver Goldsmith the elder's anti-mercantile/progressive poetry of The Deserted Village, is to deforest a trope of Christianity that was clearly at work in the colonies. This was perhaps particularly the case with Conservative branches of the Church of England and her sons and daughters who promoted "Christian Progress" as the spiritual and moral duty of those believers whose intention it was to glorify God and establish His Kingdom on earth, thereby necessitating the erection of churches and the preaching of these virtues throughout the colony. Just as the "pilgrims" of The Deserted Village must forsake the derelict altars and decrepit churches of the old country, so the settlers of The Rising Village must

glorify God, in spite of the hardships, by raising His beautiful and spacious new kingdom in the rising villages of the new world.

The pilgrim's progress of the new world is not one that evidences the moral examples of the old world; rather, the fledgling community of the rising village, and perhaps every rising village, is encouraged in a material and worldly progress as evidence of the establishment of God's kingdom here on earth. Weber describes the pilgrim's progress of the Protestant as follows: "isolated economic man who carries out missionary activities on the side takes the place of the lonely spiritual search for the Kingdom of Heaven of Bunyan's pilgrim, hurrying through the market place of vanity" (176-7). While the Canadian Oliver Goldsmith encourages the progress of the village in its worldly establishment, he is also concerned with the moral progress or decay of the colony. Like the Bishop, he notices the absence of Godly examples and warns against the "creeping vice" (Lynch 47) that can result from the lack of right teaching and example. Indeed, the Bishop's superior knowledge of the situation of the colonies and his morally informed mercantilist agenda seem to parallel the concerns of the poet and highlight some of the problems of this and every rising village in Nova Scotia.

**Pagan Roots and National Mythologies: Peregrinations in Robertson Davies' Fifth Business and Jane Urquhart's The Stone Carvers**

*Life is a sort of lonely pilgrimage ... in search of God ... I think that the way the pilgrimage is made is by attempting to acquire self-knowledge ... and that by gaining knowledge of oneself and indirectly other people, you gain some apprehension of some aspects of God. ~ Robertson Davies ~*

Robertson Davies' style is as sharp and precise as knife lines chiselled into stone. A favourite and apt biblical quotation suited to Davies' fiction and often voiced by his characters is "the stone the builders rejected has become the chief cornerstone" (Ps 118:22; Mt 21:42; Ac 4:11), and this rejected stone—the old eccentric schoolmaster, the idiot child in the attic, and the mad parson's wife—becomes the chief stones (or precisely sculpted characters) of Davies' pilgrimage for literary truth (and self-knowledge); they become the emblem of the Great Joker and the glorified underdog of Canadian fiction. These rejected stones are transformed by Davies into art and cut by the stone carvers of Jane Urquhart's fiction into a national monument bringing love and healing to the narratives' pilgrims.

While Davies' fiction relies on the archetypal underworld of Jung and the Bible-fearing piety of small-town Canada, his is a literary pilgrimage, much like Pratt's, for truth (although perhaps individual truth rather than capital-T Truth). He searches for this truth in the unifying eccentricities of the personal mythos that undergirds human existence and the peculiarly Canadian subconscious underworld inhabited by Dickensian

and Dantesque characters pursuing or orbiting the truth of their nature and the nature of the unfathomable creation and often trickster-like God who baffles and taunts them, always ready to nudge them on the path of their fate and to laugh at their befuddlement along the way.

I view Davies as one of the pillars of the Canadian literary monument, or to alter the stone metaphor, as the chief cornerstone, and as one of the writers who embodies in his peregrinations through the undergrowth of Canada, not a unifying vision of Canadian pilgrimage, but charting the multifarious paths the pilgrim trods. Robertson Davies' work is also important as a synthesizing vision between the early poetry of Goldsmith and Pratt, the small-town-secular quest for roots of Wright, the later historical fiction of Urquhart, and the postmodern works of Findley and Atwood.

Importantly, Davies too, like Wright, speaks of the roots, the roots of Canada, the person, and the personal quest—and he builds from these roots a narrative that moves in pilgrimage terms towards transformation—away from the roots towards the crown or goal of art and sainthood, only to realize and make holy, through art, those aspects of home (the roots) that make pilgrimage itself a meaningful and transformative journey.

I begin by looking particularly at Robertson Davies' pilgrimage as a writer and how his personal journey through life is transformed in fiction into the peregrinations of his characters and the pilgrimage of Canada into nationhood (both politically and artistically). I will also be focussing on how Fifth Business functions as a confessional narrative in the vein of St. Augustine's The Confessions and Rousseau's Confessions, both of which stand historically for religious and humanistic pilgrimages and models for later confessional writing. I will be looking at Davies' personal journey as the founding

or charter pilgrimage which he repeats in his fictional characters' pilgrimages. From this starting point, the present chapter explores how Urquhart's founding pilgrimage narrative of Father Gstyr in The Stone Carvers is transformed in the contemporary context into various personal and nationalistic pilgrimages in the fictional lives of the characters of the German village of Shoneval. From these founding narratives I will explore the archetypal pilgrimage of wandering and nomadism in the context of current poststructural and postmodern theory and the pilgrimage of the characters and nation to war—in both cases the First World War—and the resulting personal and national memorializing of the event. Necessarily, this discussion of pilgrimage will involve a discussion of various characteristic qualities of pilgrimage, including miracles, the making of saints, healing and transformation, and the return to roots and home.

Dave Little writes that “the linear journey which began in [Robertson Davies'] Presbyterian boyhood and proceeded through his Anglican conversion changed directions in Davies' mid-life. Today, his personal quest generally begins from a Jungian centrepiece, which he uses as a basis to expand the circumference of his individual theology” (Little 14-15). Davies' pilgrimage as a writer involved a great deal of personal transformation influenced in part by his reading of Jung and in part by his various theatric and scholastic interests. As a young man at Upper Canada College, Robertson Davies became fascinated by Robert Browning's The Ring and the Book, a work that looks at the events surrounding a murder from the vantage point of the various characters. The psychological complexity of both the murder and the perspectives of the characters fascinated Davies and he read the work again and again. This early interest in point of view can be seen to have transmuted in early adulthood into his writing of plays, and later

when he turned to fiction into the stories of the Deptford trilogy, the novels which look at the events of a murder from the vantage point of three players from the same small village: Dunstan Ramsey in Fifth Business, David Stauton in The Manticore, and Paul Dempster in World of Wonders.

Later in life the reading of Jung came to be an important intellectual and eventually artistic influence, particularly in The Manticore. A great deal of scholarship has been dedicated to the Jungian aspects of Robertson Davies' journey,<sup>26</sup> and while I will not be exploring in any great detail the Jungian aspects of his works as a whole, the influence of Jungian archetypes, and particularly of the pilgrimage archetype, is certainly of relevance to this study. Davies himself characterizes the work of the writer as in part a Jungian journey into an understanding of the various archetypal characters who have played a role in his own life and his examination of the archetypes of man's journey in life:

The degree of self-examination that is involved in being a writer, and the stringency of the writer's conscience, which holds you to a path that is often distasteful, necessarily takes you on some strange journeys, not only into the realm of the personal Unconscious, but into the level below that. It is assumed, by many people who have read Freud and Jung, that these descents must always be alarming experiences, because Freud and Jung were so much occupied with people who were very seriously disordered.

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<sup>26</sup> For further discussion of the Jungian aspects of Robertson Davies writing, see Dave Little's Catching the Wind in a Net: The Religious Vision of Robertson Davies, Robert G. Lawrence and Samuel L. Macey's edition of a collection of essays on various aspects of the Deptford Trilogy entitled Studies in Robertson Davies' Deptford Trilogy and particularly F.L. Radford's chapter on "The Great Mother and the Boy: Jung, Davies, and *Fifth Business*," and Patricia Monk's comprehensive work on the Jungian aspects of Davies' work in The Smaller Infinity: The Jungian Self in the Novels of Robertson Davies.

But the writer is not necessarily disordered, and great rewards await him in this realm, if he approaches it with decent reverence. ... That realm of the Unconscious, which is the dwelling-place of so many demons and monsters, is also the home of the Muses, the abode of the angels. The writer, in his traffic with that realm in which dream, and myth, and fairy-tale become mingled with the most ordinary circumstances of life, does not lack for rewards and very great rewards. (One Half 133)

While F.L. Radford, Patricia Monk and Davies' major biographer, Judith Skeleton Grant, have all made a great deal of the archetypal importance of Davies' relationship with his mother and father, it seems worthwhile to repeat that his attempts to deal with his controlling and often manipulative mother do appear in sometimes alarming ways in his fiction. His relationship with his mother often transmutes in his texts into a variety of disturbing mother/son relationships, and throughout his life Davies was to struggle with his conflicted feelings about his relationship with his mother, troubled after her death by terrifying dreams of her reaching out from the grave to continue to haunt and trouble his life (Solly of the Salterton trilogy and Dunstan of the Deptford trilogy both have difficult relationships with their mothers). Likewise, his troubled boyhood in various small towns in Ontario is clearly transmuted into the creation of the fictional towns that appear first in the Salterton trilogy, and then in the Deptford and Cornish trilogies. Similarly, the childhoods of the men and women of these works owe a great deal to his own experiences in the small-town classrooms and playgrounds of his youth and adolescence. Describing Davies' process for writing Fifth Business, Grant notes: "His memories of Thamesville were central to *Fifth Business* right from the beginning" (Robertson Davies:

Man of Myth 473-474). However, after detailing various aspects of Fifth Business that were influenced by Davies' experience of Thamesville, Grant goes on to note that "memories of Thamesville were a major resource only for the novel's first section and part of the second" (474). Grant suggests that this work, like most of Davies' works, began with a sense of home and his own journey, and then through imagination and the resources of myth became transformed into a work of art.

According to Victor and Edith Turner, "Pilgrimage is one way, perhaps the most literal, of imitating the religious founder" (Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture 33). It becomes possible, not only in a literary and cultural sense but also in a pilgrimage context, to look to Robertson Davies as a Canadian literary Father. Davies himself remarked in 1988 that he found it "Astonishing how I have been suddenly promoted to this status as an ancient monument" (Grant 644). Grant notes that while Davies was on a publicity tour in the United States for The Lyre of Orpheus, "readings sold out halls designed for eight hundred or a thousand, hundreds lined up to get their books signed, fans recognized him in the street" (644), and that much of the writer's time was taken with touring and lecturing around the world. In fact, as Davies suggests in referring to himself as "an ancient monument," he came to be a sacred figure in the Canadian and world literary scene, with people lining up and making pilgrimages (of sorts) to see and hear the writer speak. However, looking at Davies himself as a site of pilgrimage is not the purpose of this chapter; rather I would suggest that this is merely one of the many ways to address Davies in the pilgrimage paradigm. I prefer to suggest from this introductory material on the life of the writer only that his actual life is in some ways a charter pilgrimage, the first and founding pilgrimage on which he bases the life journeys

and pilgrimages of his fictional characters. These characters in turn, in their textual lives, re-enact the journey of the founder of their “religion,” with the pilgrimage of the text re-enacting the author’s. I would like to look first at some suggestions made in The Rebel Angels that support the view of Davies’ life as a charter pilgrimage for the journeys of his fictional characters and illuminate the ways in which Davies himself viewed the writerly tasks of his life as a pilgrimage.

Simon Darcourt, in explaining why he turned after nine years of parish work to the full-time life of a scholar, says, “I had become convinced, in some words Einstein was fond of, that the serious research scholar in our generally materialistic age is the only deeply religious human being” (The Rebel Angels 55). Darcourt goes on to describe this process of “saving [his] own soul” (55) in clear pilgrimage terms:

Oh, endless task! One begins with no knowledge except that what one is doing is probably wrong, and that the right path is heavy with mist. When I was a hopeful youth I set myself to the Imitation of Christ, and like a fool I supposed that I must try to be like Christ in every possible detail, adjure people to do the right when I didn’t really know what the right was, and get myself spurned and scourged as frequently as possible.

Crucifixion was not a modern method of social betterment, but at least I could push for psychological crucifixion, and I did, and hung on my cross until it began to dawn on me that I was a social nuisance, and not a bit like Christ—even the tedious détraqué Christ of my immature imagination.

(The Rebel Angels 56)

The mature Davies of the Cornish trilogy has already acknowledged in the Deptford trilogy the Jungian nature of the journey, and is beginning to look at the pilgrimage of life in terms of Simon Darcourt's calling, and indeed his own calling as both a writer and a scholar of sorts. Darcourt continues in the same musing:

Gradually it came to me that the Imitation of Christ might not be a road-company performance of Christ's Passion, with me as a pitifully badly cast actor in the principal role. Perhaps what was imitable about Christ was his firm acceptance of his destiny, and his adherence to it even when it led to shameful death. It was the wholeness of Christ that had illuminated so many millions of lives, and it was my job to seek and make manifest the wholeness of Simon Darcourt. (The Rebel Angels 56)

Clearly the Presbyterian and capitalistic roots of "calling" as explored by Weber and discussed in relation to Oliver Goldsmith's The Rising Village have some bearing on Davies' novelistic exploration of "calling" and his own dedication to his "calling."

Unlike the Jesuit model where the pilgrim offers up vows to God to stay and persevere in spite of trials, Davies suggests that the pilgrim's path and indeed life's path should be pursuing the wholeness of the human being, which presumably means saving his own soul through a dedication to realizing his calling fully.

Davies also draws a portrait, in all its psychological complexity, of a writer/priest/academic who fails to save his soul either on life's journey or in the creation of art. Parlabane, like Simon Darcourt, is also a priest. Unlike Darcourt, Parlabane is attempting to write a masterpiece. Parlabane says of his own novel: "You are deceived by its first impression, which is that of a life-story—the intellectual pilgrimage of an

uncommon and very rich mind, linked with a questing spirit” (The Rebel Angels 239).

Rather, Parlabane describes his book as follows:

The life of the principal character, a young academic, is the journey of a modern Everyman, on a Pilgrim’s Progress. The reader follows the movement of his soul from its infantile fantasies, through its adolescent preoccupation with the mechanical and physical aspects of experience, until he discovers logical principles, metaphysics, and particularly scepticism, until he is landed in the dilemmas of middle life—early middle age—and maturity, and finally to his recovery, through imagination, of a unified view of life, of a synthesis of unconscious fantasy, scientific knowledge, moral mythology, and wisdom that meets in a religious reconciliation of the soul with reality through the acceptance of revealed truth. [...] The crown of the book is the anagogical level of meaning, suggesting the final revelation of experience as the language of God and of life as the preliminary quest that cannot be described but only guessed at, because all things point beyond themselves to a glory which is greater than any of them. And thus the hero of the tale—because it is a tale to the simple, as I said—will be found to have been preoccupied all his life with the quest for the Father Image and the Mother Idol to replace the real parents who in real life were inadequate surrogates of the Creator. The quest is never completed, but the preoccupation with Image and Idol gradually gives way to the conviction of the reality of the Reality which

lies behind the shadows which constitute the actual moment as it rushes by. (The Rebel Angels 241-242)

The reader of Parlabane's novel, Maria in The Rebel Angels, functions as a critic and at times sums up the text of the imaginary pilgrimage novel, stating, "after much struggle *He* finds God, who is the sole reality, and instead of scorning the world *He* learns to pity it. [...] he's [Parlabane's] rather hard on Professor Darcourt: he's the butt, who thinks he has found God, but of course it isn't the real eighteen-karat philosopher's God that *He* finds after his spiritual pilgrimage. Just a peanut God for tiny minds" (The Rebel Angels 274).

In a sense, a great deal of Davies' own preoccupations with religion, pilgrimage, and self-knowledge are a part of the characters' journeys in the novel and of the failed life and pilgrimage writing of Parlabane. Although Parlabane's life and pilgrimage text are a failure in terms of self-knowledge and the quality of his novel, Davies clearly connects the work of the scholar and the intellectual pursuits in which he himself is engaged with the pilgrimage motif. Davies quotes the following from C.G. Jung's The Undiscovered Self:

Ultimately everything depends on the quality of the individual, but the fatally short-sighted habit of our age is to think only in terms of large numbers and mass organizations. ... I can therefore see it only as a delusion when the Churches try—as they apparently do—to rope the individual into a social organization and reduce him to a condition of diminished responsibility, instead of raising him out of the torpid, mindless mass, and making clear to him that he is the one important factor

and that the salvation of the world consists in the salvation of the individual soul. (Enthusiasms 175; The Undiscovered Self 67-69)

This quotation obviously has some bearing on Davies' own search and the explication of this search fictionally in his portraits of Darcourt and Parlabane. In Fifth Business, the text under more detailed examination in this chapter, Davies writes what could be considered a spiritual autobiography. He portrays the text as Dunstable Ramsey's memoir in response to the dismissive comments of the new headmaster at the school where he teaches history. While the renamed Dunstan later claims to be writing a memoir of his life, the work itself could be viewed as a fictional confessions, much in the vein of Augustine's or Rousseau's, both texts standing at crucial points in the larger pilgrimage canon (as religious and humanist pilgrimages).

Judith Skeleton Grant writes, "Davies' own life fed into *Fifth Business* in many, many ways, and he was keenly aware of this" (Robertson Davies: Man of Myth 473). And Davies himself says in a letter to Horace Davenport dated May 10, 1968 of Fifth Business:

It is autobiographical, but not as young men do it; it will be rather as Dickens wrote *David Copperfield*—a fictional reworking of some things experienced and much rearranged—a spiritual autobiography in fact, and not a sweating account of the first time I backed a girl into a corner. I choose the word 'spiritual' with intent, for during the past ten years the things of the spirit have become increasingly important to me. Not in a churchy sense—though as Master of this college I have to attend chapel and look serious—but in what I must call a Jungian sense. That may make

you laugh, or spit, but through C.G. J's ever-thickening veils of thought and fantasy I discern something that gives great richness to my life, and helps me to behave rather more decently toward other people than my unaided inspiration can achieve. And that is important to me: the world is so full of self-seekers, crooks and sons of bitches that I am very keen to be a decent man—not a Holy Joe, or a do-gooder, but a man who does not gag every time he looks into the mirror. (Discoveries: Early Letters 1938-1975 211-212)

While Davies' himself refers to Fifth Business as a "spiritual autobiography," it is also a fictional memoir of sorts, one that purports to write about an event in the protagonist's past for which he feels the need to confess his connection and guilt. The novel starts with a statement that appears to chronicle precisely the time and date of Dunstan's association with a woman whom he came to view as his personal saint. While exonerating Mrs. Dempster's past and perhaps helping her achieve sainthood are a part of this "report," the reason for writing is clearly, if we are to take Dunstan's word for it, given following the opening snowball scene. Dunstan addresses this "report" to "my dear Headmaster" (5) and in fact goes on to explain the reason for beginning with the story from his boyhood and small town that has just preceded this section. He then states, "But why, you will ask, am I writing to you at all? Why, after a professional association of so many years, during which I have been reticent about my personal affairs, am I impelled now to offer you such a statement as this?" (Fifth Business 5). However, this "report" is more than merely a general explaining of his life, or an attempt to contest the portrait of himself as a "doddering" old schoolmaster, wobbling into retirement.

Dunstan proceeds to call his writing a “memoir,” but then questions his portrait of himself. He writes, “I have always sneered at autobiographies and memoirs in which the writer appears at the beginning as a charming, knowing little fellow, possessed of insights and perceptions beyond his years, yet offering these with false naïveté to the reader” (8). And what autobiographies and memoirs might Dunstan be referring to? He later cites *David Copperfield* and *Huck Finn* as “autobiographies in which the writer postures and simpers” (8) as the eponymous title character, but these are the very works that Davies the author has in fact set out to imitate. There is one further clue in this passage, one that suggests an intimate knowledge of Rousseau and is more than a mere posturing at a type of confession. In a very Rousseauian vein Dunstable denounces young boys as miserable and false creatures, and goes on to introduce his village after “openly” denouncing the self that he was—again a characteristic of the confessional form of literature. Dunstan writes, “Can I write truly of my boyhood? Or will that disgusting self-love which so often attaches itself to a man’s idea of his youth creep in and falsify the story?” (8). Throughout the telling of his story Dunstan makes a number of admissions: “I am not seeking to posture as a hero in this memoir” (112). Dunstan makes “confessions,” like Rousseau’s and Augustine’s, to everything from relief at his parents’ death (78), to admissions of petty feelings with regards to Leola: “I did not want her, but it annoyed me that Boy had her” (114).

One of the more important admissions and clues to this work as a spiritual autobiography is stated in relation to Diana, when Dunstan describes himself as “[a] selfish, envious, cankered wretch” but then asks for the reader’s and the headmaster’s complicity in this judgement: “wasn’t I?” (115). The reader then must agree with the

writer of the memoir that he was indeed selfish and otherwise wretched, which actually leads the reader into a complicitous relationship with the writer and character. The reader is then in a position to accept the writer's/Dunstan's "full" self-knowledge and later growth of spirit. From this place of knowledge and enlightenment, Dunstan can look back (like Augustine and Rousseau) and with the reader judge his former unregenerate man. This rhetorical technique, and indeed posturing at humility, appear throughout the memoir, usually addressed to the fictional "headmaster." But it makes the reader an accomplice in the judging of the transformation of the self/Dunstan, who "[hopes] thereby that when I am dead at least one man will know the truth about me and do me justice" (116). While this is the argument of one of Davies' characters in one of his texts, Grant suggests that his writing as a whole might have a similar justification: "one might argue that [Davies] was actually writing an autobiography of the most powerful, persuasive, enchanting sort in the guise of his novels and plays, each of them constituting an indirect record of part of his life's spiritual voyage" (Robertson Davies: Man of Myth 648).

In The Archetype of Pilgrimage Jean Dalby Clift and Wallace B. Clift quote Jung on archetypes as they relate to the urge of the moment or "call" to go on a pilgrimage: "[Jung] called the constellated archetype 'the primordial image of the need of the moment,'" and said the "suitable moment for this [that is, for the appearance of an archetype in the individual's life] is always when a particular view of the world is collapsing, sweeping away all the formulas that purported to offer final answers to the great problems of life'" (10). Every pilgrimage story, and every historical pilgrimage has an originary call or command to go on the pilgrimage. Often, the call or command to

pilgrimage results in the called one taking a vow of obedience or a pilgrimage vow, as was seen in the Jesuit's call to missionary service and his subsequent vows to persevere even in the face of failure. Likewise, in Oliver Goldsmith's The Rising Village the appearance of the archetype coincides, as Jung suggests, with the collapse of a particular way of being or seeing the world, bringing about the necessity for change or pilgrimage. The pilgrimage vow in The Rebel Angels is stated as follows: "I did something I had not done in my life before; I went to a church and vowed to God that whatever happened in the future, I would live a life of gratitude for His great mercy. [...] That vow was a deeply sacred thing" (69). The scholarly obsession with a particular manuscript works in a similar way: "I can't get it out of my mind. It's becoming an obsession. Have you any idea what an obsession is?" (The Rebel Angels 247). For Davies, the writing of the Deptford trilogy, and firstly Fifth Business, begins similarly as a dream vision and a command to write:

In this dream R.W.W. Robertson, his editor at Clarke, Irwin, urged him to write another novel like the Salterton books or, alternatively, a book rooted in their shared background in Dumfries. The dream also contained a beautifully illuminated vellum manuscript, laid open upon a lectern and followed the text, its tongue flickering. It said to him, "No, you must write the book you haven't written yet." Davies took this as a warning from his unconscious not to repeat himself, not to attempt pure family history, not to pursue others' ideas in preference to his own. (Grant 463-464)

Medieval pilgrimages and allegories often begin with dream visions, or are themselves a dream vision. The dream vision serves as the “command” for Davies to make the psychic journey involved in transforming his life’s journey into the sacred/pilgrimage journey of his characters—the vow he takes is that of the artist, “not to repeat himself, not to attempt pure family history, not to pursue others’ ideas in preference to his own” (Grant 464). In many ways this is also the vow that the artists of Jane Urquhart’s The Stone Carvers take when they attempt to give life to stone and wood.

Father Gstyr’s pilgrimage, and indeed that of all the major characters of The Stone Carvers, begins with the call or command of God to the priest to “Go to Canada” (7). The priest does not respond in the full flare of the Jesuit style of knee-bent submission to God’s will and call, but rather says simply to God, “There must be some mistake” (8). This response aligns Father Gstyr’s call/command with the archetypal story of Jonah, the man commanded by God to make a journey for a particular purpose but who does not want, or refuses, to go. In the retelling of the story, Klara believes that the wonderful part of this story is that “saints have no choice” (8), that they must follow the path and answer the call of God regardless of how strange the call may seem.

In accordance with the standard tropes of pilgrimage, Father Gstyr’s charter or founding pilgrimage displays many of the characteristics that have been identified by anthropologists and sociologists as being a part of pilgrimage. The difficulty of travel and the particularly Canadian topography, as in the Jesuits’ pilgrimage, are described in great detail. Writing of the summer journey through the land, Father Gstyr admits:

When he had imagined Canada and his posting there, it had been the cold, the endless wastes of snow that he had dreaded. Now he longed for

winter, prayed for it, for at least in winter there were no flies and the swamps and rivers would freeze, making his progress easier and the way shorter. But as he rode mile after mile in the heat and humidity of that early summer afternoon, he became aware that the swampy areas were becoming less frequent, that the ground was hardening underfoot, and that there was a slight rise in the level of the earth. (13-14)

Another feature of pilgrimage are the pools of water that begin to appear and that later he transforms with his vision and faith. Father Gstyr sees “bubbling springs that were surely holy places” (15). According to Clift and Clift, after difficulty of access and special clothing, water rituals are one of the standard motifs of pilgrimage. In fact, they claim that “Water is associated with many, though not all, of the pilgrimage sites” (72-73). In the opening discussion with Joseph Becker, the Father and the carver discuss the water:

The priest was staring with great intensity at the stream. ‘Such marvelous water!’ he enthused. ‘From what miraculous spring does it emerge?’ ‘Springs all over here,’ Joseph pointed to a limestone outcropping on the opposite side of the mud track. ‘There’s water all over. Hard to find a dry spot to build a shed. These springs bubble up when you least expect them right under the floor.’ ‘Holy water,’ said Father Gstyr. (18)

He continues, following his pronouncement of “Holy water,” to imagine not the expected role of water in symbolizing the transformation of the pilgrims, but the transformation of the water itself into “the golden liquid of his homeland” (18), pronouncing it “Perfect for a brewery” (18).

Father Gstir's vision manages not only to transform the pools of water but also to involve all the members of the community, including the Orangeman, in what comes to be an annual Corpus Christi celebration and procession:

In November, once the frost had hardened the ground, Father Gstir saddled his horse, strapped his portable altar to his own back, and attempted to negotiate the unreliable tracks to the outlying farms to disseminate the news of a magnificent Corpus Christi procession held the following June in the beautiful valley after which Shoneval had been named. The majority of the settlers he visited had but dim memories of this kind of pageantry, and many had no knowledge at all of the feast days of the church. But most had lived in isolation for so long that the announcement of any kind of collective experience was met with interest, and all promised to attend. (23)

In calling the people together once a year for the celebration of this religious feast day, Father Gstir is welcoming the isolated individuals of the area to participate in one of the major features of pilgrimage—community. Further, the procession in the end becomes a celebration of the dreams of the individuals represented on a particular scale as a sort of offering to God and one another, and becomes an annual pilgrimage celebration, the first of its kind in the area. Father Gstir initially plans the procession as a way to interest the people in religion and in “procession, church, bell, brewery,” transporting from his own land his quest for the perfect bell and the perfect beer. According to Urquhart's narrator, “The priest was hoping to turn a barren hilltop into the site of a pilgrimage church whose bell would ring out to an established village and whose song would carry over beautifully

cultivated fields” (25). Even in later years when most people had lost interest in the story of Father Gstir and the building of the church, lost in their own mythical repetitions of the first Father’s pilgrimage, they continued to tramp down the hill after mass for the customary post-service pint. Here, they are unconsciously participating in a ritual that re-enacts the faith of the pilgrim Father and the transformation of the holy water into the perfect beer.

While Father Gstir’s pilgrimage begins at the command of God, there are early elements of one of the important and contested tropes of pilgrimage in his journey and indeed in his settlement of Shovenal and transformation of that valley into the site of a pilgrimage church, brewery, and home to countless families. Father Gstir first appears in the text as one who has “been able to walk along the edges of life” (11). He is one who “loved climbing up to the heights, but even more he loved gazing into the depths” (11). These attributes of emotional distance and seeing the lines and brushstrokes of the mountains and valleys from a distance are characteristics that reappear in important ways in the wandering pilgrimage and eventual transformation of Tilman, and they provide a charter pilgrimage within the text of The Stone Carvers for the characteristics of a wandering pilgrim and the eventual establishment of home.

Webster’s dictionary gives “wandering” as the first definition of pilgrimage. Morinis writes of wandering: “This type of pilgrimage has no predetermined goal. The pilgrim sets out in the hope that his feet will be guided to a place that will satisfy his inner craving” (Sacred Journey 13). Continuing in the same section:

Early Christian theologians interpreted the pilgrimage (*paroikos, perginus*) as the search for solitary exile. The pilgrim abandoned the cities of the

world to become a hermit or wanderer in the wilderness, an image of Abraham, who received God's commandment to leave his homeland. The pilgrimage was a dying to the world to inherit heaven. The tradition of shrine-worship emerged much later and led to such corruption of the spiritual intent of pilgrimage as the selling of thousands of years of indulgence at shrines. (Morinis 13)

Henry David Thoreau likewise rambles instructively about wandering and is worth quoting at some length:

I have met with but one or two persons in the course of my life who understood the art of Walking, that is, of taking walks,—who had a genius, so to speak, for *sauntering*: which word is beautifully derived “from idle people who roved about the country, in the Middle Ages, and asked charity, under the pretense of going *à la Sainte Terre*,” to the Holy Land, till the children exclaimed, “There goes a *Sainte-Terrer*,” a Saunterer, a Holy-Lander. They who never go to the Holy Land in their walks, as they pretend, are indeed mere idlers and vagabonds; but they who do go there are saunterers in the good sense, such as I mean. Some, however, would derive the word from *sans terre*, without land or home, which, therefore, in the good sense, will mean, having no particular home, but equally at home everywhere. For this is the secret of successful sauntering. He who sits still in a house all the time may be the greatest vagrant of all; but the saunterer, in the good sense, is no more vagrant than the meandering river, which is all the while sedulously seeking the

shortest course to the sea. But I prefer the first, which, indeed, is the most probable derivation. For every walk is a sort of crusade, preached by some Peter the Hermit in us, to go forth and reconquer this Holy Land from the hands of the Infidels. (Walden and Other Writings 627)

Contemporary writings on wandering and nomadism claim that the embodiment of the wanderer celebrates the “cheerful homelessness” for which “Emerson provides a model” (Peters 31). However, for Davies and Urquhart there is always a home (roots for Davies and, for Urquhart, the legend of how Klara’s village was founded), and denial of these roots leads to a kind of sickness (perhaps even homesickness). Indeed, the “nomadic” characters of both Davies and Urquhart find healing only in creating or finding “home,” a destination they do not know in advance but affirm by knowing when they arrive (the French chef’s kitchen in France and Liesl’s castle in Switzerland). The nomadism of postmodern and poststructuralist theory suggests the possibility of being at home everywhere, as “home” is never fixed but always and already exists. However, the wandering and nomadism of Western culture has its basis in the Hebreo-Christian and Greco-Roman traditions. For the ancient Athenians one need look no further than Homer’s The Odyssey or Sophocles’ Oedipus; to be unable to get home or to be cast out of home, to be outside the community or without community, is a curse. For the Patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and the Israelites, wandering was both a temporary state and the result of unfaithfulness, states that should be remembered and re-enacted periodically on particular feast days. Even within the later Christian and Augustinian tradition, while life was a pilgrimage or a journey on earth, it was always towards a heavenly goal. Thus, while Davies and Urquhart appear to be suggesting that the

nomadic life or the forgetting of roots and home is a kind of sickness—either a wanderlust or the result of the sickness of a community—the figure of the nomad is actually in transit—and healing comes through *communitas*—a principle that exists as part of the pilgrimage structure, in the community of the road.

Grant writes that in 1938 “Davies simmered with further ideas for plays, his mind full of folklore, Gypsies and Wales” (Robertson Davies: Man of Myth 197). A Jig for a Gypsy, while essentially a political play set in Wales, features a gypsy fortune-teller as one of the central characters. Davies later develops these initial excursions into gypsy life and folklore in the Cornish trilogy, where Mamusia and her *broma* and Maria and her gypsy roots all lend an interesting and what Darcourt would describe as a Medieval flavour to the contemporary academy and trust company of The Rebel Angels and later The Lyre of Orpheus. But while the gypsy is a figure that stands as a symbol for rootlessness and wandering, Maria with her gypsy roots shows the long, even Medieval tradition of the gypsy as something that has roots that grow down under the high-rise penthouse where she lives with Arthur Cornish while Mamusia and her uncle brew strange pots of stew and turn the foundation of the building into a den of gypsy lore and magic. However, for Davies, the later Cornish trilogy is just a portion of a long dabbling in the carnivalesque character of the gypsy. The figure in Davies’ work who seems most to embody rootlessness, wanderlust, and nomadic pilgrimage is Paul Dempster.

Paul Dempster’s very name is worth consideration in relation to the pilgrimage paradigm. The Biblical association of his name is firstly with St. Paul, who was also the missionary and model for Pratt’s poetic personae of Brébeuf. Paul, along with Dunstan and Boy Staunton, is one of the twice-born, his rebirth and transformation symbolized by

re-naming (part of a long Biblical tradition of re-naming and rebirth). As a young boy Paul suffers a great deal in the small village that serves as the initial home for the major players in two of the three books of the Deptford trilogy. Paul Dempster's mother is caught in the act of adultery in the gravel pit outside of the town. Because she is the wife of the Baptist minister and something of the village idiot, her sullied reputation forces her husband to resign, and the ridicule faced by her son for his mother being a "hoor" eventually leads to Paul's running away with the circus. While these events are of minor importance in Fifth Business, Dunstan does reconnect in adulthood with this boy turned man and magician. As the first magic teacher and perhaps only friend of Paul, Dunstan also suffers for his association with the "hoor" and her son. However, the major importance of the role of Deptford and the rejection of Paul is that he escapes from the community and forms another "family" or community among the circus rejects (when readers first encounter Paul again he is the "special" friend of the geek and part of a company that includes bearded women and other strange circus freaks). Here is the embodiment of a nomadic company or community of the road that is transformed by Paul's magic into a world of wonders. In the final work of the trilogy, World of Wonders, transformation of the boy-nomad or runaway has taken place and he is a master magician re-named Magnus Eisengrim.

Magic can be compared to the miraculous of pilgrimage lore. While magic is usually associated with the pagan rather than the Christian element, it seems particularly appropriate to discuss magic in relation to nomadic pilgrimage—a pilgrimage type that has the sort of belief or hope in the supernatural that is one of the reasons for making a pilgrimage (Clift and Clift 47). The Rebel Angels is an emblematic book for both

pilgrimage and the archetypal figure of the nomad in the transplanted European gypsy.

Darcourt, speaking to Mamusia, Maria's gypsy mother, says,

“Magic—I hate the word because of what it has come to mean, but anyway—magic in the big sense can only happen where there is very strong feeling. You can't set it going with a sceptical mind—with your fingers crossed, so to speak. You must desire, and you must believe. Have you any idea how hard that is for a man of my time and a man of my training and temperament? At the deepest level of your being you are living in the Middle Ages, and magic comes easily—I won't say logically—to you.” (The Rebel Angels 265)

Just as miracles and pilgrimage were a part of the Middle Ages, so too are magic and curses a part of the scholastic pilgrimage of The Rebel Angels and, in a sense, a part of World of Wonders. However, for Magnus Eisengrim's audiences, a quotation from What's Bred In The Bone seems particularly apt: “modern man wants desperately to believe in something, to have some value that cannot be shaken” (403). And in World of Wonders people/audiences want to accept the illusions, to believe in the magic that is capable of transporting them (in pilgrimage terms) back to a time when miracles and magic were a part of every person's journey. Paul Dempster observes in Fifth Business that magic “provokes awe” (268), and that “[i]t has something of the quality of Ramsay's saints, though my miracles have a spice of the Devil about them” (268). From Paul's earliest days his fascination is with magic and being a purveyor of magic as opposed to Dunstan's fascination with miracles and recognizing saints.

Paul is homeless in the very sense that Dunstan and Maria are centred in tradition and roots. The latter two are saved by and formed by “home,” whereas Paul’s early break with the past and re-making of himself are a climb through the wheels of fate to a place where he can wield his own power of illusion to deceive and perhaps even to seek retribution for his early persecution in the Deptford community. Like Parlabane, one of the rebel angels, it appears that Paul’s journey leads him away from both home and his own tradition (small-town Canadian Baptist) and into a territory that in the terms of his day and tradition was the evil gravel pit or area of eternal burning surrounding the holy city of Jerusalem—hell. His early dabbling in cards and sleights of hand is reprimanded by his father, but later in life he is portrayed as a beautiful, artfully deceptive, and vain artist who has built on these early talents a reputation in the world of wonders. His path does not appear to be the exalted one of self-knowledge, but the path of worldly success and artistic vanity. While Davies is sympathetic in his portrait of the early trials and persecutions of the young Paul Dempster, the path or journey of the nomad (circus magician and boy-runaway) is one that is marked by degradation and later vanity. His self, if it is known to him at all, is seen through the eyes of one who has long been on the road to self-knowledge (the autobiographical memoir writer, Dunstan Ramsey). Even the eventual “home” of Liesl’s Swiss castle is not a place where Paul appears to gain self-knowledge, although other characters gather there to explore their archetypal roots (the bear cult and the cave in The Manticore are examples of the working out of “roots” and the unconscious for other characters).

Urquhart’s Canadian wandering figure is an interesting counterpoint to the more traditional transplanted European and Medieval gypsy figure of Davies’ work, or even to

the arguably unredeemable nomadic (anti-)pilgrim figures of Parlabane and Paul Dempster. Davies' quest for self-knowledge and Urquhart's redemption of "lost" figures through love oppose the poststructuralist ideal of the nomadic figure as the embodiment of a homelessness that claims for the true nomad "no place to go" (Thousand Plateaus). In spite of the attempts made by Tilman's parents to chain him to the farm or of Klara's offer to travel with him, Tilman is a lone traveller. The occasional companions of his wanderings are nomads who like himself are running from the painful chains of home. However, even when Tilman finally departs permanently for the road, Urquhart describes "his chain trailing behind him" (68), describing at once literally and metaphorically his impossible and necessary break with the past/home. After his first disappearance at age six he will only say, "I went for a walk" and "I followed the road" (95). His grandfather is the only one able to identify in the terms of the old world what is wrong with the young Tilman. Tilman's grandfather says, "He is a wunderkind" (95) and "Often they develop wanderlust" (95). According to the grandfather, again transmitting the stories of the old world, "These children were considered cursed in some ways, but mostly they were thought to be blessed as they often proved useful for guarding wandering flocks in high, distant summer pastures" (95). The grandfather offers little else by way of explanation, but in itself this piece of Germanic folklore is important in that it posits a kind of stable identity—not one to be sought or idealized, but one that is a gift of the gods or an actual state of being—"the wanderer."

Tilman's Father attempts to explain to him the sense of home and place: "we're all tied to a place. [...] What if I were just to up and leave? What if I were just to wander off? Then who would keep the fields?" (68). Tilman's response sums up the feeling of

the nomad—“‘There’s fields everywhere’” (68)—suggesting a relationship of simultaneous being with the land as opposed to the kept ownership of the farmer. This natural co-existence with nature is further illustrated by his relationship to the migratory patterns of the birds. In his journey, after being chained like a dog to a place that cannot hold him, he is unable to leave with the birds with whom he travels in the spring and fall:

This time he had been too late for the birds, which made his frenzied progress less urgent in terms of reaching a premeditated destination. But he was left feeling aimless and adrift, and the physical particulars of the house anchored him somewhat as a fixed point of departure, since he had no images to associate with arrival. (174-5)

Urquhart offers a sort of explanation for Tilman’s connection with birds, one which is rooted in the mythologies of death and rebirth. Tilman’s conception took place after his father’s hunting of and near killing a number of birds. As his parents grip each other in the heat of passion, Tilman’s mother watches the dying birds beating their wings to the rhythm of their lust. The dying of the birds and the conception of Tilman are simultaneous and later haunt the mother’s dreams during her pregnancy. This is one explanation for the connection between Tilman and the patterns of the birds, but it does little to explain the connection of Klara’s lover Eamon to the birds and flight.

Eamon keeps pigeons and goes so far as to send one with a message to Tilman (on one of his early “walks”). Early in Klara’s relationship with Eamon, he threatens that if she denies him her love he will be forced into exile: “‘I’ll leave the country. [...] On you’ll go with your life, sitting by another man’s fire, while I’m an outcast moving from town to town, desperate at the very thought of you. I’ll die in the winter ditch like a

dog'” (80). While Klara returns Eamon's love and he is not forced into exile by a broken heart, he is constantly engaged in the act of making metaphors for exile. Eamon is a keeper of birds and a maker of kites. The kites themselves are something of nomadic and wandering figures; they move wherever the wind blows them and in a constant state of flux fly high above communities, alone on the wind and always trailing their thin line of connection back to earth. Later, it is Eamon's fascination with flight that leads him to join the army and cross the sea to what will become the site of his unmarked grave. Eamon views his first encounter with the aircraft as a miracle: “No visitation of the Blessed Virgin, no choir of angels, no vision of the Infant of Prague could have moved him more than the shuddering, noisy machine that had descended unceremoniously into his life” (137). And while this appears to Eamon to be a “miracle” of technology, the lack of ceremony suggests that it may be a moment outside of the highly ritualized and ceremonious pilgrimage motif. It is in fact the “unceremonious” descent of this shuddering metal beast that tears Eamon from Klara's arms and separates him from his community to send him on a pilgrimage towards flight. Klara herself views the aircraft and the pilot as demonic, calling him Lucifer; unlike Father Gstyr's eventual submission, Lucifer's refusal to obey is permanent. Klara is left with only the memories of their closeness and, after throwing the objects of their union into the water and lighting them on fire, there is only the outline of Eamon's body on the floor of her workroom. This outline remains as a memorial to his absent body and as a map of Eamon's body and the touching of Klara and Eamon's lives. Klara remembers “what her grandfather had told her about the likeness of medieval knights in full armour being drawn with a chisel on their marble slabs. He would have only the traces of a waistcoat as a memorial” (161).

For both Tilman and Eamon, their attempts at flight appear to be a rebellion against the “God established” order of both the community and nature itself, and yet from another perspective (usually their own) Tilman’s departure is actually the ultimate acquiescing to nature, and Eamon’s pilgrimage or flight is made out of a sense of calling and a belief in the miraculous. Both characters accept/sacrifice a sense of community to the higher calling and necessity of flight (in the figurative and literal sense of that word), reminding us of Klara’s belief in the opening pages that “saints have no choice” (8).

Following the flight of the ones she loves and the deaths of those around her, Klara begins “to train herself in the art of stoic apartness” (31). This is in a sense her own flight, flight from emotional and spiritual involvement in the community into a world that is inhabited by the ghosts of her past and regulated by the tasks of her present. The narrator observes: “Klara could not get over a feeling of distance, a sense that she was not only separated from the community in which she lived but also that she was becoming oddly disassociated from the trappings of the only home she had ever known” (226). She becomes an exile from herself, and the empty house she inhabits becomes a metaphor for herself as she wanders through the rooms absently touching objects that were once placed and cared for with love. On one strange evening Klara opens the windows to allow the ghostly mist to make its way into all the empty rooms just as she has allowed the ghosts of the past to take over all the empty rooms of her mind. Years pass before Klara becomes aware of her own flight and the necessity for her to make a pilgrimage that will reconnect her with life and love and the emotions that allow for connection with the present and community.

While Tilman is one of these ghosts from her past, he himself is possessed by another ruling force—the power and pull of the road:

[Tilman] could almost believe that roads were natural phenomena like rivers or forests. Maps themselves couldn't hold his attention, and yet the interlaced branches of a tree outside his window, a spider's web—even his sister's braided hair—were like wanderkarten to him, one line leading the eye to another and then another. (58)

Even when Tilman joins the army, he always signs up for the lone duties that allow him to escape from the community of the men in the trenches. He thinks of the army in terms of his nomadic life: “the army seemed to him to be just a slightly more dangerous variation on his tramping life” (233). He also notices other people in a way that he had failed to in the past and connects with the idea of home and of missing home. In fact, “he was greatly disturbed by the unhappiness around him, by the meaningless slaughter of confused boys who were homesick in a way he had never been homesick” (233).

Although before the war he spent time with the Italian community, after the war he makes another excursion into the community of the amputee factory where he and the other workers/amputees are “limb-bo[s] rather than a hobo[s]” (234). These experiences with the Italian family, the men in the trenches, and the amputee factory are all early glimpses of re-connection with community. Indeed, moments of community on the road (as with the carnival workers of Paul Dempster's community of outcasts), and with the community of outsiders (Italians in Canada) and amputees (broken people who eventually become hobo[s]), provide communities for Tilman.

While both Eamon and Tilman are being considered here as part of nomadic pilgrimage, they both likewise take part in a pilgrimage to war (although it is in the aftermath of the war and the making of the monument in memory of war that Urquhart mostly discusses the First World War). Paul Dempster's story, however, is not part of the pilgrimage to war. In fact, it seems that while he was most likely in Europe during the war, he took no part in the war. Rather, it is Dunstable Ramsey who makes the pilgrimage with so many Canadian youth and in some ways the journey from colony to nationhood in the First World War (although this is a highly contentious and somewhat banal statement that is often made in a facile attempt to give meaning to the loss of Canadian lives).

According to Davies:

Two very big world wars have shaken the popular notions of religion very gravely and I think upon the whole advantageously because religion had reached a point where it needed a substantial rethink. ... [I]t had become a little bit set in its ways and [required] some new thinking about it and a new application of it to the life that faces us in ... the world of the atom bomb. ... (Davies qtd. in Little 40)

What's Bred In the Bone features a quest much like the grail quest (here for the paintings of old masters), and likewise features a subtext that in many important ways points to some of the pilgrimage themes that Timothy Findley explores throughout his work. The grail quest and the training of the young knight Cornish take place in Germany, intersecting with Cornish's other life's work for British Intelligence. While he is living at the German mansion on the German rail lines, his first intelligence job is to count the

trains going to concentration camps (338-340). However, it appears that this is really the only mention of one of the major events of world history—the Holocaust—that Davies makes. However, Dunstan's involvement in the First World War and his decoration as a hero feature as an important pilgrimage in Fifth Business.

While it could be suggested that Dunstan goes to war for at least one of the reasons suggested by Clift and Clift as reasons for going on pilgrimages—"Perhaps simply because one's neighbor did this and one wants to be among the privileged" (62)—it appears that Dunstan in fact goes to war to get away from his mother (also a feature of Davies' personal pilgrimage). According at least to Clift and Clift, this is not listed as a reason to go on a pilgrimage (as it hardly seems to fit with the almighty call of God or any kind of saintly calling). However, mothers do play a role in pilgrimage. In fact, the mothers of Saint Augustine and even of Saint Brébeuf played exceptional roles in their pilgrimages and in their callings, and the role of Christ's mother Mary and her obedience to the command of God has made her into a pilgrimage Saint of many shrines. Likewise it seems that a desire to escape from particular circumstances in the community where Dunstan is trapped by his mother's needs makes this a pilgrimage that shares some of the features of exile or nomadism. There is also an element of the Odyssean cycle that features as part of this pilgrimage, where the young Dunstan goes to war and finally returns to be celebrated as a hero; unfortunately Penelope (or Leola) does not remain waiting faithfully, but is betrothed to his best friend (for which Dunstan is actually relieved). Similar to Richard B. Wright's use of Odyssean pilgrimage, the faithful character of Penelope is differently designated in this Canadian re-working of the Greek myth/story.

Clift and Clift suggest that another reason why people go on pilgrimages is to seek miracles (47). In some ways the first stage of Dunstan's life pilgrimage is the separation or liminal stage when he leaves his mother and those things in his village and home that are familiar. Appropriately, then, on the site of the battlefield where he loses his leg, he encounters a vision of Mary Dempster—the third of her miracles—that confirms for him at least psychologically that she is indeed a saint. It is this encounter that later leads him to repeat the pilgrimage to the battlefield in hopes of finding the little Madonna that he has come to believe saved him from death (73-74). And he comes to believe that “the little Madonna cured me” (76) during his long post-war convalescence.

Dunstan's initial curing and care take place at the hands of Diana (named for the goddess of love), who nurses him through his long sickness and eventually teaches him about love and how to walk again. As well as giving the baptism of love, it is also Diana, after a long night of fighting, who renames Dunstable, Dunstan, thus making him one of what Davies' calls the “twice-born.” As suggested, being twice-born appears to involve a process of rebirth that concludes with re-naming, and indeed Dunstan has been transformed in many ways, particularly physically, by his time in the trenches.

This journey to and through war thus includes most of the important features of pilgrimage, including arduousness, special clothing (the army uniforms), taking something home (the memory and trauma of war, shrapnel in the body), and “Leaving something behind” (76-81), in Dunstan's case his leg. And while the violence of the First World War and the violent nature of war seem to suggest that it has more in common with crusade than pilgrimage, as suggested in the first chapter, it could be said that crusade is the mother of pilgrimage, thus making World War One a sort of national

mother to Canadian pilgrimage. As was also suggested, others have contended that on a national scale the involvement of Canada in the First World War can be viewed as a birthing of Canadian nationhood. Alan R. Young, among various other war historians, asserts only to contest what he contends is the mythology of Canadian nationhood formed in the trenches of WWI. This type of inscribing of meaning onto the war gives a value and a valour to the experience that is underscored by both the anti-war literature and the discourse of heroic sacrifice. Urquhart and Davies both engage with the war as outsiders purporting to present the experience through narrators who took part in trench warfare. Both Urquhart and Davies construct characters who reflect on the meaninglessness of war, compare the boys on both sides of the lines (Eamon actually understands the German of the boys on the “other side” and knows that they are speaking of the same things as the boys on his side), and undermine the “heroic” discourse of war sacrifice. For Eamon it is flight first and then the possibility of flying in the war that separate him from his community and take him across the ocean to the European war that his German village opposes. However, there is nothing of his life in the trenches that is memorialized in the text; rather his life before the war and in relationship to Klara, and later his pre-war innocence, are given tribute in the monument. For Tilman the war appears to be merely an extension of his tramping life, albeit one that is a “slightly more dangerous variation” (233). To repeat, the text does little to re-enact or remember the war through Tilman. The army becomes instead one form of community and as such one of the first places where Tilman feels compassion for human emotion, experiencing disturbance for “the unhappiness around him, by the meaningless slaughter of confused boys who were homesick in a way he had never been homesick” (233). Similarly, in Davies’ account of

WWI and Dunstan's involvement in the battle in which he loses his leg, most of the discussion centers around his self-effacement in what he claims is his "posturing" as a hero, and in his various pilgrimages to find the little Madonna he saw on the battlefield.

In many ways the pilgrimage in both texts to the trenches of WWI is a charter or founding pilgrimage to Europe, or in another sense a return pilgrimage to the ancestral homeland and the battles of that continent. However, whether the initial movement to fight in WWI in Europe is viewed as a charter pilgrimage or a return journey, the characters' return to commemorate or investigate some aspect of the battle they fought in Europe is a pilgrimage. The Guide Book of the Pilgrimage to Vimy and the Battlefields July-August 1936 and For King and Empire: The Canadians at Vimy with its chapter entitled "The Vimy Pilgrimage 1936" both clearly and within the genre of history (and so not only the fictional recounting of history) represent the post-war journey to Vimy as a pilgrimage. While other books sponsored by the Government of Canada describe the various memorials to Canada's soldiers who died in both WWI and WWII (Memorials To Canada's War Dead), it seems that the making of and journey to the monument at Vimy are the only battle site and memorial that have been described historically in the terms of pilgrimage. Urquhart describes the pilgrimage to the memorial following its completion as follows: "In 1936, the completion of the Vimy Memorial was announced to the world with great fanfare, the ribbon cut ... while tens of thousands of pilgrims, veterans and their relatives, widows and orphans, French and Canadian officials filled the now altered, manicured battlefield" (378-379).

Importantly, the Vimy pilgrimage is not simply a historical re-enactment of the pilgrimage to the First World War. Urquhart's blend of myth and history allows the

Vimy pilgrimage to have archetypal pilgrim roots in a charter pilgrimage that is both religious and nation-building rather than centering on the destruction of life in war. The founding narrative of Shovenal is the founding narrative or charter pilgrimage of the first stone carver—Klara’s grandfather. To review, then, the charter pilgrimage and show its relationship to the Vimy pilgrimage should prove relevant.

The celebration of the Corpus Christi festival (a yearly community event and pilgrimage of sorts) involved in the first instance the building of “model” monuments for the hopes of various “pilgrims” for the future (including breweries and brothels). Father Gstir inspired the inhabitants to build models of their dreams for the future community (mostly based on their memories of the places from which they had come). These monuments of desire for the future were celebrated in the pilgrimage and later realized in the building of the community (although the outcome of the dream for a brothel remains unknown). This is the legend of the past, complete with its own monument: the pilgrim church that Father Gstir had inspired the community to build and the bell that was the final realization of years of hope for the perfect bell. Following the building of the stone church on the hill, Father Gstir watches the final efforts of the workers:

Father Gstir, who presided over the project, was most moved by this last act of labour connected to the building of his church, moved by the solemn expressions on the faces of the men as they carried the past through the doors of the future, how they stacked the timber so tidily in the northeast corner of the lot, where it would not interfere with anyone’s view of the present. It seemed to him as if he were watching time itself being carried in the arms of youth, and as if the pile of logs being assembled in the

moonlight was a kind of monument that both celebrated and mourned the receding past. (136)

While the wood of the initial buildings will stand as a temporary monument to the past, two generations later the stones of the buildings that replaced the wooden structures will likewise stand as a monument to the realized dream of the founding pilgrim of the village, Father Gstir: “The boulders were gathered to make the foundations of houses and barns and various other buildings, and endured as memorials to the frame structures that once surmounted them” (34).

The Vimy Ridge Memorial repeats the earlier pilgrimage of Father Gstir and the founding pilgrimage of The Stone Carvers both in its attempt to represent the past and in its role in the transformation of the lives that become involved in the building of the monument. Just as in the proceedings for the first Corpus Christi parade, the original inhabitants of Shovenal are engaged in the process of transforming the valley and building monuments for the future generations, so too the principal pilgrims to the Vimy monument, like Klara’s grandparents’ before her, also find love and community. Like Father Gstir before him, Walter Allard “dreamed the Great Memorial” (266). His vision included

the huge twin pillars commemorating those who spoke French and those who spoke English, the allegorical figures with downcast or uplifted faces, and in the valley beneath the work of art, the flesh and bones and blood of the dead stirring in the mud. And then the dead themselves emerged like terrible naked flowers, pleading for a memorial to the disappeared, the vanished ones ... those who were unrecognizable and unsung. (267)

And just as Father Gstyr's vision for his pilgrimage church in stone with its giant and perfect bell seemed impossible, so too "Nothing about the memorial was probable, even possible" (267). The memorial was meant to transform the French landscape into a vision of Canada and a monument to the country that were lost to the Canadian boys forever:

Allward wanted white, wanted to recall the snow that fell each year on the coast and plains and mountains, the disappeared boys' names preserved forever, unmelting on a vast territory of stone that was as white as the frozen winter lakes of the country they had left behind. Or he wanted granite, like the granite in the shield of rock that bled down from the north toward the Great Lakes. So sad and unyielding, so terrible and fierce in the face of the farmer. (267)

Thus even the memorial, the sacred site of this pilgrimage, is to be inscribed with the features of the Canadian geography and landscape, dominating the French field with its vision of Canada. The memorial is described in process as "a partly completed cathedral" (304), and like the cathedral at the Jesuit martyrs' shrine in Midland, it raises its hands to God and majestically towers over the landscape.

Within the Christian tradition of pilgrimage, the transformative effect of the encounter with the sacred and the sacred shrine is often the object and the experience of the pilgrim. According to Turner and Turner,

Pilgrims have often written of the "transformative" effect on them of approaching the final altar or the holy grotto at the end of the way. Purified from structural sins, they receive the pure imprint of a

paradigmatic structure. This paradigm will give a measure of coherence, direction, and meaning to their action, in proportion to their identification with the symbolic representation of the founder's experiences. For them the founder becomes a savior, one who saves them from themselves, "themselves" both as socially defined and as personally experienced. The pilgrim "puts on Christ Jesus" as a paradigmatic mask, persona, and thus for a while *becomes* the redemptive tradition. (Turner and Turner 11)

In fact, the pilgrimage itself is meant to be an earthly enactment of the belief in the eventual total transformation of the soul in its journey to the City of God. In the secularized version of this journey as re-enacted in The Stone Carvers, Klara and Tilman are both transformed through love and an art that facilitates their eventual re-entry into the community. For Tilman his love affair in France begins with the French cuisine and the artist and transformer of the food in the person of Recouvrir—a name that signifies recovery of place and belonging for Tilman. For Tilman, Recouvrir is an encounter with the sacred and transforming power of love:

[t]he chef was like a calm, benign God, confident in the midst of creation, seven perfectly sharpened and polished knives near the plump flesh of his right hand, a semicircle of different-sized ladles hanging from the ceiling, making a metal nimbus over his hat. (324)

The giant Chef is the kitchen god with the "metal nimbus" and the power of destruction (the seven sacred knives) and creation (his plump right hand). As a result of Recouvrir's food offerings and gentle kindness, Tilman experiences a love that he had earlier seen enacted between Pheobe and Ham Bone when Ham Bone unwrapped the many ragged

layers and gently bathed the small broken body of his wife. This re-enactment or representation (according to Turner and Turner) of the “founder’s experience” of transforming the valley occurs when

Tilman showed [Recouvrir] how to remove the wooden leg, and when Recouvrir knelt beside him to complete this task, Tilman remembered Ham Bone and Pheobe, remembered the kind of tenderness that transformed a crazed, ragged woman of the roads into a beautiful young girl, enobled by love. And he knew that the love he had witnessed then was echoed here in this French room as two damaged, fragmented middle-aged men made each other fresh and beautiful and whole again. (330)

In Andrea Dalhberg’s chapter on “The body as a principle of holism: Three pilgrimages to Lourdes” (30-50), she argues that in secular society the suffering body takes people from the margins and unites them in community on the pilgrimage. She further contends that the suffering body is central to pilgrimage and is significant to religious experience, specifically to Catholicism. The religious and general imports of this aside, Dalhberg’s emphasis on the suffering body is not new to the discourse of pilgrimage. Its centrality to the experience of community (and by implication the healing of community and the supernatural encounter and miracle of healing) is important to both an understanding of Tilman’s healing and the community of the broken body on the margin of society, as well as being central to the pilgrimage community. Dalhberg takes the Lourdes pilgrimages as her site of examination, but the experience of the broken cook and the wooden-legged hobo introduces the need for the physically broken body to be

restored. The body as a central subject of pilgrimage is further elaborated in Klara's experience at the memorial. Urquhart discusses the bodies of the two men in great detail:

Tilman was amazed to find beauty in his friend's enormous body, which was firm and round and clean, amazed too by the map of scars that made Recouvrier's skin appear to have been ceremonially patterned ... The white marks left by the entrance and the exit of hundreds of bits of shrapnel covered his arms and chest and belly like tiny flowers or stars. (329)

Tilman is "stunned" that "such joy could be part of human experience [and] could draw out of him the part of himself that had been left unmarred by either chain or battle" (330). Tilman as pilgrim recovers his wholeness, memory, and belonging in his experience of transformation through love.

Tilman made this return journey to the site of the battle (where he lost his leg) with no expectations of this pilgrimage transforming him or any hope of becoming whole. However, his sister Klara makes the pilgrimage as a response to a sense of inner calling that necessitated her crossing the ocean to participate in the creation of the sacred site memorializing the war dead. When Klara, disguised as a man, begins to carve Eamon's figure into the memorial, she thinks that "[p]erhaps they would think it an act of God, a miracle" (334), but she is discovered by Walter Allward, who had wanted his torchbearer to be allegorical. Later, when Klara carves Eamon's name with Giorgio, "Klara knew this would be the last time she touched Eamon, that when they finished carving his name all the confusion and regret of his absence would unravel, just as surely as if she had embraced him with forgiving arms" (376). The names and the figures are not the only memorial to the Canadian war dead; Klara and Giorgio discover the tunnels

(which act as a sort of memorial) to the history of the men who once lived in the trenches, as Urquhart writes: “The tunnels themselves were a kind of memorial.” Following the scenes of finding love in these dark reminders of the past, Klara and Giorgio “walk the main passageways and then the tributaries that led from them as if they were explorers penetrating an unknown continent, travelling a river system they had yet to name” (355-356). The tunnels, then, likewise act as a metaphor for Klara and Giorgio’s exploration of the dark interior of the other, the tunnels connecting to both their past and their future together. And in contributing to this memorial to Canada’s past and to Klara’s own past, Allward, seeing her involvement in the monument, “knew that the passion was entering the monument itself, the huge urn he had designed to hold grief” (377).

After its completion, for a short time “[t]he bereaved searched the white wall for the names of loved ones now almost two decades vanished from the earth. Whole oceans of grief were revisited, especially by women” (379). However, the monument is not merely a commemoration of the past but also a sign of the future:

The larger, the more impressive the monument, the more miraculous its construction, the more it seems to predict its own fall from grace.

Exposed and shining on elevated ground, insisting on prodigious feats of memory from all who come to gaze at it, it appears to be as vulnerable as a flower, and its season seems to be as brief. And who among us does not imagine the stone crushed, the altars taken away to museums, the receding past vandalized. The day arrives when there is no one left to climb the tower, pull the rope, ring the bell of the magnificent, improbable church. Names carved in stone become soft and unrecognizable under the assault

of acid rain. No one knows any more what the allegorical figures represent. No one cares. (378)

Allward's intention with the monument involved a vision of the past and the future as a "memorial to grief, on the one hand, and a prayer for peace, on the other" (377).

Urquhart here makes an important comment on public works of art, and their connection to memory and the past, and connects the present monument to the stories (or charter pilgrimage) of the past. Just as the people living under the burden of the Depression and the present no longer seem to care about the story of how the village of Shoneval got its name, its church, and its amazing bell, so too people would cease to care about the miraculous monument, and the names and stories of the individuals carved into that monument would be erased by the natural progression of time. The vision of the indestructibility of the monument was overwhelmed by WWII. Walter Allward's vision of the future of the monument as impermeable to weather or time changes during the drama of WWII to a tortured nightmare where "[t]angled bodies littered torn landscapes, burning clots of brimstone rained down from a savage sky. And, in the background, tiny, almost insignificant in the drama, the wreckage of the monument" (380). Allward "had spent fifteen years of his life obsessed by perfection and permanence" (381) only to have this dream almost instantly torn apart by the world war that followed the first one.

Interrogating this idea of the monument—this key modern pilgrimage site—as permanent and indestructible, Urquhart writes: "[Allward] had believed that he was making memory solid, indestructible, that its perfect stone would stand against the sky forever" (381).

The monument, though, is described as being "like the brown bones of ancient skeletons" (353); and as Klara's grandfather had always reminded her when she began carving, it is

the bones that are important, for it is the bones that remain and remind us of who we were and where we came from (“The bones you see are what you remember” [54]).

The theme of permanence and impermanence winds its course with pilgrimage itself through the novel, and highlights an aspect of art and the monument that remains in spite of the vicissitudes of culture. The bones “last the longest and explain the life history of people, monuments, sculpture. Without them everything else falls apart. With them the inner secret of each structure survives” (54). However, as Michael North writes in The Final Sculpture: Public Monuments and Modern Poets, “the monument without a text is weak and defenceless, no more proof against time than ordinary stone” (28). North suggests, though, that “[n]o statue may indicate a single clear message, but the whole is a kind of encyclopedia, a key to life as it was lived in the perfection of ancient times, and thus a guidebook or even a scripture” (26). While North is discussing the monument in contemporary society in relation to the modern period, I would like to emphasize the monument with respect to the Vimy memorial because it is an actual and historical monument that still exists and can be seen and “read” to this day. However, without a text and without a context in which to read its meaning and understand the allegorical nature of the figures and what they are meant to represent, the monument itself has no memory. The text, then, whether it be a fictional story surrounding the monument’s creation but embedded in actual history, or an interpretive and historical book describing war memorials and Canadian monuments, is key to the “meaning” of the monument.

While Klara in Urquhart’s fictional narration of the monument transforms the “everyman” quality from allegory to a personal retrospective, she herself is transformed

in the process from a woman who lives alone in an abandoned house into a woman who is able to love again. As a result, she is able to create art from the debris of her past relationship (her contribution to the monument) and complete the work of art that has gathered dust over the years due to her inability to carve (as the result of sorrow and lack of feeling). Although the pilgrimage to the war sight is for the purpose of commemorating and letting go of the past, Klara herself had been involved in the process of transformation long before her carving at the memorial.

Klara was “named at her grandfather’s suggestion after the saint who attached herself to Francis” (29). As a young woman, Klara was fascinated by the lives of saints, and in particular the stories of their lives before they achieved sainthood: “moments of sin especially fascinated her” (99). In her adolescence, “the saints began to emerge” (39) and eventually took form in her carving of the abbess. Her grandfather tells her that “the church is the place for your saint, but not of course, until she has achieved sainthood. [...] Any work of art [...] must achieve sainthood before we set it free to roam in the world” (165). However, following her loss of Eamon, and her grandfather’s loss of faith in Tilman’s return, she whispers to the abbess, “I’m sorry I couldn’t help you reach sainthood, couldn’t help you get into the church” (168). Klara puts aside her carving for years and years until she is able to put all her years of mourning and loss into the carving of Eamon’s face and name into Allward’s sculpture, and after falling in love with Giorgio. And just as Klara “had been transformed, redeemed by the experience of arriving at this destination” (308), and is further transformed by falling in love again, she is able to complete and present her saint to the church.

In Fifth Business Dunstan's work as a hagiographer takes him all over Europe and South America looking for Saints and writing about the lives of Saints. I would suggest, however, that the monuments to which he contributes, and the transformations that he undergoes are of a different nature than the more straightforward text, monument, and saints of The Stone Carvers. Dunstan's transformation and eventual personal and psychological acknowledgement of Mary Dempster's sainthood take a life-time's pilgrimage to complete.

Robertson Davies himself as an "ancient monument" of pilgrimage(s) has already been remarked in some detail. Here it seems most fruitful to give some background to Davies' discussion of saints and transformation as they relate directly to pilgrimage in the Deptford Trilogy and Dunstan's saint-making quest. Yet again, The Rebel Angels has some bearing on this discussion, particularly the note (a quotation from Paracelsus) that Maria sends Ozy Froats: "The natural saints, who are called magi, are given powers over the energies and faculties of nature. For there are holy men in God who serve the beatific life; they are called saints. But there are also holy men who serve the forces of nature, and they are called magi. ...What others are incapable of doing they can do, because it has been conferred upon them as a special gift" (The Rebel Angels 248). In some ways like Ozy Froats of The Rebel Angels, Dunstan searches in the waste of humanity, the despised and rejected, and in these discovers his saints. Add to this the important metaphorical import of the stone (like Froats's philosopher's stone) that touched the lives of the principal players of the Deptford Trilogy. As cited in The Rebel Angels, "This is the stone which was set at naught by your builders, which is become the head of the corner" (The Rebel Angels 249). In Fifth Business this stone is chosen to start the whole affair,

when the throwing of it begins the protagonist's, Dunstan Ramsay's, association with the woman who comes to stand for both the mother and whore, and most relevantly the saint: "My lifelong involvement with Mrs. Dempster began at 5:58 o'clock p.m. on 27 December 1908, at which time I was ten years and seven months old" (Fifth Business 1).

In 1949 Davies read The White Goddess by Robert Graves, which he describes as "the strangest and most fascinating book that I have ever read" (qtd. in Little 92). Davies writes:

Who, pray, is the White Goddess? She is, [Graves] says, the original Triple Deity who was worshipped throughout the whole of Europe long before the gods of Olympus were dreamed of; she was the goddess whose worship was dominant in that immensely distant past when civilization was not patriarchal, but matriarchal. ... Christianity, he says, contains not one single element except the personality of Jesus himself; all else is Judaic, or Olympian, or perversion of the original worship of the White Goddess, who was given a somewhat inferior place in Christian worship as the Virgin Mary. But Christianity is essentially a religion which exalts the male above the female, and that is directly contrary to the rule of the Goddess. (Davies "From the Critic's Notebook" qtd. in Little 92-93)

Dave Little quotes at length from this essay in order to further an argument that focusses on Davies' attempt to reclaim or balance the feminine elements of Christianity. More importantly, this is Davies questing into the past for the roots and archetypes of the saint that he later develops in the character of Mary Dempster and that Dunstan encounters on the battlefield of ancient Europe and in all the little saintly statuaries of Mary for which

he searches in Europe and Mexico. Little quotes at length the Pope's dogma concerning the *Assumptio Mariae* and the various visions by children and the Pope himself of the Virgin (97). Little goes on to discuss Davies' reaction to Jung's Answer to Job, which involves the psychologist's discussion of the need for the feminine elements in Christianity. Little writes that Davies, speaking of Jung's response to the Pope's dictates on the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, considers "the declaration by the late Pope Pius XII of the Dogma of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, in 1950, ... to be the most important religious event since the Reformation. 'It leaves Protestantism with the odium of being nothing but a man's religion, which allows no metaphysical representation of a woman'" (Davies qtd. in Little 97-98). According again to Little, "Mary Dempster is the creative offspring born of the synthesis of Davies' own interest in hagiology [...] and the emphasis on the Blessed Virgin that he discovered in Jung's writing" (Little 98). But while Little and Davies himself are both connecting Mary Dempster to the Virgin, clearly there is more at work in Fifth Business. Indeed, I would suggest that the Triple Goddess of Graves is what Davies has actually created: with Dunstan's mother, Liesl the Hag, and Mary Dempster the Virgin.<sup>27</sup> In this manner, Davies incorporates the early pagan roots suggested by Graves into a contemporary "mythology" that allows for the historical recurrence and transformation of the myth in the personal mythology of Dunstable Ramsey.

Dunstan's involvement with Mary Dempster as the triple goddess of Graves's mythology is responsible for his transformation, and he in turn is responsible through his writing of Paul's autobiography/mythology for the transformation of Paul from rejected

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<sup>27</sup> Of course, there is ample evidence that Mary Dempster also stands as the whore in the Virgin/Whore binary of feminist discourse. The name "Mary" brings to mind at once Mary the mother of Jesus and Mary Magdalene, the whore who washed his feet with perfume.

boy to romantic figure in the world of magic. Dunstan's association with Mary Dempster could be figured as a kind of obsession, brought on as it were by guilt, but also by love, adoration, and faith. While Mary Dempster was somewhat of an addled and odd figure in the village, wandering about offering neighbours wilted lettuce leaves and things from the parsonage, it is not until what Dunstan comes to view as her first miracle that she is utterly rejected in the village. Mary offers her body to a tramp simply because he asks her, and later the reformed tramp tells the story of how he was transformed by this offering. The tramp turned mission worker to street people says, "It was as if I had gone right down into Hell and through the worst of the fire, and come on a clear, pure pool where I could wash and be clean"(134). He goes on to say, "They turned me loose next morning, and I ran out of the town laughing and shouting like the man who was delivered from devils by Our Lord. As I had been, you see. He worked through that woman, and she is a blessed saint, for what she did for me—I mean it as I say it—was a miracle" (135). Following her rejection for this incident, Dunstan runs to Mary Dempster when his brother Willie dies, and at the prayer and hands of Mary Dempster Willie is brought back to life. Dunstan says, "Willie's recall from death is, and will always be, Mrs. Dempster's second miracle" (57). And the third miracle, the one that in the end sends Dunstan searching all over Europe for the little virgin that saved him is the sight of the Virgin with Mrs. Dempster's face when he is on the battlefield, and later he says that it was "the little Madonna [that] cured me" (76).

While in The Stone Carvers a work of art achieves a kind of sainthood by the completion of the artistry, in Davies' fiction, and in the historical and contemporary work of hagiography and canonization, the process must take into account the papal rules as

well as the historical/political moment. Dunstan's work in his search for statuary and attempt to have Mary Dempster canonized amply supply a fictional narrative that illustrates the work of the Bollandists (the priests responsible for the canonization of saints) and the "politics" of sainthood. Initially, following his conviction of Mary Dempster's sainthood, Dunstan seeks out the local authority on all matters Catholic—Deptford's Catholic priest. The priest's response is sceptical and parochial:

"A saint, do you say? Well now, that's a pretty tall order. I couldn't help you at all. Finding saints isn't any part of my job. Nor can I say what's a miracle and what isn't. But I don't imagine the bishop would have much to say to your grounds; it'd be his job to think of such things, if anybody did. A tramp reformed. I've reformed a tramp or two myself; they get spells of repentance, like most people. This fella you tell me of, now, seems to be as extreme in his zeal as he was in his sin. I never like that. And this business of raising your brother from his deathbed, as you describe it, was pretty widely talked about when it happened. Dr McCausland says he never died at all, and I suppose he'd know. A few minutes with no signs of life. Well, that's hardly Lazarus, now, is it? And your own experience when you were wounded—man, you were out of your head. I have to say it plainly. You'd better put this whole foolish notion away and forget it." (137)

The priest is the voice of the common Catholic, albeit a priest, one who believes in miracles and the church but is skeptical in his understanding. The priest proceeds to

make a somewhat tawdry pitch for the “one Church,” and in this sales spiel further deconstructs the notion of the miraculous and sainthood:

“Look, Mr Ramsay, I’ll tell it to you as plain as it comes: there’s a lot of very good people in the world, and a lot of queer things happen that we don’t see the explanation of, but there’s only one Church that undertakes to cut right down to the bone and say what’s a miracle and what isn’t and who’s a saint and who isn’t, and you, and this poor soul you speak of, are outside it. You can’t set up some kind of bootleg saint, so take my advice and cut it out. Be content with the facts you have, or think you have, and don’t push anything too far—or you might get a bit strange yourself.”

(138)

Personal strangeness and the soundness or practicality of the advice given aside, Mr. Ramsay is not able to take the advice of this small-town priest. If we read Fifth Business as a confessional for both his own guilt and the road to his own transformation, Ramsay’s involvement in attempting to help Mrs. Dempster achieve sainthood is of particular importance to his own pilgrimage. Ramsay admits that “[a]s a child I had felt oppressively responsible for her, but I thought all that was dissipated in the war. Was not a leg full and fair payment for an evil action?” (161). In spite of the fact that this is “primitive thinking” (161), recalling the commonsensical advice of the parish priest, Dunstan acknowledges that there remains a guilt that is “clamouring to be atoned” (161).

While Mary is part of the larger cosmology of Ramsay’s life and is central to his confessional mode of writing, “saint-hunting, saint-identifying, saint-describing” (142) is perhaps the leading passion or quest of Ramsay’s academic life. It is Dunstan’s

being a human creature, Ramezay. That is the beginning of wisdom” (180). However, when Dunstan visits Mrs. Dempster again, “It was as though I were visiting a part of my own soul that was condemned to live in hell” (182), and he again confesses guilt over the money he spends on trips to Europe which could be used to keep Mrs. Dempster in a private hospital. Following Mary’s death, he smells her to see if she gives off a saintly odour, once again recording shame at this act. However, it is in fact his writing of the record of his quest and his faith in both her miracles and her sainthood that transforms this possibly addled and ordinary woman into a saint—albeit an officially unrecognized saint, but nonetheless the “maid” or Mary of Graves’s triple goddess discussion. And while his mother clearly takes her place in that triad, his later relationship with Liesl (the hag of the triple-goddess) is equally one that is both essential to his personal growth and necessary to the discussion of the transformation that takes place on the pilgrim’s road, the journey which is designated by Davies as the road to self-knowledge and, through this knowledge, to God.

Dunstan engages in a rather interesting fight with the hideous hag, Liesl, in which he tweaks her nose, which Padre Blazon later laughingly describes as follows: “It was St Dunstan seizing the Devil’s snout in his tongs, a thousand years after his time” (255). Following a reconciliation of sorts, Dunstan and Liesl discuss the role of the devil in Dunstan’s life. Liesl says that Dunstan ““should take a look at this side of your life you have not lived”” (230), and proceeds to discuss his personal devil:

“But every man has a devil, and a man of unusual quality, like yourself, Ramsay, has an unusual devil. You must get to know your personal devil. You must even get to know his father, the Old Devil. Oh, this

Christianity! Even when people swear they don't believe in it, the fifteen hundred years of Christianity that has made our world is in their bones, and they want to show they can be Christians without Christ. Those are the worst; they have the cruelty of doctrine without the poetic grace of myth." (230)

Liesl goes on to ask Dunstan where he "fit[s] into poetry and myth" (230), suggesting that he may be the titular "fifth business." Liesl eventually "achieves her purpose" (231), as Dunstan puts it, exclaiming further, "With such a gargoyle! And yet never have I known such deep delight or such an aftermath of healing tenderness" (231). Following this encounter, as Dunstan tells Padre Blazon in the same discussion cited above, "The Devil proved to be a very good fellow. He suggested that a little compromise would not hurt me. He even suggested that an acquaintance with Him might improve my character" (254). And Padre Blazon reciprocates with an approving story of relations with the Devil:

"I find no fault with that. The Devil knows corners of us all of which Christ Himself is ignorant. Indeed, I am sure Christ learned a great deal that was salutary about Himself when He met the Devil in the wilderness. Of course, that was a meeting of brothers; people forget too readily that Satan is Christ's elder brother and has certain advantages in argument that pertain to a senior. On the whole, we treat the Devil shamefully, and the worse we treat Him the more He laughs at us." (254-255)

And while in a strictly Orthodox and Catholic discussion of pilgrimage, temptation by the devil, and especially succumbing to this temptation, does not lead to redemption or

transformation, in terms of Davies' pilgrimage in the knowledge of self, the devil does play an important role.

While for Dunstan and Padre Blazon, as well as for the other players in the Deptford trilogy, life's journey, the underworld, and the religious/faith aspects of this journey are important, the role of Christ and the Devil and the various saints and miracles all have a far from orthodox role. In fact, it seems apt to say that Davies and the characters of his fiction are seeking a personal and individual God that has little to do with the traditional understanding of religious experience, except perhaps as a mythical dimension to the personal pilgrim path that they are walking. As Padre Blazon illustrates in his search for a God of old age and as Davies acknowledges in his personal response to the World Wars, the old gods of Catholic or Calvinistic Christianity no longer seem safe and explanatory. While for the Jesuits of old a physical martyrdom in the New World was the imitation of their Saviour, in the modern era, where death in the trenches makes life itself seem unimportant and meaningless, it becomes necessary to find a personal God on the pilgrim path to self-knowledge. The pilgrimage of Urquhart's characters is likewise a journey of self-discovery or rediscovery following years of wandering or living in an abandoned self. However, both Urquhart and Davies write their modern pilgrimages over the mythology of past pilgrimages and contemplate the significance of faith.

While visiting Mexico, Dunstan becomes fascinated by the kind of faith he sees displayed by the Mexican petitioners. "My eyes," he writes,

were on the kneeling petitioners, whose faces had the beauty virtually every face reveals in the presence of the goddess of mercy, the Holy

Mother, the figure of divine compassion. [...] These petitioners had no conception of art; to them a picture was a symbol of something else, and very readily the symbol became the reality. They were untouched by modern education, but their government was striving with might and main to procure this inestimable benefit for them; anticlericalism and American bustle would soon free them from belief in miracles and holy likeness. But where, I ask myself, will mercy and divine compassion come from then? Or are such things necessary to people who are well fed and know the wonders that lie concealed in an atom? I don't regret economic and educational advance; I just wonder how much we shall have to pay for it, and in what coin. (201-202)

While Dunstan and most readers of this fictional autobiography/confession can only wonder at the kind of faith represented by the Mexican supplicants to the Virgin, the pilgrimage of Dunstable, the twice-born hagiographer, is clearly one towards self-knowledge where the faith of prior generations (Canadian and otherwise) has been destroyed by two World Wars and "economic and educational" advances. But there remains a need for wonder and a re-living and re-enlivening of the myths of the Pre-Christian and Christian pilgrimage eras, ones that mythographers such as Davies and Urquhart and the contemporary searchers or pilgrims can make part of their own cosmology or recognize in the underworlds of their own national mythologies.

**Richard B. Wright's The Age of Longing and Clara Callan: The Pilgrim's Return to the Archive and the Memorial of the Canadian Small Town**

At first glance, the two works selected for this chapter may seem unlikely choices for a study of pilgrimage in Canadian literature. In part, I selected Richard B. Wright's The Age of Longing and Clara Callan because they actually are less obvious choices and insist upon a more complex reading of the already complicated trope of pilgrimage. This being said, these works also allow for the type of reading that has not heretofore been possible. In this chapter I use Jacques Derrida's The Gift of Death (1992) and Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression (1995) as models for theoretical commentary on the pilgrimages of Wright's novels. By doing this I am suggesting that Derrida's readings of his chosen texts provide instructive ways of reading both of Wright's works, adding much to the present study's vision of pilgrimage in the Canadian context. As well, the site of the small town can be seen through the use of the Derridian texts as an archive of, and return to, a sacred site. Moreover, using the Homeric inter-text of The Age of Longing, I view the small town as the site of return for the Odyssean wanderer as well as the starting point for an examination of the novels using the Classical or Greco-Roman pilgrimage model of "journeying and return" (Coleman and Elsner 10).

Odd as it may appear, this chapter will necessarily have three introductions: one to the general pilgrimages of the texts, one to Greek and Roman pilgrimage, and one to Derrida's use of the archive. These separate, but connected, introductions will then be gathered together like a pilgrim company itself in the common goal of finding and giving meaning to the pilgrimages of the texts under examination.

The first and broadest introduction addresses the following question: What qualifies The Age of Longing and Clara Callan as pilgrimage texts?<sup>28</sup> Initially, I will invoke and explore, as both texts have done, the protestant model of life-as-pilgrimage. I will then go immediately to the ending of the second text, where the daughter returns and comments on her parents' life (particularly her mother's, which is, of course, similar to the more on-going project of Howard Wheeler in The Age of Longing). Clara Callan shows the qualities of the pilgrimage text itself as a monument and the small-town as the site of archive and memorial, the point of departure and return. However, instead of relying on the scraps of evidence scattered around the town, as Howard Wheeler does in The Age of Longing, Clara Callan relies on the epistolary and diary form. Together these forms allow for a closer look at the isolated and solitary journey/pilgrimage of a mother. Readers finally come to know that the mother's documents of life have been compiled by the daughter. As such, Clara Callan serves as an important companion piece to The Age of Longing (or vice versa). It then becomes possible to say in pilgrimage terms that the son and daughter of these texts are repeating or following the "life" pilgrimage of the "founding" father and mother through the documents that have been left behind in the archive of the small town. Like the Christian pilgrim who seeks knowledge of God and self by retracing and re-enacting the journey of the founding father,<sup>29</sup> the son and

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<sup>28</sup> Within the Wright oeuvre, a number of works including Farthing's Fortune and Tourists address questions of journey and perhaps even pilgrimage. Farthing's Fortune in particular dealt with issues of the picaresque and invoked the journey motif in the context of the life's story of a character. Tourists deals with questions other than those posed by pilgrimage, although the journey motif is again invoked. It seemed important to focus on Wright texts that looked in particular at the generational relationship and the relationship to the small town in order to further expand the pilgrimage paradigm.

<sup>29</sup> The founder of the Christian religion can be viewed as Christ himself, and the followers of Christ imitate Christ's journey or pilgrimage. The Christian pilgrim does this in part through the documents and letters that Christ inspired and left behind (the Gospels, the Epistles to various churches, and the founding fathers' "confessions"). The Christian pilgrim likewise retraces or revisits various sites of Christ's life on earth, looks at artefacts and relics, and searches the documents of friends and relatives. The Christian pilgrim

daughter of these texts follow the life-as-pilgrimage texts belonging to their mothers in order to reconstruct the life-as-pilgrimage of their unknown fathers and their fathers' life in the small town. Howard Wheeler and Clara Callan's daughter, like earlier poets and pilgrims, are forced to look to the traces, and from these traces to piece together meaning and discover how they are connected to their absent fathers.

Classical (or Greco-Roman) pilgrimage, although one of the sources for all western pilgrimage motifs, is under-examined in pilgrimage literature. In part, this may be attributed to the fact that the first critical texts on pilgrimage (Turner and Turner's, for example) focus on Christian pilgrimage. Most recently, in Pilgrimage and Literary Tradition Philip Edwards makes reference to classical forms of pilgrimage in Shakespeare. Pericles, Prince of Tyre has Diana appear to Pericles in a vision and command him: "My temple stands in Ephesus. Hie thee thither, / And do upon mine altar sacrifice" (5.I.240-I).<sup>30</sup> Poststructuralist critical texts focus on contemporary pilgrimages, and thus to a large extent ignore the earlier, and in this case classical, forms of pilgrimage. I will be drawing primarily on the work of Coleman and Elsner's Pilgrimage, in which the first chapter, "Piety and Identity: Sacred Travel in the Classical World," addresses aspects of Greek and Roman pilgrimage relevant to a discussion of Wright's works, particularly the sub-text and inter-texts of The Age of Longing. Likewise, Rick Jarow's In Search of the Sacred: a pilgrimage to holy places addresses the heretofore neglected topic of contemporary pilgrimage to Greek and Roman sites of

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also looks for the "fruits of the spirit" or examples of traits in their own life that mirror the characteristics of Christ's life (the imitatio Christi). The most extreme example of this is seeking martyrdom in order to "re-enact" Christ's persecuted/sacrificial death on the cross.

<sup>30</sup> For further discussion of Shakespeare's pilgrims and reference to classical pilgrimage sites and pilgrimages in Shakespeare and elsewhere, see Philip Edwards's "Shakespeare's Pilgrims" (Chapter 3), and the rest of his study, Pilgrimage and Literary Tradition (Cambridge University Press, 2005).

antiquity. Although I will not be drawing on this work here, its sections on pilgrimage to Athens, the Acropolis, and Crete form the contemporary counterpart to the archetypal and symbolic elements that are discussed in Coleman and Elsner.

“Piety and Identity: Sacred Travel in the Classical World” begins by making reference to Homer’s Odyssey and the sufferings and struggles of Odysseus in his attempts to reach home. According to Coleman and Elsner,

Many of the themes of pilgrimage—the sense of a difficult journey fraught with sufferings, the intense yearning for a distant goal—are encapsulated in what became a classic text for the ancient Greeks and Romans. In later antiquity, the tale of Odysseus was taken as a religious allegory of man’s renunciation of material pleasures in favour of the transcendent—that sacred ‘place from which we came’, in the words of the philosopher Plotinus. Like pilgrimage, the voyage of Odysseus became in the ancient allegorical tradition (both pagan and Christian) a potent symbol for the inner spiritual journey to one’s authentic home. (10)

John Durham Peters invokes the classical model of the Odyssean story when he writes that “the point of the story is to get home again—either to one’s original home or, by marrying the princess, to a new kingdom. Home is the beginning and the end, the “long” or “last” home” (70). Interestingly, contemporary Canadian poet Tim Lilburn, like Peters, uses the classical pilgrimage story of Odysseus as a way to critique what he calls “late capitalism’s nomadism” (Thinking and Singing: Poetry and the Practice of Philosophy 177). Lilburn writes:

Odysseus, resourceful, immaculately solitary, the one who always remembers home, the untrustworthy one, the graced, rash man who becomes nothing other than his longing for home, the sleepy one, his yearning materializing into a journey along the axis mundi itself—here was the paradigm for the range of what Plato wanted to say about desire, here the example that unbridled his speech. Late capitalism’s nomadism, its own particular pursuit of homelessness, its sad, weary anarchy. (177)

Hermann Hesse, quoting from the poet Novalis in The Journey East, writes: ““where are we really going? Always home!”” (13). And yet, while this idea of “pilgrimage” is here explicitly connected with the Eastern tradition of journeying, it is also explicitly a part of the Western tradition in Greek, Roman, Jewish and Christian histories and myths. The idea of the “pilgrimage” home remains likewise a part of contemporary popular culture.<sup>31</sup> The attempts of the son and daughter of Wright’s texts are to return and reclaim home through following the pilgrimage of the parent. Through the sacred trace in the archive of their mothers, Howard Wheeler and Clara Callan’s daughter journey towards the sacred goal of “knowing” and understanding their absent fathers.

The final part of this three-part introduction is a mapping of some of the important markers of Jacques Derrida’s Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression and The Gift of Death. These works, while perhaps of lesser importance in the Derridian opus, form important companion pieces to the Wright works here under examination. They allow for an exploration of some of the issues of pilgrimage in the stories and historical periods under examination in The Age of Longing and Clara Callan.

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<sup>31</sup> For instance, Tom Waits rasps, “If you get far enough away you’ll be on your way back home.”

Archive Fever gives a number of different entry points into the archive. The archive itself, Derrida explains, is “archive destroying” and is inhabited by “silence.” The graphic markings of the archive are the repetitions that occur. While Derrida is exploring the Jewishness of psychoanalysis, in spite of Freud’s “silence” on this subject, he turns to the mark of the covenant, circumcision, written on the body, as part of the Jewish archive. Derrida asks whether Anna Freud “was speaking in your [Freud’s] name?” (44). The secret of the archive is “secretly but visibly, sheltered by a secret he wants manifest by a secret he is anxious to make public” (44). These issues of the “secret” of the archive that the author wants to make manifest are of primary importance to Clara Callan’s archive. Clara Callan has a number of secrets that she always means to tell her daughter. However, these secrets are always sheltered in the archive of her diaries and letters. Derrida’s essay goes on to discuss the case of “The Rat Man,” writing that there is “no doubt about the identity of the mother [...] while the identity of the father always remains doubtful” (47). The doubtful identity of the father, and the attempt to gain knowledge of the father, is one of the primary pilgrimages of both the daughter (revealed in the final pages of Clara Callan) and the son, Howard Wheeler, in The Age of Longing. The search that concerns Derrida and the son and daughter of Wright’s texts is the “search for the Father’s confirmation of a particular history” (47). Yerushalmi recalls that “unlike other inheritors and wayward sons, he has not looked for the secrets or the weaknesses of the master, of the one who remains, like Goethe, through the ‘autobiographical records, a careful concealer’” (61). The search is not only a quest in the absence and the silence but is also “never to rest, interminably, from searching for the archive right where it slips away” (91). Like the “pilgrimage trace” for which Pratt

searches, there is “the possibility of the archiving trace” (100). The question in constructing or deconstructing the archive is always: “What was concealed?” (100). Derrida proceeds to conclude that “we will wonder what he may have kept for his unconditional right to secrecy, while at the same time burning with the desire to know, to make known, and to archive the very thing he concealed forever” (101).

The Gift of Death has particular bearing on Clara Callan, just as Archive Fever is important to my reading of The Age of Longing. Derrida notes that Patučka reminds us that “every revolution, whether atheistic or religious, bears witness to a return of the sacred” (35). And so Clara Callan’s personal revolution, her loss of faith, in the midst of society’s technological revolution and the dawning of the Holocaust, marks both a radical shift and a return of the sacred. The Gift of Death is concerned with violence, and like Archive Fever, with the return of violence. Trembling, along with fears of the repetition of violence, accordingly “suggest[s] that violence is going to break out again, that some traumatism will insist on being repeated” (54). And again the trope of secrecy is fleshed out through one of the founding myths of pilgrimage. Derrida discusses the secrecy or “not speaking” of Abraham: “Abraham doesn’t speak, he assumes the responsibility that consists in always being alone, entrenched in one’s own singularity at the moment of decision” (59-60). However, “as soon as one speaks, as soon as one enters the medium of language, one loses that very singularity” (60). This, then, is the pilgrimage of the individual and society, to move from the secret and the silent, into the ethical and archival revealedness of language. Accordingly, “the single individual [...] is the hidden. Thus the ethical task is to work himself out of his hiddenness and to become disclosed in

the universal. Every time he desires to remain hidden, he trespasses and is immersed in spiritual trial from which he can emerge only by disclosing himself” (62).

By highlighting the silence and secrecy of the archive, the repetition of trauma, and the ethical necessity of making this manifest in language, I am both complicating the trope of pilgrimage and explaining the continuity of the pilgrimage motif in works that at first reading appear to be absolutely divorced from the sacred. The only mention of God in Clara Callan involves her struggle with loss of faith and the trauma of survival in a Godless universe, but I will show how this struggle is in fact a transformation of and a return to the sacred journey of pilgrimage.

With regard to the Greek pilgrimage tradition, Howard Wheeler identifies himself with Telemachus. He designates himself as “a modern Telemachus in search of Odysseus” (60). However, overemphasizing the Homeric resonances of The Age of Longing could lead to misidentifying Howard’s role in the text and his father’s position in Huron Falls. Howard’s identification, like much of the text, could be based on false information. As I will show later in this chapter, Howard’s real identification does not echo Homer’s Telemachus with Odysseus, but rather with Penelope. The maternal influence shaped Howard’s character, and he proceeds to search for his father in the archive of his mother. His father never really “returns” to the mother or stays in the town to claim his “heroic” position. Thus within the epic and pilgrimage tradition, Buddy Wheeler is a failed hero. Buddy’s failed return to the Canadian town of Huron Falls and the particular “Canadianness” of his being a doubtful hockey hero are Canadian qualities important to this pilgrim’s narrative. The name “Huron Falls” likewise designates the

place of departure and return with the name of a vanquished nation, the Hurons (who were discussed in chapter one).

The hero of this text is falsely identified in the town as Buddy Wheeler, an alcoholic womanizer, and unsuccessful “almost” NHL hockey player. The real questing hero, the Odysseus of this text, is Howard Wheeler, the son. He is the pilgrim who returns to the town of his birth, not as the triumphant hero of old but as a “modern” man who realizes the necessity of knowing himself (as the Greek oracle commands and as Davies suggests) through his origins, both the place from which he came and the people who formed him. In Coleman and Elsner’s terms, Howard Wheeler is “yearning for a distant goal” of knowing, and in many ways Wheeler’s quest could be unveiled as a “renunciation of material pleasures in favour of the transcendent—that sacred ‘place from which we came’” (10). His “return” pilgrimage is an ethical act of remembering the past in order to put things in order for the future. Again, Derrida suggests in The Gift of Death that “as soon as one speaks, as soon as one enters the medium of language, one loses that very singularity” (60). That is, the hiddenness of the self is transformed and becomes part of the ethical community inscribed in language. It is through such an act that the individual finds his “authentic home” (10). This then is the pilgrimage of Howard Wheeler, as an editor, archivist and narrator of the text: to move from the secret and silent, into the ethical revealedness of language. According to Derrida, “the single individual [...] is the hidden. Thus this ethical task is to work himself out of his hiddenness and to become disclosed in the universal. Every time he desires to remain hidden, he trespasses and is immersed in spiritual trial from which he can emerge only by disclosing himself” (62). Thus, part of Howard Wheeler’s “trial” and suffering on the

pilgrim trail is the movement from the singular and hidden into the disclosure of self through language. His pilgrimage is both to return to the town and through his work to understand the past and himself, to move in pilgrimage terms towards transformation in the revealedness of language. He must, like Derrida's Abraham, move from the hidden and silent into the ethical and transformative world of language.

The Age of Longing opens with Howard Wheeler's first memory, a trace that originates from false information about an object that is itself a physical absence and exists only in the imagination of the narrator and the heroic tales of the town. The narrator says, "When I was three or four years old, I used to look for the Stanley Cup in my mother's china cabinet. This search arose from perhaps my earliest memory" (1). These lines signal both the beginning of the narrator's pilgrimage from falsehood to truth, from silence to the ethical responsibility of language, and the quality of his following or re-enacting through remembering and writing the pilgrimage (or failed Odyssean quest) of his father. These lines likewise take the reader directly into the archive and signal the nature of the pilgrimage. The archive in which the narrator will search for information consists of his personal memory, particularly his memories of his mother and father—their roles and identities. As in a story cycle, and much like The Odyssey, the aptly named Wheeler story will be told from a variety of perspectives and repeated by different members of the community. The physical mapping of the pilgrimage site, the town, and its internal sacred sites, is also a part of the story. Like a Greek chorus, the town's children's talk provides alternate and sometimes false memories. The children's exclamation, "That's Buddy Wheeler. He played for Montreal and he won the Stanley Cup" (1) is one such instance. Buddy Wheeler and the Stanley Cup are a part of the

town's collective memory—an archive of imaginary stories and heroes. The Stanley Cup (like the Holy Grail) exists only as a mythical object and “false” relic within the town's lore. Since this mythology centers around the life of Buddy Wheeler, it comes to signify the absence that Howard Wheeler attempts to fill imaginatively. The memory of the mother's china cabinet becomes a maternal archive through which the narrator searches for his absent father, the object of his pilgrimage. The china cabinet represents the characteristic utility, class, and order of the mother, all elements that inform both the archive and pilgrimage. The actual historical events, or factual memories, provide the basis for the search and the resulting narrative. The discovery of these factual memories involves less the work of imagination and more a rigorous sorting of objects, conversations, and such historical documents as newspaper clippings, letters, and photographs. The china cabinet is, however, an immediate caution to the reader to be wary of the narrator's mythologizing; he is searching for information about his father's absence through the mother's archive.

Although Howard believes himself to be the modern version of Telemachus, he actually exhibits many of the characteristics of Odysseus. So, the modern Telemachus could really be the pilgrim of this text. He follows the charter pilgrimage of his parents and the Greek archetypal pilgrimage of the hero's return home. The modern Telemachus, and not the father, Odysseus, is one who returns to the town of his birth. He returns to the first and most intimate archive: that of his mother. It is the son, and not the father, who returns to the waiting Penelope. Howard comes to an understanding that his own mind and body bear testimony to, and thus are themselves an archive comprised of, memories of his mother. Derrida discusses the “intimate mark” of “the sign of the

covenant or circumcision” (8). And although Howard’s body is not physically cut with a mark or reminder of his inheritance from his mother, there is a sense in which his body and mind give testimony to the “intimate marks” of the mother’s shaping influence. In this way, Howard Wheeler becomes a testimony to and archive of his mother, both in terms of his genetic inheritance and the intimate shaping influence of his mother’s way of viewing the world. He has inherited both her personality traits and habitual behaviours. Even the narrator’s private and ordered search into his parents’ history is a testimony to the social and shaping order exercised by his mother.

Sheltered in the very name of the archive is the social order imposed by it and at its commencement. Due in part to this intimate sense of order inherited from his mother, Howard textually memorializes the vicious irony of his mother’s death: “One could justifiably say, I suppose, that decomposing on a kitchen floor in the heat of early summer is scarcely an appropriate conclusion to anyone’s life. But for Mother it was especially savage in its irony, for above all other virtues, her Presbyterian soul yearned most after order and tidiness” (3). This image suggests that her need for order could perhaps be figured as a fear of death and an attempt to conquer death through the attempts to order archivally. Rather than the gods of the Greeks, it is the social mores of small-town Presbyterian values that direct both his mother’s journey through life and Howard’s repetition of this journey in attempting to find the absent father in his mother’s archive. However, this urge to order ends up driving his mother to a man who represents heroic failure and disorder. From Howard Wheeler’s perspective, his mother married Buddy Wheeler because she believed she could impose her social order upon him and that in time he would stop drinking, accept the responsibilities of a respectable job, and

give up the childish game of hockey. As the narrator notes in the final lines of the narrative, his mother's entire life was informed by a "brutal irony" resulting from the fact that "she chose a man for whom restraint was impossible" (218). However, the failure of his father and his own acute sense of his father's failure both to succeed and to return is read, as the narrator has clearly shown, through the order imposed upon his memory by the mother.

Howard Wheeler's repetition of his mother's life-as-pilgrimage is in fact part of the covenantal and trans-generational pilgrimage. The Bible records that, in the pilgrimage from Egypt to the Promised Land, the sins of the parents were visited on the children. In fact, the nature of the covenantal relationship between God and Israel suggests that the promises of the covenant span generations. And so, a necessary part of re-collecting the memories of his mother is the process of personally identifying the intimate similarities between his life's journey and his mother's. Howard Wheeler says, "Mother made few friends in her life, and most of them had preceded her to the grave. She was one (I am another) who seemed to need few people around" (4). He goes on to identify the inheritance of a critical disposition and other character traits from his mother. Howard Wheeler exemplifies the editor's critical gaze in his early reading of the young minister's letter regarding his mother's death. This reading suggests that her memory is memorialized in his vision when, rather than the emotional response one would expect, the narrator engages in a criticism, focusing on grammatical errors and the minister's inconsistencies in regard to his mother (4-6).

In this process of re-collecting he is forced to remember his association with the town in relation to his mother. Just as the Greeks of The Odyssey compare Telemachus'

strength and bravery to that of Odysseus his father, so too Howard is identified by the townspeople as being like his mother. Howard himself comments that “Certainly she did not inspire affection in her pupils, and I grew up under the shadow of their resentment over her forbidding manner in the classroom. I had few friends. As a child, Halloween was the night of watchful and humiliating anxiety” (6). The narrator re-collects the prank of human excrement on their porch as he walks along the streets of the town fifty years later. However it is not just the children who are unforgiving of his mother. It could be suggested that Howard Wheeler, as both son and editor, is judging the mother, having inverted the mother’s critical gaze. This critically cold way of seeing further suggests the intimate scar tissue that manifests in Howard’s vision. The adults in the town are represented as perceiving this “plain” woman as destined for spinsterhood and later condemning her for going back to work shortly after Howard’s birth. These memories become particularly important when considering the reliability of the narrator: Is he merely representing the views of the town or is he describing their reactions to her through his own/his mother’s critical and editorial gaze?

Just as the memories of home always haunt Odysseus through his years of wandering, the memories of the small town provoke a very particular feeling in Howard. He remembers the solitude that was enforced upon him by his mother in the small town. The other children would be playing, but his mother felt that they were far too rough for him, marking him with her social order. The narrator also describes this aloneness in relation to his father, whose absence he felt “had diminished our world and reduced my mother and me to peculiar and pitiable spectators” (108). He feels this same “late summer sadness” (108) when his wife leaves him, suggesting that this feeling is an

intimate and internalized archived memorial to his mother's shaping influence that is destined to manifest itself in the relationships that follow.

The pilgrim's journey involves re-enacting the charter pilgrimage (in this case of his mother). Likewise, in the Greek pilgrimage tradition, it is Odysseus' yearning for and memory of Penelope that keeps him longing for home. However, in Howard's case, it is his relationship with his mother that he continues to repeat with other women in his life. Howard observes in his relationships with women a similar re-enactment of his feeling of powerlessness in relation to his mother, perhaps recalling the social order of the small town as well. When he is talking to Louise Ouellette, his cleaning lady, he sees what she would have been like when he was in high school and feels the return of a particular emotion. "Her hair is still dark, and in her face I can still see the vestiges of the pretty teenager she once was. In high school I would have cast hopeless looks of adoration at someone like Louise" (20). His relationship to women is still characterized by fear, endlessly repeating unresolved events. He imagines that women now see him as old-fashioned and lacking in power, revealing that he believes women view him in the way his mother shaped him and the men in her life, as lacking in power. Howard says, "People like me have been replaced by younger, more aggressive types, usually female" (16). It appears that, in relation to himself, he views women in general as having more power and as exhibiting this in an aggressive manner. Describing women's sexuality, on the only occasion that he does, he reveals the same generalized fear of women and sense of powerlessness: "Beneath the hockey sweater she wears a black brassiere and I am still able to be stirred by such a sight, though in the arms of a woman like Louise Ouellette I would fear for my heart" (22). The heart, given the context of his recent heart attack and

the fear that he has described in relation to women, seems to suggest a fear of death more than a “losing” of his heart to such a woman. Concerning his fear of women, Howard concludes by discussing their physicality, not in a sexual sense, but in terms of their strength: “I am sure that any one of these women could wrestle me to the floor in an instant” (22).

Through remembering and reconstructing his mother’s life and coming to an understanding of her need for order, the narrator is able to construct a narrative about his own feelings of powerlessness with women. As the narrator suggests with the inter-text of Eliot’s “Prufrock” (164), she has “measured out [her] life with coffee spoons” (5). The narrator’s return to the town allows him to remember his mother’s need for order. Early on, she established herself in her own home, breaking out of the usual patriarchal order of the town. Grace chooses to leave her companionable, albeit lonely, relationship with her father in favour of her own big house. When she goes to buy the house, we are made to understand from the internal dialogue of the real estate agent that her decision to live alone is “foolishness” (27). In spite of his desire for a sale, he thinks about going to her father and enforcing the proper “order” of the patriarchal town (27). When Buddy Wheeler becomes a part of Grace’s life, she attempts a re-ordering of the life of her husband according to her rules. The narrator reconstructs the beginning of his parents’ union, speculating that his mother was in control, organizing the circumstances of the beginning of their life together: “the young woman appeared to be in charge of things; it was she who had arranged matters by letter and paid the clerk. The young man seemed content enough to be carried along by the events” (13). In the generation that follows, Grace Wheeler again takes control and orders the life of someone else, this time her son:

“I had no idea what I wanted to do with my life, and so it was Mother who had suggested teaching” (64). Further, this matriarchal re-ordering extends to the generations that follow when Howard Wheeler repeats his mother’s matriarchy by marrying a similarly controlling woman. He describes his own son’s being similarly emasculated by the matriarchal empowerment in the family. The son is pictured as a pony-tailed, overweight, unrealistic, nursery-school attendant, who still lives with his mother, whereas his daughter is a powerful and successful independent woman, making judgements and giving orders to her father. Although the narrator clearly disapproves of his son, he is the embodiment of a generational emasculation initiated by Grace.

As the narrator wanders around his mother’s empty house, he comments on the change in perspective upon his return. This change in perspective on the small town and home is a signal of transformation as a result of pilgrimage. The narrator observes that as a child he seldom went into his mother’s room (23) and so his gaze was limited. His view on the town shifts with the change in perspective that is allowed by the mother’s absence and the additional perspectives afforded by her room. It is also an acknowledgement that he is, and perhaps always has been, viewing the town and the people of the town as mediated through the mother’s limited perspective. As a child in his own room, he saw the backyards and the garages—in some ways the hidden perspective, the view of an outsider. His mother, on the other hand, constructs for herself in her ordered universe a perspective that takes in the aptly named Queen Street through the coloured glass door and the superior view of her bedroom window, limiting what she “allows” to be seen of the streets of the town:

My view of the neighbourhood was mostly from my bedroom window at the rear of the house overlooking the backyards and the garages in the laneway that separates the properties along Queen and Maple streets.

Whenever I looked out on Queen Street, it was from the parlour or through the coloured glass of the front door window. This view from my mother's bedroom then offers another angle on the familiar. It's a bit like sitting in the back seat of your car; the surroundings are the same, but they look different. (23)

Only after returning to the town and looking at the town and the father through his mother's gaze does the narrator seem to come to a partial awareness of the arbitrariness of the mother's construction of his perspectives. The narrator comes to see how he identifies with his mother's perspective through his enduring need for order. It is only later in the "imaginary" filling in of the gaps between his factual memories (as of the Stanley Cup, a symbol of his absent father) that we come to understand that Howard Wheeler's identification with his father is something of an editorial identification with heroic failure. Just as the mother had failed to edit out the untamed qualities of his father, so too Howard Wheeler the editor is unable to accomplish an editorial success for aging writer Pettinger's disorganized novel: "It had taken Pettinger twenty years to write; the same amount of time it had taken my father to go from the quick small man on skates ('nobody around here could touch him') to the middle-aged drunk with a hole in his sock in the New American Hotel" (116).

His father is, as the opening image suggests, largely a legend constructed and sheltered in his absence by the archive of the small town, through the false stories of

children, and in the imagination of Howard Wheeler as a young adult. His construction of his absent father is based on very few factual memories of their life together. While he appears to identify himself with the social ordering of his mother, Howard readily identifies his memories of his father as hero worship. He wonders, when he is going to find his father in the city, if his father is like the Bogart character in The African Queen: “In middle age did he too now look like this unshaven wreck who drank Gordon’s gin straight from the bottle? Was he also capable of the same kind of restoration that Bogart undergoes at the hands of Miss Hepburn” (59). The narrator imaginatively mythologizes his search, saying, “I, a modern Telemachus in search of Odysseus” (60). However, the father will not return and his mother is not awaiting his return. There is no restoration “at the hands of Miss Hepburn”; instead there is the awkwardness of an encounter with a strange man in a city hotel, a man who is no longer sheltered by the memory of the small town. The boy-narrator wonders: “What words could begin to fill the space of all those years after he decided that he could no longer abide by the rules that govern the lives of most men? What could I say to a father who had cast himself adrift to live in hotel rooms and eat his breakfast in restaurants” (62). He has cast himself from the social order of the archive of both the town and his family, both of which give a sense of origin and history. Such a man has, in fact, rebelled against the laws of civilized order, which are sheltered in the archive.

Howard Wheeler’s memory of his father (returned from playing in the NHL), like that of Telemachus with whom he identifies, was from his childhood one of the heroes returning to the small town:

When a man returns home after consorting with the gods, he is entitled to a reprieve from the daily grind. He cannot be expected to soil his hands with the ordinary business of living. For a while at least, he can forgo earning his daily bread: sleep late, eat a leisurely breakfast and stroll downtown to be recognized as a returning hero. (181)

Buddy Wheeler, after his initial glory, eventually settles into the business of selling used cars, which is perhaps not the work expected for a returning hero. However, Howard Wheeler is aware that in spite of his drinking, his father has a position in the town that is both mythical and heroic. He is also aware that he is somehow unlike his father and will never have this kind of position of power within the small town: "It is here in these old cars that I notice how people take to my father, in a way they will never take to my mother or to me" (187). After his father's various infidelities, the narrator reinforces the social order and rule of his mother, emphasizing that he is "ever [my] mother's son. I am punishing [my father]" (191). The following incident is revealing with regard to Grace Wheeler's social position in relation to both her son and husband and within the small town. There is no indication as to the identity of the caller who alerts Grace to Buddy's adultery, implying that it could be almost anyone in the small town. The mother is set apart from the social networks of the small town and so excluded from investigatory communication: "There is no shortage of people in small towns who are eager to remind you that you are no better than they are, and don't you forget it, Mrs. Know-It-All. Whoever it was, we shall never know" (189).

The factual memories that Howard has of his mother and father, from his childhood and early adulthood, form the basis then of his archival search within the small

town. In pilgrimage terms, the goal of his journey is an understanding of his parents' union or possibly of "love-as-pilgrimage" (Edwards 54). It is from these fragments, together with a variety of mementos, photographs, newspaper clippings, letters, and the stories of the town, that he can begin to fashion the story of his parents' life together. The Homeric oral story tradition is based on the telling, re-telling, and refashioning of the story in a long and repetitive story cycle. So also, the story of Howard Wheeler's parents is kept alive by the telling and re-telling of the story through the various memorabilia and sources of information that circulate and re-circulate in the archive of the town. As the hero, Odysseus, while on his pilgrimage must keep the memory of home alive, likewise Howard Wheeler, like the teller of the Homeric story, must keep alive the story of his parents by the telling and re-telling of it. This task as hero and story-teller is, according to Derrida, an ethical task and one that necessarily moves the private and personal memories into the public realm of language. Howard Wheeler, as a postmodern hero, must also fill in the gaps of history by the act of imagination in order to attempt to create meaning from the scraps of his parents' life.

Standing in his mother's room he looks at her bed, which he has stripped, and says that he sees it as a "naked rebuke to eighty years of life. I may very likely have been conceived on that bed" (24). This is a symbol for the ending of a life and the beginning of another, the origin of both Howard Wheeler the son and Howard Wheeler the editor. This uncomfortable and somewhat unfathomable speculation on his parents' life together and the start of his own signals the beginning of what will become the imaginative enterprise of narrating the absence in the archive. The narrator will take the objects, or relics, that stand alone and naked, stripped of meaning or connection, and create an

ontology of connection through imagination. This is indeed a heroic task. He says shortly after looking at the bed and thinking about the origin of his life, that “I have tried to imagine how my parents met” (24).

The narrator connects this creative component of his pilgrimage to the relics from his personal history and the archive of the town. He attempts to glean information on the origin of his parents’ union from his Aunt Mildred, his father’s sister, but she also proves to be something of an archival absence: ““One weekend near the end of the summer they just turned up married. It sure took us all by surprise”” (24). This suggests that even within the archive of the town, there are gaps through which imagination must narrate. Howard Wheeler, the editor of biographies, situates the meeting of his parents at the time when his mother bought the house and his father, according to the *Huron Falls Times*, was playing softball. These real events, which are a part of the town’s memory and recorded history, form the basis for the imagined meeting of his parents. From this first and speculative meeting, the narrator imagines the thoughts and memories that his parents had regarding each other. Howard Wheeler states, “In a sense this is now the moment of my beginning and of my children’s and of their children’s children. Buddy Wheeler waves to his sisters and walks towards the bleachers and the pale young woman who sits there bemused by the evening and by life’s possibilities” (33-34).

From this moment onwards Howard’s pilgrimage (like the dream vision pilgrimages of Medieval poets) is a work of pure imagination within the town’s archival absence. Although the narrator attaches this imaginative enterprise to the actual objects in the town’s archive, he imagines not only the thoughts of his parents upon seeing each other but also the town’s perceptions of Grace. The narrator signals this work of

imagination when he asks, “How does she look to him [Buddy]?” (32). The narrator suggests that Buddy Wheeler thinks, “Muriel used to say that Grace was a stuck-up bookworm. Yet when you looked at it from another angle, what did Muriel know?” (38). However, once again we are given this perspective of the narrator through the admittedly inherited critical gaze (and archive) of his mother. Even the imaginative enterprise of “fashioning the truth” is influenced by the memory of his mother’s way of seeing the town and the people of the town.

The narrator’s attempts to learn about his parents’ union began long before this age of longing to know (11), or his pilgrimage quest back to the town of his youth. As a child he used to listen to his mother talking about her marriage: “Some children are secret listeners, miniature spies who lurk behind doorways, hoping to bring back intelligence from the adult world that will help them make sense of their own, or at least prepare them for the betrayals and deceptions that lie ahead” (84). Again, the critical inheritance of his mother influences his adult recollections of his childhood attempts to understand his pre-history through eavesdropping. But these small fragments of conversation are not sufficient to build the narrative history of his parents’ life, and so he collects the other mementos of their separate lives. In constructing his father, he looks to the newspaper clippings of his involvement with the Toronto Maroons hockey club, his letters to his young wife when he was on the road, and photographs. His mother, as unsentimental as the narrator represents her as being, nevertheless saved these letters and they now become the source of his speculation. The narrator says, “With his letters he sent my mother clippings from the Windsor Star” (135), and these letters are filled with the names of hockey players from that time. Along with the scores of various games and clippings

from the *Windsor Star*, these situate Buddy in the larger archive of historical memory, particularly in the history of Canadian hockey.

The narrator follows the archival trace (like the pilgrimage trace followed by Pratt) to the Huron Falls Public Library, where he says he is “a familiar figure to Mrs. Loomis who works in the basement where they keep town records, books on local history, collections of prominent family documents, microfilm of the local newspaper—anything that can shelter under the rubric of Huronia” (93). It is here in his search for his father’s history and the history of his hockey team that the narrator connects his personal quest with the name of the town. He says, “The Hurons, after whom the region is named, were a tribe of Indians who once lived in these parts before they were annihilated by marauding Iroquois from New York” (93). This discussion of the pre-history of the town and the naming of absence and annihilation seem to figure an important element of the narrator’s work to find meaning and continuity in the absence of “real” history. The Hurons, like his father, are a dim and ghost-like memory. While the Hurons and his father are absent, the town and he himself both carry the names of people who no longer exist.

In this formal archive of the town’s public history, working with microfilm, the narrator, who has so insistently made identity statements with relation to his mother’s archive, finally connects to the traces of his absent father. Howard Wheeler says, “And it is true: I am, like my father, maladroit in these matters.” In the basement, he describes turning the crank of the microfilm and “spilling words” (94) and images of his father’s heroic sports history: “There is a picture of my father standing in his hockey gear beside the team owner and manager George W. Fowler, who has his arm around my father’s

shoulders” (94). This man becomes an interesting figure, both in the narrator’s parents’ history and the town’s history: “George Fowler was also a sportsman, as the sons and grandsons of rich men often are. Such people own horses and hockey players and enjoy being part of a world where trading in flesh, either animal or human, can take place over a hotel luncheon” (95). This man is emblematic of the class issues that were operating in the small town, issues that had a particular relationship to his parents’ history. As the lord and barron of small-town Huron Falls, George Fowler can buy and sell men like Buddy Wheeler, whose family of origin is on relief, picking coal from the railroad tracks. Fowler is described at the Christmas party as “[t]he squire from the manor house mingling among tenants at Christmastide” (102). The narrator remembers his mother’s attitudes towards class as they were discussed in relation to his aunts: “Mother dreaded these visits. To her, my aunts inhabited a world of rented houses and time payments. They and their husbands exhibited a careless disregard for the future; they were the grasshoppers of the old fable that entreats prudence and thrift in this life” (31).

The narrator’s memory of the physical layout of the streets of the town and the houses is perhaps the more important way of understanding the relationship between class and memory in the archive of the small town, as well as the key to understanding the experience of the returning pilgrim. Class has always been an integral and determining factor of pilgrimage. In Medieval times the ruling class of landed gentry would hire a peasant to make the pilgrimage. In the modern context of Huron Falls, class seems to be a determining factor in the success of the pilgrim. Howard’s father, quite literally from the wrong side of the tracks, does not return to the town and does not experience transformation. The narrator chooses an August day to take a walk through

the town and comment on the traces of class elements in the town and their bearing on his parents' lives and pilgrimages:

away from these leafy streets, Queen, Dufferin, Princess, with their large brick houses, to Dock Street. Here my grandparents raised three girls and a boy in an unpainted frame house with an outdoor toilet and a chicken coop in the backyard. Beyond lay the train tracks and coal yards and Georgian Bay. (133)

The street is now more presentable and the narrator again uses it to access the past through imagination: "As I walk, I picture Dock Street as it was when the Wheeler family lived here [ . . . ] In those days it was poor in a way that would be unimaginable in an Ontario town any more. People then lived in houses that today would be condemned by the authorities" (133). The narrator goes on to comment on his factual memories of the way these poor houses and people looked. There is also the association of memory with smell: "In the winter you could smell their underwear and feet when they came in from the cold and stood by the classroom radiators" (134). The narrator takes us on this trip down the "dirt road" of his pre-history and the history of the town, right up to the present where he states, "All this has now changed except for the railway tracks" (134). Again, we have the classes divided by the persistent railway tracks, a symbolic reminder to the narrator of where his father came from. There has been a modification of the past itself in the way these impoverished circumstances have been modified and the streets have been paved over, but the narrator has a memory of the sights and smells associated with the people from this side of the railway tracks.

Beyond the personal memories of the narrator in relation to the physical layout of the town, there are living relics from the past who form an interesting trace of archival lore. Mr. Fournier is one such archive, both present in a physical sense and absent from the town, banished to the old-folks home on the outskirts. He is a hockey player who remembers playing with Howard's father. The narrator shows Mr. Fournier the old snapshot, saying, "Do you remember that picture, Mr. Fournier?" (110) Mr. Fournier is characteristic of the town's perspective on people who leave the town. The narrator says, "For Leo Fournier, my father ceased to exist the moment he left town; Buddy Wheeler will forever be a quick small man on skates who was one of George Fowler's favourites" (114). The narrator learns very little that he does not already know about his father; however, this interaction illustrates the archival presence of the past, which memorializes those who leave, preserving them forever as they were.

Towards the beginning of the narrative there was a similar interaction when a man says, "You're Buddy Wheeler's boy, aren't you?" (7). The narrator is somewhat taken aback as he suggests that "[w]hen you are in your late fifties, it is something to be still called a boy. Yet that remains a custom among those who grow old here. People like myself who leave are forever denied an adult identity" (7). This man is described as a "chronicler of village lore," relating what he knows about Howard Wheeler's father from the time when he knew him in the town. There is also a comment made here on Howard's likeness to his father. Like the Greeks' identification of the traits of Telemachus with those of his father, the "chronicler of village lore" is able to identify a resemblance to his father in the grown Howard.

These figures of village lore and these articles from the history of small town memory are woven together. The thread of the narrator's imagination, along with the small town's archival trace of private and collective memory, creates the public archival tapestry of his parents' life together. With his return to the small town, the narrator is able to complete the failed pilgrimage of his father and account for the absence of his father. Howard is also able to recognize the marks of the lives of both his parents, which are figuratively written on the archive of his own mind and body. Howard, the narrator and editor, concludes of the aging writer Pettinger:

At the end of his vast, heroic failure, Pettinger suggests that our century has destroyed the efficacy of such stories. [...] The revolutions, the wars, the death camps, the collapse of our sense of community, the billions now swarming across the planet have made meaningless any account of two individuals' lives. ( 218)

However, the closing lines of The Age of Longing archivally reaffirm the reason why Howard embarked on this pilgrimage: "Yet does there not persist within each of us a need to know and understand who we are and where we came from? And how else but through memory and imagination and language can we recount what might have happened yesterday or what may happen tomorrow?" (218).

Clara Callan can rewardingly be viewed as a companion piece to The Age of Longing, at least so for present purposes. As an epistolary novel, it draws its precedent from eighteenth-century diary fiction in the vein of Samuel Richardson and Fanny Burney. According to H. Porter Abbott, the "Puritan journal [is] dominated by the moment of conversion" (Diary Fiction 85). This suggests at once an interesting

“modern” counterpart; Clara’s journal is dominated by the repetition of a moment of trauma and by the moment of loss of faith in God. In his discussion of the diary, Abbott continues to say that “The Puritan Protestant found in the diary a tailored instrument for self-observation. It became the Superior Puritan counterpart of the Catholic confessional, more scrupulously attentive to all daily acts and more purely private—a record for the eyes of God and the communicant alone” (85). As Derrida would suggest, ethical responsibility is chosen or takes place when the individual, through language, makes the journey from the private to the public. The private moments through language become part of the public archive. The movement from the private to the public, in Turnerian terms, forms the liminal phase of pilgrimage.

Clara Callan’s letters, journals, poetry, and various private musings form the significant text of Wright’s novel Clara Callan. The major preoccupations of the journal and letters are with trauma and its aftermath in the repetition of the trauma. This cycle of trauma, or the difficulty of this cyclical journey, could, as in The Age of Longing, be a cyclical/anti-heroic or failed-quest/pilgrimage. As in the Greek pilgrimage cycle of journey and return, Clara Callan goes forth from the moment of trauma to relive, repeat, and finally to enter and transform the experience through the Derridean ethical act in language. However, Clara actually burns a great deal of her writing, thereby refusing or failing to choose to enter into the ethical realm of the public archive through the disclosure of language. She likewise condemns herself to repeat the moment of trauma until she is able to be transformed by the ethical and public act of discourse. However, the burning of her writing about her personal trauma could also reflect the global situation of the Holocaust, whereby ethics and language itself become meaningless in the

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chambers of fire. The character of Clara Callan in her private journals promises to “tell” her daughter about her father and her birth, but in the end fails to move beyond the liminality of the private “diary” act. Her transformation into the public and ethical spheres perhaps comes only through the act of the daughter’s reading of her letters and journals. The daughter’s completion of the pilgrimage echoes the failed heroic quest of Howard Wheeler’s father and the heroic act of the son.

In Archive Fever Derrida questions whether Anna Freud can speak in the name of her father. Derrida probes the private and in fact absent declaration of Freud as to the Jewishness of the science of psychoanalysis. Archive Fever articulates both the silence and absence of Freud speaking on this subject and allows for the possibility of Anna Freud speaking for her father, Sigmund Freud. A similar speaking in the name of the father is enacted by Howard Wheeler. He makes the pilgrimage back to the town of his birth in order to articulate the absence and silence and (like Anna Freud) speak for his father (and in this case also his mother). Howard enters the public and ethical domain through the text he narrates. The silence of the mother and absence of the father in Clara Callan reoccur in both Clara’s personal life and the national and global situations (stories of suicide and murmurings of holocaust reiterating the repetitions of violence, silence, and absence). Likewise, the movement from faith to loss of faith informs the various journey subtexts of Clara Callan and becomes an important stage of the personal and national Canadian pilgrimage paradigm. The journal concludes with Clara Callan saying she “will tell” (406) her daughter the things of her life. In Derridian terms, she promises here to take ethical responsibility by speaking. However, in the “Afterward,” which abruptly shifts readers’ perspective from themselves as voyeurs to the daughter’s

experience of reading her mother's letters and journals, readers learn from the daughter that Clara Callan "never did tell [her] any of those things" (409).

If the "Puritan journal [is] dominated by the moment of conversion" (Diary Fiction 85), then the post-industrial or modern literary pilgrimage could likewise be defined by a decisive moment in the "faith" journey of the pilgrim. Clara Callan misses church, something that she has rarely done and that is not typical of the members of the small-town community. She writes in her journal entry of Sunday, February 10 (4:00 p.m.):

And then it came to me as I sat there at the kitchen table looking out at the trees and the snow and the sky—I no longer believe in God. I have been feeling such intimations for some time now, but today, at twenty minutes past seven, it came to me clarified and whole. God does not exist. The proposition that He does exist obviously cannot be proven, and so we must rely on what we *believe* to be true. Or *feel* to be true. Or *want* to be true. As they say, we must take it on faith. But for some time now, my faith has been like the branch of a tree that over the years has been weakened by wind and weather. And today it was as if that part of me, that branch, finally gave way and fell to the ground. It is a dreadful barren feeling, but I am powerless to repel it. This I now believe. We are alone on this earth and must make our way unguided by any unseen hand. Perhaps a man called Jesus did live in Palestine two thousand years ago. Perhaps he was an inspired orator, a kind of faith healer; he may even have been a little mad. He attracted followers but also made powerful enemies who killed

him. His body was placed in a tomb, but his followers carried it away in order to create a mystery and a myth surrounding him. He once walked this earth but he was not immortal. He rotted into dust as shall we all; as did Mother and Thomas; as is Father rotting now beneath the snow; as shall I one day. (38)

The above selection from Clara Callan's journal is a decisive moment in her personal journey. This moment reflects a growing national scepticism, and also signals, in Derridian terms, a "revolution" in her worldview. As Derrida suggests, this revolution, even though it is a "loss" of faith, actually results in a return to the sacred. I chose to quote this excerpt from her journal at length, in part because it introduces a number of the minor preoccupations of the post-World War I and dawning of World War II form of pilgrimage. These include heightened modern and postmodern uncertainties about the "truth" or reliability of religious and historical narrative, the feeling of aloneness in the world, a loss of sense of purpose, faith, and meaning, and a preoccupation with the finality and inevitability of death.

Clara Callan's daughter's return to the small town is much like Howard Wheeler's return journey to the small town. Like Howard, she re-evaluates the small town and her parents at a particular moment in the pilgrimage cycle. However, while the Protestant form of pilgrimage views life itself as pilgrimage, readers might yet question whether we are to call Clara Callan's life a pilgrimage. When there are really just a series of small journeys (that only in certain formulations could be viewed as pilgrimages) and the actual body of the text takes place in the geographical confines of a single small town, can such a fictional life accurately be termed a pilgrimage? One of the defining differences at this

moment in history, one that is highlighted by Wright, is the technology that allows for travel, spiritual and intellectual, all over the world. As such, there is a participation by members of the small town, through the introduction of the radio, in the pilgrimage of the nation to war; as well, there is the collective movement from “faith” in human nature to denial of humanist potential, resulting in existential despair. The microcosmic mirror of this movement or modern “pilgrimage” can be found in the “faith journey” of Clara Callan.

Howard Wheeler’s pilgrimage to find meaning in the seemingly “meaningless” union of his parents involves a pillaging of historical and literary texts, including the newspaper records of Huron Falls, the “forgotton” native stories of that place, and literary inter-texts that signal important structural and thematic aspects of The Age of Longing. Literary sign-posts, as previously discussed, include both Homer’s The Odyssey and Eliot’s “Prufrock.” Likewise, Clara Callan (and as the following chapter will show, Timothy Findley’s Headhunter), and the journey of the eponymous “hero” or “anti-hero” are punctuated by pilgrimage way-stations or modern prayers on the rosary of canonical literary texts. These prayers or inter-texts are, in fact, the fragments from the literary past that Clara Callan has shored against her life’s ruin following her loss of faith. Reading Emily Dickinson and Henry Vaughan, Clara Callan speculates that “they lived in other centuries when it must have been easier to believe” (49). But Emily Dickinson stayed at home confined to her garden and did not attend church, in spite of the revival (à la Jonathan Edwards) that had swept her New England town. She wondered how she could be the only one who had not been swept up by the Spirit of God. And she pleads in her regular and rhythmical poetry for God to work on her heart, all the while questioning the

nature of belief. In fact, it would seem that Clara Callan with her bundles of unpublished poetry, contemplating the nature of belief and staying home from church in a town that universally attends, is actually a contemporary mirror of Emily Dickinson's own poetic and faith struggles. Only a little after declaring her loss of faith, Clara reiterates in her journal the necessity of holding onto some belief. She laments, "We all need to believe in something. It's only human nature" (52).

Clara Callan likewise laments that her own life is not like the characters about whom she reads, mentioning specifically Madame Bovary and Anna Karenina: "Oh, I would like to live at least in part like some of the people I read about, perhaps like Madame Bovary or poor Anna Karenina" (91). Ironically, her life's struggles do reflect some interesting parallels to these literary characters. Her adulteries and resulting rejection in the town form the most superficial similarities, and her faith struggles mirror some of the more existential questions of Tolstoy's Levine. In the conclusion of a letter to Evelyn, where she has previously asked, "Do you still believe in God, by the way?" (105), Clara goes on to admit that "Yes, I have read some of T.S. Eliot though I couldn't make head nor tail of his poem *The Waste Land*" (105). Just like the mother in The Age of Longing, whose ordering of life involves measuring it out with coffee spoons à la Prufrock, Clara Callan struggles with the modern dilemma of meaninglessness and loss of faith that is described in *The Waste Land*. Unfortunately she is not self-aware or perhaps literary enough to see the parallels in her own life of growing alienation.

Evelyn's letter to Clara goes some distance in describing the journey of human nature from medieval to modern times. Writing about a discussion with her teacher, Evelyn quotes from Dante and Pascal:

Within its deep infinity I saw  
 ingathered and bound by love in  
 one volume the scattered leaves  
 of all the universe

--Dante Alighieri, 1265-1321

The eternal silence of these infinite spaces terrifies me.

--Blaise Pascal, 1623-1662 (qtd. in Wright 108).

Evelyn's teacher proceeds to explain:

Nearly four hundred years separate the observations of two men who looked at much the same sky. Binding the scattered leaves of all the universe into one volume. There you have the medieval mind, Dowling. But Pascal sees only a vast loneliness. And there you have the difference between the medieval and the modern mind. (108)

While Evelyn claims to be "sitting on the fence and giving Him [God] the benefit of the doubt" (108), she is also very ready to answer Clara's searching questions about what gives her consolation. She describes the modern medicines of the soul: "A bottle of Gordon's gin helps at times" and music and books "and all the rest of that art stuff" (108). Evelyn also sends Clara a book of Wallace Stevens's work. Clara writes that she "read 'Sunday Morning' at least a dozen times" (110). She quotes the line "Divinity must live within herself" (111) and goes on to state that she can relate to the emotions described by Stevens, concluding with a comparison of his work to Keats's (and Keats later makes an appearance on her trip to Italy). Evelyn later sends Clara Pepys's diary. This most likely is a tribute by Richard B. Wright himself, this nod to the first, and some

would say greatest, diarist, who wrote in the eighteenth century. Evelyn refers to this work as “great reading on long winter nights” (124). These poets and writers, whose works are shared between Evelyn and Clara, form an important part of their epistolary exchange, as well as flagging important emotional and spiritual movements in the characters. In fact, while these literary works could be considered relics from the past, they could also be considered the emblems of faith in something greater than the individual mind’s ability to comprehend or believe. They allow both Evelyn and Clara to become a part of a company of pilgrims through the ages. These companion pilgrims, the writers, have also questioned the nature of faith and the universe in their own isolated and sometimes stable locations (again, with Emily Dickinson being the most apt example). As Clara notes in a letter to Evelyn, upon noticing “echoes of Keats in Stevens’s poems” (111), she takes comfort and finds it “humbling to recognize that one’s private and peculiar moments are only part of a general pattern shared by countless others” (111). Later, during her pregnancy, Clara again writes to Evelyn of Keats, invoking an image from “Ode to Autumn” as a way of describing her “body ripening like the swelling of a gourd” (392).

Prior to embarking on her trip to Italy, Clara’s club-footed friend, Marion, gives her Thomas Mann’s Death in Venice. Commenting on the story, Clara writes, “It’s a brilliant story about an artist in crisis. An aging writer, vaguely dissatisfied with the course of his life and the demands of his art, journeys to Venice for a holiday and falls in love with a beautiful boy. The entire experience, unconsummated and unheralded, enthrals, bewilders and destroys him” (154). Once again, Clara finds a point of

identification in her own life. She writes that “Mann’s observations on those of us who live alone seem accurate to me” (154) and then goes on to quote from Mann at length:

The experiences of a man who lives alone and in silence are both vaguer and more penetrating than those of people in society; his thoughts are heavier, more odd and touched always with melancholy. Images and observations which could easily be disposed of by a glance, a smile, an exchange of opinion, will occupy him unbearably, sink deep into the silence, become full of meaning, become life, adventure, emotion. Loneliness ripens the eccentric, the daringly and estrangingly beautiful, the poetic. But loneliness also ripens the perverse, the disproportionate, the absurd, and the illicit. (Mann qtd. in Wright 154)

Clara chooses a passage from Mann that deals with the spiritual journey of the artist and the solitary person. This passage suggests that there is a blossoming in silence, a flowering of poetry and meaning, perhaps even in the religious sense. But this passage also suggests the potential for a ripening of the perverse. Aspects of both the beautiful and religious, and later the strange and terrifying, are part of Clara Callan’s lonely pilgrimage in the company of writers such as Mann.

While the various intertexts form an interesting petition for meaning, Clara continues to lament (in a sense) her loss of faith in God and the consequent meaning and purpose given by a faith in God. Writing in her diary on Sunday, May 30, Clara records her conversation with Frank (her adulterous partner): “Frank told me he believes in God. I expected that, but it always interests me to hear this. How I envy Catholics their faith! It is so accommodating. Catholics commit sins and then expect to be forgiven. Frank

was surprised to discover that I no longer believe in God” (263). Clara speaks to Frank about faith, saying, “How I wish I could! It would make everything different” (263). She goes on to explain: “Surely believing in God gives your life a purpose, some shape or direction. It seems to me that without God, we are just putting in time. And then time becomes so urgent, a source of anxiety because, of course, our time will eventually run out” (263).

Since I have already noted the cyclical nature of the Greco-Roman pilgrimage, it seems worth observing the ways in which Clara Callan also mirrors that form. While in The Age of Longing the simple Homeric model of leaving and returning home forms the basis of the pilgrimage cycle, in Clara Callan the repetition of the cyclical pilgrimage model is somewhat more complex. In fact, the first and most apparent cycle is that of trauma (or, in Freudian terms, the return of the repressed). The repression of both the sacred cycle of pilgrimage and the major traumatic incident in the life of Clara result in the repetition of this cycle in a variety of ways. In other terms, the difficult and dangerous elements of the pilgrimage repeat in the textual representation of Clara’s life-as-pilgrimage. To invoke another pilgrimage paradigm (one well-known and discussed in Western culture), the Old Testament relies on a similar pattern or cycle. The Israelites fall away from God and endure suffering, at which time they call out to God and are saved. This is in fact similar to the Greek cyclical model. The Israelites on their pilgrimage share a number of characteristics with the pilgrimage models discussed in the previous chapters. There is a great deal of difficulty on the journey. There is likewise the possibility of transformation, and the journey itself is a process that includes transformation in each of the cycles of reoccurring suffering or trauma. Similarly, there

are in Clara Callan a number of the symbols that occur in a variety of pilgrimage narratives, including geographical movement, martyrdom or death, the image of fire, and trains (all of which will be discussed with regard to the pilgrimage narrative of the final chapter of this dissertation), and a variety of ways of recording, remembering, and re-enacting the experience of the pilgrimage itself.

Medieval pilgrimages to the Holy Land were fraught with dangers from bandits, disease, temptations to debauchery, and a variety of difficulties due to roads and weather. The modern terrain, as described in Clara Callan, is similarly fraught with different but dangerous elements. Clara's diary records the various psychic reoccurrences and resulting terror produced by an incident that she writes about early in her journal: "I cannot sleep and must record what happened to me" (55). She goes on to say, "I remember the sour tobacco stink from his mouth and the unwashed smell of his overalls. A reeking skeleton of a man with a wide mouth" (57). Reflecting on her rape by the tramp she notes, "I was thinking how suddenly a life can become misshapen, divided totally into before and after a dire event. So it must be with all who endure calamity: those who must remember the day of the motorcar accident, the afternoon the child fell through the ice, the winter night's blaze that awakened the dreamers" (58). Clara mentally describes the topography of the incident, including a description of the men involved, the site where the rape took place, the smells, the feel, and her reflections following the incident. Importantly, the rape takes place during a walk along the railroad tracks. As indicated, railroad tracks are symbolic in The Age of Longing of a border between classes and are a site of movement and liminality. The railroad tracks are further considered in Clara's history when she wonders about her mother's death on the train

tracks “if Mother had deliberately stepped in front of such fury” (60). The tracks, then, are the site of her mother’s death, the conception of her first child, and when she is reading Anna Karenina, a further site for reflection on the nature of suicide and the loss of hope.

Clara herself is a liminal figure, as most or all pilgrims must be in order to move geographically and spiritually on their journeys. Following her rape, Clara wonders if the transformation that has taken place in her spiritually and physically is one that is visible to the members of the town. She writes, “Perhaps what happened has transformed me in the eyes of others. Perhaps they can see the violation in my face” (61). Clara moves in the text from merely feeling herself to be an outsider (identifying most with a lame girl and outcast figures in texts she reads), to feeling that she has been marked by the trauma as different, to choosing a life for herself (to be an unwed mother) that moves her beyond the lines of respectability. Her encounter with the tramp, who subsequently rapes her, is similarly an encounter with a figure that stands in postmodern and poststructuralist discourse as the hero in opposition to state-imposed hegemony. However, unlike its use in Davies and Urquhart, here the figure of the “nomad” or the “tramp” is far from positive. First of all, he is seen as merely one of many who is suffering from the economic situation in Canada, but he is also seen as a brutal man who is known only for his cruelty, deceit, and lack of work ethic.

In the Homeric pilgrimage, and the early Canadian pilgrimages of Brébeuf and the other Jesuits, the pilgrim is constantly remembering home, repeating the charter pilgrimage of Christ or the founding pilgrimage narrative, and looking forward with hope to the transformation that is promised in the pilgrimage discourse. For Clara, there is a

similar remembering and re-enacting. However, the repetition is a psychic one that takes place, often miraculously, in her dreams, in her poetry, and in her active pursuit of the shadowy figure of “Charlie,” the tramp responsible for her rape. In her journal entry of Friday, May 31 (5:10 a.m.), Clara writes about a dream:

A wakeful and depressing night. At ten past two I was wrenched from an ugly dream in which the tramp had seized my wrists and was dancing with me in the field, twirling me around just as he did last Saturday. This time, however, we were both naked and attached to him was the boy's member, a raw red club. The evening train from Toronto was passing and people were looking at us. Milton's face was pressed against the coach window. And beside him were Ida Atkins and Mrs. Bryden and Cora Macfarlane. Could not get back to sleep and so I read. Chose the Bible. Even though I no longer believe, the words somehow still comfort me. Unto thee I will cry, O Lord / my rock; be not silent to me: / lest, if thou be silent to me, / I become like them that go / down into the pit. (64)

The dream recorded here brings together a number of the important elements that contribute to her vision of her place in the town, and the process of transformation that she is undergoing. The scene with the figures of authority in the town looking at her from a passing train sets Clara again outside the respectability of the town. When read along with the verses from the Bible that she chooses to quote, she is made responsible for her rape. The rape takes place following her loss of faith in God; as such, and recalling the Protestant teaching discussed in relation to chapter two, it would appear that for Clara God's silence has made her join in the dance with the tramp and the boy. She

has, in fact, in her dream “become like them that go / down into the pit” (64). Clara’s dream reveals elements of her movement away from the town’s respectable mores, and of her own further identification with the outsiders. However, it is important to observe that this is but one of the early repetitions or re-enactments of the trauma. Already the elements of the event have become part of a dream mythology where she is observed dancing naked.

Many months later, on Sunday, October 27, Clara has another dream:

Last night I dreamt of Charlie, the tramp. Not Charlie, the funny, little celluloid tramp in oversized shoes and derby hat, but my Charlie in his greasy overalls and suit coat. We were riding in the Ferris wheel and he was embracing me, singing over and over his infernal little love song. “I want to ---- you so bad, Missus.” As the wheel turned downward, I saw Marion looking at us and so was the pipe-smoking man, though it could also have been Father. (114)

In this dream, Clara goes further in claiming the experience. Again there are people watching, but they are the people who love her rather than those who judge her behaviour. The ferris wheel is incorporated into the dream, thereby emphasizing the cyclical nature of these memories.<sup>32</sup> However, in the rest of the dream she, much like Howard Wheeler, completes the unknown elements of Charlie’s life. She fills in the blank spaces, including a further critique of the figure of the nomad. She writes of Charlie:

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<sup>32</sup> The image of the ferris wheel, discussed in detail later in this chapter, is important both as a symbol of the cyclical nature of pilgrimage and also because of its placement on the fair grounds (a place outside the town and hence inherently liminal).

But he can't stay with a job. He is restless and easily bored. When the Depression comes along, it doesn't bother Charlie; in fact, the tramp's life suits him: riding the freight trains, a morning's work here and there, a sandwich at the back door (housewives like his deference and exaggerated courtesy). Always on the move is my Charlie; a friendly, unreliable, thoroughly vicious man, and lying in my bed early this morning, I was thankful that his worthless seed was scraped from my womb three months ago. (116)

The dream, then, allows Clara to incorporate a number of elements from the experience with Charlie. She is able to "tell" or show the people she loves, and in this way they can witness the experience. Likewise, she is able to "explain" or tell the story of his worthless life and bad character. And finally, she allows herself to affirm the choice she made in aborting the worthless "seed" of this man. Clara also is able to let go of some of the guilt of trusting (feeding and giving work) this man, as she shows him deceiving various other housewives in the story she tells of his life. Therefore, the dream shows some of the dream work that she is doing and how she is narratively transforming the traumatic experience even as it repeats in her dreams.

Clara actually sights the tramp on the liminal grounds of the fair. She writes of the experience: "A remarkable thing happened only a few hours ago. I saw the tramp..." (93). In response to this sighting she rides the Ferris wheel in an attempt to get a better view of him. Riding the ferris wheel is symbolically significant to Clara's journey. In an attempt to see the tramp again she in fact physically goes around and around at the site where she initially sighted him. Afterwards Clara is again drawn to the site of his

sighting in order to learn more. However, the experience is again one of liminality and evinces the qualities of a dream: “All the way home I doubted whether I had really seen the tramp” (98). A year later she again goes in search of the tramp. On Saturday, September 3, she enters the following in her diary: “To Toronto on the train and then the streetcar to the Exhibition. Walked past the kewpie doll stands in search of my errant knight. [...] No Charlie this year!” (188). While the searching itself is important in terms of repetition and return, the fact that she calls Charlie her “errant knight” is of particular note. By this choice of words, she invokes not only the quest tradition but also pilgrimage, marking her efforts to find Charlie as a significant and transformative action in her life’s journey.

Clara again wakes in the middle of the night; this time, however, with an idea for a cycle of poems. Writing on Tuesday, September 24 (7:40 a.m.), she records:

Awakened at two o’clock this morning and imagined a cycle of poems about the rape and its aftermath: how it came about on that spring afternoon; how I took a taxi ride on a hot summer night in New York City; how I saw Charlie again at the Exhibition. So I scribbled for two hours in the night, my fingers cramping. Then I fell into bed tired and deliriously happy. Three hours later, as I read my words, I am repelled, sickened at how they fail to do what I wanted them to do. (110)

Clara in her choice of poetic form acknowledges the cyclical quality of the traumatic experience. However, although she goes to New York City for her abortion and to visit her sister, her real journeying and returning take place in the landscape of her mind. Moreover, although she admires her sister’s move to New York City, she says of the

place she lives, “this is my home; this is where I live and I can’t see myself anywhere else” (91).

Clara commemorates and ritualizes the event of her rape by establishing a precedent of remembering on its first anniversary. On Monday, May 25, Clara writes a letter addressed to her rapist:

Dear Charlie,

It’s a year now to the day. Remember? No, of course you don’t. [...] But I will remember, Charlie. I remember that cool sunlit spring day and you walking towards me along the railway tracks and the boy with his bad eye and broken shoe. You came upon me like that, and I remember how you burned my wrists with your grip as you twirled me around in that grass.

(148)

Clara goes on in this passage not only to remember the details but also to talk of the violence that she would like to do to her victimizer: “Oh, in my dreams I have done you in, Charlie, murdered you with mattock or coal shovel, dragged your body into bushes where only flies and maggots would ever find you” (149). The following year on the anniversary, Clara writes: “Then I remembered that it was two years ago on this date that the tramp raped me. I hadn’t thought of him for weeks, but now he is here again, poisoning my day” (261). The final commemoration or remembering on the anniversary is recorded when she returns to the site of the event: “It was nearly three years ago today and so I stood in the spot where it happened. Or where I think it happened” (363). It is around this time that she finally writes her sister about the rape, writing that “confession is such a relief” (367).

The rape/trauma cycle, which I characterize as a cycle of return to the site of trauma and liken to the pilgrimage cycle, gains wider significance as a microcosm of the pilgrimage towards violence of Canada as a nation and of the world. A collective “I no longer believe in God” might be said to lead up to the Holocaust, and the Holocaust itself is one of the re-occurring images in Clara Callan. Canada’s remoteness does not make the guilt or the knowledge any less than that of the rest of the world, and Clara herself in her diary observes the progress towards the gas chambers. It is significant that there is a traumatic event, after which Clara describes a clear break from the person she was before the event.<sup>33</sup> I also mark the technological progress (in this novel taking the form of newspapers and particularly the radio) as significant in terms of the dissemination of the knowledge of violent events and in particular the progress of Hitler in Europe and the Holocaust. However, the same technologies that allow for knowledge of events in the world also provide technological means of “escape” from real events in the world through various forms of distracting entertainment (in Clara Callan the radio dramas Evelyn writes and in which Nora performs fulfill this role).

The train is a personal symbol for Clara, but also a symbol that stands for events in the Holocaust. Clara observes “the smell of smoke in the coach” (73). And later, “a guard walked through the coach and asked us questions about our birthplace and citizenship. When the train started again, I stared at my reflection in the lighted window. Saw a serious, haggard face. I thought about the secrets in my life and the awful mystery of a world without God” (73). The observations of the “haggard self,” “a world without God,” and the interrogation of the border guard could well be events subtly alluding to

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<sup>33</sup> As previously noted, Clara writes: “I was thinking how suddenly a life can become misshapen; divided brutally into before and after a dire event. So it must be with all who endure calamity: those who must remember” (58).

conditions in Nazi Germany at her time. In the writing of Elie Wiesel and other Holocaust writers, the smell of smoke from the train is one of the memorable events that leads up to the experience of the death camps (Wiesel 23-24). Here, Clara is on her way to a back-alley abortion clinic, a fact that underscores the train ride as a journey to silent and secret death. Only a few pages later Clara writes, "The urge to scream is never far below the surface" (79), but she remains silent in the face of brutality and fear, and symbolically becomes a part of the en-masse pilgrimage to the gas chambers. Of the moments leading up to the experience at the abortionist, Clara says, "Nora's voice seemed to come from the end of a long tunnel" (84). The liminality of the experience is further emphasized when she writes, "We drove down Seventh Avenue in that half darkness between the end of night and the beginning of day" (85). Again, the echo of such a writer as Wiesel, who titles two of his Holocaust memoirs Night and Dawn, is highly suggestive. Again she writes a suggestive echo of Wiesel's dictum that he had to wait ten years and then he had to write: "Sometimes you have to talk about what happened or it will just kind of fester inside of you" (98).

Some of the foregoing may be questionable, but Hitler is in fact a part of Clara's life, and due to technological progress, he is brought into every home. Clara refers to the radio as "a minor household god to whom obeisance must be paid" (127). After being given a radio by her sister, Clara writes, "I can now listen to Herr Hitler in the flesh, so to speak" (126). She later notes that "another war over there seems altogether likely" (140). Meanwhile, everyone in Canada is attentively following the story of the fate of some trapped miners. What follows the detailed account of mining disaster, as prelude and conclusion, is more news about the threat of war (145). News of domestic violence,

suicide, and death is broadcast by the radio and recorded by Clara. Intermixed with the “at-home” violence are regular reports of Hitler’s activities in Europe: “All week the radio has been carrying news of Hitler’s soldiers in Austria” (336, 358, 388).

The repetition of Clara’s personal trauma, the regular attention to violent events in Canada, and the recurrence of images connected with the Holocaust (and news of the events leading up to the Holocaust) are all a part of a personal, national, and global march to war. Of course, the topographical elements of pilgrimage, the difficulty of the journey, and its spiritual elements are very different at this juncture in history. Suddenly, the topography is that of the mind moving and cycling around an event, and the difficulties of the journey are those of modern life. Faith in God can suddenly disappear, and the search that ensues becomes one for meaning in a universe without God. In Clara Callan the daily and reoccurring events of violence and trauma serve to emphasize the universality of the individual’s journey in the march to death that led to the Holocaust—and to show the continuing relevance of pilgrimage as a way of getting the mind around such traumas and, even, to salvation.

In the generations that follow the Holocaust, nations around the world would memorialize the event in museums. Countries such as the Czech Republic, Poland, and Germany, where holding camps or death camps were situated, would preserve the camps themselves as memorials to the event. For Jews and Gentiles alike, the pilgrimage to Holocaust memorials would mark a re-enactment of the journey the Jews and the world took from faith in humanity and progress to the horror of a world that allows such events. Technological progress and a growing secularization were precursors to the Holocaust. Further, “loss of faith” and the ever increasing role of technology in the Modern world

can be traced in an individual way in the life of Clara Callan seen as a pilgrimage towards and away from personal trauma, the horror of the Holocaust, and post-Holocaust history.

In the chapter that follows, I will begin with the pilgrimage “home” from the Holocaust and the re-living of that event in Timothy Findley’s The Butterfly Plague, and then move beyond it into one vision of the darker horror of the future in his Headhunter.

**“An Era of Plagues and Ruin”: Timothy Findley’s Pilgrimages Towards  
Destruction in The Butterfly Plague and Headhunter**

The now infamous story of Timothy Findley’s journey to New York, his binge drinking, and the disastrous delivery of the yellow, wind-blown pages of his manuscript, The Butterfly Plague, seems a fitting place to begin the story, or convergence of stories, of pilgrimages towards destruction and darkness in the Holocaust and post-Holocaust era.<sup>34</sup>

Like the eventual recovery, publication, and transformation years later of the initial published version of The Butterfly Plague, the dark pilgrimages of the novel’s various Hollywood beach-dwellers do not end universally in death and despair—there is at least the possibility that the dreamers will awaken and the story will continue, perhaps more hopefully, with the next generation. The pilgrimage of The Butterfly Plague, which began for the author when he glimpsed the photographs of Dachau, continues in darker permutations in Headhunter. Findley appropriates Joseph Conrad’s Heart of Darkness and Mary Shelley’s Frankenstein as texts that sum up the descent into the horror of an unspecified future time of humanity. However, the immediate setting of Headhunter is the elegant Rosedale area of Toronto. Findley said to John Bemrose: “In truth, I’ve always thought of Rosedale as one of the river-stations Conrad writes about—one of the points on the journey to the heart of darkness” (Roberts 120). But Findley could claim that in his role as writer he does not leave the reader or humanity in darkness. In reference to Headhunter, Carol Roberts writes that “Findley believes the novelist and psychiatrist share a common role: both can lead us down into the dark—into the heart of darkness—and then back out, into the light. In a sense, they both play the role of Orpheus” (121). Findley himself suggests the pilgrimage motif for the characters when

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<sup>34</sup> For one version of the story, see Carol Roberts’s Timothy Findley: Stories from a Life (53-55).

he writes that, following this descent into darkness, “[y]ou try to get the character all the way home” (“Alice Drops Her Cigarette” 16). Findley continues to describe this process by discussing the views of other Canadian writers on the subject of this descent into darkness: “Adele Wiseman said the writer goes down into the other world of hell for a few years and comes back up and tries to articulate the experience for everyone else” (19). But Findley maintains that in the role of the writer, the writer’s pilgrimage includes “a round-trip ticket. The writer comes back” (19). For present purposes, the question becomes, Is this also true of Findley’s characters? When the characters descend into hell, do they emerge? Is it a birth by fire or a death?

Initially, I proposed to title this chapter “Post-Modern Pilgrimage,” but upon learning of Findley’s aversion to any such “labels” or demarcation, I decided that the idea of descent into darkness, or pilgrimage towards destruction, would gesture more aptly towards Findley’s apocalyptic vision of ruin and violence. At the same time, I will incorporate the analysis of stylistic and conceptual elements that are trademarks of Findley’s work. To this end, I likewise selected works by Findley that dealt more universally with society and were, as in the case of Headhunter, set in Canada (although the setting of Germany in The Butterfly Plague and its parallel in Hollywood form an important counterpart and introduction to the horrors that follow).

Linda Hutcheon’s The Canadian Postmodern: A Study of Contemporary English-Canadian Fiction continues to provide some useful categories for understanding the fiction of the past twenty years. Both The Butterfly Plague and Headhunter “tend to make very self-conscious their writing, their reading, and the various contexts in which both acts take place” (17). In fact, I would take this idea one step further and say that in

Headhunter the act of reading is an ethical and political one. The characters in Headhunter who are elected to promote “righteousness” and stop evil in society are the ones who know how to read and are engaged in reading the canonical classics. Again, both texts, as I will discuss more closely later in this chapter, also focus on photography. Hutcheon writes: “If we believe Susan Sontag, photography marks man’s second—unfortunate—fall into abstraction; the first came with the advent of the printed word” (47). “One could argue that there is, of course, an implicit aggression in any use of the camera. Think of the verbs we use to talk about it: we load, aim, shoot, a camera,” making “photography [...] a mode of surrogate possession” (48). Again, Findley makes this idea of the violence and possession of photography explicit in Headhunter, where children are given “obedience” drugs to make them submit to acts with each other and their fathers for the camera.

Although Richard B. Wright’s Clara Callan was published in 2001, making it the more contemporary chronologically, the narrative of Clara Callan better serves here as a prelude story to The Butterfly Plague, published in 1969. However, as with all the works under discussion, I am more interested in the time period under examination in the text (although at times it seems necessary to consider the concerns of the author and the time in which the work was created). As in Clara Callan, the Holocaust acts as a sub-text to the stories of The Butterfly Plague, but unlike Clara Callan, it is not merely the images of trains, fire, and the murmurings of war that suggest the journey of the Jews and humanity’s loss of faith in the perfectability of humanity in the furnaces of extermination camps, but an actual pilgrimage through Nazi Germany and into the concentration camps. I note the importance of the Holocaust journeys to The Butterfly Plague because this

novel provides a clearer picture of what pilgrimage becomes in the days and years that follow the Holocaust. In order to explore both The Butterfly Plague and Headhunter as pilgrimage texts in a new context, then, I will be examining the extensive critical work that surrounds Findley's oeuvre, relying on the general discussions of postmodernism offered by Linda Hutcheon and Brian McHale, re-examining some of the preceding theoretical discussions of pilgrimage, and more broadly incorporating into this discussion the discourse of utopian literature in the works of Ernst Bloch.

Lorraine York writes that "*The Butterfly Plague* chronicles precisely this search for Paradise in a fallen world" (63). York goes on to suggest that, with the opening illustration of the assassination of Mickey Balloon by a child with a BB gun, "At a single stroke, the notion of paradisaal innocence is veritably 'assassinated'; there are flaws and blemishes in the universe of *The Butterfly Plague*" (63). She proceeds to illustrate how various actors in this drama fall "prey to the illusion of perfectibility" (64), and how it is that this search leads to the downfall of the various players on the Hollywood beach stage. Naomi Damrosch tells her daughter that "the very worst, the most destructive and the seat of all our woes and pain, is this dream—this damnable quest for perfection" (TBP 156). However, while the quest for perfection is one of the unifying themes of the novel, the various pilgrims of the text, including the butterflies, hemophiliacs, and the Jews, are all a part of pilgrimages of one kind or another, and are not universally condemned due to a lack of perfection. The anomaly in all of this, and perhaps the key to the text, as the title would suggest, are the chronicles of the butterfly plague. I would like to examine this pilgrimage, and from this guiding metaphor examine the other pilgrims and pilgrimages of the text.

The pilgrims to Fringe Bay are searching for a sort of paradise (like The Butterfly Plague's earlier pilgrims to Alvarez Canyon). But here, the butterflies themselves are likewise on a pilgrimage. Why the migration of the butterflies, the sanctity and peace of their roosting spot, and the general mystical worship of the pilgrims turns to plague, is one of the key events of the text. "The Chronicle of the First Butterfly" is described by Findley as follows: "The journey covered a distance of roughly fifteen hundred miles. It began on an island off the coast of British Columbia and ended just south of Santa Monica, California. The traveller was a butterfly—a monarch" (61). The terrain of the journey is described, including the start of the journey on an island off the coast of British Columbia in Canada, travel over water, the scent of flowers, the direction, the types of trees, the dangers of cities, difficulties of the journey including rain and hail, the threats of a field mouse, and the physical damage to the butterfly's wings as a result of the difficulties of the journey: "Testing its wings, the butterfly discovered by trial and error that the rain had done some damage: a few of its scales were missing; there was a shredded irregular serration at the outer rim of its left front wing. But it could fly" (62). Further obstacles include mountains, the threat of birds, and the threat of misdirected human fear and the resulting desire to kill. As if the description of the journey is not enough to suggest the topography and difficulty of a pilgrimage, Findley writes: "This butterfly was a lonely traveler. It journeyed without companions. Others would follow after (some had gone before it) and perhaps it sensed this" (61). The charter pilgrimage has been made, but every year there is a charter pilgrim; a lonely pilgrim, who sets out on the dangerous pilgrimage to find the sacred site of the monarchs' gathering.

“The Chronicle of the Butterfly Trees” follows the death of one of the major human pilgrims of the text—one who defies the demands of perfection, but is herself trapped in its constructs and the tyranny of a man who demands perfection of her children. However, it is significant that it is following Naomi Damrosch’s death, and the “butterfly”-like conception of Ruth’s child,<sup>35</sup> that the pilgrims journey to the butterfly trees. One reading would suggest that it is following the death of one of the victims of the demands for perfection that the remaining pilgrims make their pilgrimage to the butterfly trees. This pilgrimage is one that follows the cycles of nature as embodied in the migratory patterns of the monarch butterfly; it is also a pilgrimage that in its description invokes the religious language of pilgrimage discourse. Nonetheless, what follows invokes the discourse of plague. In fact, it seems that the butterflies are raining down judgement on the pilgrims. Following the invocation of plague through religious language, the narrator alludes to the biblical plagues that rained down on Egypt when God was commanding the Egyptians through Moses to let his people go. However, the Egyptians do not let the Israelites begin their pilgrimage until the sacrifice of the first-born son has been extracted from the houses of Egypt. The mark of blood on the door-lintel protects the first-born sons of those who believe. And in The Butterfly Plague it is the mark of the various characters’ blood that seems likewise to determine the fate of the characters of this story. In fact, the text opens with “I bleed,” followed by the injunction that “Everyone carries a cross” (6). But the journey of the pilgrims to the site of the monarch butterflies’ roosting is the end of a pilgrimage. There have been various plagues—fires, rapes, arson, and the deportation of ten thousand Jews. Diana Brydon

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<sup>35</sup> Ruth contemplates her imaginary pregnancy in a way that connects the child with the butterflies: “It was a butterfly child, she thought. Conceived and born in the butterfly year—an era of plagues and ruin” (343).

suggests that “the language of biblical plague in *The Butterfly Plague* suggests that the family’s fate results from divinely ordained punishment rather than from the choices they have made” (42). However, the plagues that visited Egypt and the Israelites were the direct result of their choices not to follow the command of God. Lorraine York suggests that the plague is the result of the actions of the various players in the text: “Such a quest [for perfection] connects Hollywood with the Nazis through a perfectionism and idealism that, taken to an extreme, can turn into a plague” (48). All of the aforementioned plagues (fires, rapes, arson, the Holocaust) have preceded “The Chronicle of the Butterfly Trees.” The question is implicit: is pilgrimage even possible following the “looking away” of the various characters, as people and animals are sacrificed in holocaust flames. Perhaps following the destruction of the “we” of animals and Jews, the “we” of the pilgrims can likewise lead only to destruction. Regardless of the interpretation, Findley here, at least initially, invokes the language of pilgrimage.

As with many pilgrimages, the economics of the pilgrimage in The Butterfly Plague is brought to the fore. Findley describes the economic dependence of Fringes Bay on pilgrimage as follows: “It depended at that time for its livelihood on the migratory habits of four species of creature: smelts, swallows, butterflies, and people” (278). Findley goes to some length to describe the visitors to Fringes Bay as, not tourists, but pilgrims: “Tourists were foreigners, [...] But the pilgrims of Fringes Bay returned there from year to year. They brought news of friends and relatives. Their children, hand-held at first, returned in the accumulating years with hand-holders of their own. They were visitors, not tourists” (278-9). The description of the visitors to Fringes Bay continues to use religious and pilgrimage language to describe their experience at the site: they “stood

in the insect presence like priests and populace before a shrine” (279). The mysticism and religious elements are part of the natural setting of the place: “The trees were three in number—a mystical figure. There was silence, the sort of silence that includes sound—a sea breeze, a child’s sudden question and a parent’s whispered reply” (279). The description of the trees continues: “Picture the three trees, covered with butterflies instead of leaves. Even the largest leaves were hidden by wings and bodies. All the wings were closed. Like prayers. This added to the sense of silence and mystery” (279-80). The mystical element of the silence is further elaborated as part of the village as well as of the waiting pilgrims: “The village was hung like serried steps upon the hill. Behind, was the mission with its silenced bells. The waiters and watchers, waiting and watching. If silence could be seen, they saw it” (280).

The silent waiting and watching, as of pilgrims for a miracle, is followed by the spectacular invasion of the plague of butterflies. The butterflies that are figured as “prayers” on the mystical three trees, when they take flight take on the nightmare frenzy of a plague, as the peoples’ “eyes and ears filled up with butterflies” (281). Following the onslaught of the plague of butterflies, there is “human silence, now. Whatever mystical silence there had been had fled” (283). A memorial is erected to the devastation wrought by the metamorphosis of the butterflies into a plague: “In years to come it was known as Fringes Field. A cross was erected. The butterflies returned yearly. But people had left forever” (283).

The butterflies appear at the end of a number of pilgrimage narratives in The Butterfly Plague. Often a symbol of transformation, the butterfly in the journeys of the various characters seems to stand, like the memorial cross in Fringes Field, for death.

During the plague, the butterflies are identified with the persecution of homosexuals (possibly even in the context of the Nazi regime). In “The Chronicle of Dolly D,” peoples’ rage and frustration are vented on the monarchs. The male baseball pitcher vents his boredom screaming “Kill! Kill! Kill! You orange faggots!” (289), supporting the various readings of Findley’s work, such as Barbara Gabriel’s discussion of camp and other readings, that see an implicit homoeroticism in fascism.<sup>36</sup> Dolly himself links “victims” and “butterflies” following the suicide of his fat and aging movie-star friend; and following the death of Naomi, butterflies are again invoked to make a comment on death: “Naomi was gone forever. So was Myra. And what was the pattern? There was none. None that was discernable. Like the butterflies—they came and went, lived and died. Migrated. Counter—migrated. Stood still and fled” (299). Likewise, when Adolphus meets his death on the road, the butterflies are again a part of the final picture: “The butterflies were blasted up into the air, and they settled with the dust over the map of staling blood and over the crouched white Buddha by the road” (317). The people who gather at this final scene are similarly figured as butterflies: “The greatest impact, like a bruise on her brain, was the presence of strangers. That so many people who cluster (like butterflies around wet ground) over the dead and dying are unknown people. People who crop up for deaths and dyings” (319). Finally, the death of the butterflies is easily (perhaps as easily) forgotten or swept away as the deaths of millions of Jews and the important pilgrim figures of this text: “They were leaving, tens of millions of dead remaining behind them. Little corpses, easily brushed aside with brooms. They had left dusty red stains on the sidewalks, which people washed down with hose water” (355). The butterflies, then, remind us of the pattern of flight and the migrations of lone

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<sup>36</sup> See Anne Geddes Bailey’s Timothy Findley and the Aesthetics of Fascism.

travellers and the masses. The single grave marking the death of the many butterflies becomes a memorial, like the one marking the earliest pilgrimage in Canada: the single cross for the destruction of the entire Wendat nation. When one of the little “gypsy” children on the beach says to her father, “Papa, all the dead butterflies: I think it’s sad,” and he responds, “Nothing is sad that’s as it ought to be” (302), the reader is forced to question the inevitable progress towards destruction and death of the various characters and nations (figured possibly as butterflies and animals) and the reality of this inevitability. Was Dolly’s “random” death on the road really as it ought to be? Was the fat actress’s suicide as it ought to be? What about the Jews? What about the animals? What about the butterflies that were bashed to death with a bat to the sound of “Kill! Kill! Kill! Kill!”?

The pilgrimage to Alvarez Canyon is perhaps the more clearly disturbing allegory for the concentration camps and peoples’ response or lack of response to the suffering and death of the Jews. The Alvarez Canyon section also open up questions of reality and dreaming that are key to an understanding of postmodern pilgrimage and the destabilization of the pilgrimage narrative as a result of the Holocaust. The idea of Christian “progress” towards paradise becomes connected to a narrative of progress that ends in ethnic cleansing and the death of innocent people as a result of their failure to meet some racist notion of perfection. While this narrative of progress and perfection is hardly the central narrative of the Alvarez Chronicle, it nonetheless is a part of the machinery of “paradise.” According to “The Chronicle of Alvarez Canyon,” “The visiting public had proclaimed it ‘Paradise’” (112). Portions of Alvarez Canyon were

fabricated out of plastic and cloth in order to give it the appearance of reality. Findley describes it as follows:

In order to preserve the atmosphere of Paradise in all weathers, some portions of Alvarez were quite unreal. The plants in these places were made of specially treated fabrics and of rubber. Thus when elsewhere the acacia leaves were falling they did not fall down in Alvarez. On close scrutiny, too, one out of every ten animals was dead and taxidermed. A glass stare can be disconcerting, but the thrill of coming face to face with an oryx, apparently tame, made up for it. (113)

The number allowed to be in “Paradise” is limited and, when Ruth and the others arrive, there is an immediate confusion of realities as a party by their name is already inside “Paradise.” Once inside, the members of the party somehow lose each other and lose touch with the reality or unreality of the entire “pilgrimage.” Who has lost whom is questioned in Myra and Dolly’s discussion:

“Well, I mean, it could be us that’s disappeared and they’re just standing around somewhere waiting for us.” The logic of this burned a hole in Dolly’s brain. “So far as I am concerned,” he said, “they have disappeared. And we,” he added with a kind of desperate certainty, “are right here.” (124)

The logical illogic of the postmodern situation is that being alone, lost, and in danger are all part of arrival in “Paradise” or the end of pilgrimage. To Ruth the smell of Paradise is “profound and mysterious” (127), and her reaction implies aspects of the arrival of the pilgrim at the sacred garden where there is the possibility of transcendent experience and

encounter with the Divine. John Eade and Michael J. Sallnow discuss Eliade's view of the sacred center as a place "where heaven and earth intersect and where time stands still, where there exists the possibility of breaking through to the realm of the transcendent"

(6). However, Eade and Sallnow discuss a shift from place-centeredness to person-centeredness, as was seen in the pilgrimage of Clara Callan, where it is the journey of a particular consciousness, often temporally rather than spatially. Findley himself develops this idea more fully in Pilgrim, where a single consciousness travels through time, as opposed to a company of pilgrims travelling through space. However, in the earlier The Butterfly Plague, Findley still relies on physical movement through space, although the postmodern questions of the reality of the movement, the status of the participants in the movement, and the eventual immolation of the canyon are all a part of the pilgrimage narrative. In fact, the pilgrimage is not along the well-trod pilgrim paths that past pilgrims have walked. The company is separated, lost, and under threat from various forms of violence. While pilgrimages in the past were certainly perilous, the danger and violence that threatened these pilgrims were part of something much bigger; in The Butterfly Plague the threat is no longer to the individual but to all of "paradise."

Commenting on this mapless and endless pilgrimage terrain, Findley writes: "To wander in Paradise is all very well if you know your way. But the mapless terrain of Alvarez was utterly frustrating" (127). Dolly and Myra "refused steadfastly to leave the path, which seemed to have no ending" (128). The questions seem to echo, "'Are we lost?'" and the answer likewise echoes, "'We are lost'" (130). Of Ruth we learn that "her journey, like that of all the others, was leading her nowhere. Occasionally, of course, there were clues" (132-3). Whether this is Findley playing tongue-in-cheek with the meaning of

utopia—“no place”— or whether this is actually a further comment on the directionless wandering even after the pilgrim has arrived in paradise, is all part of the puzzle of this false garden.

Characters and readers soon learn that the seeming directionless wandering is, in fact, a collective journey towards and into the flames that devour both the canyon and the animals in the canyon. The wanderers in the canyon come to the realization that they are “going to die” (140). A response to the imminent threat of death is one that all the characters must make: “It looks as though we must make a bold decision. Right or wrong, we must choose a direction and follow it up” (140). However, again the reality of what happened or did not happen, as the case may be, is called into question: “Some things do not happen, and the immolation of Alvarez Canyon was one of them” (132). Ruth realizes: “It was a dream. But whose?” (137). This question, like many posed by the postmodern subject, is one that doubts both reality and subjectivity; however, the images that follow unmistakably signify an allegory of the Holocaust, and likewise a calling to responsibility, as in “The Butterfly Chronicle,” for the killing of animals.

The animals in the canyon are linked to the earlier discussion of the dreamers—those unknowing victims of the flames. Findley writes: “Not knowing what fire was, but being burned. Some turned back into the furnace. Others crept into flaming trees. Some attempted impossible flight into the sky. Some went into caves where the scorched air burned their lungs” (142). Even as they burn in paradise, the animals attempt to move towards the gate: “The wheeling wall of flesh turned round and round. Perhaps it remembered the gate. It seized on that direction. It fled through the corridor of fire toward space” (142). And the people respond, “Close all the gates” (142), although

Naomi cries, ““Help them”” (142). Ruth’s description again recalls her experience in the concentration camps in Europe:

Paws reached through. Beggars. Dead. Noses, eyes, portions of torn and unrecognizable anatomy dropped before, Ruth, melting in the grass at her feet. She turned back. It was over. No more noises. Four thousand creatures had perished against a wall. But no one saw it. No one heard it. No one was there. Or, so they all claimed. Everyone heard about it, of course, but afterwards. In the reports. (143)

However, when Ruth wants to discuss what they collectively witnessed, the reality of what she experienced is called into question. Her family tells her, ““It’s all in your mind”” (143). But Ruth is unable to deny what she saw and knows happened: “Alvarez Canyon Paradise did burn down. And someone was there. I was” (143). However, she is unable to speak out and is forced into silence even as she knows, “Everything isn’t a dream or a nightmare [...] Some things happen!” (144). However, “she maintained her silence” (144). Following a period of silence, Ruth again asserts, “I was there. My mind was there. And something—something happened” (153). Again, the link between the animals in the canyon and her experience of watching the Jews in the camps, whom she calls the “dreamers,” is again blurred.

This blurring technique between the borders of different worlds, and in this case different species, seems to be an important element of the postmodern technique. Both the identities of the subjects and the realities of the worlds are called into question. In this case, instead of the “paws” of the earlier quotation (143), it is “hands” and again there is “begging,” but this time Ruth is able to see that she and the others are “looking at

two different things” (153). The discussion of the different realities for Ruth and Naomi is as follows:

“They put out their hands,” said Ruth, “and asked for our attention. They were *there*. Begging for their lives. But apparently we didn’t see them because you say we weren’t there. The truth is, we are looking at two different things and calling them both extraordinary. *They put out their hands to us*, Mother, and I was watching. But you turned away to watch something else.” (153)

However, in the discussion that follows, Findley suggests that Ruth has had strange dreams since childhood that have never been believed, and that the silence or “drowning” that she experiences may be a form of madness. Again, her reality, and the reality of the canyon and the camps, is called into question. Regardless, as a result of Findley’s use of verified historical narrative, the reader can assume by extension that Ruth’s dreams and memories of the camps in Nazi Germany were indeed an historical reality. Her re-living of that experience in the canyon, whether it is the result of some form of madness or post-traumatic stress disorder, is based on the reality of her experience in Nazi Germany. Everything is not a dream. Some things did happen. The problem in the world of the postmodern text is in deciphering the “reality” of the text from the reality of history from the reality of the mind from the reality of madness. And because the lines between these realities are blurred for the subjects of the story, they are likewise blurred for the reader of the text.

The train that Ruth takes home following her pilgrimage through the insanity of the Holocaust is one of the many images for re-living the Holocaust that appears and re-

appears in texts of the post-Holocaust era. Trains come to signify events related to the concentration camps. The vividness of this image, from Elie Wiesel's Night to the train rides of Mavis Gallant's The Pegnitz Junction, takes the reader to and from the death camps. While on the train, Ruth "believed that she was living in a nightmare" (10). Like the woman in Elie Wiesel's Night, who screams about the smoke from the gas chambers only to be silenced by the others in the cattle cars, childlike Ruth sees the "darkness" while "all around her adults were proclaiming light" (10). This statement precedes the narrative that takes Ruth, champion swimmer and test subject of Nazi experiments, into the very heart of the Nazi regime: the camp. Even while Ruth is on her way back to Hollywood, she insists that she is being followed by what comes to stand as the embodiment of the Nazi regime—a figure that is simply called "Race." Ruth describes him as "an advertisement for racial perfection" (10). But the reader and Ruth come to realize that her interaction with the Nazi "ideal" is not one that can be escaped by coming home to Hollywood. In fact, Ruth has so internalized the ideals of Nazi perfection that all becomes tainted. She carries everywhere the evidence of the swastika, star, and scrap of bathing suit, along with her recessive hemophilia gene.

"The Chronicle of the Nightmare," like the chronicles of the butterflies and the animals of Alvarez, is also one that involves a pilgrimage. It could be said that the previous two chronicles or pilgrimages were re-livings of the Holocaust pilgrimage of "The Chronicle of the Nightmare" (66). But Ruth's pilgrimage is in a variety of ways a charter pilgrimage, for the butterflies and animals and for the Jews. Findley must have known that it is almost impossible to understand or discuss this journey in direct terms. The facts of the Holocaust had already been discussed extensively by the time of The

Butterfly Plague. The horror had been re-told and re-lived, but remained a darkness scarcely understood. I came upon a key to understanding this chronicle of horror in the writings of a man who stands on the fringes of the Frankfurt school of philosophy. My revelatory moment came in reading the same words in Ernst Bloch and in Timothy Findley. They both are writing of what Brian McHale calls the “overlapping subjectivities, including shared fantasies and nightmares” (44). The key to The Butterfly Plague and to understanding Ernst Bloch is the following apparently simple declaration: “I am. We are. That is enough” (Jones 57). In opposition to Heidegger’s Being and Time, “Bloch sees no categorical difference between the ontological status of the individual and the collective. In the collective, Bloch does not see a threat but rather only the possibility of solidarity” (Jones 57). I would, however, take this discussion one step further and postulate that both Bloch and Findley do not stop at the solidarity of the human “we,” but rather, as the butterflies and the animals suggest (as well as Bloch’s writing, which I will illustrate further in a moment), these authors insist that, in the moment of complete oneness and transcendence, the inclusive “we” is human, animal, vegetable, and all life and thought that ever was or will be, because that moment is not bound by either time or human logic; this is the pure energy of what Findley insists is “going back to the beginning” (97). Ruth wonders, “What is the beginning?” and goes immediately into language, but I would take this consideration to a place of the pre-logos and post-logos, and even to the pre-human and post-human, and say that this beginning must transcend the categories we use to delineate ontology in a post-literary world. To repeat, in The Spirit of Utopia (1964) Ernst Bloch gives this as his objective: “I am. We are. That is enough. Now we have to begin. Life has been put in our hands. For itself, it

became empty already long ago” (1). But Bloch does not leave us with the choice of life after emptiness. In the chapter entitled “The Lower Life,” he contends:

So am I. So are we still. But is not all this already far too much? For who would help must absolutely go back, yet be there anew. I repeat: that is enough [...]. We too were embryonic, became plants and animals, for we do not know who we are. Not certainly, as though we had only evolved out of plants and animals, but had not been there before, within. (233)

As mystical as this must sound, and is, I believe Bloch is poetically articulating a redemptive vision of oneness, of acknowledged fallibility, common cause, responsibility, and perhaps even of atonement and salvation.

Ruth’s experience of the Holocaust, and later her discussion of living the dream/nightmare, share the very words of Bloch’s philosophy. When Ruth visits her old school chum, Lissl, she finds that they both live in fear, silence, and obedience. But Lissl is able to pass on a key message to Ruth: “‘Begin again...’ and then she stressed the next part oddly. ‘*At the beginning*’” (96). Ruth is able to make the connection by beginning again the learning of German: “*Sein. Ich bin. Du bist. Er ist. Wir sind. Ihr seid. Sie sind.* This was her message. To be. I am. You are. He is. We are. You are. They are. And to this I added the word ‘good-bye’” (97). The next section begins with the words, “I do not need to explain the history” (97). Most importantly, for Findley and for Bloch, the identification of the “we” is not only with other human beings. As Bloch writes in the earlier quotation, “We too were embryonic, became plants and animals, [...].” (233). The boundaries between human/plant/animal are broken down, because the ontology of human life is shared with plants and animals. Findley likewise has paws and hands

reaching out of camps and canyons—signalling an identification and destruction of life that crosses the species boundary.<sup>37</sup>

Ruth concludes in one of her lonely reflections at the end of the text: “It will be over [...] it never happened. The dreamers did not die; Bruno did not exist” (344). It is at such a concluding moment of forgetting and yet reaffirming the memory of what happened that Bloch begins his discussion: “What just was will probably soon be forgotten. Only an empty, awful memory hangs in the air. Who was defended?” (1). Like the empty womb and the terrible waking nightmares that haunt the text, Ruth is continually forced to tell herself that she was there, that it happened, and that she did nothing to defend the helpless. But this yearning for perfection, however perverted the dream becomes, is repeated over and over again in the chronicles. Bloch likewise acknowledges this goal of a cyclical seeking after perfection and its connection to dreams, stating that,

what rises above all the masquerades and the expired civilizations is the one, the eternal goal, the one presentiment, the one conscience, the one salvation: rises from our hearts, unbroken in spite of everything, from the deepest part, that is, the realist part of our waking dreams: that is, from the last thing remaining to us, the only thing worthy to remain. (3)

And what is this “only thing worthy to remain”? It appears that both Findley and Bloch are suggesting that this is being or life itself, even the final or absolute encounter with life

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<sup>37</sup> Although it is interesting to speculate how Findley came upon these ideas, when Findley wrote *The Butterfly Plague* Bloch’s work had not yet been translated from German to English. It seems unlikely then that Findley would have actually encountered any of Bloch’s work directly. Perhaps he read some of Bloch’s ideas indirectly through the discourse of other more prominent members of the Frankfurt school of philosophy. But that must remain speculation. In any case, as was the situation with Bishop Inglis and Goldsmith in chapter two of the present study, I am mainly interested in the interdependent illumination of similar ideas/philosophies.

in the face of death. Bloch writes that “in the ultimate self-encounter, in the comprehended darkness of the lived moment, as this one thing leaps up and hears itself in the inconstruable, absolute question, the problem of the We in itself. This is as far as the internal path can at first go, namely toward what we call a self-encounter” (3).

The “darkness of the lived moment” (3), as I will show in Headhunter, cannot always be fully comprehended. In the pilgrimage progress of Findley’s Headhunter (1993), as in Richard B. Wright’s Clara Callan, the way stations and prayers on the voyage or pilgrimage into the dark interior are the texts of the western canon that become the inter-texts of Headhunter. According to Goldman, “In Headhunter, [...] the sacred scriptures are refigured as the secular canon of Western Literature” (Paying Attention: Critical Essays on Timothy Findley 39). The pilgrimage is one towards confrontation with horror, a horror that with each embodiment of the madman Kurtz progresses one step further towards the ultimate destruction of all life (human and other species).

Headhunter opens with Lilah Kemp conjuring Kurtz:

On a winter’s day, while a blizzard raged through the streets of Toronto, Lilah Kemp inadvertently set Kurtz free from page 92 of *Heart of Darkness*. Horror-stricken, she tried to force him back between the covers. The escape took place at the Metropolitan Toronto Reference Library, where Lilah Kemp sat reading beside the rock pool. She had not even said *come forth*, but there Kurtz stood before her, framed by the woven jungle of cotton trees and vines that passed for botanic atmosphere.

(3)

Lilah Kemp has inherited the conjuring gift from her mother. Lilah shares this inheritance with other figures of Canadian literary history, such as the spiritualist sisters Catherine Parr Traill and Susanna Moodie. Susanna Moodie is, in fact, one of the figures who makes a variety of appearances in Headhunter. Lilah Kemp's first act of conjuring (as a child) is recorded early in the text, following the introduction of some of the major players and the escape of Kurtz: "Lilah Kemp's talents as a spiritualist first showed their presence when she was five" (36). At this time, Lilah Kemp reads Peter Rabbit into being and is left with what become her sacred talisman, Peter's little shoes. It is following Kurtz's escape that Lilah takes out the sacred rabbit's shoes in order to pray for protection:

Now, two days after Kurtz had joined the ranks of Lilah's outcasts and escapees, she sat on her bed with Peter Rabbit's shoes in her lap. They were folded up in tissue paper and were normally kept in her handkerchief drawer or deep in her purse. The shoes were Lilah's talisman and, only when desperate, she got them out and spoke to them. *Dear shoes*, she said through the channels between herself and anything spoken to in prayer, *I require some news of Kurtz. I have released him out of Heart of Darkness. He has disappeared and I am afraid. Kurtz, if he puts his mind to it, can destroy the world—and only I can prevent him. I have been chosen to be his Marlow—and must begin my journey—but I don't know where to start* .... (39)

Following this sequence, the "sanity" of Lilah Kemp is called into question by the announcement, "*Queen Street West. It is time for you to take your medication*" (39) and

by the statement that “Spiritualism, then, was just another disease” (43). However, the conjuring of literary figures and the literary pilgrimage itself, albeit in a much altered world on a journey towards destruction, are all a part of a parallel world or a parallel way of understanding the journey towards death, in which we all take part. In fact, the “insane” characters of Headhunter are the ones who understand the necessity of saving the world from the destructive forces of the embodiment of evil—Kurtz.

Doctor Fagan, Lilah Kemp’s former professor, is one critic or teacher who explains the literary and literal import of the various inter-texts that form the sacred canon of Headhunter. Lilah recalls the sacred import of texts as explained by Fagan: “*A book is a way of singing*, Fagan had said to her. *A way of singing our way out of darkness. The darkness that is night—and the darkness that is ignorance—and the darkness that is ...*” (138). Although Lilah cannot immediately remember what the darkness is, she is able to find various other words of wisdom from the literary scholar that explain both Heart of Darkness and the pilgrimage of Headhunter. Lilah reads the following discussion of character and text by Fagan:

*These characters drawn on the page by the makers of literature, Lilah read, are distillations of our thwarted selves. We are their echoes and their shadows. They move us through our muddied lives at a clarified pace. What we cannot describe, they articulate. What we cannot imagine, they reveal. What we cannot endure, they survive.* Lilah could hear Fagan speaking even as she read: *If I were to propose a text for the twentieth century, it would be Joseph Conrad’s Heart of Darkness. As subtext, I would nominate Mary Shelley’s Frankenstein. Nothing better illustrates*

*than these two books the consequence of human ambition. On reading them again, I fell away from my complacent view that nothing could be done to stop us, and took up my current view that the human race has found its destiny in self-destruction. (139)*

Lilah then remembers “the third and final darkness. Fear” (139). While this excerpt will become an important part of a later discussion on progress, I think it is important at least to mention it here. The characters of these texts are mirrors and, as Fagan suggests, “distillations of our thwarted selves” (139). In fact, it seems that they are “real” companions on the pilgrimage of our lives, “mov[ing] us through our muddied lives at a clarified pace” (139). Thus, Lilah and the characters of Headhunter are able to read their lives-as-pilgrimage through the texts that accompany them on their journey. As was the case with Clara Callan, in some ways the literary texts and characters are the company of pilgrims that accompany the pilgrim on the pilgrimage.

Fagan’s visit to Toronto involves a dinner party held in his honour, which he later satirically commemorates in a short story. The people honouring him have a collection of the “classics,” beautiful and leatherbound, but when the books are opened it is found that they are not only unread but also abridged. As Marlene Goldman argues in “The End(s) of Myth: Apocalyptic and Prophetic Fictions in *Headhunter*,” characters who “read” the secular western canon are those identified as the “elect” (to invoke Calvinist discourse). Only those who can interpret the text(s) of western civilization are able to “read” the coming doom and identify the key players in the final act of civilization’s destruction. Those who are “uninitiated” (that is, not well-read) are busy making money and throwing dinner parties to honour the notorious, but they miss the clues in the text of

their lives, clues that are pointing towards destruction. While this may appear to be an elitist reading, it is the one offered by Marlene Goldman and Timothy Findley himself. To understand this in another way, the pilgrims on the final pilgrimage of civilization must be able to identify the pilgrims' way stations or the stations of the cross in order to be able to offer up their prayers. Like the pilgrims to the Promised Land, if they do not believe the prophecies or the prophets, their firstborns will surely die. Or, to understand the Biblical image in a secularized and forgetful future world, the writers are the ones who help us remember. And remember we must in order to be able to identify Kurtz leading the world to destruction and the Marlow who can save him.

Following the dinner party, at which Fagan describes his journey upstream to Montreal using topographical and pilgrimage language (368-369), Lilah Kemp finds a few minutes to discuss with him the import of the latest manifestation of literary horror: "Lilah touched the book in Fagan's hand. 'Kurtz has got out of this book, from page 92, and ...' She faltered. 'I let him out. I didn't mean to, but ... he got out. And now...'" (372). Fagan responds: "'Kurtz is with us always [...] I don't think you can blame yourself for that. The human race cannot take a single step, but it produces another Kurtz. He is the darkness in us all'" (373). Fagan goes on to say that this Kurtz, like every other, "'has a Marlow'" (373). Then Fagan discusses books and conjuring as follows: "'All books are a conjuring, Miss Kemp [...] That is the most precise description I can give. They are all a conjuring of humankind and the world that we inhabit. Conrad was not the first to conjure Kurtz—and not the last. He was merely the first to give him that name'" (373). While earlier Fagan had seemed to suggest the ultimate doom of the human race, here, as in the final pages of Headhunter, there seems

instead to be the suggestion of the horror repeating in the re-manifestations of human embodiments of evil and the companion who will always and again emerge alongside him. However, this re-reading of his earlier warning is but one interpretation of the text at hand and the literary inter-text of Heart of Darkness.

The sacred and central role of the text, to the horror and the possible salvation of the world, is never more apparent than in the sacred interludes involving meditations on various texts. In the text of Headhunter, libraries and bookstores become sacred cathedrals and the books themselves become prayers. Following a description of the progress of evil in the next section, we again encounter Lilah:

Round and round the islands of shelves, Lilah would walk with a measured pace, reciting the titles under her breath, as one might utter prayers in a cloister. *War and Peace, The Trial, David Copperfield ...Pride and Prejudice, Gulliver's Travels, The Turn of the Screw ... Ulysses, The Last of Chéri, The Good Soldier ... All the words are prayers—this was Fagan—and all the men and women merely pray-ers ....*  
(270-271)

Lilah's "measured pace" and "reciting of titles under her breath" could be likened to the prayer-filled walk along the stations of the cross. At each classic work she "prays" the name of the sacred text.

As with the Protestant pilgrimage paradigm that was explored in regard to Oliver Goldsmith's The Rising Village, progress is seen to be one of the Canadian pilgrimage tropes. Beginning with the sacred and secular progress into the Canadian wilds of the Jesuit brothers, material progress is the twin of sacred transformation. By the time we

come to Headhunter, the sacred texts themselves are part of the secular literary canon, and progress “to the interior” (34) has destroyed human, animal, and vegetative life in the pursuit of perfection (as seen in The Butterfly Plague). Futuristic moonmen spray to kill birds (the supposed carriers of a sturnusemia), and human desire to conquer has led to a state where fathers have sex with their children and then kill them. Just as Chaucer’s pilgrims begin their pilgrimage in spring, so also it is spring time in the Toronto of the future that brings disease and the descent towards destruction that human beings vent on both animal and human life. Rather than rebirth, “Spring would soon enough begin and with its coming, the birds would return and the plague would take on new dimensions. But spring was more than that—it was life as well as death—and the promise of green” (74). However, the newness or “green” that is promised with spring is, in actuality, the further progress of psychological experimentation on already troubled humans: “This was the season of experiments—the time of new projects—a hunting season” (74). The experiments, then, are also figured in terms of death, the subjects of the experiments being the hunted.

Progress is likewise figured as a kind of forgetting. While the high priests and priestesses of this text read the classics as a way to read their time and remember the past, the young are quickly forgetting what has come before and so are destined to repeat the horrors until they finally realize what Fagan predicts is their “*destiny in self-destruction*” (139). Accordingly,

Some—mostly senior citizens with extended memories—said prayers.

Others—mostly children—applauded. It depended on what one knew about the past—and the young for some time, had been sheltered from all

history containing episodes of chemical warfare—the dawning of the atomic age—the news of holocausts of any kind involving the gassing of victims—the First World War—Vietnam and Desert Storm. Auschwitz. The yellow flags were raised in behalf of human survival and none may disparage them. (270)

As in The Butterfly Plague when silence follows the plague of butterflies and the destruction of the animals in Alvarez Canyon, the slaughter of the birds in Headhunter is likewise followed by silence: “There was a roaring, racing, rushing flurry of wings and of feathers—voices—doves never shouting, only fleeing—sparrows muted and smothered as children might have been trampled in a human stampede—grackles squawking—blue jays calling ... And then—a sudden, total silence” (271). Findley again crosses the species divide as Lilah watches a bird commit suicide:

There was a thump—as if a stone had fallen against the glass. But it was not a stone. It was an escaping bird, throwing itself against the skylight in terror—falling dead and retracting into an oval ball, as it might have done if a human hand had held it. And there, where it died against the glass, the perfect shape of its final moment was spread across the pane, with every feather etched, wings wide, tail splayed, head turned in silhouette, beak standing open to exhale the final breath—a dove of grey dust against a yellow light. Lilah stared. And withdrew both hands to her sides. *A signature. An autograph. A signing of the self ... .* (271)

Lilah is able to interpret this “autograph” or “signing of the self” as a result of her literary training by Fagan in Ireland. She immediately connects this signing on the glass with the

story and image of Swift and Stella etched on a pane of glass in Dublin. Fagan had shown her the etching following an illustration of “*a world without books*’” (272). He wrote their names in water and explained as they disappeared that this was an image of a world without books. Fagan says, “*This is a world without books [...] Do you see it there, forgotten where it was. Gone already and not one minute old*’” (272). Later, in her final meeting with Fagan, she requests not only an interpretation of the present manifestations of the Heart of Darkness but also a signing of himself on her mirror. Lilah muses, “Swift and Stella. Never forgotten. Remembered entirely through words” (273). She goes on to see “the imprint of the bird above her—the imprint of all birds now imperilled. But something had been said of them there on the glass, and would remain. *Once we were, it said. And now we are*” (273). The terrifying aspect of this prophesy is the tense. In the place of The Butterfly Plague’s and Ernst Bloch’s “I am. We are. That is enough” (1), we have the past tense of being and a present tense of death.

Timothy Findley inserts another inter-text, which further insists on the power of the written word. He quotes from Joseph Conrad’s Lord Jim: “There is a weird power in a spoken word ... And a word carries far—very far—deals destruction through time as the bullets go flying through space” (389). At the end of Headhunter, it is the discovery of Kurtz’s written manifesto that allows Marlow to confront and stop “the horror.” While Marlow is searching through files and attempting to understand “the horror,” the narrator posts the following notice about the situation:

Sturnusemia and AIDS were not the only plagues. Civilization—sickened—had itself become a plague. And its course, in Marlow’s world, could be followed by tracing the patterns of mental breakdown. The

Parkin Institute was not alone in being overcrowded, overworked, overextended. Psychiatric case loads, everywhere, carried alarming numbers. Broken dreamers, their minds in ruin. This was the human race.

(388)

This is not the first instance of Findley referring to “broken dreamers” (388). Previously, in The Butterfly Plague, Ruth thinks of the Jews in the concentration camp as “broken dreamers,” and her own experiences of the Holocaust and the destruction of life (butterflies and animals) likewise trigger identification with “broken dreamers” across the species divide.

Following Marlow’s late-night realization and identification of Kurtz’s connection with the abuse and killing of the children, Marlow “made a prayer that he was dreaming still” (598). In the chapter that follows, Kurtz’s manifesto, written in his own hand, is finally read by Oona: “*We psychiatrists—she read—must necessarily appear to the mentally ill as being in the nature of gods. We approach them with miracles up our sleeves. ‘Save us!’ they cry—and we do... And: ... with a simple pill, we can exert a power for good that is practically unbounded*” (603). Kurtz continues in this manifesto to identify his position of absolute power as that of God, claiming: “*I am God*” (604). In this pilgrimage into darkness, God is evil and the miracles bring further destruction and terror. Kurtz’s manifesto goes on to describe his personal pilgrimage as follows:

*I began this journey when I was young. All these many years, I have been on my way upstream—the stream of human endeavour. A man must go against the current until he reaches that point where the river rises—the point of absolute power. It is only by arriving at this point that one can*

*then begin to place one's theories in the mix of things and float them back downstream to the mouth of the river, where others have been assembled to obey one's orders—to fulfill one's dreams. (604)*

Oona does not believe that she has understood what Kurtz is saying, but feels that, “If she did understand it, then Kurtz had penetrated farther up his *stream of human endeavour* than he himself had realized—and was lost very deep in the wilderness there” (605). After passing on this manifesto of darkness to Marlow, Oona realizes that “The world might shake—but it would not end” (609). In Marlow’s discussion with Kurtz towards the end of Headhunter, Marlow acknowledges that “What Kurtz was saying—his apologia for the darkness he had engendered—could not be accounted for within reason. Where had reason gone—and humankind—humanity?” (614).

Findley, though, insists that his novels take the reader out of darkness and into light. As much of Headhunter has suggested otherwise, Findley believes that it is the text, the written word, that takes people out of darkness and into light. Elaborating on “sustaining fictions,” Findley writes, “This way, we lead one another toward survival. This way we point the way to darkness—saying: come with me into the light” (622). Although Oona has said that “the world might shake—but it would not end” (609), it appears that with each pilgrimage into the darkness “Kurtz has penetrated just a little farther than his counterpart before him” (624). The narrator proceeds to say:

Poor old Marlow! Every time he heads upstream, he is obliged to a longer journey, through darker mysteries. Well we might wonder, why does he always agree to go? For myself, I would guess it is because he is beholden

to Kurtz for having provided him, after darkness, with a way to find new light. (624)

While Findley insists on ending his stories with hope for the future, even in, or in spite of, the darkness or progress of evil, in some ways these endings are slightly artificial. To resolve the horror of the Holocaust and the destruction of human and animal life with the promise of new life (usually in the form of a pregnancy) and some sort of “explanation” for the irrational acts of destruction, shies away from the trajectory of humankind’s pilgrimage and the degeneration figured forth.

In Pilgrim (1999), the pilgrimage is unwaveringly towards death. The final transformation and goal of the pilgrimage are death. In the texts of this chapter, Findley stops short and promises some incarnation of new life in spite of the relentless progress that humankind is making towards total annihilation. God, relics, miracles, and the topography of this pilgrimage are meaningful only in relation to the historical reality of the western canon. In themselves, all of these pilgrimage symbols feed the flames of forgetting and serve to return life and being to the emptiness from which Bloch suggests we came and towards which we are returning. However, Findley stops short of this ultimate goal and transformation of the pilgrimage on which his characters appear set, and he insists implicitly that the role of the writer is to bring the characters and readers back into the light. But in the modern and contemporary versions of pilgrimage, as can be seen in the dystopic texts of much contemporary Canadian writing, “the light” often appears as fires lit to celebrate our own death and destruction.

### Conclusion:

The final chapter of this dissertation seemingly ends in the heart of darkness with only a faint promise of light. Modern humankind, Timothy Findley suggests, has journeyed further into the dark interior than any generation before. In many ways, however, Findley's is simply a reconfiguring of every pilgrimage heretofore examined, if with many of the signs in inverse relation to the pilgrimage trope. The pilgrim of Findley's Pilgrim seeks death everlasting. The search for eternal life, healing, and the hope of the pilgrims is turned not toward the God of their predecessors, but on themselves and the hopelessness of the human and planetary condition. The difference is of course one of both culture and faith. Findley's contemporary eponymous Pilgrim builds altars to an unknown god and the pilgrimage is through the wreckage of civilization while promoting that very disaster.

In attempting to conclude this work, I myself was brought to a very dark place. It appeared that my exploration of pilgrimage ended in darkness, death, despair, and global destruction. This seemed to contradict what I had set out as one of the major characteristics of pilgrimage: that the journey resulted in transformation or rebirth. In attempting to resolve this dilemma and move myself from darkness and despair to transformation, I was forced to return to the texts of this study and re-examine them with a view towards re-birth—not to impose my preconception but to re-test it.

To recap, then: the Jesuits set out on their pilgrimage across the ocean from France and into the new world intent on transforming the people and the land for France, King, and God. The Huron nation is sacrificed and the Jesuits die at the hands of the

Hurons' enemies, the Iroquois. The memorial to this chapter in Canadian history in Midland, Ontario, tells part of this story, overlaid with its own narrative of tourism, heroism and forgetting. E.J. Pratt looks to this site and the story of the Jesuits as inspiration in his search for truth in the writing of his poem Brébeuf and His Brethren. And while various postcolonial critics have re-written this story to foreground the conflicts of faith and doubt, love and empire, Pratt's portrayal of Brébeuf and the Hurons is balanced with the images of Catholic ritual and violence. In the next chapter of Canadian pilgrimage history, the poet and autobiographer, Oliver Goldsmith, charts in The Rising Village the "Christian Progress" of the settlers in the new land. Bishop John Inglis's sermons and journals prove especially helpful to an understanding of the agenda of "Christian Progress" as theorized by Max Weber. In the third chapter, I look to Robertson Davies and Jane Urquhart to unveil the sustaining power of myth in the transformation of the contemporary pilgrim's knowledge of self. These two authors, while portraying nomadic pilgrimage, implicitly question the status of the nomad as postmodern hero, setting the stage for the return to the small town and the importance of memory to characters in two of Richard B. Wright's novels. Finally, in the pilgrimages of Timothy Findley's characters, progress takes us into dark possibilities for the future pilgrims of Canada. But life itself continues, and according to Ernst Bloch, being together—the "we are"—must be enough.

Clara Callan, The Butterfly Plague, and Headhunter all involve pilgrimages where the central character experiences a loss of faith. This critical event is the result of experiencing or witnessing a great horror, whether rape, the Holocaust, or child pornography. However, in spite of these pilgrimage descents into the ultimate horror of

the author's imagination, all of the novels conclude with at least the possibility of renewal and restoration for the central character, and hope perhaps for the next generation. There is at the very least the possibility of life, and Bloch would contend that in the end this given, this gift, is all that matters. In all of the novels a pregnancy occurs or manifests itself in some way at the conclusion of the story. Clara Callan is the only character who actually gives birth to a child who in fact returns to compile the documents of her mother's life. Ruth's pregnancy in The Butterfly Plague is imaginary, but likened to the butterflies, themselves a symbol for plague, but also a symbol for the continuity of nature and traditionally for rebirth. The pregnancy in Headhunter is left in a state of uncertainty and the choice for life or death for the future generation is left unresolved. These texts all share, then, the common concluding symbols of at least the possibility of hope and birth or rebirth both for the character involved in the creation of new life and the evolution of the new life itself.

These births, at least in Findley's work, will or may take place, beyond the textual present. They allow at the very least for an imagining of the future, where the possibility exists for the future of pilgrimage, life, and the text. I would suggest that these texts gesture in their ends towards the possibility of apocalypse or renewal and rebirth. They are not alone among contemporary fictions in looking beyond the past and present to what lies ahead. And in order to take the following speculative leap, I find it necessary to look to some of the novelists who have already launched their imaginations into the future and to make the pilgrimage with them, critically speaking.

David Ketterer's 1992 work, Canadian Science Fiction and Fantasy, traces the history of Canadian writing about the future, beginning with James De Mille's A Strange

Manuscript Found in a Copper Cylinder (1888) and concluding somewhat short of the two works that seem to be most relevant to the continuing study of pilgrimage. These are Margaret Atwood's Oryx and Crake (2003) and Ronald Wright's A Scientific Romance (1997). I choose these works also because Atwood concludes with "zero hour" (443) after following the seeming sole "natural" human survivor of the destruction of humankind. Wright similarly volleys his central character (using H.G. Well's time machine) into a future that appears to have undergone some kind of unnamed apocalypse. Both of these texts first destroy all of humanity (except for the protagonist), allow the protagonist interaction with a genetically engineered community of humanoids, and then observe the emergence of a desire for religious ritual, a development which mimics many of the characteristics of pilgrimage as it has been explored in the present study.

My analysis of previous Canadian pilgrimage texts has focussed on the continuity of the pilgrimage paradigm (or at least the archetypal or mythical underworking of it) in spite of the vicissitudes of culture. The particular working out of the pilgrimage may reflect the needs or impulses of the historical moment, but the underlying characteristics and rituals remain. Atwood's glimpse into the future supports this reading. Although the Crakers of Oryx and Crake are genetically modified and created without what Crake calls the "G spot in the brain" (192), they eventually develop the need to know where they came from, and where Crake and Oryx have gone. Finally they develop (with the help of Snowman) a mythology; and even without Snowman's help (when he is on one of his foraging missions) they attempt to summon him by building an effigy of him and chanting a prayer-like invocation. It appears that, apocalypse notwithstanding, whether

naturally human or genetically engineered, and even in the absence of the God spot, an impulse to ritual and explanatory mythology is part of being human. Following the near-total apocalypse of Oryx and Crake, these elements re-emerge, altered but apparently instinctual. As obviously, they recur in a context—journeying, starting off again—that invokes pilgrimage as it has been studied here.

Ronald Wright's A Scientific Romance likewise appears to support the continuation of ritual and mythology following apocalypse. Macbeath and his clan have lost literacy and confused the history and mythology of the past. However, they continue to perform the rituals, albeit altered, involved in Christian worship—worshipping in a hotel, drinking watered-down single malt whiskey—and Macbeath pretends to read versions of the Bible that are mixtures of contemporary language, archaic language, and the altered biblical stories and phrases that have been memorized by rote. David, the narrator and pilgrim from the past, is cast in the clan's Easter play as Christ, because of his fair features, which the Macbeatheans “remember” to have been the way Christ was represented. However, this is not mere ritual. The *via dolorosa* of the future involves a real cross, real scourgings, and real death. The players in this scene mix current insults with past rituals, so that their own fears of the past and future are projected onto scapegoat David as he walks the ancient path and hangs on the cross. When David is secretly freed, the ropes are untied and he is spirited away to make it look like he has risen from the dead rather than merely having been liberated by his friends.

Although the genetically modified humanoids of Oryx and Crake and A Scientific Romance do not engage explicitly in pilgrimage, it is significant that ritual and the creating or reinventing of mythology to explain the past are projected far into the future.

The pilgrims of both novels are from the past. In A Scientific Romance, the sole surviving human makes a pilgrimage from the past to the future in hope of a cure for an unnamed disease, then journeys farther in search of other humans; in the case of Oryx and Crake, Snowman leads the Crakers from their artificial paradise to the seaside, and then makes pilgrimages of his own in search of relics of the past and answers for the future. Thus Oryx and Crake and A Scientific Romance show the possibilities for the continuance of the pilgrimage paradigm and suggest some of its permutations.

In closing I return to the somewhat mystical musings of Ernst Bloch. He begins his study of The Spirit of Utopia, "I am. We are. That is enough. Now we have to begin. Life has been put in our hands" (1). His study concludes, "So am I. So are we still. But is not all this already far too much? For who would help must absolutely go back, yet be there anew" (233). In a sense this is what I too am proposing somewhat uncritically at the end of my literary-critical pilgrimage. I would suggest with Bloch a going back to the beginning of the source of ritual and western mythology, but being there as a pilgrim in a new way. Progress may well take humankind to apocalypse. But for now, "I am. We are. [This] is enough" (1). Enough at least for the present study.

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