

**TURN-OF-THE-CENTURY CANADIAN WOMEN WRITERS
AND THE "NEW WOMAN"**

by CHRISTINE MACINTYRE

A thesis presented to the University of Ottawa in partial fulfillment
of the degree of Master of Arts in the Department of English.

Thesis Supervisor: Lorraine McMullen

© Christine MacIntyre, Ottawa, Canada, 1996.



National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Direction des acquisitions et
des services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your file *Votre référence*

Our file *Notre référence*

The author has granted an irrevocable non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of his/her thesis by any means and in any form or format, making this thesis available to interested persons.

L'auteur a accordé une licence irrévocable et non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de sa thèse de quelque manière et sous quelque forme que ce soit pour mettre des exemplaires de cette thèse à la disposition des personnes intéressées.

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

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

ISBN 0-612-19987-8

Canada



UNIVERSITÉ D'OTTAWA
UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA

Abstract

In her biography The Stream Runs Fast, Nellie McClung writes that "people must know the past to understand the present and face the future." This study, "Turn-of-the-Century Canadian Women Writers and the 'New Woman,'" examines the literature written by the generation of women who come between pioneering women writers such as Catharine Parr Traill and Susanna Moodie and contemporary women writers such as Alice Munro and Margaret Laurence, literature which helps us to understand the tradition of New Woman writing present in Canada at the turn of the century.

This thesis examines selected texts published between 1895 and 1910, a period of rapid urban and industrial expansion in Canada when women began seeing themselves and their roles in society in "new" ways. The first chapter of this thesis examines the concept of the "New Woman" in terms of its original connotations. Subsequent chapters of this study examine the extent to which different writers of the period embody the principles of the New Woman in their fiction and in their own lives.

The second chapter focuses on the representations of the "New Woman" in Lily Dougall's The Madonna of a Day. Dougall, through her use of contrast, masks, role play, and the gothic, positions her New Woman protagonist in a world very similar to Mikhail Bakhtin's world of the carnival; Dougall's reader, like Bakhtin's, is forced to bridge the gap between the performance and the audience in order to appreciate the full implications of the text. Using a dialogic approach, Dougall explores the tensions which characterize women's lives at the turn of the century and though she does not come to any concrete conclusions, she does suggest that women have to negotiate paths for themselves between their independent aspirations and their traditional obligations.

Sara Jeannette Duncan's A Daughter of Today is the subject of the third chapter. Her protagonist, Elfrida Bell, is a "woman artist" struggling to find her voice within a context of bohemianism and decadence. Elfrida continually invents and re-invents herself throughout the novel until she comes face to face with an image of herself she is unable to reconcile. The dramatic conclusion Duncan offers her reader is as ambiguous as it is disturbing, and serves as a distinct break from nineteenth-century literary conventions. Duncan's "portrait of the artist as a young woman" anticipates the more well-known *künstlerroman* of modernists such as James Joyce.

The final chapter examines short stories written by Canadian women journalists Kit Coleman, Ethelwyn Wetherald, and Jean Blewett. The stories are seeped in the everyday reality and practicality that "New Women" had to face. Written a decade after the works of Dougall and Duncan, these stories demonstrate some of the complexities involved in women living freer lives, namely the feelings of confusion, loneliness, and angst women experience. Though these writers depict the New Woman in different ways, they all construct her as a multi-dimensional character who makes her own decisions and lives with their consequences.

The works and writers examined in this study are an important and engaging part of Canadian literature that has been ignored in the past. These works provide us with insight into the context in which women lived at the turn of the century. Further, they represent the writer's decisions to stop conforming to traditional nineteenth-century literary conventions and to begin experimenting with new forms. Women writing in Canada at the turn of the century paved the way for the tradition of excellence in Canadian women's writing we currently enjoy, a tradition upheld today by women writers such as Alice Munro and Margaret Atwood.

Contents

Preface iv

Chapter One

The "New Woman" Arrives in Canada 1

Chapter Two

The New Woman and The Carnival
in Lily Dougall's The Madonna of a Day 18

Chapter Three

"A Portrait of the Artist as a Young 'New Woman'":
Sara Jeannette Duncan's A Daughter of Today 47

Chapter Four

The "Everyday" New Women and Their Dilemma:
An Examination of Short Fiction by
Kit Coleman, Jean Blewett, and Ethelwyn Wetherald 75

Conclusion 98

Bibliography 101

*This study is inspired by
and lovingly dedicated to*
BEATRICE GRACEY PURDY
the "newest" woman I know.

C. A. M.

Preface

I was first introduced to the women and writings examined in this study during my second year of undergraduate studies at the University of Ottawa. While the format and boundaries of this project have changed along the way, my motivation for writing this thesis has remained the same. I wanted to bring attention to the literature and writers of this period, not simply because they had been practically erased from the history of Canadian literature but also because the fiction they wrote provides insight into the world in which they lived and the tensions they faced at a time when everything, including their role as women in society, was changing. What I have discovered as this study has progressed is that many of the challenges these women faced at the turn of the century still face women today, particularly the struggle to negotiate a path for themselves between their familial obligations and their independent aspirations. Their writings prepare us to face our future with the same grace and courage with which they faced their own and declared that their claim "to a common humanity" was not an unreasonable one (Nellie McClung in In Times Like These). Our task is to ensure that this legacy of *apprentissage* continues.

I cannot begin to acknowledge the people who helped to make this project possible without first thanking my supervisor, Lorraine McMullen, for all of her patience and support, even over the distance. Without her inspiration and mentoring, I would have never encountered these outstanding writers. I also need to express my gratitude to Ina Ferris for introducing me to Bakhtin and fascinating me with his notion of the carnival and its footlights, and to the reference staff of the National Library of Canada and of the Interlibrary Loan Department at the University of Ottawa without whose sharp detective skills I might still be pouring over back issues of Canadian Magazine. Also invaluable were Travis Belrose, Gloria Chao, Anne Carbert, Kevin Little, and Colin Boyd and Jenny Haysom, my favourite bibliophiles, who scoured every bookstore in search of a first edition Lily Dougall. I also need to acknowledge Miranda whose positive attitude motivated me as the project progressed. Most of all, I would like to thank my parents for supporting and encouraging me throughout this entire process. Thank you all.

This study attempts to shed light on the lives of the women who were writing at the turn of the century in Canada, and particularly their stories. I hope you will find them as fascinating and enjoyable as I did.

Christine MacIntyre

Chapter One

The "New Woman" Arrives In Canada

She flouts Love's caresses
Reforms ladies' dresses
And Scorns the Man-Monster's tirade;
She seems scarcely human
This mannish New Woman
This Queen of the Blushless Brigade.

These lines first appeared in the September 26, 1894 edition of Woman (Cunningham 1). They had been chosen as the winning entry in a reader's poll to find a quotation that best described the "New Woman"¹ who had emerged in society. The New Woman appeared at a time when contemporary society was changing rapidly, as were the roles which men and women fulfilled in that society. By examining the situation in Canada during this time of transition, we can gain a more accurate understanding of the context in and extent to which the New Woman became a part of the Canadian turn-of-the-century experience.

The period between Confederation and World War I was one of tremendous fluctuation and development in Canada. During this time, the government initiated much legislation to bring John A. Macdonald's "National Plan" to fruition (Cook 2). This plan for a united country from sea to sea and the economic development that accompanied it triggered a population explosion. The population grew from 2.5 million in 1851 to over 9 million in 1921 (Prentice Canadian 108). This growth spurt did not come from an

¹"New Woman" is a term used to refer to the modern, independent woman who was emerging at the turn of the twentieth century. Subsequent uses of this term will not appear in quotations.

increased birth rate alone. In the 1880s and 1890s, a large wave of immigration from the British Isles flooded into Canada, primarily into the cities and the Canadian west. The increase in the number of British immigrants coming to Canada was no accident; it was the deliberate result of a wide-reaching public relations campaign to encourage settlement in Canada. The government offered well-respected British citizens all-expense paid trips to Canada so that they could write books detailing, and in effect reviewing, the area they visited on their Canadian tour. British travel writer Marion Cran came to Canada several times: once just to Ontario and Quebec, and a second time, across the entire country and into the North by train. Her second trip provided the material for her best-selling book, A Woman in Canada, an anecdotal travel log which encouraged women to come to Canada without delay.

At the same time that the population was expanding, economic recessions were triggering an exodus of men and women from the countryside to the cities in search of employment. The large scale migration of women to urban areas during the 1880s and 1890s resulted from a combination of "push" and "pull" factors. Women in rural areas led difficult and lonely lives. Often hundreds of miles from their nearest family member, these women, especially those in the West, became everything to their families: shoemaker, tailor, baker, teacher, doctor, priest. The stress of performing these many roles, as well as the isolation these women felt from any support network, often caused them to have physical and emotional breakdowns (Prentice Canadian 120). At the same time, during the last two decades of the nineteenth century, opportunities were expanding for women in the cities. They could now gain paid employment as domestics or factory workers in the rapidly growing garment industry. By 1921, women between

the ages of 15 and 29 outnumbered men of the same age category in almost every urban centre in Canada (Prentice Canadian 116).

The rapid urbanization at the turn-of-the-century was accompanied by a revolution in technological development and industrialization. Thanks to industrial advances such as the development of time-saving domestic devices like the washing machine and the carpet sweeper, women, traditionally the major participant in the unpaid labour force, gradually began to have more available time² and began taking on paid work that could be accomplished inside the home. They took in boarders or additional laundry, and some even sewed extra clothes for the garment industry, for which they were paid by the piece. This work was done within the context of the home, and the extra money gained from it augmented the family wage.

As well, during the 1890s, work opportunities increased for women outside the home.³ The first employment domains that opened up to women were those associated with women's natural and nurturing role in the home. Domestic service was a field which drew many women, particularly young single women, from the country to the city in search of money to help support their families. While domestic service offered women financial compensation for the same work they did in their homes, it had several drawbacks. The young women were very isolated and underpaid; they lived and

²Or so it appeared. Prentice sees the mechanization of housework as a "double-edged sword" because although women had time-saving machines, societal standards of cleanliness and efficiency were increased in such a way that it took women twice as long to achieve them (Prentice Canadian 123).

³Between 1891 and 1901, the number of women in the paid labour force increased by 21.4 percent, most of this occurring in urban centres (Prentice Canadian 116).

worked in the home of their employer and often as a result were subjected to mental and physical harassment. At the turn of the century, many women also turned to nursing. Since women were the care-givers and the healers in their families, nursing seemed an appropriate option for them. Unfortunately, their work in hospitals was largely servile and their pay was a pittance considering the back-breaking work they did. Teaching was another growing occupation for women. By 1901, three-quarters of all Canadian teachers were women (Prentice Canadian 129). Although this statistic is impressive in terms of women's presence in the workplace, the majority, if not all of these women were teaching at the primary level and were being supervised by men. Women were given little chance of advancement and as a result, the further you go up the educational ladder, the fewer female teachers you find; for example, a 1901 Census identifies only 47 out of 857 university professors as women (Prentice Canadian 131).

As industrialization accelerated, the need for an additional labour force intensified. Women answered this need by providing not just additional labour, but additional cheap labour, and thus gained access to fields traditionally closed to them: manufacturing, service, and the professions. Factory work offered a more exciting career to women than that of domestic service. It was better paid, was outside the traditional domestic sphere, and provided women an opportunity to meet and talk with other women and men. By 1901, women represented twenty-five percent of the Canadian manufacturing and mechanical workforce yet were paid only 50 to 60 percent of the male wage (Prentice Canadian 127). Clerical work was also opened up to women during this time, and while this "white collar" work originally offered the possibility of upward mobility, the invention of the typewriter at the turn of the century converted most

clerical work into secretarial work, thus creating a "pink collar" ghetto from which women would fight for decades to emerge. Women's entrance into the professions was much slower and more difficult than their entrance into the manufacturing and service sectors because they had to face not only the employer, but also the licensing boards and the government. In the 1860s and mid-1870s, Jennie Trout and Emily Howard Stowe had to go to the United States to get their medical degrees because medical schools in Canada refused to accept women. Trout and Stowe then led the fight to have women admitted to Canadian medical schools, a battle that was won in 1883 when two separate women's medical training facilities were established as affiliates of Queen's University and the University of Toronto. In the legal arena the obstacles were just as severe. Clara Brett Martin, the first woman lawyer in Canada, had to face the Ontario Premier, the Ontario Legislature, and the Law Society of Upper Canada to gain admittance into her program (Prentice Canadian 132).⁴

The combination of rapid urbanization and industrialization in Canadian urban centres created a variety of social problems: alcoholism, child labour, sweat shops, delinquency, prostitution, sanitation and health problems, and crime. Reform movements sprouted up all over the country to combat these social ills, and since most of these problems concerned women and the home, women became very active in these movements. They began to recognize the problems of society as a common cause, and "a new interdependence among Canadian women and a respect for their own abilities developed, which reinforced their collective confidence and encouraged a

⁴When Clara Brett Martin was admitted to the Bar in 1897, she became the first woman to practice law in the British Empire.

growing public assertiveness" (Errington 67). They began to organize themselves in order to combat the societal ills, both by stressing women's natural role as mother and by stressing her innate equality with men.

These women petitioned, publicized, and lobbied for change. Further, they created many strong and diverse organizations like unions,⁵ the Women's Auxiliaries, Female Missionary Societies, Women's Christian Temperance Union, Young Women's Christian Association, Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire, the Toronto Women's Literary Club, Dominion Women's Enfranchisement Association, and the National Council of Women of Canada to combat social problems from a variety of different perspectives. Rural women, although slow to organize at first because of their physical isolation from one another, responded to their growing problems and difficulties by joining chapters of Women's Institutes created in 1897 by Adelaide Hoodless. While women originally organized to combat the social problems facing their communities and their homes, they quickly realized that the most effective way to do this was to secure themselves a voice in the political arena: what they needed was the vote. This was a time of great excitement and anticipation for women, as well as a time when their traditional roles were challenged and in some cases, transformed. It was out of this tenuous atmosphere at the turn of the century that the New Woman emerged.

Before examining the new roles which women began to take on at the turn of the

⁵Women first joined male unions. Later they organized their own women's unions like the Excelsior Local Assembly 3179 led by Katie McVicar in the mid-1880s. The majority of women workers however were not organized because their work was isolated and their calls for equal wages with men often lost them their jobs and the support of their male co-workers (Prentice Canadian 141).

century, we must first look at her traditional role in society as prescribed by conservative Victorian ideals. During the Victorian period, women were idealized, particularly for their capacities for goodness, purity, honesty, docility, passionlessness, and nurture. The idealized woman-mother was revered as the guardian of the family and of society. Consequently, her roles were relegated to the private domain of the home, whereas those of her husband were relegated to the public domain outside the home. This division of spheres was understood and promoted as one "destined by Providence" (Prentice Canadian 145).

The separation of spheres only intensified with rapid industrialization. As women began to enter the paid labour workforce outside the home, the ideologues perpetuated the notion of distinct spheres of activity for men and women. They emphasized the innateness of this division and embraced the Victorian notions of true womanhood. Further, they criticized and ostracized any woman who deviated from this traditional role, and interpreted her actions as a direct attack on the family. Methodist reformer and founder of the CCF Party, J. S. Woodsworth declared that he "had no doubt that mothers who went out to work were to blame for a good deal of truancy and crime" (Prentice Canadian 145). In *The Subjection of Women* (1869), John Stuart Mill identified some of the psychological pressures keeping women in their traditional sphere:

All women are brought up from the very earliest years in the belief that their ideal of character is the very opposite to that of men; not self-will, and gov't by self-control, but submission, and yielding to the control of others. All the moralities tell them that it is the duty of women, and all the current sentimentalities that it is their nature, to live for others; to make abnegation of themselves, and to have no life but in their affections. (Mill 27)

Some women, like "A Girl of the Period," the anonymous author of a letter to Rose-Belford's *Canadian Monthly* (1880), were frustrated by women's restricted sphere and desired to be "brought up to some form of trade, profession, or business, so that, when [they came] of age, [they] might earn enough to suffice for [their] needs" (Cook 67). Women who chose to follow such a path and work rather than marry were touted as "odd," "wild," "superfluous," and "new."

Such New Women were physically and philosophically different from other women, particularly the Victorian "angels of the house." Since these more independent women were beginning to enter the public sphere, they had to learn to communicate their message effectively and professionally. Critic Ruth Brandon suggests that the only way to do this was "to act like a man - to live and work on [their] own terms" (Brandon 28). It is thus no coincidence that one of the main criticisms of the New Woman was that she was not very womanly; she was masculine, or at the very least, less feminine than other women. She cut her hair, put on sturdy shoes, and began to smoke.

New Women also became more physically active. They put their fancywork aside in favour of team sports like field hockey, curling, and skating. A new craze also erupted at the turn of the century: bicycling. The bicycle gave women the opportunity for increased mobility and independence. In this way, it can be seen as an instrument of both a transportational and a social revolution. The sight of a woman on a bicycle caused quite a controversy at the turn of the century. In 1893, the Brampton Conservator reported that Miss Lillie Roberts had "the proud distinction of being Brampton's first lady bicyclist. The graceful appearance while passing through the town on her wheel will no doubt lead others to take up the healthy pastime" (Prentice

Canadian 152). Reactions to women cyclists were not always this favourable. In an 1896 edition of Dominion Medical Monthly, the editor condemned bicycle riding for women because he said it "produce[d] in the female a distinct orgasm" (Cdn Practioner 848).

To facilitate her increasing mobility, the New Woman's clothing was altered. Bloomers and divided skirts were designed to accommodate women bicyclists and tennis players; whalebone corsets and bodices which had been encasing and restricting women's movements and breathing were abandoned in favour of more comfortable shirtwaists. This move to shed the "fetters of conventional dress" was a revolutionary one in the eyes of many supporters of the women's movement including Confederation poet Bliss Carman. In an essay entitled "The Liberation of Women," Carman discussed the impact of women's clothing on their political position:

There are women who would welcome martyrdom for what they believe to be the cause of personal freedom, who would not accept the freedom of their own natural bodies as a gift. Nothing could induce them to abandon their absurd shoes and corsets. It is very strange; but fortunately this is no longer true of all women. The new woman,...the independent woman is beginning to insist on being free to move and breathe in a normal healthy way....If you are only to be a doll, you do not need to walk and breathe like a human; but if you realize that you are human...the doll's dress becomes intolerable. (Cook 81)

He argued that conventional women's dress was devised to enforce the restrictions of women's appointed role, and that by shedding it, they could likewise shed the bonds of their sphere. This is exactly what New Women did.

The New Women at the turn of the century "reasserted and redefined the female traits of femininity, domesticity, and dependence" (Prentice Canadian 240). They were brash, public spirited, and above all, desired to be independent and "self-determining"

(Brandon 38) in the domains of society, economics, law, and sexuality. They rejected the notion that conventional marriage was the only way for women to lead fulfilling lives, and in many cases they chose to remain single. Before this period, women who remained single had to depend upon the kindness of their relatives. They often moved in with and cared for their aging family members. But at the turn of the century the increased employment opportunities for women provided them with a financial stability they previously could find only within the protection of marriage. In fact, Marion Cran ends her travel book on Canada with a positive assertion of the bountiful opportunities open to single women in Canada:

If any woman, reading this, wants to go to a beautiful country and carve out her own fortune from its deep loam, I shall be happy to tell all that I can that may help her to Canada....If I had to earn my living I would go to Canada.⁶

(Cran 282 - 3)

As Cran asserts in this quotation, women at the turn of the century in Canada now had the grounds and financial security upon which to demand "free, equal, and entirely voluntary" relationships with men (Brandon 69). Yet while they yearned:

Oh! for some place where one could meet
Men of a much profounder kind,
Deep subjects who would wisely treat,
And recognize my force of mind:
Instead of social noodles blind!

(excerpt from "A Woman's Want," Grip, 24 January 1880, 10),

They did not find many such places or men. As a result, they often opted to reject marriage altogether, and in so doing, "reject[ed] the religious and social forms, the

⁶Cran's approach is quite novel. Most other travel books were written in accordance with John A. Macdonald's "National Plan" to recruit women to come to Canada, marry, and begin peopling the country. Cran's book encourages single women to come to Canada to make their own way without resorting to marriage.

deadwood, to which society attached greater importance than love" (Fernando 20).

Many fields were opening up to these women at the same time that they were closing the door on marriage, so their opportunities were by no means restricted. One of the most expanding fields for girls and women at the turn of the century was education. Although often physically separated from male students, female students began to receive similar instruction. They became educated in Latin and science, not simply in the "literary arts." While significant advances were made in the education of girls and young women, the struggle for women to gain access to Canadian universities was long and difficult. At first women were not accepted to universities under any circumstance, and then when they finally were accepted, they were not allowed to attend classes with men. This trend might have continued indefinitely had not the cost of separate education been so great. In 1875 when she was granted a Bachelor of Science degree from New Brunswick's Mount Allison University, Grace Annie Lockhart became the first woman in the British Empire to graduate from university. By 1900, women composed eleven percent of the total number of Canadian college and university students (Prentice Canadian 162). With more education, New Women gained access to occupations that would previously have been closed to them such as those of doctor, lawyer, accountant, psychologist, and professor.

Although women were gaining access to such traditionally, male-dominated career fields, in many cases, they were still classified by law alongside infants and idiots as dependents, beings unable to take care of themselves and requiring the help and protection of men and the State. This was especially true of married women. Until the

passage of the *Married Women's Property Acts* (1872 - 1907),⁷ Canadian common law treated "marriage as a suspension of the independent existence of the wife, and as an absorption by the husband of the woman's person and all her belongings" (Cook, 96).⁸ It is no wonder that New Women refused marriage when you consider that they would have to surrender their property, earnings, and identities to their husbands. By remaining single, they maintained the same legal rights as men. Though the *Property Acts* gave married women the right to control their own property and wages, women's battle for other equal legal rights continues even today.

Another control that New Women began to assert at the turn of the century, and the most striking departure they made from Victorian tradition, was their control of their sexual identities. During this period, women began moving away from the notion of their innate "passionlessness" towards a realization of their individual sexual desires. Even physicians like American obstetricians Charles Taylor and George Drysdale began to promote the idea that sexual intercourse was as necessary to women as it was to men (Showalter Sex 21). Although accepting their new sexual identities was hard for some women, especially considering the reform campaigns they were leading against prostitution and venereal disease, New Women started thinking of themselves as sexual beings and not just as child-bearers. With their increased sexual self-knowledge came

⁷*Married Women's Property Acts* were passed in all Canadian provinces except Alberta during this period.

⁸This characterization of the status of married women comes from Clara Brett Martin's "Legal Status of Women in the Provinces of the Dominion of Canada (except the Province of Quebec)," in Women of Canada: Their Life and Work, compiled by the National Council of Women of Canada (Ottawa, 1900).

increased freedom, both personal and sexual. Women for the first time began talking and writing frankly about female sexuality and marital discontent (Showalter Decadent viii).

New Women confronted many boundaries as they moved from the private, Victorian domain of the home towards the public, modern domain of the workforce. In many ways, their emergence from the traditional sphere can be seen as a "coming out," as Jane Errington so insightfully points out in her article "Pioneers and Suffragists" (Errington 65). Some people reacted positively to the emergence of these New Women. William Wasserstrom who was writing at the turn of the century defined New Women as "independent, assertive young ladies...competent in love" (Fraser 37). Bliss Carman expanded upon this positive characterization of the new independent woman by saying that "woman's movement towards a more complete development is really part of the spiritual emancipation of the race....In this process of liberation woman's genius becomes more rational and man's genius more inspired through enforced intercourse in common interests and employments" (Cook 79 - 80). Supporters viewed the New Woman as "a happy combination of sage, saint, and heroine, [a force] who armed with a brand new scheme for making over the universe [was] going to rid our modern civilization of all the great evils with which it [was] now infested" (Ritchie 3).

Unfortunately, for every supporter there were quite a few outspoken opponents, women as well as men, who felt that the New Woman endangered the security of the family and of traditional values; they characterized her as "a highly objectionable feminine monstrosity, that wears bloomers, smokes cigarettes, and holds unorthodox views on the marriage question" (Davies 234). In his poem "The Law and the Lady"

published in Grip (September 1892), Ananias Limberjaw laments that women have left their traditional sphere and yearns for their return to a more conventional lifestyle:

Oh, say, my brethren! shall not then
 One refuge be reserved for men,
 One male monopoly where we
 Can claim our old supremacy,

One relic of that good old day
 When man held undisputed sway,
 And women knew no more than crave
 To be some husband's toy or slave?
 (Cook 168)

As Elaine Showalter points out, New Women were seen as "sexual anarchists who blurred the boundaries of gender" both in their refusal to marry and fulfill their procreative duties and in their openness about their own sexuality (Showalter Decadent ix - x). One of the most vehement critics of the New Woman was Quebec Premier Henri Bourassa, who publicly accused any woman who wanted to participate in the public sphere of being a "monstre" or a "woman-man" who wanted to destroy the "woman-mother" and the "woman-woman" (Trofimenkoff and Prentice Neglected 109).

The underlying tone of all of these comments is that the New Woman with her independent ways was unnatural and dangerous. Showalter argues that "politically, the New Woman was [seen as] an anarchic figure who threatened to turn the world upside down and to be on top in a wild carnival of social and sexual misrule" (Showalter Sex 38). Ann Artis in New Women, New Novels: Feminism and Early Modernism argues that because of her transgressions against traditional Victorian ideals, the New Woman was accused of causing "the second fall of man" (Artis 1). Medical science perpetuated this notion by characterizing New Women as sick, freakish, sterile creatures, in many

cases, looking more like young boys than young girls. Doctors claimed that work outside the home often caused nervousness, hysteria,⁹ and anorexia in women. Yet it was their claim that excessive use of the brain decreased women's ability to have children that most successfully steered women away from independence and back towards domesticity (Showalter Sex 40).

New Women had to confront much opposition. Ironically, the most staunch opposition they encountered was within themselves. They had to grapple with the fact that traditional women's roles - wife and mother - were being reaffirmed at the same time that educational and vocational opportunities for women were increasing more than ever before. Could a compromise be achieved? Could New Women preserve traditional roles for women while at the same time take advantage of the new opportunities opening to them? More importantly, did they want to? These questions are the pivotal ones I will be investigating over the course of the next three chapters, questions that are complicated by misconceptions about the meanings of certain quintessential terms.

The first term requiring clarification is "woman question." as today it has very different connotations than it did for New Women. For us, it brings to mind the vote and the suffragists who fought for it, but for them, it referred to a series of moral and economic double standards which they saw being imposed on women. The same conflation is often made with the term "feminism" or "feminist." Until recently, historians and critics alike have mistakenly used "feminism" almost synonymously with the

⁹In the 1890s, Freud was writing his case studies on hysteria. It was during this period that he treated one of his more famous patients, Dora.

women's movement and the campaign for women's rights."¹⁰ This use is both restrictive and erroneous in that it conjures up visions of masculine women protesting in the streets. While the perfect definition of "feminism" does not exist, Susan Rubinow Gorsky in Femininity to Feminism: Women and Literature in the Nineteenth Century offers an explanation that will prove helpful in this study:

Feminism suggests a practical determination to alter unjust laws, whether about divorce, property, or voting rights. But it also implies a philosophical questioning of traditional values and ideas, from women's intellectual and emotional capacities to male - female relationships to the ways women and men think, act, and feel. (Rubinow Gorsky 1)

The second part of Gorsky's definition is the most pertinent to this thesis. The notion of questioning is integral to an understanding of how New Women and New Women writers reacted to the tensions they faced at the turn of the century. Also important in this discussion is an examination of the relationship of feminism to social class.

Although in American and British contexts feminism was closely linked to middle and upper class women who had the financial resources to indulge in feminist pursuits,¹¹ feminism in the Canadian context was a more wide-reaching phenomenon. Women from a variety of different backgrounds and situations thought, talked, and wrote about the dilemma facing the New Woman at the turn of the century. Lily Dougall who hailed from an affluent Montreal family attended university, but never married or had children.

¹⁰This explains why New Women fictions have been overshadowed by suffrage fictions even in the revisionist histories of the period.

¹¹These movements were led by middle class women and men who were committed to middle-class goals. As a result, the leaders "tended to ignore the real, daily problems of large numbers of women who worked in factories and shops" (Errington 69).

Sara Jeannette Duncan, a Scottish merchant's daughter, had a successful and groundbreaking career as a journalist in the 1880s and then married and moved to India with her husband where she wrote twenty-two novels. Kit Coleman married three times; between and during these marriages, she supported herself and her children by writing for various newspapers and magazines. Although her column "Woman's Kingdom" had a huge and devoted following until her death, her earnings were a mere pittance compared to the circulation her column brought the papers.

In examining the works of authors like Lily Dougall, Sara Jeannette Duncan, and Kit Coleman, among others, I aim to begin recovering the tradition of New Woman writing present in Canada at the turn of the century. Lily Dougall's The Madonna of a Day is one of the most appropriate places to begin looking at this tradition. Published in 1895, The Madonna of a Day is the story of a New Woman and her struggles to adapt and survive in a traditional patriarchal world. In this novel, Dougall subverts the fairy-tale story of Snow White into a stark tale of incarceration, isolation, and despair. Dougall's use of masks, role-play, and the gothic complicate and enrich her narrative and in many ways, anticipate Bakhtin's discussion of the carnival. The next chapter will look at the extent to which these aspects of Dougall's narrative contribute to our understanding of her position regarding the notion of the New Woman.

Chapter Two

The New Woman and The Carnival in Lily Dougall's The Madonna of a Day

Traditionally, critics have confined women's literature to the domain of women's issues as they felt it was "frivolous, saccharine, decorative and inconsequential" (Berkinow 21). More recently, however, feminist critics and social historians have suggested that literature by women can give us insight into the conditions and contexts of women's lives and the obstacles they faced. So although a text like Lily Dougall's The Madonna of a Day might at first glance seem to be a sensation novel, it is so much more than that. It is a complexly structured book about the physical, political, social, religious, and emotional tensions which confronted women at the turn of the century. An examination of these tensions will enable the reader to better understand Dougall's position regarding the appropriate place for women in turn-of-the-century society. Dougall, through her use of masks, role play, the gothic, parody and contrast, constructs a world very similar to the world of the carnival Bakhtin creates in Rabelais and His World. Dougall's book exemplifies many aspects of Bakhtin's study in that nothing in the novel, especially the protagonist, is as it appears. Further, the only way to gain insight into the world Dougall creates is to bridge the space between the spectacle and the spectator.

Bakhtin believes that the carnival is set up to undermine and unseat the established hierarchy:

to consecrate inventive freedom, to permit the combination of a variety of different elements and their rapprochement, to liberate from the prevailing point of view of the world, from conventions and established truths, from clichés, from all that is humdrum and universally accepted. (Bakhtin 34)

The role of the New Woman offers women this opportunity to create something new, and in this guise, women become figures of the carnival. George Egerton (Mary Charelita Dunne, 1859 - 1945) articulates the New Woman's carnivalesque nature as "eternal wildness, the untamed primitive savage temperament that lurks in the mildest, best woman...the *keynote* of woman's witchcraft and woman's strength" (Showalter Decadence xii). Dougall, like Bakhtin, finds the notion of the "new" extremely liberating as it suggests positive possibilities, excitement, subversion, and laughter in opposition to the traditional system. In the world of the carnival, the new relation between people has to be elaborated and part of this process involves an "unmasking" of the "unvarnished truth under the veil of false claims and arbitrary ranks" (Bakhtin x). This chapter will attempt to unmask Dougall's protagonist in order to find the "unvarnished truth" of her identity behind her various masks.

Bakhtin believes that the true nature of the grotesque is rooted in a unity of the culture of folk humour and carnival spirit. If the grotesque is removed from this combination of humour and spirit, it becomes "one-sided, flat, and stripped of [its] rich content" (Bakhtin 52). Bakhtin argues that most nineteenth and twentieth-century studies of the grotesque do just that. They concentrate on the dark, gothic aspects of the grotesque and ignore its fundamentally gay and joyous nature. Bakhtin does not rule out the possibility of gothic or Romantic elements in the grotesque; he simply asserts that they must be found within the context of carnival spirit and folk culture. For Bakhtin, the grotesque, even if it has gothic elements, "discloses the potentiality of an entirely different world, of another order, another way of life...[within which] we always experience a peculiar gay freedom of thought and imagination" (Bakhtin 49).

In her studies in Greek at the University of Edinburgh and the University of St. Andrews,¹ Dougall became acquainted with the images of the grotesque found in mythology and archaic art, and while she relies heavily on the gothic in much of her fiction,² she always maintains the primacy of the traditional and folk character of the grotesque. The carnivalesque world Dougall constructs in The Madonna of a Day anticipates the world Bakhtin explores seventy years later in Rabelais. At the same time, her work offers the modern reader insight into the tensions which women faced as they tried to negotiate a path for themselves between patriarchal and modern expectations of a woman's role in society at the turn of the century.

As a result of these tensions, women at this time continually felt they had to portray a different persona in order to adapt to their audience and particular social situation. This use of a persona or a mask is an integral part of the ritual of folk carnival. It is "related to transition, metamorphoses, the violation of natural boundaries, to mockery," and it reveals the essence of the grotesque (Bakhtin 40). Because women wear different masks, it becomes very difficult to define their position regarding what the role of a woman in the world should be. Nowhere is this more evident than in the case of Dougall's protagonist Mary in The Madonna of a Day. Mary plays many roles throughout the novel, and she plays them so convincingly that it is difficult to identify the one closest to her real self. By examining the different roles Mary plays in the novel, we

¹After passing her MA examinations in 1887 at the University of St. Andrews, Dougall was awarded the honorary degree of Lady Licentiate in Arts (L.L.A.) as at that time, women were not granted official MA Degrees (McMullen Amazing 138).

²The gothic is a popular device in nineteenth-century romance and sensation novels.

gain a clearer understanding of the tensions women faced at the turn of the century and of Dougall's position regarding women's options.

Mary first appears in the novel in the guise of the New Woman. She is travelling around the world with a female friend, but without the company or protection of a man. As Mary points out in the novel, anyone who thinks that English girls over twenty-one need someone to take care of them is "very much behind the times" (Dougall 9). The two women are journalists and are making a trip practically identical to the one Sara Jeannette Duncan and Lily Lewis took in 1888 across Canada by train and then to exotic places around the world. Dougall was probably familiar with Duncan's voyage, both through the thirty-six articles she published in the Montreal Star and through her book A Social Departure, published in England in 1890. In fact, Dougall's description of Mary's trip through the Rockies in The Madonna of a Day is strongly reminiscent of Duncan's description in A Social Departure. Duncan describes her train passage through the Rockies as follows:

The cool, delicious mountain air flows over you in torrents. You are projected swiftly into the illimitable, stupendous space ahead, but on a steady solid basis....We were intensely exhilarated...and felt like singing something to the rhythmic roar of the train's accompaniment. We did sing and we couldn't hear ourselves. The great armies of the pines began their march upwards at our feet....A river foamed along beside us, beneath us, beyond us. (Duncan Social 44-5)

Dougall describes her protagonist's mountain voyage in much the same terms:

The evening descended upon the train as it passed through plain and canyon on its way eastward, towards the great mountains. The land, the rocks, the broad placid surface of the valleys, were white with snow; only the tremulous lakes were grey; the tumultuous rivers still ran with dark grey stream, and the firs made dark the hillsides which they clothed. Night fell; snow blew against the windows of the cars. (Dougall Madonna 8)

Not only is the setting the same, but the women's experience of liberation and exhilaration within the rugged setting is also the same.

The Mary we meet on the train is a single, independent career woman. She and her female travelling companion live alone in "chambers" in London and go out at night as they wish. Mary, like many New Women, is educated; she makes allusions to the Bible, literature, and history in her speech, and embarks on heated intellectual debates with strangers. Mary is able to live such a free and independent life because she has the financial resources to live alone and to travel. She understands the importance of money in bringing her power and respect and does not hesitate to use it to manipulate others. For example, she declares to her admiring male companions that she hopes she has "enough of these vile bits of green paper to pay [them] in single dollars" for carrying her luggage on to the train (Dougall 5).

Mary's independence extends beyond her career and her financial security; it reaches into her personality. She is brash in her speech. She uses "strong language...evidently just to shock and interest" the people around her (Dougall 4 - 5). Bakhtin calls this the "familiar language of the marketplace" which breaks norms in terms of its profanity and is therefore excluded from official society (Bakhtin 17). Even in front of the men on the train, Mary is "breathless with glib comments, small bits of mild profanity, and the very freshest gayest laughter possible" (Dougall 4). Her lack of attention to traditional female decorum transcends the verbal realm into that of the sexual. She flirts with waiters and clerks to gain preferential treatment. Further, she expresses her sexual desires and attractions to her travelling companion in very direct ways: "What heavenly fun it would be to have to take one or two of [these men] back to

the hotel in an ambulance, and have to stop and nurse them!" (Dougall 3). Her candour in discussions of sexuality is conventionally found in discussions among men, not among women.

In fact, many of Mary's activities are more traditionally typical of men than of women. She smokes cigarettes and drinks "sherry and a very good burgundy" (Dougall 12). Her silver cigarette-case engraved with her name is her most precious possession, more important to her than her money or the large diamond she wears on her finger: "she wrapped up the case most carefully,...not even risking it with the other things which she thought might be demanded from her" (Dougall 128). For Mary, the cigarette case is a symbol of her independence and power. Her unwillingness to part with it demonstrates the primacy of the New Woman role within her.

Though she leads the independent life of a New Woman, Mary, like many women of her day, violently objects to being labelled a New Woman. When the missionary³ Mary meets on the train calls her this, she declares that the New Woman "is a ridiculous and horrid phantasm, evolved out of the brains of a few authors who did not know what else to interest the public with" (Dougall 13). Mary's reaction is similar to the reaction of many women today towards being called "feminists." Both of these terms have been instilled with negative connotations by the traditionalists in society. In rejecting such labels, women are not rejecting the independent lifestyle and the ameliorations that have been made for them in society; they are refusing to be pigeon-holed into positions where

³The fact that the missionary remains unnamed throughout the novel suggests that his purpose in the novel is that of a type character. His character is included in the novel solely to serve as a foil to Mary's character.

they can be blamed for the problems of society.

Although Mary objects to the missionary's assertion that she is a New Woman, she embarks with him in a discussion⁴ of the misunderstood nature of the modern independent woman. In a very organized fashion, Mary addresses each of the charges made against the New Woman. She uses hyperbole to call into question the validity of her opponent's argument. When the missionary suggests that the New Woman has no compassion, she sarcastically agrees that yes, there has suddenly been "a break in all the laws of heredity, and a race of girls has sprung up that possesses none of the softer sentiments. Because they live in flats and have latchkeys...they...kick aside anything that is weak and ailing without the slightest compunction" (Dougall 15). She concludes her argument by asserting that she is "simply an average specimen of the class of women that are often called 'fast'...[and she is] just as sound in heart and morals as if [she] spent [her] life moping by a sitting-room fire" (Dougall 17). For Mary, the New Woman is no more or less a woman than any other woman. She has feelings and principles; however, she also has ambitions outside the sphere of the home. Berty, Margaret Marshall Saunders' protagonist in The Story of the Graveleys, provides a response similar to Mary's when called a New Woman. She asserts that she'll "be a new woman, or an old woman, or a wild woman, or a tame woman, or any kind of woman, except a lazy woman" (Saunders 98).

Ironically, in The Madonna of a Day, Mary is transformed from a New Woman into

⁴Throughout the novel, Mary's conversations with the missionary provide her with her only exposure to open, intellectual discussion; the missionary serves as Mary's interlocutor.

a more traditional woman, one who might have spent her life "moping by a sitting-room fire." Mary's transformation begins when she sleepwalks off a barely moving train and falls into a snowbank in the middle of a mountain forest, far from modern civilization. Dougall sets the scene for her protagonist's transformation by having Mary appear in this isolated setting in clothes symbolically signifying a change in her status of womanhood. Dressed in a blue silk nightgown and slippers, looking "like a coloured image in a church," Mary journeys toward a single light in the dark Christmas-eve sky. This image recalls the Virgin Mary's voyage toward the manger, an association which intensifies when Mary finally arrives at the source of the light, a small mining camp, and the miners there mistakenly perceive her as "the Howly Mother herself! May the Saints presarve us! May Hiven have mercy on our sowls, for we need it this day. It's the Howly Mother come to tell us what sinners we arr" (Dougall 33 - 4).⁵ Perhaps one of the reasons why she seems so celestial to them is that her "air of gentleness and helplessness" is such a contrast to "the foul reek and gloom" of the wretched lives of these men (Dougall 68). Regardless of the reason, they have "undoubting devotion" to her as their "Queen of Heaven," the person sent from God to forgive them of their crimes (Dougall 39).

At this moment, Mary decides to use her "dramatic instinct" to help her play the role of the virtuous Madonna (Dougall 40). Helping her out in the execution of this role

⁵The syntax of this quotation implies that the mining men are not well educated. As a result, they are more inclined to accept Mary as the Virgin descended from heaven to save them. They are not aware of the ability of scientific examinations to explain freak occurrence; they are only aware of the superstition and fear of God that they have in their own hearts.

is the fact that due to the extreme cold in the forest, she loses her voice. This intervention of nature not only adds mystery and reverence to the persona Mary is trying to portray, but it also helps to prevent her from letting "her real self come forward" (Dougall 143) when challenged by the mining men.⁶ Mary tries to appear chaste and virginal in order to fit into the conventional patriarchal culture of the mining camp, but for her, femininity is a quality that must be intricately constructed; it is not natural to her. In showing the effort Mary has to put forward in trying to act the part of the traditional woman, Dougall challenges the notion that women are innately feminine and nurturing.

The most convincing part of Mary's performance is that she puts on the robes of religion to suit her purposes, even though she is critical of institutionalized Christianity. She drapes her veil's "loose end over her head with such intimation as she could hastily make from memory of the veils painters wrap about the head of the most divine of women" (Dougall 51). Her knowledge of religion and virtue is so cursory that she has to rely on art to give herself a model to follow. Her estrangement from religion is emphasized by the fact that she does not even recognize the stranger clad in a long black cloak as a priest. On a more fundamental and biblical level, Mary often uses God's words when they serve her, but "of their meaning with regard to herself...she cared nothing" (Dougall 144). In terms of the carnival, Mary is employing familiarity, the language of the marketplace. Her language praises the deity, but her insincerity in using

⁶When she regains her voice and finds out that they were planning to marry her to Hamilton, her New Woman spirit erupts and she cries, "Cowards! Villains!... You have set a plot, thinking to dupe an ignorant woman. You may kill me here as I stand - I am in your power; but you will never succeed in anything except killing me, or letting me go free" (Dougall 143).

this language mocks and undercuts the deity at the same time (Bakhtin 16). Her use of religious language is a "symbolic inversion" of traditional Christian hierarchy (Stallybrass 17). Ironically, while Mary rejects institutionalized religion, it is her Christian heritage and her knowledge of the text of the Bible that saves her from an ill-fated marriage to Hamilton. She convinces her oppressors that, "God has said that He will protect the innocent and punish the guilty....He may let you kill me...[but] it would only give me the joy of heaven more quickly, and to give you more quickly the pain of hell" (Dougall 146), and in so doing, secures herself enough time to escape before the wedding.

Through Mary's unorthodox use of religion, we glimpse Dougall's views. Like Mary, Dougall has no problem exploiting Christianity in order to accomplish her goals; however, in Dougall's case, she uses Christianity as an active tool for social reform, not for personal gain. Like Ralph Waldo Emerson, she feels that the Church has moved away from its most important calling, "the exploration of the moral nature of man, where the sublime is, where are the resources of astonishment of power" (Emerson "Divinity" 433). In Dougall's view, Christianity should be flexible and should be able to adapt to new ideas such as the relationship between art, science and religion. As a result, many of her writings, both fictional and philosophical, espouse unconventional interpretations of traditional Christian morality (McMullen Aspiring 185 - 6). Above all, Dougall believes that the fundamental basis of religion is love.

It is the lack of such love and compassion that Dougall decries in The Madonna of the Day. Lost and alone in this isolated forest landscape, Mary yearns to find some "kindly woman" to nurture and comfort her, one who will help her return to her friends. At one point, she is willing to give up all her "worldly" wealth to find just one "worthy"

woman (Dougall 86). With Mary's search for the protection of a good woman, Dougall emphasizes the need for women to help and support one another, no matter how independent they may seem to be. Dougall herself knew this need, and in fact, lived with a supportive female friend for most of her adult life.

Mary initially enacts the role of the virtuous Madonna as a method to ensure her survival, and as Dougall points out, "nothing but absolute necessity gave her the strength" to perform this role (Dougall 165).⁷ Johann Lyall Aitken in her study Masques of Morality points out that Mary's response is typical of a woman constrained by societal pressures at every turn:

When, for whatever reasons, we find ourselves under pressure, we may have little room to manoeuvre....We can fall apart, we can rail against whatever gods there be or we can do what we believe we must without rancour, malice or martyrdom. With good grace....Grace may involve weakness or indecision, but such is rarely the case. More often it comes as a mature response to the recognition of one's extremity, a resolve to behave in a certain way. It may seem to do outrage to the female struggle against the pressures of her sex, time, age, place and society. (Aitken 85)

Mary is incarcerated by the mining men. She has no other option than to pretend to be the Madonna, and although she does often find her imposed gentleness and submissiveness frustrating, she carries on "without rancour, malice or martyrdom." In Bakhtinian terms, Mary's survival rests upon her ability to create a new language, a language of compliance.

The longer Mary plays the role, the more caught up in the role she becomes. Gradually her fear of being harmed subsides and transforms into an excitement at her

⁷In another of her books, What Necessity Knows (1893), Dougall also introduces this notion that women gain uncharacteristic strength when necessity and circumstance demand - that there is something to be said for "what necessity knows."

ability to control the situation and her audience. She begins to consider her performance as a game when she gets her first "intoxicating sip of the actor's power" (Dougall 147). From that point on, even in the most desperate of times, Mary treats her situation as a contest against her enemies. One of her main sources of power in this contest is her ability to laugh.

Bakhtin believes that laughter has an "indissoluble and essential relation to freedom" and is the basis of the carnival (Bakhtin 81). Michael Holquist echoes this sentiment in his introduction to the Rabelais text when he points out "how necessary to the pursuit of liberty is the courage to laugh" (Bakhtin xxii). Bakhtin celebrates the subversive character of laughter in asserting that it "builds its own world in opposition to the official world, its own church versus the official church, its own state versus the official state" (Bakhtin 88). Again and again throughout the course of the novel, Mary's only form of protest or rebellion against her oppressors, particularly their leader, Hamilton, is her laughter. She laughs hysterically when he pledges to protect her against the horrors of the real world if she marries him; for Mary, marriage is one of the horrors of the world. Laughter, however, is not just a confrontational and mocking force; it is also a regenerative one. Its ambivalent nature enables it to create at the same time that it destroys (Bakhtin 51). So while Mary's laughter mocks the miners when they try to convince her of the benefits of marrying Hamilton, it also keeps her from despairing and gives her the strength to continue hoping. Bakhtin believes that fear is defeated by laughter and that laughter "frees human consciousness, thought and imagination for new potentialities" (Bakhtin 49); in Mary's case this means the potentiality of escaping from the rigidly traditional world of the miners and reuniting with her friends.

Dougall allows the reader to see Mary from a variety of different perspectives - her own, the miners', Hamilton's, that of the misshapen man named Handsome who helps her escape from the mining camp, as well as the narrator's. This intertextual approach presents the reader with a challenge - to look through the gaps of how others see her and to decide for themselves who Mary is. To try to locate Mary in the text, it is necessary to look at her as both participant in the roles she plays and spectator to the performance. Bakhtin argues that:

carnival does not know footlights, in the sense that it does not acknowledge any distinction between actors and spectators. Footlights would destroy a carnival.... Carnival is not a spectacle seen by people; they live in it, and everyone participates because its very idea embraces all the people. (Bakhtin 7)

Mary experiences the phenomenon Bakhtin describes when she is found by Hamilton after wandering around for hours in the cold forest:

As in a dream, [Mary] had the curious double existence of actor and spectator at once; she being in spirit, somewhere apart from the sledge, saw herself as she lay apparently at ease under the bear robe;...she saw her own face, and marvelled at its beauty and sweetness in comparison with the huge roughness of nature and uncouth roughness of humanity in that place....She seemed to stand aside and see it. (Dougall 75 - 6)

Further, as Mary plays her roles, the boundaries of her performances blur and she begins to believe that the traditionally feminine attributes she affects are a part of who she really is. Bakhtin believes that the mask is based on an "interrelation of reality and image" (Bakhtin 40). According to his argument, as Mary's act progresses, her dramatic persona becomes part of her real identity.

Mary not only becomes a spectator to her own performance as the traditional Madonna character, she also becomes a critic of it. After one of her performances in front of the miners, she remarks that: "her lack of high perception made it impossible for

her to act the part she desired perfectly, but she acted well enough for her audience....She overacted her part, but they did not see it" (Dougall 75 - 6). Mary is not always so critical of her talent. Throughout most of the novel, she is so enthralled by her acting abilities that she sometimes forgets who her audience is. She gets "carried away by the music and the romance of her deliverance" as well as by the laughter and response of her audience (Dougall 242). The success of Mary's performance enables her to feel that she has some control over her situation and her oppressors:

"I have vanquished them; I have done it by the mere genius of my acting. I have been more than an actor; I have been the author of the piece as I spoke it. What high-flown language I treated them to! What poetry! If I get out of this I shall know what my real calling in life is." (Dougall 153)

In this moment, the Madonna becomes a primadonna. Bakhtin argues that this feeling of power caused by Mary's successful execution of her role as the Madonna is connected with the "joy of change and reincarnation, with gay relativity and with the merry negation of uniformity and similarity" (Bakhtin 39).

The rush of exhilaration Mary experiences is not only linked with her success as a performer, it is also connected to the transcendental, epiphanic experiences Mary has with the desolate landscape around her:

As her eye travelled up...this high mountain, she felt her mind lifted into a different class of thoughts and sensations. Why should earth have been so formed that a vast monument of such transcendent beauty should happen to stand here in this bleak chaotic place?...then she saw nature's smile, the golden sunshine, light up the mountain's peak and glittering heart. (Dougall 55 - 6)

This view stirs Mary and inspires her in a way she had not before been inspired by God: "[S]he had been deaf, but [nature] had spoken; this mountain was now speaking, and she was awakening from her deafness" (Dougall 57), a deafness of the heart. Her experience in nature is akin to what Emerson describes in his essay on "Nature": "I

become a transparent eye-ball. I am nothing. I see all. The currents of the Universal Being circulate through me; I am a particle of God" (Emerson "Nature" 386). For the first time, Mary experiences emotion so intense that she is simultaneously frightened and intoxicated by it. Dougall's specification that this is Mary's first experience with such overpowering feelings recalls Mary's foil, the missionary's claim at the beginning of the novel that "New Women" do not have hearts, or at the very least, do not use them to experience emotion. The meaning of her experience in nature comes to Mary as "a flash of thought that seemed like a sunrise in her soul," and while it transcended words, it told her "of an ideal that was to her absolutely new" and full of joy (Dougall 59).⁸ Through the process of epiphany, Mary gains hope that she can aspire to a standard higher than the one for which she previously had striven. As well, she realizes that she can draw comfort from those aspects of her personality that she had hitherto tried to suppress, namely her compassion and her femininity.

Unfortunately, the actualization of the epiphany is a slow process. Although at the moment of the epiphany "we have a very clear insight into reality,...that which we see instinctively cannot quickly be translated into reasoned thought, and is still more slow in finding its expression in action" (Dougall 60). Mary's facile shifting of roles throughout the rest of the novel gives the reader glimpses or "flashes" into this actualization process. The narrator points out that:

⁸Throughout the rest of the novel, knowledge will come to Mary in "flashes" that will recall this natural epiphany. Interestingly, the only other thing in the novel that flashes is Mary's diamond ring (Dougall 244), suggesting that for Mary knowledge is as precious as diamonds or fortune.

That which makes a mark on the soul too deep ever to be effaced, is the very force from which nature reacts...and so, because of our lack of faith in God's way, we think ourselves wicked not to dwell with sorrow, and losing self-respect, go on with more wicked, refusing to dwell with righteousness.

That was precisely what the girl did. (Dougall 246)

This statement by the narrator demonstrates how long the process of change takes, thus suggesting why Mary reverts to her New Woman characteristics at the end of the novel.

While the question of Mary's true identity or her real face underneath the different masks she wears is continually complicated throughout the novel, at the end of The Madonna of a Day, the reader realizes that Mary's virtuous performance was just a ruse to secure her escape from her captors. Her first concern upon seeing her friends is not for her rescuer or his welfare but for her "reputation" as an independent and unconventional woman and how to "preserve" it (Dougall 243). In many ways, Mary's fundamental New Womanhood at the end of the novel is expected because throughout her travails whenever she is sick, tired, afraid, or lonely, she draws strength from her independent will and her determination to get back to her real life. As a result, Mary often has a very difficult time during her captivity staying true to her role as a traditional woman and appearing "more reticent, more dignified than by nature and training she really was" (Dougall 238).

While at the end of the novel Mary resumes her life as a New Woman, she is not quite the same woman she was at the beginning. Her experience has changed her to some degree. Emerson explains this as the fact that "a more secret, sweet, and overpowering beauty appears to man when his heart and mind open to the sentiment of virtue" (Emerson "Divinity" 425). Thus in pretending to act virtuously, Mary opens

herself up to becoming more virtuous, more compassionate, and more understanding.

The first glimpse of Mary's developing compassion occurs when:

she saw the pathos in the lives of these men; the pleasure they took in merely looking at her was pathetic. There was no lack of respect in the way that they looked at her. After her late experience, she felt that she loved them all for this respect. She would gladly have stayed with them awhile, and done something to make their lives brighter, if it had been possible. A dim vision of a higher plane of life, in which it might have been possible for her to do it, came to her. That, after all, would be something worth doing. (Dougall 174 - 5)

In looking at the miners and the way they look at her, Mary realizes that "they could be turned into any sort of beautiful thing that one chose, if there were women to do it," women who were loving and virtuous (Dougall 260).

Mary also learns to be compassionate toward other women, particularly those women who live within the constraints of patriarchal society:

She had often heard the modern complaint that men tyrannize over women. She had always laughed at it as a thing that was absurd. A woman who allowed herself to be tyrannized over was merely stupid, and deserved her lot. But as this man came nearer she began to have a sensation that the ground of all her lifelong security was slipping from beneath her feet. (Dougall 181)

Through her experience in the woods facing the tyranny of the mining men, Mary begins to understand why women manipulate men with their emotions and their sexuality. And though she has always despised women who did this, when she herself is put in their position, Mary realizes that women resort to these manipulative measures in order to survive in a place where they have no other power with which to protect themselves.

The most striking example of Mary's growing compassion occurs when she briefly contemplates sacrificing herself to save her rescuer from their pursuer's wrath. She recognizes the sacrifice the dwarf made for her in helping her escape and wants to repay his kindness with a similarly selfless gesture, not with dollars as she would have

done at the beginning of the novel. Further, Mary experiences intense regret for not being more considerate of his needs by insisting that he remain at the house of the "good woman" who provided them with shelter and protection during their escape, rather than escorting her into town. If she had instructed him to remain in the woods, he would not have witnessed Mary's transformation back into a modern, independent woman when she returned to town, and as a result, he would not have been hurt by her deception: "[I]n the days after that, she used to often wake in the night and wring her hands with longing, and say to herself, 'Ah, if I had only let him go then!'" (Dougall 228).

Through her experience in the woods, Mary learns what Lily Dougall considered one of the most important lessons in life, that "love is the essential virtue that must colour all life, and pride the root of unhappiness" (McMullen "Dougall" 138). Dougall believes that you must lose everything, as Mary does in the wilderness, before you can be open to change and to love. So in becoming more compassionate and understanding of herself and others, Mary becomes more like the principled and caring New Woman she described during her initial discussion with the missionary on the train. In effect, "her own troubles [give] her a new heart of kindness" (Dougall 174).

This New Woman Dougall constructs at the end of the novel is a composite of many different roles, easily able to adapt to changing situations; she is flexible and organic. Aitken points out in her study that "through our many masques...we have some chance of knowing ourselves, or of being known," and that by looking at these masks, "past and present, we may be not only empowered to choose, but enabled to change" (Aitken 11). In this way, Mary, at the end of the novel, can be seen as someone still in the process of development. She resembles Bakhtin's notion of the grotesque because

it is also always "in process,...always *becoming*" (Stallybrass 9). In The Stage is All the World, Northrop Frye cautions the reader that "the mask metaphor fails us if it assumes that there is a real me underneath the mask I put on. There is no core to that onion: there is never anything underneath a persona except another persona" (Frye 2). Frye raises an important point in asserting that the removal of a mask does not necessarily reveal the true identity of the person underneath. Often a cross-pollination and an overlapping of masks occurs. We have seen this in our examination of the different roles that Mary plays in The Madonna of a Day and the ways in which these roles tend to intrude upon each other.

Structurally, this fluctuation of roles can be interpreted as a dialogic. In their introduction to Feminism, Bakhtin and the Dialogic, Dale M. Bauer and Susan Jaret McKinstry argue that the dialogical combination of inner and outer discourse, as we see in The Madonna of a Day in the different guises Mary plays, "provides a critical language that allows us to pinpoint and foreground the moments when the patriarchal work and the persuasive resistance to it come into conflict" (Bauer 3). Unlike the monologic approach which focuses on establishing a dominant voice to perpetuate the tradition of exclusively patriarchal control, feminist dialogics becomes "a way of recognizing competing voices without making any single voice normative" (Bauer 6). In creating Mary as a "polyvocal" character who wears different masks, traditional and modern, Dougall crafts a novel that offers both the characters and the readers a great deal of ambiguity, particularly in their understanding of the ending. Ambiguity is an integral part of both the dialogic and the grotesque. Thus, by writing a novel that perpetuates the tensions between New Women and traditional women without privileging the traditional,

Dougall writes a truly feminist novel. She rejects the patriarchy by subverting its tradition of monologic determinism.

In fact, Lily Dougall continually subverts traditional literary conventions in this novel. She subtly uses parody, revelation, psychology, and structure to create a novel that is characteristic of both Bakhtin's carnival and women's fiction at the turn of the century. Parody provides the basic premise behind the novel in that Dougall writes a parody of the fairy tale of Snow White.⁹ Like Snow White, Mary wanders alone through a strange forest and stumbles upon a group of "bashful" men who when they first see her greet her and wave their caps in the air in such a way as to suggest that good fortune has come to them: "their excitement showed in certain wrestlings which took place, short laughs, and a snatch or two of song" (Dougall 173). Dougall's story seems like no parody at all, until we are told that these men are grotesque in appearance - rough and wild-looking - and that their laughter seems horrid and sinister to her. Like the Seven Dwarfs, the miners want Mary to live with them and be "Queen" of them all; however, their expectation of a queen is not of someone who is a nurturing, spiritual guide, but of someone who is a "queer mixture of a local divinity and a popular bar maid"

"Post-modern novelist Donald Barthelme interprets Snow White's situation as being:

ambivalently poised between the old and the new woman. Isolated from other women..., an island in a sea of men, Snow White's dialogic battle takes place within, where the internalized voice of patriarchy speaks the words she always hears over and opposed to the fragments of what Bakhtin calls an internally persuasive voice struggling for a language in which to speak. (Berman 131 - 2)

This interpretation is so akin to Mary's situation that if you substituted her name for Snow White's, the analysis would prove just as insightful. In this way, Dougall's novel anticipates not only modernism as Ann Artis points out in New Women. New Novels (Artis 3), but also post-modernism as seen in the case of Barthelme's parodic fiction.

(Dougall 121). This parody takes a dark turn when it becomes a bleak tale of isolation and incarceration instead of a happy one of companionship and protection. Yet in keeping with the Bakhtinian definition of parody as a device that both denies and revives, Mary's denial of her New Womanhood leads to the renewal and revival of the spirits of the miners.

Revelation is the second literary tradition which Dougall subverts in The Madonna of a Day particularly in terms of how her revelations alter the conventionality of the ending. Rachel DuPlessis in Writing Beyond the Ending points out that female narratives of the nineteenth century traditionally end with the protagonist's marriage or death as a method of resolving the tension between "love and quest" (DuPlessis 3), or as in the case of The Madonna of a Day, tradition and independence. Further, DuPlessis argues that twentieth-century writers, in contrast to those of the nineteenth century, "invent a complex of narrative acts with psycho-social meanings" to propose a "different set of choices" to the protagonist than those of marriage and death (4). She calls this technique, "writing beyond the ending," and Lily Dougall does just that when she reveals the marriage plot to her protagonist half-way through the novel instead of at the traditional point, the end of the novel: "her blood ran slow and cold. This man, on whose notions of honour she had so far depended, had brought the priest to try and force a marriage upon her" (Dougall 130). This marriage is offered to Mary as her only chance of protection from those who would rob and molest her, and in the face of such pressure, Mary still chooses to run away and try to rejoin her friends. Mary's choice serves not just as a rejection of marriage to Hamilton, but as a rejection of the notion that the only acceptable life option for women at the turn of the century is marriage. In

creating a character with such beliefs, Dougall subverts traditional literary conventions particularly those pertaining to conventional endings in nineteenth-century novels, and thus, anticipates the more "psycho-social" fiction of early twentieth-century writers.

Dougall carefully constructs a psychological side to her novel, particularly to her protagonist. She does this by revealing her protagonist's thought processes to the reader in much the same way Henry James does in his fiction. Dougall rarely permits her narrator to intrude into the text and reveal the protagonist's feelings; instead, she allows her readers to be privy to the protagonist's thoughts, so that they can judge for themselves what she is feeling. Throughout the novel, Mary experiences difficult situations where she has to think clearly and quickly in order to survive. In fact, one of Mary's main tools for survival is her refusal to give up control over her emotions. Even when she is alone in the freezing woods and "hysterical laughter fought within her with the desire for tears. She betrayed neither" (Dougall 70). Her ability to control her emotions is complemented by her perceptive nature which allows her to read important information in the faces of her oppressors. When she looks into Hamilton's face, she realizes that "there was no feminine art that he did not know and despise" (Dougall 103), and thus knows it is of no further use to direct her performance as the traditional woman towards him. In permitting the reader first-hand knowledge of what is in Mary's mind - her fears, hopes, pains, thoughts, and plans - Dougall constructs a character and a novel that are very "new," and in many ways very unlike the tradition of sensational, romance novels from which she emerges. Her work instead tends more towards the work of the Modernists that emerges in the early twentieth century.

Dougall's final and most effective use of subversion is her prioritization of

structure over substance, a technique also characteristic of the Modernists. Dougall employs parallel structures to intensify the contrasts or binaries she sets up in The Madonna of a Day. Her use of parallelism recalls the notion of grotesque ambivalence that attributes an inherent "doubleness" to everything, where everything is "mutually constructed and deformed" (Stallybrass 16).

The first parallel Dougall sets up and the one which frames the novel is that between the world on the train and the world in the forest. In general, everything on the train - physical qualities, mores, values - is inverted in the woods. The train has a manufactured, material beauty of "gorgeous lamps, inlaid woodwork, mirrors and bright curtains," whereas the woods have a brute, natural beauty of "the land, the rocks, the broad placid surface of the valleys" (Dougall 8). The men on the train are good-hearted, intelligent, and devoted to serving Mary.¹⁰ The men in the woods, however, are "hideous caricature[s]" of her male friends on the train. She fears the men in the woods because they take her "choice" away from her and force her to be dependent on them. When she first sees them, she is overwhelmed by a feeling of faintness because she fears that she might be risking her own life in asking them for help. Ironically, one of the greatest contrasts Mary sees between the two groups of men - their reaction to her independent ways - is not in fact a contrast at all, but rather a similarity. She remarks that "it was only because the men of these parts were some decades behind the times in their notions of propriety that the contrast between a woman smoking and a pious lady would have been so great in their eyes" (Dougall 161). At the novel's conclusion, she is

¹⁰Mary has such a hold over the men on the train that she is able to drive them "along the small corridor as if they had been a flock of sheep" (Dougall 7).

told by her cousin Charlie that her assertion could not have been more wrong: "[I]f you only knew it, there isn't a fellow in the world who would not admire you a great deal more if you gave up all this new-fangled rot" (Dougall 261). Charlie points out that at heart, no matter how much they try to overcome it, men would rather have a traditional woman like the one Mary pretends to be in the forest and that the actions of the miners are typical of what all men would do if given the freedom to do so. In a lecture entitled "The Proper Sphere and Influence of Women in Christian Society" delivered to the Halifax YMCA in November 1856, Reverend Robert Sedgewick expands upon such assertions as Charlie's. He declares that although women have many positive characteristics:

It would never do...to draw the conclusion that woman behooves and is bound to exert her powers in the same direction and for the same ends as man. This were to usurp the place of man, and assume a place she is incompetent to fill, or rather was not designed to fill. (Cook 9)

The second parallel Dougall sets up is that between the villain, Hamilton, and the unlikely hero, the dwarf. She does this to emphasize the differences in these men's characters and to demonstrate the folly of Mary's first impressions of these men. When Mary first arrives at the miner's camp, she remarks that two of the men appear to come from a higher class than the others. She is instantly attracted to the tall man, Hamilton, and repulsed by the dwarf, Handsome. Hamilton has "a handsome daring face, and [wears] a battered remnant of gentility in his haughty bearing" (Dougall 33). By contrast, the dwarf is deformed and has a thin, nervous, and cynical visage. Dougall's depiction of the dwarf emphasizes his grotesque realism; she exaggerates his deformity and grounds his identity in his material appearance and "lower bodily stratum" (Bakhtin 21). She constructs him as someone who is "ugly, monstrous, [and] hideous from the point of

view of 'classic' aesthetics, that is, the aesthetics of the ready-made and the completed" (Bakhtin 25). His outer grotesqueness is echoed by his vulgar accent and lisp which strike her as "more horrible, in the wild untrammelled life he was leading" (Dougall 111).

Mary's first impression of both men corresponds to their appearances. She has trust and confidence in the kind, good looks of Hamilton, while she is terrified by the monstrosity and cynicism of the dwarf. Her impressions could not have been more wrong because, as she later finds out, Hamilton is the sinister being who wants to take advantage of her, whereas the dwarf is the kind soul who gives up everything to help her escape and rejoin her friends. Hamilton warns Mary of dangerous threats lurking in the woods in order to imprison her in fear and bind her to him. To underscore her need for his protection, he describes Mary in animalistic terms: "stray women wandering round loose, with diamond rings about them, are not the sort of cattle that are easiest to take care of in a place like this" (Dougall 102). His choice of the words "stray," "loose," and "cattle" suggests that he considers women not as the independent partners of men, but as dependent creatures or possessions that men must take care of. The dwarf, however, always treats Mary with politeness and courtesy, even when he does not fully trust her.

The dwarf's trust of Mary begins when she targets him as her sole audience in her performance of the Madonna role. She does this after she realizes that Hamilton, upon finding her engraved silver cigarette case, knows that she is not the conventional woman she proposes to be. In Bakhtinian terms, the cigarette case is the element of grotesque realism that brings Mary down to earth and exposes her human flaws to Hamilton. Yet, in this same moment, when she least expects it, something she says in

her performance makes the dwarf, "this seemingly coldest of men...think of befriending her" (Dougall 196). Looking in his eyes, Mary realizes that he sees her as a creature to protect and worship, someone on a level of life completely different from his own.

Through Mary this man learns to trust in God and his good works. The more time he spends with her and the further he gets from the corrupt miners, the more tender and less grotesque he becomes. His lisp becomes bashful and sweet-sounding to Mary rather than devilish and monstrous. Further, his hopefulness in the face of pain and sadness makes him seem to her more of a fairy-like "gnome or brownie" than a grotesque dwarf (Dougall 248). This transformation is so profound that Mary has to "clear" her vision in order to see him as he is now (Dougall 202). Her whole relation to him changes as a result; they become "friends" (Dougall 209). This transformation is only possible in the world of the carnival because it permits a temporary liberation from traditional conceptions and the established order. Only in the realm of the carnival could the dwarf be depicted as some kind of romantic or gothic hero:

as the dwarf rode in front, he was more like a misty thing of poetic lore than a real body - so dim the mist made their figures. It seemed to her that they two were like ghosts in stories such as she had sometimes heard of - stories of glens or highways....She and her companion, galloping madly down this misty echoing waste, were perhaps translated already into the region of types and ideals - he a wicked man, deformed body and soul, with just that spark of true life left in him that enabled him for once to reverence and save a woman he deemed good, and she a woman unworthy of his reverence. (Dougall 204 - 5)¹¹

¹¹This quotation sounds as if it has been taken off the dust-jacket of some gothic romance novel. Although some of the description is intended as parody, Dougall depends heavily on the gothic to set her mood. She uses spectres, grotesque creatures, spells, isolation, and darkness to create a place in which anything is possible, even an appearance by the Holy Mother herself. As well, her use of the gothic is typical of the tradition of sensation novels popular at the turn of the century. Dougall uses the darkness of the gothic to serve in stark contrast to the sparkling moments of light that accompany the triumphant plot developments in the text and help to create a festive

The dwarf does more than just look like a hero, he is a hero. While his body is not big and strong like that of a conventional hero, it "outgrows itself, transgresses its own limits," so that he can save Mary (Bakhtin 26). The dwarf risks his life to help her escape from Hamilton and sacrifices everything he has - home, job, friends - in the process. In befriending Mary, the dwarf makes himself an outcast among the outcasts. He is so dedicated to her and sincere in his desire to change that he is able to refuse to accept Mary's diamond ring even though he is extremely tempted to take it. At this, Mary is struck by the falseness and insincerity of her impersonation of the Madonna: "he was good...and she - she was horribly without this quality of real goodness. She had mocked goodness by affecting it" (Dougall 219).

The falseness of Mary's impersonation is further emphasized by the fact that she so immediately reverts back into her role as the New Woman. As she and the dwarf near the town, she allows her veil to drop down to her shoulder, thus revealing to the dwarf "the soft full curves of her throat and dimpled face, rising white above the azure fold, and the smoke-like cap of curly hair" (Dougall 237). When she reaches the town and sees her friends, she at once demands a stiff drink and some cigarettes. She becomes sarcastic, jokingly saying to her friends, "I thought I was going to be left to the wolves and the bears for all my friends cared" (Dougall 251) and then reveals her deceit of the mining men with her virtuous interpretation of the role of the Madonna: "I talked pi'.... They were just at that stage when piety was the only thing they respected in a

carnival mood of liberation and celebration as when the dwarf smiles and his face lights up like a "sunbeam through the clouds" (Dougall 239).

woman, and I put it on thick" (Dougall 254). Mary's transformation before the dwarf causes him to transform back into the corrupt creature he was when Mary first met him. All of the progress she has made with him is undone in one brief moment, and in fact, he is made worse, "for there was a scowl upon his face which meant - she feared to think what it meant" (Dougall 255). For the rest of Mary's life she will be haunted by the meaning of this scowl and by the extent to which she caused this "little misshapen man" to lose his soul.

The novel could have ended with this disturbing scene. But for structural and didactic purposes, Dougall writes another chapter that mirrors the first chapter on the train. The last chapter returns to the debate between Mary and her interlocutor, the missionary, concerning the role of women in society. To a degree, this debate is an attempt on Mary's part to avoid thinking of the effect she has had on her unwitting rescuer. In concluding her novel with this discussion, Dougall preserves a structural framework to the novel, but at the same time, undercuts the emotional power and effectiveness of the novel's closing scenes. In effect, she interrupts the closing festivities of her carnival.

The Madonna of a Day is an engaging and pivotal work in Canadian fiction, which anticipates the work the Modernists will do in constructing a psychological aspect to both their protagonists and their texts. In this novel, Dougall positions her protagonist against a carnivalesque backdrop, and, using a dialogic approach, explores the tensions which characterize women's lives at the turn of the century. While she does not offer any concrete resolutions to the woman question, Dougall suggests that women do not exist according to prescribed patterns of behaviour, conventional or unconventional, as such

patterns are restrictive in their rigid exclusiveness. Women, particularly New Women like Dougall's protagonist Mary, must negotiate their own way between their growing desires for a more free and independent lifestyle and patriarchal society's traditional conceptions of true womanhood.

The New Woman Dougall creates in The Madonna of a Day is very different from the one we will encounter in Sara Jeannette Duncan's A Daughter of Today. Dougall's protagonist is able to mask her New Womanhood from those who might be critical of her independent lifestyle; Duncan's heroine, Elfrida, is not quite so willing to mask her independent goals and, as a result, has to deal with much persecution and disappointment. In the next chapter, Duncan's recurring challenges to Elfrida's authenticity as an artist and an independent woman will be examined, as will the implications of the novel's conclusion to the feminist and aesthetic themes of the work.

Chapter Three

"A Portrait of the Artist as a Young 'New Woman'": Sara Jeannette Duncan's A Daughter of Today

In her depiction of her protagonist's struggle within herself to find her true identity in The Madonna of a Day, Lily Dougall chose to stay close to the gothic and sensationalist tradition popular in nineteenth-century literature. Sara Jeannette Duncan, however, breaks away from this tradition in A Daughter of Today in creating her portrait of a single, independent woman. Duncan's experiences as a professional journalist and writer give her an excellent point-of-departure for her construction of Elfrida, a young woman who leaves the safety of her parent's home in small-town America to assert her independence and forge a place for herself in the world. Duncan complicates this portrait by depicting Elfrida as a "woman artist" struggling to find her true voice within a context of bohemianism and decadence. Duncan adds this dimension to her text in much the same way Dougall brings into hers the notion of carnival.

Many feminist critics, Patricia Meyer Spacks and Sharon Spencer, for example,¹ claim that the *künstlerroman* depicting a female protagonist is non-existent in English literature. Yet this discussion will demonstrate that not only is Sara Jeannette Duncan's A Daughter of Today a female *künstlerroman*, but that in some ways it anticipates the

¹In her introduction to A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Woman, Linda Huf refers to both Spacks and Spencer as critics who argue that women are not depicted as artist heroes in English Literature. For more in-depth explorations of this argument refer to Spacks's The Female Imagination (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1975), and Spencer's "'Femininity' and the Woman Writer: Doris Lessing's The Golden Notebook and the Diary of Anaïs Nin" in Women's Studies 1. 3 (1973): 247 - 258.

more well-known male künstlerroman of the modernists. The point critics such as Spacks and Spencer raise about women's voices being silenced in literature however is an extremely valid one. As we have seen in Chapters One and Two of this study, historically, women have been promptly reminded of their familial duties whenever they have struggled to express themselves in hopes of gaining social, political, or legal ameliorations to their state. In such instances, their creative energies were channelled back towards traditionally feminine spheres of activity - the loom, the embroidery frame, the kitchen, the garden - in an effort to divert them from any literary exercise that might facilitate self-definition. As a result, the creative voices of women have been noticeably absent from literary history. The challenge facing feminist critics today is to recover these silenced voices. They can recover these voices from the forgotten texts as we are doing in this study, or they can follow the example of social and cultural historians and explore these voices in the texts and stories women wove into their quilts, embroidered into their linens, and baked into their pies.

A Daughter of Today is a powerful example of how women struggled to express themselves creatively despite a lack of encouragement from the patriarchy. Critic Linda Huf argues that a female artist hero is one of the most courageous manifestations of the New Woman. Strong, intelligent, spirited, and daring in both love and adventure, she is torn between her role as a woman and her aspirations as an artist. As a woman she must be selfless and subvert her needs to those of others; as an artist she must be selfishly committed to her work. The two seem incompatible, and to complicate matters, if the female protagonist chooses her art over her traditional obligations, she risks being seen as unwomanly. Huf also asserts that the female artist hero's situation is usually

confounded by the presence of a more traditional female who competes with the woman artist for the affections of a man. Further, the female artist hero has to battle, internally as well as externally, the restrictions imposed on her by patriarchal culture. (Huf 7). On her journey to become a successful artist, A Daughter of Today's protagonist Elfrida experiences the difficulties Huf describes. Our exploration of Elfrida's development as a New Woman and an artist provides insight into the situation of the woman artist at the turn of the century.

Throughout the course of her novel, Duncan, like Dougall, explores the ways in which women reacted to the growing tensions at the turn of the century between their independent, career-orientated aspirations and their traditional, domestic-oriented obligations. While Dougall does this within a single character, Duncan sets up the debate between two characters who hold opposing positions regarding the nature of womanhood and art. While at first glance, the protagonist's friend Janet in her pursuit of a writing career might seem adventurous or independent for an English girl, she seems "cautious and bourgeois" when compared to Elfrida, the young American girl living a bohemian-like existence in London (Tausky "Citizen" 128). Elfrida is committed to the notion that women lead unconventional lives, while in contrast, Janet believes in the importance of woman's traditional role as daughter, wife and mother. Neither woman has an identity outside the role she occupies. Elfrida sees herself only in terms of her independence and artistic spirit, and Janet sees herself in terms of her traditional roles and responsibilities. Here Duncan follows the lead of Henry James who feels that characters serve a greater purpose if they are depicted as complexes of ideas and not just individual personalities. In positioning Janet and Elfrida at opposite poles of

womanhood and refusing to privilege one over the other, Duncan employs another of James's techniques. She creates characters who are "two sides of the woven carpet" (Gerson "Duncan's" 78), and in so doing, complicates her narrative with an ambiguity that confronts the reader throughout the text. This ambiguity is heightened by the fact that both Janet and Elfrida have their individual strengths and weaknesses, and they achieve comparatively equal success in their endeavours. The binary relationship Duncan constructs between these two characters suggests that neither woman is complete on her own and that some mixture of their two lifestyles must be negotiated to ensure happiness. While Duncan never overtly establishes the specifics required to achieve such balance, Misao Dean proposes that the fates of the two protagonists and the action of the novel suggest that both Elfrida's free spirit and Janet's sense of convention are necessary in the pursuit of contentment and the creation of great art.

Janet Cardiff is an attractive, accomplished, practical young woman of a respected British family. Her elevated social standing ties her to certain standards of behaviour and propriety, and as a result, much as she wants to, she is unable to save Elfrida from her embarrassment at a society party when, in an excessive demonstration of admiration for a famous writer, she kisses his hand in front of all the guests. Janet views Elfrida's unconventional behaviour as "wrong," "ridiculous," and "mad" (Duncan Daughter 141).² Janet's adherence to traditional propriety is further evident in her hesitance to speak her mind in a man's presence. She completely withdraws from an intellectual debate she is having with Elfrida on the sensual nature of art when her father

²All further references to Sara Jeannette Duncan's A Daughter of Today will be identified by the author's surname and the page number (i.e. Duncan 141).

comes into the room. She changes the subject in mid-sentence and insists on making tea. A perplexed Elfrida does not see the connection between tea and their discussion of Sappho, and vainly attempts to resume their conversation, but to no avail.

Partly as a result of her sense of propriety and good manners, Janet is perceived by many in the novel, particularly by British painter and aristocrat John Kendal, to be feminine and therefore a "natural creature" (Duncan 81) while Elfrida is thought of as a woman with whom "even genuine feeling...required a cloak of artifice" (Duncan 203). Duncan's use of the term "natural" suggests that in the view of the patriarchy, as expressed in this novel by John Kendal, Janet's conventional beliefs about love and marriage are natural to women. Unlike Elfrida, Janet believes that love is a spiritual as well as a physical union. She believes that true love does exist, and at twenty-four worries that she is becoming an old maid.

By contrast, Elfrida is independent, spontaneous, and spirited. She yearns for a life full of remarkable experiences and endeavours to avoid "the ordinary and the commonplace" (Duncan Social 204). As a result, she does not believe in conventional love or relationships. She maintains that the notion of love between a man and woman is no more than an artistic idea. Elfrida feels that marriage should only be "condoned from the point of view of the species!...[because] for women it is degrading - horrible! especially for women...to whom life may mean something else" (Duncan 157). She argues that she would rather be the author of books than the author of babies. For Elfrida, as for most New Women, marriage seems more a prison than a partnership, and she vows to avoid it at all costs. George Egerton expands upon Elfrida's negative views toward marriage in her story, "Virgin Soil":

Marriage becomes for many women a legal prostitution, a nightly degradation, a hateful yoke under which they age, mere bearers of children conceived in a sense of duty, not love. (Egerton 155)

Elfrida proposes that rather than give up their freedom in marriage, women freely love whomever they wish. While she herself does not practice free love, she congratulates herself on her progressiveness at not blushing when a fellow student at the Atelier confesses to her that she has a lover. Elfrida's behaviour suggests that she truly is shocked, or at least embarrassed, by her colleague's illicit behaviour and is forcing herself to express ideas she may not truly accept, but is attempting to accept, in order to fulfill an aspect of the role she is attempting to play - the bohemian artist. The openness in regards to sexuality and free love that Elfrida attempts to accept is also indicative of the New Woman at the *fin de siècle*. Critic Linda Dowling believes that the New Woman "expresses her quarrel with Victorian culture through sexual means - by heightening her sexual consciousness, candour, and expressiveness" (Dowling 441). Karl Beckson, in his study London in the 1890s, points out that the acknowledgement of woman's sexuality at the turn of the century leads to the exploration of female psychology in the work of modernist writers such as James Joyce, D. H. Lawrence, and Virginia Woolf (Beckson 159).

Janet and Elfrida are as divided in their views on the nature of art as they are in their views on the nature of love. The creative divergence between these two women is first hinted at when Janet confesses to Elfrida that she is intrigued by American art - its natural force, its savageness, and its basis in realism. Elfrida replies that she is enthralled by the romantic sense of history inherent in European art. She expresses her yearning for the unconventional *romans psychologiques* and *bêtes humaines* that seem

so lacking in American literature. Their varying artistic approaches can be identified in the letters they write to one another. Janet's letters cover the whole page, describing her every movement and activity, and are designed to inform and communicate. Elfrida's are erratic - sometimes they go on for pages, and other times they consist of only three lines followed by a line of asterisks. She constructs them as pieces of art. The artistic differences between these two women stem from their divergent beliefs as to the appropriate role of woman in society. As we have already discussed, Janet believes in the natural and appointed role of woman, and as a result, she is drawn to art that is natural and realistic. Elfrida, on the other hand, appreciates the constructed element of European art because she believes in the importance of constructing your own persona. Both women are artists, but their approaches to art are dictated by their perceptions of their role as women. Janet is as productive a writer as Elfrida, but because she presents her work as more of a pastime than a profession, she is more accepted by traditionalists in society like her father. Further to this point, Janet keeps her artistic nature in a private part of her soul whereas Elfrida's creative instinct consumes her entire soul; she uses it unabashedly in everything she does and is unwilling to suppress it to pacify traditional society.

With her construction of Elfrida, Duncan creates a new kind of female protagonist, one who values her own needs and, in actively pursuing her own desires, rejects the passivity of a traditional protagonist³ (Dean "Imagine" 192). This new

³ Duncan herself shattered many conceptions of what a woman's place in the world should be. She became one of the first female Parliamentary correspondents, penetrating the traditionally male political bastion before Canadian women could even vote, much less hold office. She was a successful professional writer at a time when very few professions were open to women.

heroine believes deeply in what she is doing and values her dreams above everything else, even her principles. In other words, although Elfrida is committed to her independence and her art, she is willing to compromise both in order to get closer to her ultimate goal of becoming a famous artist. Duncan's creation of a heroine who believes that the ends justify the means is a radical departure from traditional nineteenth-century literary convention. In many ways, A Daughter of Today is the story of the woman described in the Preface to Grant Allen's book, The Woman Who Did:

"But surely no woman would ever dare to
do so," said my friend.
"I knew a woman who did," said I; "and this
is her story."

Any of the characters in Duncan's novel could easily have said this about Elfrida Bell.

One strong influence in the novel that threatens Elfrida's goal to become an independent artist is the conservative atmosphere of her home town. Throughout the novel, Elfrida fears that she will not make enough money to stay in Europe and may have to return to Sparta. For Elfrida, Sparta personifies conventionalism and complacency. Carole Gerson describes another of Duncan's small towns, Elgin of The Imperialist, as a place "anchored in common-sense pragmatism" and distrusting of "imaginative eccentricity" (Gerson "Duncan's" 74). This description is apt for Sparta as well and articulates the reasoning behind Elfrida's anxiety. Should Elfrida have to return to Sparta,

she saw the ruin of her independence, of her delirious solitariness, of the life that began and ended in her sense of the strange and the beautiful and the grotesque in a world of curious slaveries of which it suited her to be an alien spectator amused and free....More intolerable still, she saw herself in the *rôle* of family idol, the household of happiness hinging on her moods, the question of her health, her work, her pleasure, being the eternally chief one. (Duncan 146)

Elfrida feels this kind of suffocating environment will destroy her creativity and suck her into a domestic life of marriage and children. She is not far from wrong. Her father does not understand why she would want to leave Sparta because "there isn't a town of its size in the Union with a finer crop of go-ahead young men in it" (Duncan 12). With this statement, he demonstrates a lack of understanding both of his daughter and her goals. The views he presents are those of the patriarchy which maintains that women should concentrate on harvesting and resowing this "crop."

Within this conventional small town, some creative influence exists and nurtures Elfrida's artistic impulse. This influence is found in Elfrida's mother, a woman with artistic pretensions herself who re-channelled her creativity into a more conventional life as a wife and mother. Duncan's construction of Mrs. Bell as a would-be-artist in a conventional role suggests that there is potential for dichotomy in all women. This sentiment is echoed in Elfrida's admission that she sometimes has the sensation of leading a "double life" (Duncan 14). As we have seen in the previous chapters, many women at the turn of the century feel torn between two different lives, the traditional one in which they were raised, and the exciting, independent one that was opening before them. Though she had to give up her aspirations to be an artist when she married Elfrida's father, Mrs. Bell's creative consciousness manifests itself in her subtle unconventionality and her open attitude towards her daughter's personal and artistic development. Mrs. Bell tells Elfrida's outraged teacher that she neither approves nor disapproves of Elfrida's reading of Rousseau; that, in fact, she is proud of her daughter's mind and of her intellectual curiosity and does not intend to censor the development of either. Mrs. Bell believes that her daughter is "predestined for art" and encourages

Elfrida to pursue the dreams that she herself was never able to fulfill, dreams that can only be achieved in a freer, more artistic climate than exists in Sparta (Duncan 9).

Growing up in the conventional environment of Sparta was not without benefit to Elfrida, as it was here she first realized that she was unique. This realization that "her actual and ideal self, her most mysterious and interesting self, had originated in the air and opportunities of Sparta" demonstrates a theme that Duncan develops throughout the course of the novel - the notion that identity is fluid and that it is formed in relation to the elements around you. This suggestion marks a departure for Duncan from nineteenth-century literary tradition as it challenges the convention that characters must be fixed types and that their destinies must be irrevocably tied to the stereotype they assume.

Elfrida's realization of her uniqueness is critically important to her development as an artist and an independent spirit. She gains confidence from her distinctiveness and takes a "shivering and frightened delight in...wading ankle-deep in unconventionality" (Duncan 133). In her study Writing the Woman Artist: Essays on Poetics, Politics, and Portraiture, Suzanne Jones argues that this reaction is the result of the female artist hero creating a new world for her new self rather than reconciling herself to a world she does not fit into (Jones 133). Elfrida feels that as long as she is different from other people, she can continue to work towards her artistic goals in the belief that she might one day attain them. As part of her commitment to difference, Elfrida keeps her most precious and artistic belongings - letters from her artistic friends in Paris, subversive articles she has written, sketches she finds particularly provocative - in a "little eastern-smelling wooden box, which seemed to her to represent the core of her existence"

(Duncan 164).⁴ Elfrida is fascinated with things eastern. Throughout the novel, Duncan connects the protagonist's unorthodoxy with a kind of "queer orientalism" (Duncan 179), implying that her behaviour is somehow exotic, mystical, and ritualistic.

The tendency towards the exotic can also be traced to Elfrida's dedication to living a decadent lifestyle. In her physical appearance, she always tries to look distinctive and artistic, wearing a broad soft felt hat and a Hungarian cloak, even when it is much too warm to wear them. When living in the Latin Quarter of Paris, Elfrida absorbs "its unwritten laws, its unsanctified morals, its riotous overflowing of ideals" (Duncan 25).⁵ She believes her experience in France becomes part of her soul; when she moves to London she decorates her spartan room with dramatic and exotic items amassed while living in the Quartier: a Japanese screen, an Afghan prayer carpet, a samovar, a roman lamp, a Koran-holder, a Salon photograph, a study by her classmate in Paris hung in place with a Spanish dagger, a brass Buddha figurine, and a few of her most treasured books including Anna Karénina and Salammbô. Like many decadents, Elfrida seeks unusual sensations to stir her senses and free her spirits in new and unconventional ways. She desires to shock and astonish others, a desire Baudelaire believed was anchored in the art of the pose and the mask (Beckson 35). Decadents, such as Elfrida aspires to be, are seen to deviate from their traditional roles and

⁴ Few, if any of Janet's letters make it into this box, and although she does not admit it until the end of the novel, on some level Elfrida must always have known that their friendship was far from the communion of kindred spirits Elfrida initially believed it to be.

⁵ Throughout the text, Duncan depicts France and things French as free, creative, and unconventional.

obligations, and as such, are viewed as attacks on conventional culture. At the turn of the century, they are commonly classed alongside New Women as the "twin monsters of a degenerate age" (Showalter Decadence x). The following excerpt from Punch (27 April 1895, p. 203) articulates popular opinion at the time regarding the impact such lifestyle choices are having on the race:

a new fear my bosom vexes;
 Tomorrow there may be no sexes!
 Unless, as end to all pother,
 Each one in fact becomes the other.
 E'en *then* perhaps they'll start again
 A-trying to change back again!
 Woman was woman, man was man,
 When Adam delved and Eve span.
 Now he can't dig and she won't spin,
 Unless 'tis tales all slang and sin!

Yet, although women artists like Elfrida imitated the decadents of the day and were classified as such by society, they were not accepted into their ranks. According to Karl Beckson, most Decadent men were frightened of the power of this "pathological species" of creative, independent women (Beckson 139). The misogynist reaction to the feminine and biological creativity of woman has a firm basis in the decadent tradition. The Decadents charged that women were incapable of escaping the trivialities of everyday life and attaining the spiritual and artistic heights necessary to create true art. In Wilde's The Picture of Dorian Gray, Henry Wotton tells Dorian that "no woman is a genius. Women are a decorative sex. They are charmingly artificial, but they have no sense of art" (Wilde 102).⁶

⁶Elaine Showalter argues that confronted with this misogyny from the men who might have been their allies, New Women writers had to rewrite the myths of decadence to tell the story of the "terra incognita" of woman in order to demonstrate female desire

In A Daughter of Today, the misogynistic view of female creative capability is promoted by Elfrida's instructor at the Atelier. The instructor compliments Elfrida's fellow classmate on her work, saying "in you...I find the woman and the artist divorced. That is a tremendous advantage - an immense source of power" (Duncan 21). At the same time, he criticizes Elfrida's work as being too "lady-like" and "pretty." The instructor's statements suggest that traditional Victorian feminine qualities like gentility, docility, submissiveness, and lack of daring are liabilities when found in an artist. In A Room of One's Own, Virginia Woolf makes a similar point when she encourages women artists to "slay the Angel in the House" and to concentrate on their creative pursuits. This suggestion, that to achieve success in one area of their lives women must forego happiness in another, rings true. Many women, then and now, feel like they do not have any alternatives, only "a choice of sacrifices" (Stewart 50).

Consequently, Elfrida must overcome the emotionalism and self-effacement traditionally characteristic of women in order to achieve her goal of artistic success. As part of her efforts to develop her artistic genius, she scorns love, particularly physical love, because she, like many New Women at the turn of the century, realizes that she can only be free to live as she desires if she is not tied down by a husband and a family, and because she believes that artistic genius is linked to genderlessness. Elfrida's belief in the genderlessness of art becomes her battle-cry, one which she carries with her to her grave. On her tombstone, she has engraved the phrase, "pas femme -

as a creative multipurpose force in art (Showalter Decadence xii). Sara Jeannette Duncan does precisely this in A Daughter of Today; she tells the story of the female artist hero as she understands it.

artiste,"⁷ linguistically divorcing her gender from her art.⁸ In this light, her death can be interpreted as her personal triumph over her gender.

Elfrida's commitment to her art permeates every facet of her being. She religiously follows the principles of decadence and is well versed in the writings of Swinburne, a major creative force behind the "art for art's sake" movement. At one point in the novel, she reveals to Kendal that art is her only source of pleasure, her creed, and that when she finds beauty in the smallest thing, her whole life becomes aflame (Duncan 127).⁹ She believes in the expression of personality in art and throughout the novel is shown to concentrate exclusively on her personal goals. Further, she takes immense pleasure in unusual experiences. She pawns her mother's watch but keeps her rings so that she can one day relive the "delicious" experience of going to a pawnshop. She kneels,

at an attic window in a flood of spring moonlight, with her hair around the shoulders of her nightgown, repeating Rossetti to the wakeful budding garden (Duncan 16)

solely for the artistic and romantic sensations it produces in her. German feminist Laura Marholm Hansonn characterizes women writers like Elfrida as "'a new race of women' whose 'ego burst forth with such power that it ignored all outer circumstances; it

⁷This phrase reveals another instance where Duncan positions concepts in opposition to one another to suggest that these concepts do not exist in isolation and that a compromise should be worked out between the two.

⁸Her choice of words is appropriate, as in French, "artiste," can be both masculine and feminine; it is a truly genderless word.

⁹Elfrida's statement directly alludes to Pater's quote from his "Conclusion" to The Renaissance that became a mantra for decadents, "to burn always with this hard gemlike flame, to maintain this ecstasy, is success in life" (Pater 552).

pressed forward and crystallized itself into an artistic shape" (Showalter Decadent ix).

Elfrida finds a kindred spirit in her neighbour, a struggling actor named Golightly Ticke. The first moment they meet, Elfrida sees that he is a "belle âme," someone as committed to his acting as she is to her art. Though their creative works are continually rejected, they do not despair. They rationalize their lack of success saying that their work is too original and creative for the "dull conventional British public" (Duncan 57). They encourage each other and share in one another's triumphs, fiscal as well as artistic. Golightly supports Elfrida when she joins a troupe of burlesque dancers so that she can experience their lives first-hand, and from that vantage point, write a book about their lives. In fact, he even enlists in the latest production by the Peach Blossom Company to help her complete her research (Duncan 206).

While Elfrida has a genuine artistic talent for appreciating, understanding, and explaining art, she is a young artist who is still gaining experience and developing her talent and throughout the novel, she struggles to find her niche. She begins her artistic journey as a painter. In painting, she "felt that her soul had lodged forever in her fingers, that art had found for her, once and for all, a sacred embodiment" (Duncan 17). Later, after she is told by both her instructor at the Atelier and her mentor, John Kendal, that she has no talent for painting, she takes up writing and embraces it with the same vigour and commitment that she had her painting. Because she has confidence in her own creativity and her destiny to become an artist, Elfrida never considers giving up her artistic dream. Her dream is not simply to create great art but to be a great artist.

Patricia Meyer Spacks argues that for some women, the idea of being an artist seems to solve any problems of identity or relationships that they may have. Spacks develops

this point further in asserting that women living in a restrictive environment in which they have no power to effect change often find themselves driven inward, to a place where they can have complete control. Their art becomes the externalization of this inner strength and control (Spacks 160). Elfrida's desire to become a successful artist can thus be interpreted as a way for her to assert her unconventionality and her sense of own identity.

Although she is able to move from painting to writing with relative facility, Elfrida momentarily resists the shift into journalism, maintaining that it violates her artistic principles; however, as we have seen with other New Women heroines, "necessity" softens her stance.¹⁰ She decides that she will go to any lengths to attain her artistic goals, including accepting "scullery-maid's work in literature" (Duncan 37). Once she begins to write, she again, as with painting, becomes intoxicated by the artistic sensation of creation and throws herself into her work. Her columns in the Illustrated Age are so well received that both her editor, Mr. Rattray, and her friend, Golightly Ticke,¹¹ encourage her to write a book. At first, they suggest she explore a modern movement such as the higher education of women or the vote, but after talking with Elfrida, they decide she must write about something more fresh and exciting, something no young woman has ever done before. Interestingly enough, when Elfrida thinks about this prospect, she does not think about what form her work will take, only the success

¹⁰An interesting study could be done on the capacity of "necessity" to shape women's lives in turn-of-the-century Canadian women's fiction.

¹¹These two men are the only characters in the novel who encourage Elfrida rather than patronize her and who offer her advice rather than criticism.

that it will bring her:

Her imagination was busy at a bound with press criticisms, pirated American editions, newspaper paragraphs describing the colour of her hair, letters from great magazines asking for contributions. It leaped with fierce joy at the picture of Janet reading these paragraphs, and knowing, whether she gave or withheld her approval, that the world had pronounced in favour of Elfrida Bell. (Duncan 188)

In the end, Elfrida decides to write about the lives of the burlesque dancers of the Peach Blossom Company. Mr. Rattray once told her the secret to great writing was to write about what you see and know, and then to give it a twist of individuality. As a result, Elfrida decides not just to observe these women, but to become one of them herself. In what would still be considered today as investigative reporting, Elfrida appears as a member of the Peach Blossom Company, becoming, as the Editor-in-chief of the Illustrated Age predicted, a "female Zola" (Duncan 101). Like Zola, Elfrida believes that only by experiencing her subjects' situations and then writing about them, as he did when he joined the circus to experience the lifestyle before writing of it, can she demonstrate their humanity and achieve truth in her representation. She dances with the Peach Blossom Company to gain insight into the lives of the dancers, on and off the stage. She does it to uphold the integrity of both her subject and her art.

Her dedication and investigative skills are not always perceived as legitimate, however, particularly by those who do not understand her and wish to fix her in a conventional role within the patriarchy. Kendal attends one of Elfrida's performances and is stunned to see how superior she is to the other members of the dance troupe. He remarks that "she was perfectly oblivious of any other, and that her personality was the most aggressive, the most ferociously determined to be made the most of on the

stage" (Duncan 206). After the performance, Kendal is unable to face Elfrida for a number of reasons. He is embarrassed by her lack of propriety, envious of her lack of inhibitions, overwhelmed by her egotism and by his attraction to her. As a result, he leaves without speaking to her. Janet's father, however, who also sees her performance, confronts Elfrida, describes her project as a "preposterous thing," and tries to stop her from resorting to this "lowest sensationalism" by proposing marriage (Duncan 193). Elfrida is excited at his proposal, not because she wants to marry him, but because she views it as adding an interesting dimension to her book, a proposal from her best friend's father. His conventional reaction illustrates that he does not understand Elfrida and her dreams at all. Like the 1890s aesthetes and decadents, Elfrida believes, above all else, that art should not be judged by any standard outside itself, that the artist should be free to write about whatever he / she chooses without being accountable to society. Further, she does not feel her behaviour transgresses morality; she feels that it transcends morality. After all, she says herself that art "has no ideal but truth, and to conventionalize art is to damn it" (Duncan 129).

For Elfrida, the experience with the Peach Blossom Company is more than just a story, it is a fantasy fulfilled. As she tells Lawrence Cardiff,

"I never dreamed of having such an opportunity! If I didn't mean to write a word, I should be glad of it...to be of the life - the strange, unreal, painted, limelighted life that goes on behind the curtain! That is something! To act one's part in it; to know that one's own secret *rôle* is a thousand times more difficult than any in the repertoire." (Duncan 198 - 9)

Elfrida feels that the book that comes out of her experience with the burlesque troupe is the best part of herself. Consequently, she in no way wants it to have a common or conventional success. She does not care whether people like it or whether it becomes a

best seller. The only thing she wants is for her book to be recognized as artistic.

Throughout the novel, Elfrida is described as a "find," someone who inspires artistic creativity in others. When she studies in Paris, her colleagues always want to paint her portrait because they feel she has a head "*divinement tragique*" (Duncan 27). She has this effect on Kendal. Like the painter in Sarah Grand's "The Undefinable: A Fantasia" who finds that his work is becoming sterile when separated from the creative and decadently bohemian mecca of Paris until he meets his muse, "a free woman, a new creature" (Showalter *Decadence* xvi), Kendal is inspired by Elfrida's spontaneity and free spiritedness. Elfrida's role in Kendal's creative process is too complex to be characterized as just that of muse. He is attracted by her beauty and singularity, and though he never consciously views her in romantic terms, he gets more upset than their friendship would prescribe when she engages in socially unorthodox behaviour. Yet while she frustrates him with her candour and disregard of social propriety, she also awakens in him "the desire to work...with the thrill of being understood, a longing to accomplish to the utmost of his limitation" (Duncan 89). He does not outwardly, or even consciously, acknowledge the stimulating effect Elfrida has on him, but the only pieces of art he produces come about as a result of the interaction of his conventionality with her unconventionality. Kendal goes to any lengths to ensure that this creative production continues.

From the beginning of the novel, Kendal is identified as someone who will "break" Elfrida (Duncan 31). His first attempt to do so occurs when he paints "A *Fin de Siècle* Tribute," his interpretation of an embarrassing scene Elfrida made at a society party. He knows such a painting might hurt Elfrida, yet he insists on painting it to improve his

technique at caricature, or so he states. In painting this scene, he finds that he can impose discipline on Elfrida's actions by arresting "the grotesqueness of the scene," and at the same time, he can vent his pent-up feelings of frustration at her lack of poise (Duncan 152). When Elfrida first sees this painting, she feels as if she has been struck a blow. At the same time, however, she thanks Kendal for showing her what a fool she was. Elfrida's deferral to Kendal's opinion and representation of her in this incident anticipates her reaction to the portrait he paints of her at the end of the novel.

While "*A Fin de Siècle Tribute*" disturbs Elfrida, it inspires Kendal. Before he paints this scene, his time is divided between his artistic interests and his business obligations. After the painting is completed, Kendal decides that to do a subject justice he needs to feel connected with and even consumed by it, or in this case, by Elfrida. He discovers that, regardless of her code of conduct, Elfrida Bell is "curiously satisfying from an artistic point of view," principally because the boundaries of her identity are difficult to define (Duncan 233). From this point on, every time he sees her, he fashions her as his subject, framing her in doorways, staircases, or shafts of light. In so doing, he is trying not only to understand the enigma that is Elfrida Bell, he is trying to capture her identity and to free himself from the fascination she exacts upon him. In painting Elfrida's portrait, Kendal becomes consumed by the same creative passion and vivacity he had in France, so consumed in fact that he resents any outside interference that distracts him from his art, even if it comes from the subject herself. Duncan describes him as having "a silent, brooding triumph in his manipulation, in his control" as he paints (Duncan 247). Elfrida sees herself very differently from the way Kendal paints her, and as a result, she is completely unprepared for the image he presents of her. Elfrida sees

herself as a woman of many identities:

Phases of character have an attraction for me. I wear one to-day and another tomorrow....And it must make me difficult to paint, because it can only be by accident that I am the same person twice. (Duncan 247)

She purposely constructs herself as a creature of infinite variety as a means of continually reinventing herself and thus she resists being fixed by the patriarchy. Kendal responds to Elfrida's open discussion of her self-conception by drawing an analogy between Elfrida and Cleopatra, a woman whose resistance to fixity has been identified by many critics as a great source of her power (Ready 6). Inadvertently, Kendal's analogy exposes the main source of his attraction to Elfrida, her unpredictability, her sense of freedom and independence, her flaunting of convention. In trying to capture these qualities in her portrait, he unwittingly robs her of their mystery and their protection.

At first glance, Kendal's portrait of Elfrida reveals her dramatic loveliness, but when examined through the eyes of Elfrida, it seems to reveal much more. As the narrator points out, the Elfrida that Kendal captures in the painting has a disguise "thrown...over her face like a veil, if anything could be a veil which rather revealed than hid, rather emphasized than softened, the human secret of the face underneath" (Duncan 250). Rather than reflecting her mutable identity, Kendal's representation of Elfrida fixes her to one which he characterizes as the "real Elfrida." Effectually what Kendal does is pin down a part of her identity like a butterfly in a display case. His portrait imprisons Elfrida's identity in one moment for perpetuity, simultaneously taking away her disguises and exposing her vulnerabilities. In capturing and controlling her image on his canvas, Kendal, with the "vaunting glory of a lover," ravages both Elfrida

and the creative spirit with which she entrusts him (Duncan 261). Elfrida is shocked by Kendal's portrait because, like many New Women, she believes that no man has the capacity to see through her various disguises and "read the enigma of the Female Idea" (Showalter Decadent xiv). She charges him with stealing something from her - her freedom, her vibrance, her soul.

Kendal shows no remorse for hurting Elfrida; he betrays only self-congratulation for the great work of art he has created. In fact, when he watches the colour drain from Elfrida's face as she looks at the portrait and acknowledges the subject's egoism, a "delicious ineffable content bathed his soul" (Duncan 260), a content that he has not possessed since he left France. Elfrida's reaction to the portrait gives Kendal a greater feeling of success than he has ever before experienced, a feeling untainted, rather augmented, by the acute suffering Elfrida experiences. His satisfaction is only intensified by the fact that Elfrida accepts his representation of her as truth, just as she did with his, "*A Fin de Siècle* Tribute." As she absorbs the revelation of egoism in her portrait, Elfrida says, "Oh, I do not find fault; I would like to, but I dare not" (Duncan 250). By accepting the verdict of her Kendal presents in the portrait as a definitive representation of her "self," Elfrida inadvertently becomes the looking glass through which Kendal enhances his own self-image. Virginia Woolf in A Room of One's Own explains that often women act as mirrors "reflecting back to men an enlarged view of masculinity rather than acting for themselves" (Woolf 172).

Elfrida's greatest flaw is that she depends upon the male gaze for her own self-approbation. Her dependence on the male gaze, particularly that of Kendal, renders her vulnerable to becoming fixed by the patriarchy, which is exactly what happens when she

accepts the veracity of Kendal's ruthless depiction of her self-preoccupation and egoism. What Elfrida is unable to see is that the "self" Kendal captures on his canvas is only one aspect of her, informed by his own personal and aesthetic preferences. She makes the mistake of understanding the portrait as the essence of who she is, and not as someone else's creation. Further, she reacts as if the egoism Kendal attributes to her is something to be ashamed of. She does not reflect on the fact that self-confidence and egoism are required characteristics of the artist. Nor does she think about the fact that in painting such a portrait as a means of enhancing his personal self-image, Kendal is even more egotistical than she. Her deferral to the opinion of the male gaze blinds her to the positive side of her egoism - the vitality and creativity that inspires her - the egotism that she celebrates in the early stages of the novel:

"egotism is like a little flame within me. All the best things feed it, and it is so clear that I see everything in its light. To me it is most dear and valuable - it simplifies things so. I assure you that I wouldn't want to be one of the sloppy unselfish people the world is full of for anything." (Duncan 126)

Unfortunately, Elfrida accepts the painting as "an unimpeachable moral arbiter, 'the visible emblem of conscience'" that exposes her personal shortcomings and vulnerabilities. Convinced that both she and the portrait cannot continue to exist in the world, she slashes the painting to shreds and in the same moment, symbolically shreds her own soul (Bernheimer 59). She writes a note to Kendal, apologizing for committing a sin, not against him, but against art. Feminist critics Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar's The Madwoman in the Attic provides an alternative explanation for Elfrida's shredding of her portrait. They argue that when a woman looks at a painted or mirror image of herself, she confronts masculine stereotypes of women. In looking at one of

these images, the woman writer sees herself through the patriarchal gaze, either as angel-woman or monster-woman. In order to discover her authentic self, she must destroy and then look beyond these images. In a sense, Elfrida's act of destroying the painting hurls her defiance at the patriarchal interpretation of her character and attempts to recapture some of the identity Kendal's static representation stole from her.

In many ways, the novel's conclusion with Elfrida's suicide can be interpreted in similarly ambiguous terms. Elfrida is dealt a series of blows. She is devastated by the appearance of Janet's book before her own. She is not just hurt; she is jealous and angry that now Janet has "shot so far ahead" or her that "she could never catch up!" (Duncan 214).¹² Further, Duncan presents Elfrida with an enormous challenge in having her suddenly realize that she loves Kendal. Elfrida is overcome by a feeling of impotence while she momentarily considers making the ultimate sacrifice and giving up writing to marry Kendal. When he proposes to Janet instead of to her, Elfrida tries to convince herself that she never would have given up her art in exchange for Kendal's love, but in fact, she is never completely certain that she would not have done so had he asked her. As we have seen in earlier chapters, such uncertainty is characteristic of many "New Women," struggling to choose between their careers and their loved ones, their intellects and their emotions. To complicate the situation, the engagement of Janet and Kendal in effect terminates the relationship between Janet and Elfrida. After

¹²This preoccupation with time seems to be directly related to the literature and art at the *fin de siècle* as is apparent in the titles of some of the works discussed in this study: The Madonna of a Day, A Daughter of Today, Love and the Woman of Tomorrow. In New Woman fiction, as in Decadence, there seems to be an acknowledgement that the New Woman exists within a specific period of time, a time of transition.

hearing of the impending marriage, Elfrida writes Janet a letter identifying their friendship as "an experiment that has failed" (Duncan 268), to which Janet unwillingly responds in a mean-spirited note that her future husband dictates to her, a note which states that the termination of their friendship "appears to [her] to be of less importance than [Elfrida] perhaps imagine[s] it" (Duncan 274). Elfrida is stricken a further blow when she receives a scathingly negative evaluation of her manuscript, "Adventures in Stageland," and rather than take the time to look at this evaluation clearly and objectively, Elfrida jumps to the rash conclusion that her masterpiece will not bring her the success she has always been so certain of attaining and for which she has given up everything else.

The convergence of all of these events and tensions contributes to Elfrida's suicide. Elfrida's choice to end her life does not constitute some kind of submission to Kendal's verdict of her character or admission of failure on her part. Nor does it reflect some kind of "punishment" or atonement for her unconventional assaults on propriety, as Misao Dean suggests in her introduction to the text (Duncan xvii). These comments over-simplify the situation.

Gilbert and Gubar maintain that the death of the woman artist results, not from the shock of encountering her "true" self, but from her acquiescence to the patriarchal image of her. They propose that her suicide expresses her desire to reclaim her own identity as she conceives it to be and represents one final attempt to free herself from patriarchal oppression. Ann Artis qualifies this view in suggesting that the suicide of the female artist protagonist is more of a "retreat with honour," one that acknowledges only external obstacles to the artist's development. Seen in this light, Elfrida's death is not a compromise of her artistic ideals, but an acknowledgement of the over-whelming

obstacles facing the woman artist. Elfrida's choice to die can be interpreted as an attempt to be true to her art, particularly given that she constructs her suicide as a work of art. She makes sure that her body is perfectly positioned on the bed, artistically draped by the sheets, puts roses in the room to combat the smell of death, opens the curtains to just the right angle so that the sun will shine directly on her silver ring when she drops it after ingesting its poison. In essence, she stages the entire scene to emphasize its tragic beauty and elegance because like many decadents, Elfrida has an interest in "death, the perception of beauty in corruption and in death, and the union of the beautiful with the sad" which arises out of her delight in the artificial (McMullen Aesthetic 73). In a way, her suicide is one of her most consistent gestures, enacted with the same dramatic and decadent flair she does everything else throughout the novel.

Elfrida's death permanently insinuates her upon the lives of the people who hurt her most deeply, Janet and Kendal. In the last paragraph, the narrator suggests that Elfrida's suicide has had its retributive elements because her foils, Janet and Kendal, are not as happy in their lives and their marriage as they appear to be. Kendal is filled with desperate regret at the thought of the art that has slipped away from him. His artistic ability is taken from him because in destroying Elfrida, he has destroyed his muse. At the same time, Janet experiences feelings of guilt over betraying the trust of her friend. Even in death Elfrida comes between these two, and, unable to articulate Elfrida's presence in their relationship, they are never able to completely free themselves and their marriage from it. As the narrator points out, sometimes a silence falls between them, a silence pregnant with a combined sense of loss and regret.

Duncan offers the reader a disturbing picture at the end of the novel. One woman, spontaneous, ambitious, independent, is dead by her own hand, and the other, reserved, socially conscious, conservative, is left to struggle between the happiness she feels in her marriage and the sense of guilt that is ever entangled with it. In constructing her ending as such, Duncan, in the spirit of the Jamesian tradition, leaves readers to come to their own conclusions about its implications and about the options open to women at the turn of the century. Duncan ends her novel with many questions unresolved, and in so doing, breaks free of the nineteenth-century literary conventions of the happy ending and the rescued heroine; neither her New Woman nor her traditional woman escapes the novel unscathed. In an earlier essay "Outworn Literary Methods," Duncan urges fellow writers to discard the old conventions that enable readers to anticipate the ending before the conclusion of the third chapter and to endeavour to surprise their readers until the novel's final paragraph (Duncan in The Week, June 9, 1887, 451). She accomplishes this in A Daughter of Today.

Further, with this novel, Duncan creates a space for a new kind of female protagonist, one more pragmatic in her approach than either of the two women she presents in A Daughter of Today. Without defining this protagonist in any concrete terms, Duncan suggests, as Dougall does in The Madonna of a Day, that this new female character needs to be able to negotiate a path for herself between different roles. In the next chapter, we meet protagonists who are more familiar with the necessity of negotiating the demands of love with those of a career. Their stories are based on the lives of everyday women, torn between their professional and personal lives, yet desperately struggling to reach a compromise between the two. In contrast to Duncan

and Dougall, the women who wrote these stories were intimately familiar with the difficulties and tensions facing their protagonists because they too had give to up parts of their lives in order to support themselves - and often their families - by their pens.

Chapter Four:

The "Everyday" New Women and Their Dilemma: An Examination of Short Fiction by Kit Coleman, Jean Blewett, and Ethelwyn Wetherald

In Naked and Fiery Forms: Modern American Poetry by Women, Suzanne

Juhasz points out that for many "New Women" at the turn of the century:

The conflict between her two "selves" is an excruciating and irreconcilable civil war, when both sides are, in fact, the same person. If she is a "woman," she must fail as a "poet;" "poet," she must fail as "woman." Yet she is not two people. She is a woman whose art is a response to, results from her life. (Juhasz 3)

In the previous chapters, we have seen examples of this feminine division, but nothing to the degree which we will see in the protagonists examined in this chapter. Their stories are written by women who were intimately familiar with the everyday reality and practicality that "New Women" had to face. Many of the stories emerge from situations in the authors' own lives and in the lives of the women they knew, and they detail the "excruciating and irreconcilable" feelings these women experienced in negotiating their professional and personal lives. The authors of these stories, written a decade after the works of Duncan and Dougall, are more familiar with the complexities involved with women living freer lives. The three authors whose works we examine in this chapter - Kit Coleman, Jean Blewett, and Ethelwyn Wetherald - began their careers, as did many women writers in the 1880s and 1890s, as journalists, and from this vantage point expanded into poetry and, as is our particular interest in this chapter, short fiction. The characters and settings they create provide insight into the everyday lives of average working women at the turn of the century.

In the 1880s, the Canadian newspaper industry changed, in part to attract the largely untapped reservoir of women readers who were entering into the public sphere. The editors of these papers felt that attracting female readers would not only boost their raw circulation figures, but would also attract hoards of advertisers who wanted to direct the attention of this fastest growing consumer group toward their ever-expanding inventory of household products (Lang 79). Newspapers at the time were in desperate need of reporters who could write stories that would appeal to their new readers, local colour stories of everyday life. These changing newspaper conventions allowed for the entry of women into journalism.

Barbara Freeman in her article on the history of women's journalism in Canada, "Every Stroke Upwards," explains that women had varied motivations for becoming journalists -- literary, philosophical, financial -- and often came from different social circumstances - single, married, separated,¹ widowed, with or without children - but they all were doing something quite unusual for women of their generation; they were pursuing a career, and thus carving out a role for themselves wider than the one allotted them by tradition and conventional society (Freeman "Every" 43). At the same time, the women who worked as journalists in newspaper offices in the 1880s were seen as "disreputable specimens of warped femininity" (Ferguson 5). Marian Fowler points out in her biography of Sara Jeannette Duncan that "journalism wasn't at all a suitable occupation for a gently reared young lady, working in a smoky office full of shirt-sleeved

¹Kate Simpson Hayes, a journalist and woman's page editor for the Manitoba Free Press, left her husband and moved to Ottawa to be with her married lover, a journalist turned MP, with whom she had two children.

men, spittoons, and smutty jokes. It was quite as improper as going on the stage" (Fowler 39). Women journalists, while popular with their readers, were not respected by their colleagues, were given the worst assignments, and were always paid significantly lower wages than their male counterparts. Their articles and editorials were relegated to the section of the paper known as the "Woman's Page," a section designed to reinforce the standards of traditional feminine behaviour and values. Social and feminist historian Susan Mann Trofimenkoff argues that while the Woman's Pages were supposed to and for the most part did promote conventional virtues for women, "interspersed among the patterns of the novels, the recipes, and the advice columns were discussions of feminism and the woman's movement" (Strong-Boag 124).

The Woman's Pages proved to be the vehicle through which most women entered journalism. Many young women with literary aspirations became journalists in order to hone their craft and gain experience as writers. They tried to realize their aspirations by writing poetry or stories in addition to their regular journalistic work. Most could not afford the money or time necessary to devote themselves fully to literary pursuits as they depended on a regular salary to support themselves and often times their families. As Kit Coleman writes in one of her articles, she became a journalist "through the necessity that calls for bread for the children," not just to make "pin money" (Freeman 167). The poem, and particularly, the short story,² became ideal modes of

²These stories are a rare find. Many others like them have been lost in the pages of long-forgotten and poorly preserved periodicals. Thanks to the retrieval work of Lorraine McMullen and Sandra Campbell, some of these stories can now be found in three short story anthologies from the Canadian Short Story Library published by the University of Ottawa Press: Pioneering Women, Aspiring Women, and New Women.

expression for women as they required less time to write and were more easily publishable than longer fictional works. Yet many Canadian women journalists found that newspaper work and literary achievement were irreconcilable. Mary McOuat expresses the sense of frustration among women journalists:

I attempt nothing outside of my work for the paper, for that takes all my strength and if I tried to write things I want to write they would turn out to be trash, and there is enough of that on the market now. (Lang 85)

Fortunately, some women like Coleman, Blewett, and Wetherald did persevere. With the context in which they were writing in mind, we can examine their stories in order to develop a clearer understanding and deeper insight into the tensions and dilemmas average "New Women" faced at the turn of the century.

Kit Coleman, an Irish immigrant to Canada, wrote one of the most popular newspaper columns in Canadian journalism history, "Woman's Kingdom," from 1889 to 1911. During this time, she interviewed some of the most famous and infamous people in the world such as William Randolph Hearst, Sarah Bernhardt, Eleanora Duse, Lillie Langtry, and convicted swindler Cassie Chadwick. She also covered the Chicago World Exposition, the Klondike Gold Rush, Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee (as a guest of Canadian Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier), and the controversial Harry Thaw murder trial. In 1898, Coleman became the first accredited female war correspondent when she was sent by the Toronto Mail and Empire to Cuba to cover the Spanish-American War (Rowland "Watkins" 20), an assignment her editors used to increase circulation for their newspaper by focusing primarily on her experience as a woman in a war zone rather than on her actual reports. This approach by Coleman's editors often led her readers to become more interested in what she herself was doing than in what she was writing.

Coleman, whose journalistic career spanned several decades, believed in the importance of women being able to support themselves and she openly encouraged women to get jobs so that they would no longer have to depend on men for money or fulfilment. She knew from experience the importance of self-sufficiency. Neither of her first two husbands prepared for her long-term financial support, and following each of their deaths, Kit was left impoverished and forced to get a job to support herself and her two children. As a result, she was constantly preoccupied with her financial situation. She herself avowed that she would "rather go charring or take in washing...than be obliged to ask any man for money," and in fact, in the early years of her column when she was paid only \$20 a week, she took in light housekeeping to make ends meet (Freeman "Every" 45). While her adventures and escapades made Coleman famous, they did not make her rich. Critic Marjory Lang estimates that Kit's "Woman's Kingdom" increased the circulation figures for the Mail and Empire by at least one-third (Lang 87), yet as Robin Rowland points out in his article on Coleman, Kit was never paid more than \$35 a week. Her male colleagues were making twice and three times that amount in addition to having ample expense accounts (Rowland "Watkins"15). It was a financial matter led Kit to abandon her long-running column and begin publishing in syndication. After her editors told her that she would have to write a daily column as well as her expansive Saturday feature, Kit asked for and was refused a raise of \$5 a week. She resigned immediately and began selling her columns for \$5 each to any newspaper that wanted them, except the Mail and Empire. In so doing, she became Canada's first syndicated columnist.

Kit Coleman paved the way for many Canadian women journalists and

newspaperwomen. Journalist Peggy Balmer Watt articulates Coleman's impact: "Kit made it possible that we were even recognized. Behind her skirts we crept gropingly forward. What a fighter she was! What a leader! The Romantic days of women in journalism are no more" (Lang 88). Yet, as Barbara Freeman points out, Coleman was a woman of complexity and contradiction. In one of her articles, Coleman confesses, "I am not a stickler for women's rights but I am for women's pluck and independence" (McMullen "New" 44). She did not consider herself a feminist or an "equal righter". She felt that women's strongest tool was their power to manipulate men. While she believed in equal pay for work of equal value, she also felt that woman's most glorious and fulfilling work was that of wife and mother. In the same breath that she tells one reader to try to extinguish her sexual fires by "indulging in energetic bicycling sprees," she preaches to another on the importance of submissiveness to wifely duties (Ferguson 19). As Freeman so succinctly puts it in the conclusion of her biography of Coleman, Kit was "a woman journalist who logically would have been expected to embrace the major goals of the feminist movement of her day, but didn't" (Freeman *Kit's* 165).³ Freeman proposes several theories to explain Kit's inherent inconsistencies. Perhaps Kit endorsed the innate maternalism of women to shield herself from criticism for her decision to work outside the home. Perhaps the format of the woman's page contributed to her ideological fragmentation in that she had to use her feminine and sentimental experience to write about fashion, society, and the home, while at the same

³Faith Fenton, the editor of *The Empire's* women's page from 1888 to 1895, also seemed to revel in contradictions. Like Coleman, Fenton was interested in the suffrage and feminist movements, but was unwilling to endorse them publicly in her columns. Instead she glorified marriage as "the noblest career for women" (Fulton 55).

time, incorporating masculine traits like objectivity and rationale into her reports on politics and the events of the day. The theory that seems the most legitimate and insightful is that the apparent contradictions in Coleman's writing were reflections of the changing role of women at the turn of the century. Kit, like many women at the turn of the century, was simultaneously attracted by the possibilities of independence and of marriage. She was pulled in two different directions, trying to negotiate a compromise between the two. It is this attempt at negotiation that permeates her journalistic and literary work, appearing to some readers as inconsistency and contradiction.

Coleman articulates the tenuousness surrounding women's situation at the turn of the century in "A Pair of Gray Gloves," a story about a woman journalist, her work, and the impact of the lifestyle choices she makes. From the opening of the story, Coleman sets about to create a mood of bleakness and stagnation. Interestingly, the space she constructs in "A Pair of Gray Gloves" is very similar to that we find in another poignant tale of frustration and futility, Herman Melville's "Bartleby, the Scrivener" (1853).

Coleman describes her protagonist Marah's office as a stuffy room on the top floor of a building:

It was a bare-looking room, furnished with a mean desk, a chair or two and a piece of matting. There were no blinds on the tall windows, which were covered with dust and looked over a long and narrow court up which at intervals waggons lumbered to the side-doors of warehouses. (Coleman 46)

Melville describes Bartleby's work environment as:

[a desk] close up to a small side-window in that part of the room, a window which originally had afforded a lateral view of certain grimy back-yards and bricks, but which, owing to subsequent erections, commanded at present no view at all, though it gave some light. Within three feet of the panes was a wall, and the light came down from far above, between two lofty buildings, as from a very small opening in a dome. (Melville 998)

Both descriptions emphasize the isolation inherent in such settings. There is neither creativity nor individuality in these rooms. There are no knickknacks or mementoes in the offices; there are just bare necessities. "Bare" is an appropriate word to use here because the reader is left with an overall impression of coldness and austerity; the environment in these rooms seems de-humanized and in Coleman's case, un-feminized. Coleman depicts her protagonist's office in such a drab manner to de-romanticize the notion that a career woman leads a glamorous life. She emphasizes the long hours, the rigorous deadlines, the poor working conditions, and the drudgery of newspaper work.

The writer complicates her protagonist's situation by constructing her as a woman struggling between her vocational aspirations and her female desires. At first Marah is satisfied with her job and her creative work, yet, like many New Women and even many women today, she yearns for someone to love, someone, as Coleman so eloquently expresses it, with whom she could build "an atmosphere of home" (Coleman 48). At different reprises throughout the story, Marah expresses a longing for a more traditional lifestyle. In the opening scene of the story when she sees a cleaning woman from her office window she exclaims,

"I wish I were she....How she must sleep at night: Oh! to be really tired, really worn out, the way women are who wash and scrub and work with their hands, and have no time for hoping and fearing." (Coleman 46 - 7)

In this quotation, Marah expresses mild jealousy of the simplicity and security of this woman's life, intimating that life as an independent, new woman is not without its negative aspects, namely feelings of disappointment and insecurity. Marah's identification with the cleaning woman reveals the dilemma we have examined throughout this study regarding the challenge women face in attempting to negotiate

compromises for themselves between their independent career goals and their traditional feminine values.

Marah is an independent career woman, but she is unable to divorce herself from her female desires. When she hears someone walking in the hallway outside her office, she flushes and her eyes begin to sparkle because she thinks it is her lover coming to see her. Marah is so enamoured with her lover that she puts him on a pedestal and refers to him as a "god," despite her awareness of his faults. Marah's elevation of her lover is an interesting reversion of the traditional convention where the woman is put on a pedestal and worshipped by her male admirer. Coleman explains Marah's infatuation imagistically:

At first [Marah] had seen the clay feet; gradually her imagination - which was royal - had covered them, and a film had grown over the eyes of her soul, a silver film, through which he loomed gracious and tender. (Coleman 48)

Coleman introduces Marah's lover, David Strang, in an intricate, crisp, almost photographic image, presenting a comprehensive picture of the man that Marah is not quite able to see because her feelings for him obscure her vision. Coleman describes him as a strong, sensual man with "a noble forehead, square, and with great temples, [rising] above eyes that were gray-blue in colour and shrewd in expression" (Coleman 47).⁴ By contrast, Marah is described more in terms of her demeanour than her physical characteristics:

⁴This description is characteristic of Coleman's journalistic and fictional styles - she consistently flavours her description with astute personal impressions of her subject's demeanour and character.

She was not at all beautiful, yet was far from being ugly or commonplace. Passion and grief were both stamped heavily on her face. There was a story in her attitude. She was one of those women who, while strong as steel, have a look of fragility that is at times very attractive. (Coleman 49)

Coleman's description of Marah does not give us any concrete information with which we could identify her. The description could be applied to many women and this is Coleman's goal. She wants her readers to be able to see themselves or women they know in Marah so that they might be able to identify with her situation.

David comes to see Marah to tell her that he is leaving her for someone else. He claims that he is only able to do so because Marah has taught him that platonic love is the safest way to avoid the suffering that true love brings (Coleman 50). David adopts Marah's views of platonic love in his relationship with her. He does not allow himself to become emotionally dependent on Marah, and as a result, is able to leave her without causing himself much pain. His announcement comes just as Marah is writing a feature story on the virtues of platonic love. Unfortunately, Marah fails to follow her own advice with regard to platonic love. She is devastated when David tells her he is going to leave her, but outwardly, she maintains a strong, nonchalant, and almost flippant attitude: "is that all?...Are you going to tell me such a light thing as this has so completely upset you? *You*, a man of iron" (Coleman 51). She valiantly tries to keep her emotions in check with David, but when the conversation becomes too painful for Marah, Coleman allows her narrator to intrude into the text and advance the plot until the protagonist has recovered her composure. When the narrator poignantly reveals, "I think it was then that her heart broke" (Coleman 51), the reader is touched by the depth of the protagonist's suffering. The notion of platonic love introduced innocently enough at the beginning thus becomes a framing device of the story. The story begins with Marah

writing a theoretical article about the nature of platonic love and ends with her living as a victim of her lover's own platonic attitudes.

When David leaves Marah's office, he inadvertently leaves behind his signature gray doeskin gloves. This incident is crucial to the story because it recalls his earlier association of Marah with "those long, expressive, black-gloved arms" of the alluring French singer, Yvette Guilbert (Coleman 50). The black gloves serve as a symbol of Marah's vitality and sensuality, the qualities that attracted David to her. When David reveals to Marah that he is leaving her for a younger, more vibrant woman, she suddenly feels very old and unattractive. Her spirit and zest for life seem to fade from her face. This draining of Marah's vivacity is symbolically represented by the draining of the colour from her alluring black gloves. The gray doeskin gloves become a symbol of her lack of life and vigour, the loss of colour in the gloves serving as an indication of the extent to which David's departure affects Marah. The moment she puts them on, she ceases to be "the sort of woman who gets into a man's head and intoxicates him" (Coleman 50); she becomes an "old woman" with a wax-white face and bluish shadows lurking about her lips, so physically transformed that the night editor does not even recognize her (Coleman 55). At the end of the story, Marah is enveloped by what she sees as the emptiness of her life and all that she has to comfort her is a pair of gray gloves.

In this bleak ending, Coleman is suggesting that women are not always able to negotiate a compromise between their desire to be independent and their desire to be loved. More often than not, they are forced to make a choice - consciously or unconsciously - between the two, and as a result, are left yearning for the path they did

not choose. In Marah's case, this choice is a complex one. She chose to have both a career, and a loving relationship with a man, but unable to have a committed relationship, marriage, she eventually loses her chance at such a relationship. In this story, Coleman dramatizes the notion that having both a successful career and a successful personal life appears impossible for women at the turn of the century. In this one scene that anticipates Joyce in its epiphany, Coleman tells the story of Marah's life and her dilemma. In creating a protagonist and a story that end so unhappily, Coleman makes a strong departure from the traditional gothic romances of the nineteenth century. She constructs a more psychological romance which, like those of the Modernists, explores the darker side of human relationships.

Jean Blewett also explores human relationships in her fiction, though in a different way from her friend, Kit Coleman. In 1898, she was hired by the Globe to write a column competing with that of Coleman, but instead of throwing daggers at each other in print, Blewett and Coleman tossed bouquets of written compliments to one another. Blewett edited the Globe's woman's page on and off from 1898 to 1925 under the pseudonym, "Katherine Kent."⁵ In addition to being a journalist, Blewett was an accomplished poet and short story writer. She published her first book of poetry at the age of 19 and is best known for her collection, Jean Blewett's Poems (1922). Most of her poetry and stories were first published in her column, but Blewett also submitted her work to journals and magazines in order to support her family. Her husband was seriously ill for most of their marriage so Blewett had to support the family financially. In

⁵Further biographical information on Blewett can be found in her obituary which appeared in the Globe and Mail on August 21, 1934 (p. 8).

her obituary in the Globe and Mail (August 21, 1934), she was described as someone who "wrote from the heart. She wrote of all that was sweetest and best in life, and her thoughts centred around things of the home" (8). Critic Thomas O'Hagan described her poetry and stories as "homespun philosophizing and maudlin tales," but for the most part, successful with readers and critics alike (O'Hagan 793). In many ways her short fiction is more complex than her poetry, detailing the tension between women's independent aspirations and their traditional female obligations. Her fiction is, however, less dark and tragic than Coleman's.

In "The Experiences of a Woman Bachelor," Blewett makes effective use of the epistolary form, a form popular in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century conduct books. She transforms this traditionally didactic genre to incorporate a discussion of the changing role of women in society. Part of her idea for writing such a story comes from her journalistic and editorial background; in her columns, she often answered letters concerning the appropriate behaviour of young women. The letters in this story are written with a humour, tenderness, and colloquial charm with which the audience can easily identify.

In this story, Blewett establishes a conversation in letters between two women who, on the surface, seem to be complete opposites. Eunice, the woman bachelor, writes:

The Kentownites. They are like mosquitos, always buzzing and singing. I can't bear mosquitos, prefer snakes - they bite harder, but they don't bite so often, and they aren't forever droning an evil lay. (Blewett 144)

Kate, her married friend, writes:

Poor Aunt Lydia hasn't held up her head since the news first reached her. I went in yesterday morning to talk the affair over. She was in bed - I believe in my heart she climbed in when she heard me coming, for she was flustered and her cheeks were quite pink. (Blewett 141)

Eunice's statement is an expertly-crafted, sophisticated piece of literary artifice containing an extended metaphor, while Kate's style is colloquial, gossipy, and social, and her language is simple and straightforward.

The women's dissimilarity does not end at the level of textual style. They lead completely contrasting lives. Eunice Complin is a formally educated woman who lives and works in Montreal. She wears her university degree like a badge or medal of victory, signing the initials "B.A."⁶ after her name, as if her education had changed her name just as marriage had changed Kate's. The term "woman bachelor" is doubly significant in this story. It signals the fact that women in Canada have finally achieved greater equality and access to higher education. As well, it refers to the marital status of this modern, educated woman using a term that is traditionally used to describe unmarried men. The implication here is that unmarried, educated, "New Women" consider themselves to be independent careerists as are men. This second sense of "woman bachelor" is the one which is most important to us in our analysis of Blewett's story. Eunice relishes her independence, considers love a "nuisance," and avows that the only kind of love she is ever going to give or to receive is platonic love. Eunice's statement about the preferable aspects of platonic love launches a discussion between

⁶The degree conferred upon Eunice is important to note as it is the same one awarded to men. As noted in Chapter One of this study, when women were first admitted to institutions of higher education they were not permitted the same honours and degrees as their male counterparts.

the two women that becomes the common theme threading their letters together, where Kate cautions her friend about the inherent dangers of attempting to find platonic love:

You are too young and pretty to do well at the platonic business. I do not care how many maternal airs you give yourself, or how goody-goody he is, you are going to get into trouble. He may be as harmless as a dove, and you as wise as a serpent, but all the same you will find he will get to think too much of you, or you will get to think too much of him, or worse still, both of you will get sentimental. (Blewett 147)

In contrast to Eunice, Kate Deming is a self-described "common, everyday [married] woman" who has lived in the small town of Kentown all her life. As Kate herself explains, she is the type of person who starts "out to say all sorts of grave and clever things,...but [wastes her] time and paper in describing a nightcap" (Blewett 142). She marvels at Eunice's accomplishments:

Leave all this sweet foolishness to us who know nothing of the delights of brand new womanhood; who can't write books, speak on platforms, box, fence, run, row or analyse our emotions; who hang to our embroidery frames, our smelling salts, our whims - created from the beginning to be in bondage to the sterner sex, and to hug our chains. (Blewett 143)

With these words - "embroidery frame," "smelling salts," "bondage," and "chains" - the relational dynamic between these two women shifts, and the seemingly simple and direct Kate becomes the instructor for Eunice, the woman bachelor, schooling her on all the subjects she could not learn about at university - common sense, men, love, and relationships - all the while remaining in her domestic sphere of married, small-town life. In depicting Kate as a teacher within the context of her traditional role as a wife, Blewett suggests the possibility of conventional women transgressing and subverting the strictures of their appointed spheres.

Eunice attempts several times to form platonic relationships with the intelligent men she meets. She first befriends a young, single Presbyterian minister who mistakes

her friendship and her interest in his marital status as signs of her romantic attachment. She ends their friendship the moment she realizes that he wants to marry her rather than the woman she has chosen for him. Her next attempt at a platonic relationship is with a "homely" professor who is married to a beautiful and clever woman (Blewett 149). The professor is a perfect gentleman towards Eunice, but his wife does not understand their relationship and ends the association, a decision he dares not challenge. After such foiled attempts at platonic relationships, Eunice chooses to marry her patiently waiting old friend, Augustus. With Eunice's marriage to a man with whom she protested she shared strictly a platonic love, Blewett suggests, as did Coleman, that platonic love is not as easy to achieve as it may seem. Eunice's droll suggestion that platonic love is "a snare or a delusion" appears, on second thought, to be as insightful as it is witty (Blewett 149). Eunice may have a university degree, but the fact that she will no longer be a bachelor in the marital sense suggests that she will not have the career she expected. She will, from all indications, become more like Kate, a traditional, domestic woman, ruled by a husband, in Eunice's case, fittingly named after a Roman emperor, Caesar Augustus. Her independence and new womanhood will be traded for an "embroidery frame," a few "smelling salts," and some "chains" (Blewett 143). Blewett demonstrates that women are unable to have platonic relationships because men refuse to accept the possibility of having such relationships with women; they see women in limited roles -- as sexual beings to whom they can relate only as lovers or husbands -- and it is within these roles they expect women to act.

Further, in her conventionally happy ending, Blewett suggests that even in a transitional era like that of the turn of the century when traditional roles are being

questioned, women have to capitulate to desires of the patriarchy. This tendency toward capitulation can be seen in another Blewett story, "Dr. Dorothy Treherne," in which a medical doctor falls in love with a colleague, an emancipated woman doctor, only when she breaks into tears and is "just a woman, sweet and broken" (Blewett "Dr." 563), and in "The Emancipation of Dorothea," in which the protagonist, who throughout the entire tale campaigns for women's rights and equality, gives up her independent aspirations to marry the man who rescues her from an attacker in the forest. Such stories, in which the emancipated woman protagonist becomes a domesticated woman, are characterized by critic Ann Artis as "boomerang" stories. They are common in Blewett's short fiction, and reflect the author's inner turmoil with the conflicting and ever-present tensions facing women at the turn of the century.

Such tensions are also evident in Ethelwyn Wetherald's "Jealousy." Like Coleman and Blewett, Wetherald began her career as a journalist. She became editor of the Globe's woman's page after the departure of Sara Jeannette Duncan, but is best known for her talents as a poet. Her poems were so esteemed in her day that Governor General Earl Grey bought 25 copies of one of her books and Prime Minister Sir Wilfrid Laurier quoted her in a speech in the House of Commons (Wetherald Lyrics ix). In her article on Wetherald in Leading Canadian Poets, Katherine Hale likens Wetherald's poetry to that of Archibald Lampman and Gerard Manley Hopkins. Wetherald travelled throughout North America as she developed her literary career, yet she always yearned for the home and countryside she describes in her poetry. This desire was so strong that she turned down a well-paying job as a first-class proofreader for the series of volumes entitled the World's Best Literature to return home to her retired life (Moyles 6).

Wetherald, like many women journalists in Canada at the time, was frustrated by the toll her newspaper work took on her creative work. In 1896 she wrote to W. W. Campbell that she "shall be glad to go back to Fenwick and the sweet realities of life away from the bubbles and baubles of journalism" (Wetherald Lyrics xvi). Her fiction, like that of Blewett, is more biting and unconventional than her poetry. Ironically, she did not particularly enjoy writing short fiction. In her "Reminiscences of a Poet," Wetherald writes that "unless there is direct inspiration I prefer discursive essay writing to writing stories" (Wetherald Lyrics xiii). A striking example of her crisp prose, her story "Jealousy," is a subtly macabre tale detailing the dark side of traditional womanhood.

Like Blewett, Wetherald begins her story by depicting two female protagonists with contrasting views of women's role in society; one is the epitome of the new, independent, educated woman, and the other is the embodiment of every traditionally feminine value. Miss Cora Braithwaite is a single, professional woman, "incapable of self-sacrifice, of deep feeling and real passion," who laughs with the same free, "applausive laughter" we identified as carnival in Chapter Two (Wetherald 285). It is interesting to note that the name Wetherald chooses for her New Woman protagonist is remarkably similar to her journalistic *nom de plume*, "Bel Thistlethwaite," a similarity that suggests Wetherald's personal identification with her protagonist. In contrast, Laura Emmett is a self-sacrificing wife who upholds the conventions of traditional feminine behaviour. Wetherald complicates her story by constructing an intellectual association between Cora, the New Woman and the husband of Laura, the traditional woman. By never suggesting that anything more than a platonic academic friendship exists between Miss Braithwaite and Professor Emmett, the narrator emphasizes the irrationality of

Laura's suspicions. As a result, Laura Emmett's jealousy seems authentic and dark.

Professor Emmett has completely different and separate relationships with the two women; he is Laura's husband and Cora's colleague. He does not need to have an intellectual relationship with his wife because he has such relationships with other people such as Cora (Wetherald 282). He is content that his wife has made his home "a paradise," and he needs and expects her to fulfill her domestic role. He accepts Laura's "mental shortcomings" and never offers to help her expand her interests, although as the narrator points out, she is not incapable of this expansion; she simply has an "unawakened intellect" (Wetherald 282). And though she tries to participate in the nightly discussions between her husband and Miss Braithwaite who has come to live with them, Laura is unable to establish a space for herself in them:

To poor Laura Emmett, who supposed Lucretius to have been a woman, and who mentally supplied the missing aitch in Ben Jonson's name, imagining its omission due to a British irregularity in the matter of aitches, the long evenings of literary chit chat between her husband and cousin were naturally not very interesting. (Wetherald 282 - 3)

Further, during these conversations, Professor Emmett does not take much notice of Laura's presence or desperate attempts at participation. He focuses his attention intently on his intellectual sparring mate, Cora Braithwaite, and most of the time forgets that his wife is present until he needs some physical fulfilment, be it food, drink, or affection.⁷ Laura's jealousy is stirred when she realizes that Cora makes her husband's evenings agreeable to a degree that she has never been able to achieve. Her jealousy is not so much of Cora as a person - because when they are alone they often share

⁷In many ways, Professor Emmett treats Laura more like a maid than a life partner.

pleasant domestic conversation - as it is of the intellectual stimulation Cora is able to give her husband. She is envious of the woman she is unable to be, the woman "whose cheeks never crimsoned, whose pulse never galloped, whose hands never trembled, whose [heart] never broke" (Wetherald 285), the woman who attracts so much of her husband's attention. Jealous of the space Cora occupies in Emmett's life, Laura is a very possessive wife.

Laura's jealousy of Cora's freedom, intellect, and independence is intensified by Emmett, who becomes the pivot point between the two women. In fact, he exacerbates and complicates the jealousy Laura feels toward Cora whenever he interacts with both women at the same time. Professor Emmett emphasizes and intensifies the ideological differences between these women by treating them in completely different ways, using one woman to satisfy his intellectual needs and the other to satisfy his physical ones. He positions the new woman, Cora, on fairly equal footing with himself, and the traditional woman, Laura, at his feet in unwavering wifely adoration and support. He keeps Laura in this submissive position by feeding her insecurities and manipulating her feelings of intellectual incompetence. The ultimate example of his manipulation of his wife's feelings occurs when he makes her doubt and chastise herself over her susceptibility to jealousy and mistrust by offering to cease his intellectual discussions with Cora. Wetherald expertly articulates the dark character of Emmett's self-congratulation in, "he marvelled at the ease with which a man can secure his own way by a timely expression of his willingness to sacrifice it" (Wetherald 288). Laura bears a great deal of the responsibility for positioning herself in this submissive role because she continually initiates discussions with her husband in which she demonstrates her

ignorance, her inferiority to him, and her complete dependence on him.

Further, Wetherald points out that Emmett alone is not responsible for Laura's jealous feelings. She argues that Laura's jealousy is the product of many conflicting factors and emotions, the basic fear feeding it being the fear of losing her husband, the centre of her world, her only identity. Because of the intimacy they share in their conversations, Laura suspects that Cora and Emmett are becoming the "us" of the household and that she is becoming the outsider or guest. Her jealousy is layered, yet at the same time, it is tenuous, as is evident in the narrator's assertion that Laura's heart "burned and froze in consecutive moments of emotion" (Wetherald 285). The suggestion that emotions can be both decisive and hesitant at the same time marks an insightful and innovative way to illustrate the tensions women feel, torn between their traditional familial obligations and the new world that is opening up around them. Wetherald conjures up the conflicting feelings, the insecurities, and the lack of control confronting women at the turn of the century. Her readers are easily able to identify with Laura's inner struggle and jealous feelings because many of them are in the same position as Laura, having to compete with the New Woman while still keeping true to their traditional womanly virtues of self-sacrifice and nurture.

In an effort to perpetuate her husband's happiness, Laura keeps her jealousy of Cora to herself, except for one admission to him, "I wish your love was given to Cora and your liking to me" (Wetherald 287). Laura's suggestion that she would rather have an intellectual connection with a man than an emotional one once again brings forward the notion that platonic relationships are something toward which one should aspire and to which nothing else quite measures up. Laura's jealousy festers within her, not just

because of the envy she feels toward Cora, but because of her feelings of guilt and humiliation at being jealous. These conflicting pressures take their toll on Laura and in a macabre admission when her husband is critically ill, she reveals relief and joy at having her husband "sick and suffering and all [her] own" (Wetherald 289). In an appalling remark reminiscent of the work of Poe, Wetherald demonstrates the extremes to which the protagonist's frustration and jealousy have taken her: with her dead husband lying in her arms, Laura tells Cora that "her husband never seemed so near to [her] as now" (Wetherald 289). This disturbing statement demonstrates the depth of Laura's possessiveness. She has absolutely nothing in her life except for her relationship to her husband; she has no sense of self. She is relieved when he dies because at last he is hers and hers alone. No one, not even Cora, the New Woman, will be able to take him from her. This is a very bleak picture of a marriage relationship from a woman's perspective. The implication here is that traditional marriage relationships are constricting and suffocating for those women who exist only in and for their husbands because they are centred around control and not companionship.

Wetherald's story has a very different focus from those of Coleman and Blewett. Wetherald directs attention to the effect the New Woman has on the traditional woman who sees her traditional relationship threatened and realizes she has nothing else in her life, while Coleman and Blewett explore the perspective of the New Woman. In "Jealousy," Wetherald intricately constructs a portrait of the dark side of the angel of the house, an "angel of the house of Usher," if you will, whose commitment to her conventional virtues and traditional relationships causes the destruction of her self.

The image Wetherald leaves us with of the woman, calmly holding her dead

husband in her arms and commenting on what a lovely thing death is, is as powerful as that at the end of the Coleman story. In both cases, the final image stays with us and flavours our experience of the story: the protagonist's face is the one we identify with and it is her suffering we see. What both these authors are doing dramatically, and what Blewett is attempting to do in a more humorous way, is to show that for the most part women at the turn of the century were unable to choose their paths in life. In all of the stories we have examined, we have encountered a bleak picture of the possibility of women at the turn of the century achieving the options they choose, particularly with regard to their romantic options. These authors examine the New Woman with a careful eye to the complexities they themselves have experienced in living a freer and more independent life. Coleman and Blewett depict the New Woman as someone who has her own trials to endure and her own sacrifices to make while Wetherald depicts her as someone by whom traditional women feel threatened. The New Woman protagonist, though characterized in different ways by these short story writers, is a complex and multi-dimensional character, a woman who makes her own decisions and struggles to live with the consequences, whatever they may be.

Conclusion

Women at the turn of the century in Canada were faced by new challenges and opportunities that conflicted with the virtues and qualities they were brought up to revere. All of the authors examined in this study attempt to explore these women's lives and gain insight into the tensions they faced. Dougall, Duncan, Coleman, Blewett, and Wetherald all write in a time of transition when traditional conceptions about their roles as women in society are being challenged. Though all five do not agree as to what the role of woman in society should be, they explore the options open to her. Dougall, Coleman, and Blewett explore from the perspective of the New Woman, while Duncan, and particularly, Wetherald, examine the impact the New Woman has on the traditional woman and her beliefs. Their works, regardless of the particular perspective, give us insight into the tensions women of the period faced as they tried to adjust to the changing world around them. Through the medium of these literary works, we are given a clearer picture of a part of our history that has been obscured over the years, if not forgotten altogether.

In his article "Some Canadian Woman Writers," Thomas O'Hagan concludes:

The heart and brain of Canadian women have indeed been fruitful in literary achievement, but no brief article such as this can hope to do justice to its quality or its work. The feminine gift is a distinct gift in letters - it is the gift of grace, insight, and a noble subjectivity. Take the feminine element out of literature - remove the sopranos from our groves, and how dull and flat would be the grand, sweet song of life! (O'Hagan 795)

Though his repeated references to the "feminine" qualities of women may seem antithetical to our discussion of the New Woman in Canadian literature, they are quite characteristic of the 1890s period in which he is writing. He does however raise some

important points for readers and critics alike to consider today. Women at the turn of the century produced a great deal of literature. This study has glimpsed only a few of the authors and works that the period has to offer. Much work remains to recover the fiction and the tradition of New-Woman writing in Canada, writing that is characterized by its emotional and intellectual explorations of women's lives at the turn of the century. This fiction, however, is important for more than just sociological reasons. As we have seen throughout this thesis, the women writers at the turn of the century have a depth and insight to their fiction that is amplified by their skill as writers.

Their literary work marks a clear departure from nineteenth-century traditional literary conventions. They abandon traditional conventions such as the happy ending and the inevitable marriage, and they rework traditional genres such as the epistolary form, adapting them to facilitate their modern goals. Their writings also anticipate the development of literature in the twentieth century, particularly the work of the modernists. Writers such as Douglass, Duncan, and Coleman employ techniques that implicate their readers in their works, making them participants as well as spectators. These writers move away from the plot-driven romances of the nineteenth century and begin experimenting with different narrative tools such as narrative intrusion and interior monologue in an effort to give their readers glimpses inside the minds of their protagonists. They create psychological dimensions to their protagonists so that readers can experience first-hand their inner thoughts and feelings. Further, in writing endings to their stories that are ambiguous and open to interpretation, these writers challenge their readers to make decisions for themselves about the outcome and the implications. Duncan's ambiguous ending in A Daughter of Today frustrates and at the

same time motivates the reader to re-read the text, as with every reading a new interpretation becomes possible.

In addition to experimenting with new techniques, Canadian women writing at the turn of the twentieth century establish a new kind of romance in Canadian literature, one where angst, frustration, and confusion triumph over conventional happy endings. The protagonists in the stories examined in this study never seem to be able to live happily ever after, regardless of whether or not they marry. They are changed by their experiences, and for the most part, are left contemplating the choices they make or struggling to deal with the consequences. This new romance provides a more complex and insightful study of human character and relationships than the romances that came before it, and to some degree, it anticipates the later fictional romances of Martha Ostenso, Ethel Wilson, and Margaret Laurence.

The women who wrote in Canada at the turn of the century paved the way for the succession of superb women writers who have helped to establish Canadian literature as a significant force on the world literary stage. We cannot look at the writers of today without thinking back to those who opened the way for them, the women who with grace and courage wrote about issues and tensions that continue to be relevant over a century later.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

- Blewett, Jean. "The Experiences of A Woman Bachelor." Canadian Magazine 26 (December 1905): 154 - 161.
- . The Cornflower and Other Poems. Toronto: William Briggs, 1907.
- . "Dr. Dorothy Treherne: An Easter Love Story." Canadian Magazine 20 (April 1903): 558 - 564.
- . "The Emancipation of Dorothea." Canadian Magazine 35 (June 1910): 139 - 144.
- . Heart Songs. Toronto: George N. Morang, 1898.
- . Heart Stories. Toronto: Warwick Bros and Rutter Ltd., 1919.
- Coleman, Katherine Blake [Kit]. "A Pair of Gray Gloves." Canadian Magazine 22 (December 1903): 121 - 125.
- Duncan, Sara Jeannette. A Daughter of Today (1894). Ottawa: The Tecumseh Press, 1988.
- . "American Influence of Canadian Thought." The Search for English-Canadian Literature. Ed. Carl Ballstadt. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975.
- . The Imperialist (1904). Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Inc., 1990.
- . "Outgrown Literary Methods." The Week IV, no. 28 (June 9, 1887): 450 - 1.
- . A Pool in the Desert. Markham: Penguin Books Canada Ltd., 1984.
- . Sara Jeannette Duncan: Selected Journalism. Ed. Thomas Tausky. Ottawa: Tecumseh Press, 1978.
- . "Saunterings." The Week III (November 4, 1886): 781.
- . A Social Departure. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1890.
- Dougall, Lily. The Madonna of a Day. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1895.
- . What Necessity Knows (1893). Ottawa: Tecumseh Press, 1992.
- Katherine Blake Coleman Papers. Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa.

Wetherald, Ethelwyn. "Jealousy." Canadian Magazine 38 (April 1912): 505 - 509.

---. The Last Robin: Lyrics and Sonnets. Toronto: William Briggs, 1907.

---. Lyrics and Sonnets. Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1931.

Secondary Sources

Adburgham, Alison. Women in Print: Writing Women and Women's Magazines From the Restoration to the Accession of Victoria. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1972.

Aitken, Johan Lyall. Masques of Morality: Females in Fiction. Toronto: Women's Educational Press, 1987.

Allen, Grant. The Woman Who Did. Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1895.

Almon Hensley, Sophia. Love and the Woman of To-morrow. London: Drane's, 1913.

Artis, Ann. New Women, New Novels: Feminism and Early Modernism. New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 1990.

---. "'Retreat with Honour': Mary Cholmondeley's Presentation of the New Woman Artist in Red Pottage." Writing the Woman Artist. Ed. Suzanne M. Jones. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991. 333 - 350.

Bacchi, Carol. "Divided Allegiance: The Response of Farm and Labour Women to Suffrage." A Not Unreasonable Claim: Women and Reform in Canada, 1880s - 1920s. Ed. Linda Kealey. Toronto: The Women's Educational Press, 1979. 89 - 108.

Bakhtin, Mikhail Mikhailovich. "Introduction." Rabelais and His World. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984. vii - 58.

Bauer, Dale M. and Susan J. McKinstry, eds. "Introduction." Feminism, Bakhtin, and the Dialogic. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991. 1 - 6.

Beckson, Karl. London in the 1890s: A Cultural History. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1992.

Berkinow, Louise. "Introduction." The World Split Open. Four Centuries of Women Poets in England and America, 1552 - 1950. New York: Vintage Press, 1974. 3 - 47.

- Berman, Jaye. "A Quote of Many Colours: Women and Masquerade in Donald Barthelme's Postmodern Parody Novels." Feminism, Bakhtin, and the Dialogic. Eds. Dale M. Bauer and Susan Jaret McKinstry. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991. 123 - 134.
- Bernhardt, Clara. "Ethelwyn Wetherald." Saturday Night (13 April 1940): 11.
- Bernheimer, Charles. "The Decadent Subject." L'Esprit-Createur 32, no.4 (Winter 1992): 53 - 62.
- Booth, Alison. "Incomplete Stories: Womanhood and Artistic Ambition in Daniel Deronda and Between the Acts." Writing the Woman Artist. Ed. Suzanne M. Jones. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991. 113 - 130.
- Brandon, Ruth. The New Women and the Old Men: Love, Sex and the Woman Question. London: Secker and Warburg, 1990.
- Bridle, Augustus. "One of the Oddest of Editors." The Courier 20, no. 17 (23 Sept 1916): 21.
- Burt, S., L. Code, and L. Dorney, eds. Changing Patterns: Women in Canada. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1988.
- Buss, Helen. Mapping Our Selves: Canadian Women's Autobiography in English. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993.
- Charlesworth, Hector. Candid Chronicles: Leaves from the Notebook of a Canadian Journalist. Toronto: Macmillan Company, 1925.
- Coleman, Katherine Blake [Kit]. "Jean Blewett." Our Monthly. 1, no.1 (May 1896): 35 - 38.
- Cook, Ramsay and W. Mitchinson, eds. The Proper Sphere: Woman's Place in Canadian Society. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1976.
- Coombs, Katherine. "Wot's awl this abaat the noo woman?" The Studio. High Art and Low Life: The Studio and the Fin de Siecle. vol. 201 (no. 1022/1023) London: Studio International Special Centenary Number, 1993.
- Cran, Marion Dudley. A Woman in Canada. London: W.J. Ham-Smith, 1910.
- Crean, Susan. Newsworthy: The Lives of Media Women. Toronto: Stoddart Publishers, 1985.

- Cunningham, Gail. "Introduction." The New Woman and the Victorian Novel. New York: Barnes and Noble Books, 1978. 1 - 20.
- Davies, Gwendolyn. "The Literary 'New Woman' and Social Activism in Maritime Literature, 1880 - 1920." Separate Spheres: Women's Worlds in the Nineteenth-Century Maritimes. Eds. J. Guildford and S. Morton. Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1994.
- Dean, Misao. A Different Point of View: Sara Jeannette Duncan. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991.
- . "'You may imagine my feelings': Reading Sara Jeannette Duncan's Challenge to Narrative." Re(dis)covering Our Foremothers: Nineteenth-Century Canadian Women Writers. Ed. Lorraine McMullen. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1990. 187 - 198.
- Dowling, Linda. "The Decadent and the New Woman." Nineteenth-Century Fiction 33 (1979): 434 - 453.
- Du Plessis, Rachel Blau. Writing Beyond the Ending: Narrative Strategies of Twentieth-Century Women Writers. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985.
- Ebel, Elizabeth, ed. Writing and Sexual Difference. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982.
- Egerton, George. "Virgin Soil." Discords. London: John Lane, 1894. 145 - 162.
- Ellis, Charles Mayo. An Essay on Transcendentalism (1842). Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1970.
- Emberley, Julia. Thresholds of Difference. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993.
- Emerson, Ralph Waldo. "Nature" and "The Divinity School Address" in The Norton Anthology of American Literature. Eds. N. Baym, R. Gottesman, L. Holland, D. Kalstone, F. Murphy, H. Parker, W. Pritchard, and P. Wallace. 3rd Edition Shorter. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1989. 384 - 411 and 425 - 436.
- Errington, Jane. "Pioneers and Suffragists." Changing Patterns: Women in Canada. Eds. S. Burt, L. Code, and L. Dorney. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1988. 51 - 79.
- Felski, Rita. Beyond Feminist Aesthetics: Feminist Literature and Social Change. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989.

- Ferguson, Ted. Kit Coleman: Queen of Hearts. Toronto: Doubleday Canada Ltd., 1978.
- Fernando, Lloyd. "New Women" in the Late Victorian Novel. University Park, Penn.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1977.
- Fielder, Leslie A. and Houston A. Baker, Jr., eds. English Literature: Opening Up the Canon. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981.
- Fowler, Marian. Redney: A Life of Sara Jeannette Duncan. Toronto: Anansi Press, 1983.
- Fraser, Wayne. The Dominion of Women: The Personal and The Political in Canadian Women's Literature. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1991. xi - 67.
- Freeman, Barbara. "'Every Stroke Upward': Women Journalists in Canada, 1880 - 1906." Canadian Women's Studies 7. 3 (Fall 1986): 43 - 46.
- . Kit's Kingdom: The Journalism of Kathleen Blake Coleman. Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1989.
- Frye, Northrop. The Stage is All the World. Stratford: Stratford Festival, 1985.
- Fuller, Margaret. Woman in the Nineteenth Century. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1980.
- Fulton, E. Kaye. "The Secret Scribe: A Pioneering Female Journalist Led a Double Life." Maclean's (July 15, 1996): 55.
- Gerson, Carole. "The Business of a Woman's Life: Money and Motive in the Careers of Early Canadian Women Writers." Women's Writing and the Literary Institution. Eds. C. Potvin and J. Williamson with S. Tötösy de Zepetnek. Edmonton: Research Institute for Comparative Literature, University of Alberta, 1992. 77 - 94.
- . "Duncan's Web." Canadian Literature 63 (Winter 1975): 73 - 80.
- Gilbert, Sandra and Susan Gubar. The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979.
- . No Man's Land: The Place of the Woman Writer in the Twentieth Century. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988.
- Gissing, George. The Odd Women. London: Virago Ltd., 1980.

- Goddard, B. "A Portrait with Three Faces: The New Woman in Fiction by Canadian Women, 1880 - 1920." The Literary Criterion 19 no. 3 - 4 (1984): 72 - 92.
- Goodwin, Rae. "The Early Journalism of Sara Jeannette Duncan." M.A. thesis, University of Toronto, 1964.
- Griffiths, N. E. S. Penelope's Web: Some Perceptions of Women in European and Canadian Society. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1976.
- Grip 24. xiv (January 1880): 10.
- Hale, Katherine. "Ethelwyn Wetherald." Leading Canadian Poets. Ed. W. P. Percival. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1948.
- Hapke, Laura. Tales of the Working Girl: Wage Earning Women in American Literature, 1890 - 1925. Toronto: Macmillan Canada, 1992.
- Huf, Linda. A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Woman: The Writer as Heroine in American Literature. New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Company, 1983.
- "Immorality in Canada." The Canadian Practitioner XXI (November 1896): 848 - 9.
- Irvine, Lorna. Sub/Version: Canadian Fiction by Women. Toronto: ECW Press, 1986.
- Jackel, Susan. "Canadian Women's Autobiography: A Problem of Criticism." Gynocritics/Gynocritiques: Feminist Approaches to Canadian and Quebec Women's Writing. Ed. Barbara Godard. Toronto: ECW Press, 1986. 95 - 100.
- "Jean Blewett's Written Words Live in Hearts of Friends." Globe and Mail (April 21, 1934): 8.
- Jones, Suzanne W., ed. Writing the Woman Artist: Essays on Poetics, Politics, and Portraiture. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991.
- Juhasz, Suzanne. Naked and Fiery Forms: Modern American Poetry by Women. New York: Colophon - Harper, 1976.
- Kesterton, W. H. A History of Journalism in Canada. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1967.
- Lang, Marjory. "Separate Entrances: The First Generation of Canadian Women Journalists." Re(dis)covering Our Foremothers: Nineteenth-Century Canadian Women Writers. Ed. Lorraine McMullen. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1990. 77 - 90.

- Lauter, Paul. "Working-Class Women's Literature: An Introduction to Study." Women in Print. vol. I. Eds. J. Hartman and E. Messer-Davidow. New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1982. 109 - 134.
- Lerner, Gerda. "Authorization Through Creativity." The Creation of Feminist Consciousness: From the Middle Ages to Eighteen-Seventy. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993. 167 - 91.
- . The Creation of Patriarchy. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- Light, B. and J. Parr, eds. Canadians on the Move, 1867 - 1920. Toronto: New Hogtown Press and OISE, 1983.
- Maas, Barbara. Helpmates of Man: Middle-Class Women and Gender Ideology in Nineteenth-Century Ontario. Bochum: Universitätsverlag Brockmeyer, 1990.
- Macklem, John. "Who's Who in Canadian Literature: Jean Blewett." Canadian Bookman IX. 4 (April 1927): 99 - 100.
- MacMillan, Carrie, Lorraine McMullen, and Elizabeth Waterston. Silenced Sextet: Six Nineteenth-Century Canadian Women Novelists. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992.
- McClung, M.G. Women in Canadian Literature. Toronto: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1977.
- McClung, Nellie. Clearing the West. Toronto: T. Allen, 1935.
- . In Times Like These. Toronto: George J. McLeod, 1917.
- . The Stream Runs Fast. Vancouver: Wrigley Printing Company, 1945.
- McKenna, Isobel. Sara Jeannette Duncan: The New Woman. A Critical Biography. Ph.D. Diss., Queen's University, 1980.
- McMullen, Lorraine. "Introduction." Re(dis)covering Our Foremothers: Nineteenth-Century Canadian Women Writers. Ed. L. McMullen. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1990. 1 - 4.
- . An Introduction to the Aesthetic Movement in English Literature. Ottawa: The Hiamaska Press Ltd., 1975.
- . "Lily Dougall: The Religious Vision of a Canadian Novelist." Studies in Religion 16, no. 1 (1987): 79 - 90.

- . "Lily Dougall's Vision of Canada." A Mazing Space: Writing Canadian Women Writing. Eds. Shirley Neuman and Smaro Kamboureli. Edmonton: Longspoon-NeWest, 1986. 137 - 47.
- and Sandra Campbell, eds. Aspiring Women: Short Stories by Canadian Women, 1880 - 1900. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1993.
- and Sandra Campbell, eds. "Introduction." New Women: Short Stories by Canadian Women, 1900 - 1920. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1991. 1 - 18.
- and Sandra Campbell, eds. Pioneering Women: Short Stories by Canadian Women, Beginnings to 1880. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1993.
- Meese, Elizabeth. "The Languages of Oral Testimony and Women's Literature." Women's Personal Narratives. Eds. Lenore Hoffman and Margo Culley. New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1985. 18 - 28.
- Melville, Herman. "Bartleby, the Scrivener." The Norton Anthology of American Literature. Eds. N. Baym, R. Gottesman, L. Holland, D. Kalstone, F. Murphy, H. Parker, W. Pritchard, and P. Wallace. 3rd Edition Shorter. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1989. 993 - 1017.
- Middleton, J.E. "Writing-Lady" [Jean Blewett]. Educational Record (Quebec) 62 (April - June 1946): 98 - 100.
- Mill, John Stuart. The Subjection of Women (1869). London: Virago Press, 1983.
- Moers, Ellen. Literary Women. New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1976.
- Moss, John. Sex and Violence in the Canadian Novel. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977.
- Moyles, R.G. "Etheiwyn Wetherald: An Early, Popular, and Prolific Poet." Canadian Children's Literature 59 (1990): 6 - 16.
- Nelson, Sharon. "Bemused, Branded, and BelittlEd. Women and Writing in Canada." Fireweed 15 (1982): 65 - 102.
- O'Hagan, T. "Some Canadian Women Writers." Catholic World 63 (Sept. 1896): 779 - 93.
- Palmer, Jerry. "Fierce Midnights: Algolagniac Fantasy and the Literature of the Decadence." Decadence and the 1890s. Ed. Ian Fletcher. London: Butler and Tanner Ltd., 1979. 89 - 108.

- Pater, Walter. "Conclusion" to The Renaissance. Prose of the Victorian Period. Ed. Willam E. Buckler, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1958. 550 - 553.
- Pittock, Murray G. H. Spectrum of Decadence: The Literature of the 1890s. New York: Routledge Press, 1993.
- Praz, Mario. The Romantic Agony. London: Oxford University Press, 1954.
- Prentice, Alison, Paula Bourne, Gail Cuthbert Brandt, Beth Light, Wendy Mitchinson, and Naomi Black, eds. Canadian Women: A History. Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1988.
- and Susan Houston. Family, School and Society. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1975.
- Ready, Kate. "Sara Jeannette Duncan's A Daughter of Today: Feminist Recomposition of the 'Magic Picture' Motif." Unpublished seminar notes for ENG 7320, University of Ottawa, 1995.
- Relke, Diana. "Literary Mothers and Daughters: A Review of Twentieth-Century Poetry by Canadian Women." CRIAW Papers on Literary Productions by Canadian Women. Ottawa: CRIAW/ICREF, 1992. 109 - 146.
- Ricci, N. P. "The End/s of Woman." Canadian Journal of Political and Social Theory/Revue canadienne de theorie politique et sociale 11, no.3 (1987): 11 - 27.
- Ritchie, Eliza. "Higher Education." Herald (Halifax) Woman's Extra (10 August 1895): 3.
- Roberts, Wayne. Honest Womanhood: Feminism, Femininity and Class Consciousness Among Toronto Working Women, 1896 - 1914. Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1977.
- . "'Rocking the Cradle for the World': The New Woman and Maternal Feminism, Toronto, 1877 - 1914." A Not Unreasonable Claim: Women and Reform in Canada, 1880s - 1920s. Ed. Linda Kealey. Toronto: The Women's Educational Press, 1979. 15 - 46.
- Ross, Catherine Sheldrick. "Calling Back the Ghost of the Old-Time Heroine: Duncan, Montgomery, Atwood, Laurence, Munro." Studies in Canadian Literature 4, no. 1 (1979): 43 - 58.

- Rosenfelt, Deborah S. "The Politics of Bibliography. Women's Studies and the Literary Canon." Women in Print. vol. 1. Eds. J.E. Hartman and E. Messer-Davidow. New York: MLA, 1982. 11 - 35.
- Rowland, Robin. "Kit's Secret." Content 90 (Nov. 1978): 30 - 31.
- . "Kit Watkins: The Journalist Who Opened The Way For Canadian Newspaper Women." Content 85 (May 1978): 12 - 21.
- Rubinow Gorsky, Susan. Femininity to Feminism: Women and Literature in the Nineteenth Century. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1992.
- Russ, Joanna. How to Suppress Women's Writing. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983.
- Russo, Mary. "Female Grotesques: Carnival and Theory." Feminist Studies / Critical Studies. Ed. Teresa de Lauretis. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986. 213 - 229.
- Rutherford, Paul. A Victorian Authority: The Daily Press in Late Nineteenth-Century Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982.
- Saunders, Margaret Marshall. The Story of the Graveleys. Boston: L. C. Page and Company, 1903.
- Showalter, Elaine. Daughters of Decadence: Women Writers of the Fin de Siecle. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1993.
- . A Literature of Their Own: British Women Novelists from Brontë to Lessing. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977.
- . "New Women." Sexual Anarchy: Gender and Culture at the Fin de Siecle. New York: Penguin Books, 1991. 38 - 58.
- . "Feminist Criticism in the Wilderness." The New Feminist Criticism: Essays on Women, Literature, and Theory. New York: Pantheon Press, 1985. 243 - 270.
- Sochen, June. The New Woman: Feminism in Greenwich Village, 1910 - 1920. New York: Quadrangle Books, 1972.
- Spacks, Patricia Meyer. The Female Imagination. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1975.
- Spencer, Sharon. "'Femininity' and the Woman Writer: Doris Lessing's The Golden Notebook and the Diary of Anaïs Nin." Women's Studies 1. 3 (1973): 247 - 258.

- Spender, Lynne. Intruders on the Rights of Men: Women's Unpublished Heritage. London: Pandora Press, 1983.
- Stallybrass, Peter and Allon White. The Politics and Poetics of Transgression. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986. 1 - 26.
- Stephenson, Marylee, Ed. Women in Canada. Toronto: new press, 1973.
- Stein, Joseph. "The New Woman and the Decadent Dandy." Dalhousie Review 55 (1975): 54 - 62.
- Stewart, Grace. "Demeter and Persephone and the Artist as Heroine." A New Mythos: The Novel of the Artist as Heroine, 1877 - 1977. Montreal: Eden Press, 1979. 40 - 49.
- Sutherland, Fraser. The Monthly Epic: A History of Canadian Magazines 1789 - 1989. Markham: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1989.
- Swinburne, Algernon Charles. The Complete Works of Algernon Charles Swinburne. Eds. Sir Edmund Gosse, C.B. and Thomas J. Wise. 20 vols. London: Wm. Heinemann, 1925 - 27.
- Tausky, Thomas E. "The Citizenship of Elfrida Bell." Canadian Literature 63 (Winter 1975): 127 - 8.
- . Sara Jeannette Duncan: Novelist of Empire. Port Credit, Ont.: P.D. Meaney, 1980.
- Thornton, R.K.R. "'Decadence' in Later Nineteenth-Century England." Decadence and the 1890s. Ed. Ian Fletcher. London: Butler and Tanner Ltd, 1979. 15 - 30.
- Trofimenkoff, Susan Mann. "Feminism, Nationalism, and the Clerical Defensive." Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History. Eds. Veronica Strong-Boag and Anita Clair Fellman. Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1986. 123 - 136.
- and Alison Prentice, eds. The Neglected Majority: Essays in Canadian Women's History. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977.
- Trudgill, Eric. Madonnas and Magdalens: The Origins and Development of Victorian Sexual Attitudes. New York: Holmes and Meier, 1976.
- Urbanski, Marie O. "Margaret Fuller's Woman in the Nineteenth Century: The Feminist Manifesto." Nineteenth-Century Women Writers of the English-Speaking World. Ed. Rhoda B. Nather. New York: Greenwood Press, 1986. 201 - 207.

Wilde, Oscar. The Picture of Dorian Gray. London: Oxford University Press, 1974.

Woolf, Virginia. A Room of One's Own. London: Grafton Books, 1977.

---. "Introduction." Life as We Have Known It. Ed. Margaret Llewelwyn Davies. New York: Norton, 1974.