

THE HISTORICAL NOVEL AND FRENCH CANADA

by

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Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

In the Faculty of Arts
of the University of Ottawa

May 1945.



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INTRODUCTION

Four centuries after Jacques Cartier's voyages, loyal descendants of the founders of New France still keep as their motto the words: "Je me souviens". Their first great poet, Octave Crémazie, stirred up patriotic emotion with his fond allusions to

"Tout ce monde de gloire où vivaient nos aïeux", and it has never been difficult to arose the enthusiasm of French-Canadians for that glorious past of which they are so justly proud. The writing of history early enlisted some of the most talented pens of French Canada; and when the novel appeared, little more than a hundred years ago, its earliest examples bore witness to the historical consciousness of the society it sought to please. *arouse*

But the blending of history and fiction was practised in Europe many years before that day in 1837 when a young French-Canadian writer proudly published his nation's first novel.

For that reason we open this study of "the historical novel and French Canada" with two chapters devoted to the genre in Europe. It is an unfortunate fact that few of those who have studied French-Canadian literature have been able, or perhaps willing, to relate the literary history of our old French province to that of her European elders. Such a comparison need not be unfair to the pro-

ductions of an infant nation newly emerged from a pioneer culture; preserving all due proportion, we may establish some useful criteria by this means.

However, it is not our intention in these pages to juxtapose individual works by European and French-Canadian authors, for we are not so much concerned with particular novels as with a kind of novel. We shall study the historical novel as a genre, first extensively in Europe, then intensively in French Canada. We shall see similarities between the developments on both sides of the Atlantic, but we shall also discover some features of the French-Canadian historical novel which are distinctive, and which have a special significance when considered as a reflection of that national consciousness of which we have spoken.

In addition to comparing the growth of the historical novel in French Canada with that of Europe, we shall attempt in Chapter III to trace the gradual maturity of the genre by a historical survey of its chief representatives. Discussing in chronological sequence the historical novels written by French-Canadians, we shall map out the stages through which the genre has passed in the century under consideration.

To complete our three-fold examination--comparative, historical, and critical,--we shall undertake in Chapter IV a detailed study of the technique of French-

Canadian historical novelists, illustrating our remarks by excerpts from the novels described in the previous chapter.

The final chapter will discuss the major historical problems which confront the historical novelist, with particular reference to the manner in which our French-Canadian novelists have dealt with, or failed to deal with, such problems.

In order to retain the advantage of a slight perspective, and to avoid a race with war-flushed Quebec publishing houses, the year 1937, centenary of the French-Canadian novel, has been chosen as the limit of this study. Since that time, a number of authors have made contributions to the genre in French Canada; the names of Marie-Claire Daveluy, of Léo-Paul Desrosiers, and of the French writer, Eugène Achard, spring to mind here. Since all three are represented by earlier works written before 1937, however, this exclusion has not seemed too severe.

PART I

THE HISTORICAL NOVEL . . .

"Le drame et le roman historiques
sont l'expression de la France et de
la littérature au XIX^e siècle."

H. de Balzac (1829).

CHAPTER I

THE HISTORICAL NOVEL IN EUROPE

a) Before Scott

In A. de Musset's delightful Lettres de Dupuis à Cotonet, we read that, at one stage in their attempt to characterize Romanticism, the two observers believed that it was the "genre historique". Here, as in most of their definitions, Dupuis and Cotonet were quite right,--but only partially so. For our present purpose, however, this particular aspect of the Romantic spirit is of great interest. The Romantics set men and events in space and time, glorying in the individual and shunning the universal. Their relativistic and cosmopolitan outlook made possible a new history and a new literature; by breaking down the traditional partitions between the various arts and genres, they made possible a new blending of history and fiction, the historical novel.¹

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1. Paradoxically, the same historical sense which first made the historical novel possible in the Romantic period also degenerated into the "search for origins" so widespread in scholarship today. The historical method of literary criticism fulfils a worthy function, but its exponents too often overstress the importance of "possible sources" and "early traces", to the neglect of our great heritage of works of recognized merit. Such source-sleuths periodically attempt to make the historical novel pre-date the Romantic movement which produced both it and them.

Let us not, however, pretend that the historical novel came into being spontaneously. We should do well at this point to glance briefly at a number of early works of fiction which have some claim to notice because of their historical character, but we need not go back too far. Among the ancients, historiography was "willing", but fiction was "weak".¹; in the Middle Ages, there was an almost complete lack of distinction between history and fiction. With the European Renaissance came the beginning of critical scholarship, and soon thereafter we note vague historical settings in French romances of the 17th century². After 1660, the "école classique" in France produced some shorter novels³ in which the historical references, particularly to character, are fairly specific. These novels are doubly historical for the modern reader, by their then historical characters, and by their "key" allusions which have since become historical. We hope we shall not be condemned as arbitrary if we side with the majority of critics and exclude from our classification of "historical novels" all those which have become his-

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1. G. Saintbury suggests Xenophon's Cyropaedia as an early historical novel, but not very seriously. ("The Historical Novel", in Collected Essays and Papers, 1875-1920, Vol. III. London: Dent, 1923)
 2. Cassandre (1642); Cléopâtre (1648); Artamène ou le grand Cyrus (1649-53); Clélie (1656); Faramond (1661). All quote authorities and pride themselves on being historical. Even the early L'Astrée (1610-24) introduced a definite historical setting.
 3. La Princesse de Clèves (1673); Almahide (1660).

torical by the passage of time; we shall henceforth consider only novels which are historical in intention.

In the mid-eighteenth century occurred a significant development in the history of the novel in general. The leadership in novel-writing passed from France (where the novel had attained reasonable merit under Prévost and Marivaux) to England, where Richardson, Fielding, Smollett, and Sterne were to develop it quite differently. For the next four or five generations, the novelist's crown remained in England (although only precariously in the years between Sterne and Austen); in the last of those generations, Scott's novels appeared. It is in the few decades before Waverley, and in England therefore, that we may expect some preparation for the new genre.¹

English novels had displayed a historical flavour even earlier, it is true. In the late sixteenth century, Nash, Lodge, and Deloney had written stories with distinct historical settings.² Later, Defoe had, in his Memoirs of

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1. This is by no means to suggest that no other country shared in the glory of "antecedents". To cite only one example, the Swedish writer Mörk (1714-1763) produced two novels with mediaeval settings, Adalrik och Gothilda and Thekla, half a century before Scott. (P. Van Tieghem, Précis d'histoire littéraire de l'Europe depuis la Renaissance. Paris: Alcan, 1935).
 2. Nash: The Unfortunate Traveller (1594)
 Lodge: The History of Robert, Second Duke of Normandy (1591); The Life and Death of William Longbeard (1593).
 Deloney: Pleasant History of John Winchcombe (ante 1619); Thomas of Reading (ante 1612)
 See A.T. Sheppard: The Art and Practice of Historical Fiction (London: Toulmin, 1930), chap. 2.

a Cavalier, produced what is often proclaimed as the first historical novel: a claim which is difficult to refute completely, because Defoe's amazing talent for creating a realistic atmosphere is therein turned to the reconstruction of a past period with great success.

We have said, however, that the immediate fore-runners of the historical novel may be sought in the last decades of the eighteenth century. In 1764 appeared Walpole's Castle of Otranto, the first noteworthy embodiment in fiction of the new "mediaevalism" coming into vogue,¹ and with it the Gothic novel entered the literary limelight. In the majority of its examples, the elements of mystery and horror are the prime importance, and the historical background is added only for plausibility and exoticism. Between 1780 and 1810, the historical element became increasingly important, and historical novels of a kind replaced the tale of horror.² Jane Porter, in her prefaces,³ boldly declares herself to have been the orig-

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1. Chatterton's poems, Tyrwhitt's edition of Chaucer (1755-58), and Murd's Letters on Chivalry and Romance (1762) are indications of this trend discernible after 1750 in England.
 2. Rowland Prothero, in his article, "The Historical Novel" (Quarterly Review, Jan. 1907, pp.25-54), says that about fifty historical novels were written in these three decades, with even Mrs. Radcliffe turning from horror tales to the historical novel in her Gaston de Blondeville (1802).
 3. Thaddeus of Warsaw, ed. of 1831; The Scottish Chiefs, ed. of 1831.

inator of the new type of fiction, but before her best-known book had been published,¹ the antiquary Joseph Strutt was painstakingly piecing together his Queenhoo-Hall (1808), a genuine attempt at portrayal of a past age in the spirit of Michelet's synthetic history. Unfortunately, Strutt knew much and tried to tell it all; it was reserved for a greater writer than he to revise and complete his book.

XGuestr

b) Sir Walter Scott

Seldom has it been given to any one man so to influence the course of literature both in his own land and abroad, as did Walter Scott. Lawyer, government official, poet, landholder, antiquarian, business-man and novelist, he was one of the last men of letters who were also men of life. Like his great contemporary, Goethe,--whose death preceded Scott's own by but a few months,--he was a prominent figure in the national life of his country, and possessed a catholicity of interest rare even in a Scotsman. Like Goethe too, he achieved a literary reputation in at least two genres, but there the resemblance stops. The search for inner significance, the keen intellectual probing of the German master were

1. The Scottish Chiefs (1810).

foreign to Scott:¹ for him the real was the external and concrete, hallowed by tradition and association.

We should misunderstand Scott were we to remove the qualification "hallowed by tradition and association". His success as a historical novelist--perhaps "romancer" is the better word--hinges upon his genius for the picturesque: for the concrete realization in dialogue, scene, and character of the expressive aspect of human life; but it is the warmth of his emotional colouring which makes these externals significant. For Scott, houses, trees, bridges, brooks, all had a fourth dimension: age. The past associations of a scene lent meaning to its appearance. Originally this associative faculty was closely related to his patriotism; it must never be forgotten that he was a Scottish novelist first and a historical novelist second. Only in his later novels did he separate love of the past from love of Scotland: it is then that we get the historical romances in settings abroad.

From early childhood, diverse influences helped to arouse Scott's remarkable historical sense. His shrewd kindly mother, Anne Rutherford, early opened to

1. "Their two worlds did not touch". (F. Gundolf: Scott and Goethe, in H.J.C.Grierson, ed: Sir Walter Scott To-day, London: Constable, 1932, p.65).

him her vast store of ballads and poetry; she was also to re-create for him the stirring scenes of the '15 and the '45. On his grandfather's farm at Sandy Knowe, he heard the old Border stories and Jacobite tales. As he grew older, books entered more and more into his education, but all his life he gathered oral traditions to supplement his voluminous reading. He learned to read early; had read Milton at the age of six, and was intimately acquainted with Latin literature at twelve. Reading voraciously and remembering almost everything,--the tales told of his retention of dozens of stanzas of ancient ballads, not to mention his possession of formal history, rival those put forward by Macaulay's admirers,--this was his preparation for a life of writing. So it was that a slow digestive process went on in his brain; history became his, and was ready at hand to be bodied forth in the novels. Here was the great difference between Scott's books, which were historical novels, and those of his predecessors and imitators, which were novels in historical settings.

"One advantage, I think, I still have over all of them," he writes in his (Journal).¹ They may do their fooling with better grace; but I, like Sir Andrew Aguecheek, do it more natural. They have to read old books and consult antiquarian collections to get their in-

1. Oct. 18, 1826. Ironically enough, this passage, which admirably explains Scott's superiority in one respect, also displays that carelessness in written style which has always formed grist for the mills of his critics.

formation; I write because I have long since read such works, and possess, thanks to a strong memory, the information which they have to seek for. This leads to a dragging-in historical details by head and shoulders, so that the interest of the main piece is lost in minute descriptions of events which do not affect its progress..."

Scott's historical leanings were obvious long before the publication of Waverley. The poetic romances differ only in form from the later genre, and the recasting of Queenhoo-Hall itself had been preceded by the early version of Waverley.¹ For the world at large, however, his career as a historical novelist dates from that July day in 1814, when the three anonymous volumes of Waverley; or 'Tis Sixty Years Since were put on sale. In the years that followed came novel after novel "by the Author of Waverley" to take their places on the bookshelves of the nation; some portraying contemporary Scotland, but three dozen of them ranging over eight centuries

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1. Seven chapters were written in 1805, and others added soon after. Friends to whom Scott showed these found them boring, and he put the manuscript aside in disgust, to find it again in 1813 while looking for his fishing tackle! ("General Preface to the Waverley Novels").

of history in many lands¹, and all rich with a profusion of colour and detail, solidity and humanity, such as had never been known before.

The stream of novels flowed more impetuously after the year 1826 brought the financial débâcle which was to leave Scott a debtor for the rest of his life, but it petered out in 1831 with the unhappy Castle Dangerous. Its author, whose identity had been an open secret long before the public announcement of 1827,² died a few months later. His literary earnings, equivalent to those of a modern millionaire, attest his popularity; the literature of every European nation bears witness to his influence.

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1. "The Waverley Novels" take us not only to the Scottish Highlands and Lowlands, but to the Shetland and Orkney Islands (in "The Pirate"), to London, Oxfordshire, Warwick, Derby, the Isle of Man, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Windsor, Northumberland, Cumberland, the Isle of Wight, and other parts of the British Isles; on his magic carpet we visit, among other foreign countries and cities, Syria, Constantinople, Scutari, France, Flanders, Holland, India (in "The Surgeon's Daughter") and Germany. Five of his novels deal with the period from 1000 to 1400; three the fifteenth century; four the sixteenth; eight the seventeenth; seven the first half of the eighteenth; and eight the second half of the eighteenth century". See A. T. Sheppard: The Art and Practice of Historical Fiction (London: Toulmin, 1930) p.58.
 2. "In 1823", Buchan tells us, "the 'Author of Waverley' was chosen to fill a vacancy in the Roxburghe Club, and Scott was permitted to represent the Unknown". (Sir Walter Scott. London: Cassel, 1932, p.251).

To what may we attribute the tremendous success of Scott's novels? In the first place he profited by conditions not of his making. He appeared at a time when Edinburgh had just become established as a brilliant centre of northern culture: David Hume, the philosopher, Robertson, the historian, and Adam Smith, the economist, were being recognized by the London public as men worth listening to, while young Burns was making his way in the literary world. It was a convenient hour for one who was to capitalize on Scotland's history: the turbulent past was but a generation or two removed, yet a cultured audience was already in the offing. In the history of English literature, too, Scott arrived opportunely, for as we have seen, historical consciousness had already found its way into fiction, and awaited the touch of a master to integrate the 'two. The novel form was already well developed, and historical research had achieved some measure of thoroughness. It was in these favourable circumstances that Scott's particular talents were to mature and fructify.

His genius can be easily described. An intense love of the past and desire to reveal humanity's part in it; a concrete imagination with a flair for the picturesque in all its forms; and over these, an all-embracing interest in his fellow human-beings, peer and peasant alike. The

past, the picturesque, and the human are the essentials of his repertoire: his ability to absorb and to express these three aspects of life was his talent. But if we try to define, instead of merely describing, his genius, we find no such simple formula. He did what many other writers have done in the same genre, but did it infinitely better; that is the simple fact which reams of criticism do little to illuminate.

With Scott, we have said, the historical novel at last replaces the novel of historical setting. The Monastery, for example, is not a story set in the Reformation period, but the Reformation revealed through a story. The question of the relation between history and the historical novel will be dealt with elsewhere; for the present we are concerned not with literary criticism, but with literary history. Let us, therefore, accept the statement that Scott's work marked a new trend in fiction, and attempt now a rapid survey of his European influence.

c) After Scott.

The success and influence of Scott in his own England country,-- if we allow him for the present to claim England as his country!-- were great enough to satisfy any writer's yearning for fame. Before his death, Scott had the doubtful pleasure of reading some of his imitator's

novels.¹ His immediate successors in popular favour were G. P. R. James,² famous for his "two horsemen" openings, and Harrison Ainsworth:³ the former was the more careful writer of the two, but the latter showed greater colour and variety. More enduring has been the work of the next writer of historical novels: Bulwer Lytton, whose Last Days of Pompei (1834) is still appreciated by many, although his Last of the Barons (1843), and Harold (1848), are almost forgotten. Dickens was to write two historical novels: one of them has become a classic.⁴

After Scott, however, there is only one truly great name in the history of the English historical novel: that of Thackeray.⁵ He is the first English writer of the genre to make a methodical study of the scene of his novel, documenting his book from county records, guide-books, newspapers, and pamphlets of the period he sought to portray. He thus differs widely from Scott, who tried to re-create the atmosphere of a period, but not its detail;

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1. In the Journal (Oct. 17, 18, 1826) he mentions having read H. Ainsworth's Sir John Chiverton and Horace Smith's Brambletye House.
 2. Richelieu (1825); Philip Augustus (1831); Henry Masterton (1832); Darnley (1839); etc.
 3. Old St. Paul's (1841); The Tower of London (1840); Rookwood (1834); etc.
 4. A Tale of Two Cities (1859).
 5. Vanity Fair (1846-8); Esmond (1852); The Virginians (1858-9); etc.

that Thackeray's method is not without merit in the hands of a master is proven by his Esmond, which has been called "the greatest book in its own special kind ever written".¹

About the time of the publication of Esmond (1852), however, the historical novel in England was beginning to decline in popular esteem. Several of its finest examples, it is true, were yet to appear. Kingsley's Westward Ho! (1855) is still known to every school-boy; his Hypatia (1851) and Hereward the Wake (1866) also deserve mention. A few years before the latter, appeared Reade's The Cloister and the Hearth (1861), a richly documented portrait of the fifteenth century, which is chiefly responsible for its author's fame. It was followed shortly by George Eliot's Romola (1863), an equally well documented although perhaps less interesting tale of Medicean Florence. The same decade saw the publication of one of the last important historical novels to be written in England: Blackmore's Lorna Doone (1869), which temporarily overcame the growing public indifference facing historical novelists after Thackeray.

The historical novel in England has been re-

1. G. Saintsbury: A History of Nineteenth Century Literature, 1780-1900 (London: Macmillan, 1929), p. 152.

vived occasionally, and there are several twentieth-century writers who have made noteworthy contributions to the genre.¹ What we have attempted to do here is merely to sketch the rise and fall of the historical novel in the two or three generations after Scott. As we now turn to the other European literatures, we shall note the same brief but fruitful upsurge of interest in the historical novel as a result of Scott's influence abroad.

France

In France, as we have seen, there had already been some preparation for the historical novel. It was not until the appearance of Chateaubriand on the literary stage, however, that two essential aspects of Romanticism came to the fore in French writing; a love of the past, and a feeling for local colour. Without these, there could be no historical novels in France; while they were prominent, there could be no respite from them! The first translation of Scott was published in 1816;² in 1818, his name appeared on the title page of La Prison

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1. Hewlitt, Sheppard, Sabatini, etc. It should be added that many nineteenth-century names (Disraeli, Marryat, Meredith, Whyte-Melville, Shorthouse, etc.) have been omitted in this very cursory survey.
 2. For a list of French translations of Scott appearing between 1816 and 1831, see E. Dargan: Scott and the French Romantics, in P.M.L.A., XLIX, 1934, pp.627-629.

d'Edimbourg (The Heart of Midlothian), while the latter was still being published anonymously in England. The acknowledged French translator, Defauconpret, prepared the first of his versions in 1817; in the decade following, he poured forth translations with a rapidity reminiscent of that of the original author, although he added to his work by translating other novels, such as Alexis' Malladmor, thinking them to be Scott's!

The documents of the period give ample evidence of Scott's popularity in France. In 1821, this paragraph might have been read in L'Abeille:

"Du Walter Scott! du Walter Scott!
Hâtez-vous messieurs, et vous surtout, mesdames, c'est du merveilleux, c'est du nouveau; hâtez-vous! La première édition est épuisée. la seconde est retenue d'avance, la troisième disparaîtra, à peine sortie de la presse. Accourez, achetez, mauvais ou bon, qu'importe! sir Walter Scott y a mis son nom (sic), cela suffit....et vivent l'Angleterre et les Anglais!"¹

The ironical tone of this comment indicates how advanced was "le Scottisme" even at this early date. Three years later Stendhal could write "Tous les écrivains qui aspirent à la célébrité en France se hâtent de publier leur imitation de Walter Scott."² The direct influence of Scott

1. Quoted by I. Maïron: Le roman historique à l'époque romantique (Nouvelle édition. Paris: Champion, 1912), p. 108.

2. Correspondance, Dec. 24, 1824.

upon French novel-writing covered the two decades from the publication of Ch. Nodier's Trilby (1822) to about 1840; even by the latter year, A. de Pontmartin tells us, "Le roman historique n'était pas encore tout à fait démodé... et Walter Scott avait encore des disciples et des imitateurs d'arrière-saison."¹ At their height, the imitations of Scott filled many shelves: turning to Stendhal again, we read that, by 1832, "Sir Walter Scott a peut-être eu en France environ deux cents imitateurs; tous les ouvrages de ces auteurs ont été lus; quelques-uns même ont eu plusieurs éditions, et sont parvenus à se faire lire à Paris."² Balzac's Illusions perdues (1837), describing literary activity in France in 1832, portrays the same Scott-idolatry which in less exclusively literary circles prompted the Duchesse de Berry to give balls to which the guests came costumed as characters from the Waverley novels.

The mention of Balzac reminds us that the author of the Comédie humaine was a strong admirer of Scott (a "weakness" for which he was criticized by Zola), and that he paid Scott a warm tribute in the Preface to the Comédie humaine; perhaps we should draw the curtain

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1. Souvenirs d'un vieux critique, VIII, quoted by E. Partridge: The French Romantics' Knowledge of English Literature (Paris: Champion, 1924), p. 265.
 2. Correspondance, Oct. 18, 1832. Pigoreau, in his Septième Supplément, July 20, 1824, takes Stendhal's figure seem a conservative estimate (Maigron, op. cit., p.52)

of charity over Balzac's own attempts at historical novels before Les Chouans (1829), his portrayal of the Brittany of thirty years before.

The few years before and after 1830 were to see France's most significant contributions to the genre. In 1826 appeared de Vigny's Cinq-Mars, which the author was proud to present to his master Scott, when the latter visited Paris in November of that year. Worthy of the Waverley novels in historical colour and dialogue, it differs from them in its conception: de Vigny builds his story around the leading characters of his period, taking issue with the more general view that such practice is dangerous both historically and artistically.¹ Cinq-Mars was followed in 1829 by P. Mérimée's Chronique du règne de Charles IX, which is considered by many as the best French historical novel; its objectivity is in striking contrast with the "special pleading" for the nobility seen in Cinq-Mars. Mérimée's conception of the historical novel is revealed in Chapter VII, devoted to a "dialogue entre le lecteur et l'auteur." Next in order of appearance came V. Hugo's Notre-Dame de Paris (1831),--a book which, although clearly eligible for classification as a his-

1. De Vigny's method is summed up very adequately in M. Souriau: Histoire du Romantisme en France (Paris: Spes, 1927), v.I, pp. 143-153.

torical novel, still puzzles the critic who is not satisfied with the oft-repeated explanation that "the cathedral is the hero".

As the twenty years which we have suggested as the period of the historical novel à la Scott in France wore on, other writers appeared whose novels, while directly in the historical tradition, veered towards the melodrama of Sue and Soulié. One writer, however, towers above those who sought merely to excite the popular imagination, and surpasses them at their own game of arousing narrative interest and suspense,-- Alexandre Dumas, père. Aided by his collaborators, especially by the historian Maquet, he produced a long list of novels remarkable both for their exciting narrative and for their relatively accurate historical background.

After Dumas, the historical novel in France waned. Flaubert, in Salammbô (1862) added an antique setting which was an attempt at a perfectly scholarly reconstruction of ancient Carthage,¹ but succeeded thereby only in revealing how easily the new vogue for scientific realism might kill the historical romance. When

1. And yet, alas, G. Lanson's Manuel bibliographique de la littérature française moderne (Paris: Hachette, 1925) lists three articles dealing with Flaubert's errors! (Nos. 19541, 19545 and 19546).

the Goncourts began to proclaim that, "on ne fait bien que ce qu'on a vu", the end had come; the reign of the historical novel in France was over.¹

Before concluding this discussion of France as a field of Scott's influence, we should note briefly the new impetus given to the writing of French history by the Waverley novels. Credit for launching Thierry in his historical vocation is usually assigned to Chateaubriand's Les Martyrs, but it is not unlikely that Scott had no small part in providing this stimulus.² In 1820, Thierry wrote an article in the Censeur Européen³ entitled: Sur la conquête de l'Angleterre, à propos du roman d'Ivanhoe, and in his Dix ans d'études historiques, he tells us that his conception of the Crusade period tallies with that of Scott. Barante, in his preface to his Histoire des Ducs de Bourgogne, admits his debt to Scott in the matter of local colour.⁴ Michelet's journal contains references to more than a dozen Waverley novels

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1. This statement should not be interpreted too literally. The works of the collaborators Breckmann and Chatrian are still read, and Anatole France's historical novels could not be passed over in a more thorough study of the genre.
 2. At least two critics have suggested such a possibility; G. Pelissier in his Le mouvement littéraire au XII^e siècle (Paris: Hachette, 1839), p. 234, and L. Maigron, *op.cit.*; pp. 213-216.
 3. May 29, 1820.
 4. And Scott returned the compliment by praising the Histoire in his preface to Anne of Geierstein!

which he read in the years from 1822 to 1829, and the Duc d'Aumale is said to have been inspired by Scott's Quentin Durward to write his Histoire des Princes de Condé (1869).¹ So it would not be unreasonable to state that Scott's influence on French historians was considerable: a bitter pill for those historians who denounce him.²

Germany

Ludwig Tieck, the ironical German Romantic, claims to have introduced the first copy of Waverley into Germany in 1818,³ but for the first description of Scott's popularity in Germany, we are indebted to the Briefe aus Berlin (1822) of the Jewish poet, Heinrich Heine.⁴ In Berlin, Heine tells us, everyone went to bed with Waverley under his pillow and read Bob Roy while sipping his morning chocolate;⁵ he himself was an admirer of Scott, and probably wrote his tragedies Almansor and Ratcliffe under the latter's influence. As elsewhere on

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1. Dargan, op.cit. p. 623 (no sources given).
 2. Throughout Europe, Scott's influence on the writing of history was nearly as great as upon literature. The single example of France has been included to illustrate this point, but no further reference will be made to it, since it falls outside our field.
 3. W. Macintosh: Scott and Goethe (Glasgow: Asher, n.d.), p. 153.
 4. Heine's Jewish blood should not be forgotten by his admirers; the present writer was told by a refugee from Hitler's Germany that Heine's work has been dropped from contemporary curricula in his native land, i.e., with the sole exception of his famous poem about the Lorelei, which appears over the caption: "Anonymous"!
 5. Briefe aus Berlin, Aug. 12, 1822.

the Continent, editions of Scott in Germany were published bearing his name before his anonymity had been laid aside in England: in 1823, a Dresden publisher put out The Bride of Lammermoor, Waverley, and The Heart of Midlothian with the title-pages inscribed "aus dem Englischen von Walther Scott", and in 1824 several editions appeared assigning authorship to Scott.¹ Goethe first mentions Scott in 1821, speaking of Byron's satire on his critics; he then read Kenilworth and praised Scott's "vorzügliches Talent, Historisches in lebendige Anschauung zu verwandeln".² In 1828, Goethe read Waverley, and admired it; three years later he was to sum up for Eckermann his opinion of his Scottish contemporary:

"Walter Scott ist ein grosses Talent das nicht seinesgleichen hat, und man darf sich billig nicht verwundern, dass er auf die ganze Lesewelt eine so ausserordentliche Wirkung hervorgebracht. Er giebt mir viel zu denken, und ich entdecke in ihm eine ganz neue Kunst, die ihre eigenen Gesetze hat".³

It is to be expected that Scott's early attempts

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1. The Fortunes of Nigel and Peveril of the Peak were published at Reutlingen in German, and an English edition of Kenilworth was produced at Zwickau. (W. Macintosh, op. cit.)
 2. Tag-und Jahreshefte, Weimar ed. of the Werke, LXXVI, p. 192.
 3. Gespräche mit Eckermann, Mar. 8, 1831. For details of Goethe's views on Scott, see J. Boyd: Goethe's Knowledge of English Literature, Oxford, 1932, pp. 212-230.

at translating Goethe, especially his rendering of Götz von Berlichingen in 1799, should have provided him with inspiration and suggestions for his own historical writing;¹ from time to time in the novels² there are traces of the influence of him whom Scott called "my old master".

The impression left by Scott on lesser minds in Germany is evidenced by the large number of imitations and adaptations of his novels turned out in the 1820's. Willibald Alexis led off in 1823 with his Walladmor, and before his Schloss Avalon appeared in 1827, a string of now forgotten historical romances had had their day.³ Later in the century a writer of more enduring merit, Theodor Fontane, was to admit indebtedness to Scott; his novels contain mention of Waverley titles, and his Vor dem Sturm (1878) has a plot similar to that of Waverley itself.

Before leaving Germany, we should speak briefly of the master of the historical "novelle" in Germany:

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1. A. T. Sheppard in his Art and Practice of Historical Fiction, London, 1930, considers Goethe's influence on Scott through this channel to have been considerable (pp. 49-50).
 2. Waverley is reminiscent of Werther, Anne of Geierstein obviously indebted to Götz, etc.
 3. Tiech: Aufbruch in den Cevennen; Spindler: Der Bastard; Zschokke: Adrich im Moos; Hauff: Lichtenstein; etc.

Conrad Ferdinand Meyer. His dozen stories of a hundred pages or so each are among the best known pieces of German literature; compact little portraits of seventeenth-century France,¹ twelfth-century England,² or the Sweden of Gustavus Adolphus,³ all historically convincing despite their author's confession:

"Je me sers de la nouvelle historique purement et simplement pour y loger mes expériences et mes sentiments personnels, la préférant au Zeitroman, parce qu'elle masque mieux et qu'elle distance davantage le lecteur".⁴

One other German name deserves mention,--that of Lion Feuchtwanger, whose Jud Süß (1925) is credited with a part in stimulating the twentieth-century revival of the historical novel.⁵

Holland

Unlike the rest of Europe, Holland admired and imitated both Scott's poetic romances and his novels. Poems in his manner were composed in Holland as early as

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1. Das Leiden eines Knaben (1883).
 2. Der Heilige (1880).
 3. Das Amulett (1873).
 4. Letter to Félix Bovet, Jan. 14, 1888. Meyer, a Swiss, was bilingual and usually corresponded in French, although writing his Novellen in German. See E. K. Bennett: The German Novelle from Goethe to Thomas Mann (Cambridge: University Press, 1934).
 5. A number of recent German writers have written historical novels, Dahn, Hausrath, and Ebers, among others.

1822;¹ the novels became known a couple of years later, and some dozen of them were published in Holland between 1824 and 1826.² An appreciation of the significance of the historical novel as an instrument for the Dutch national consciousness was aroused in 1827 by D. J. van Lennep's famous dissertation on the importance of Holland's soil and antiquities as sources of artistic inspiration, and from that date the historical novel thrived in Holland.

The first to follow van Lennep's lead was Margaretha de Neufville, whose De schildknaap (1829) remains one of the best-known Dutch novels. The master of the Dutch historical novel was to be Jacob van Lennep, son of the author of the Verhandeling over het belangryke van Hollands grond en oudheden already mentioned, and himself a translator of Scott. Of the novels of this "Dutch Scott", one, his Ferdinand Huyck (1840), stands out as a classic, and is often considered the best Dutch novel ever written.

In the 1830's, Aernout Drost and Jan Oltmans had both produced historical novels and tales reminiscent of Scott: as they fell silent, the second great Dutch historical novelist, Mme Bosboom-Toussaint, began writing

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1. H. Vissink: Scott and his influence on Dutch literature (Zwolle: Berends, 1923), p. 129.
 2. Chiefly by W. van Doekeren at Groningen, (Vissink, op. cit.)

her historical novels of psychological analysis: De graaf van Devonshire (1839) with its "two horsemen" opening in the style of G. P. R. James, Het huis Lauernesse (1840) and many more. Later in the century, a third historical novelist of note appeared: Hendrik Jan Schimmel, whose De Kaptein van de Lyfgarde (1888) probably closes the period of Scott's influence on Dutch literature. The extent and duration of that influence are perhaps more remarkable in Holland than anywhere else in Europe: no doubt a partial explanation is to be found in the fact that Dutch literature really began in the Romantic period when Scott's influence was the strongest in sight.¹

Italy

In Italy, translations of the Waverley novels began to appear early in the 1820's: Kenilworth in 1821, Ivanhoe, Le Prigioni di Edimburgo, and Waverley in 1822,

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1. An interesting parallel might be drawn between Dutch and French-Canadian literature by some future critic. Both literatures were born in an atmosphere of Romanticism, and were immediately used to further the cause of national identity; both numbered among their writers a father-and-son pair (the van Lennep, the de Gaspé), and a woman who introduced psychological analysis into the historical novel (Mme Toussaint, Laure Conan); both eventually freed themselves from foreign influence and developed independent trends.

and L'Antiquario in 1824. Scott had already been known in Italy through the French translations, but during the next thirty years, Italian translations and complete editions of his tales were numerous, although "only a few stray volumes were reprinted in the second half of the century";¹ in Italy as elsewhere, the direct influence of Scott was powerful but relatively short-lived.²

Nevertheless, we have Scott to thank for parts of one of the best-known of all Italian novels: Manzoni's I Promessi sposi (1827). From him Manzoni borrowed

".....not only the idea of the historical romance, but also certain devices of composition, such, for instance, as the introduction of comic relief and of characters with a tic, such as Don Ferrente and Donna Prassede, who have many similar but far less subtle counterparts in Scott's stories."³

In later years, Manzoni expressed the opinion that I promessi sposi had failed, for in it fiction was more important than fact:⁴ as in the case of many other

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1. B. Croce: European Literature in the Nineteenth Century (tr. D. Ainslie. London: Chapman and Hall, 1924), p. 66.
 2. "L'imitazione pura scottiana in Italia non va oltre il 1830, perchè, dopo, altre correnti s'infiltrano e modificano il nostro romanzo storico." (G. Agnoli: Gli elbori del romanzo storico in Italia. Piacenza: Favari, 1906, p. 3).
 3. Croce, op. cit., p. 166.
 4. In his essay, Del romanzo storico, begun in 1828 but not published till 1845. Other Italian historical novelists who later turned to history included Varese, Bazzoni, Rosini, Cantù, and Rovani. (Agnoli, op. cit., p. 145)

Italian novelists, his great respect for historical fact was to prevent him from writing more historical novels.

The first imitation of Scott had been Bertelotti's La calata degli Ungheri in Italia nel novecento (1822). The "Author of Waverley" became increasingly popular in the next few years.¹ The great period of literary imitation opened in 1827 with C. Varese's Sibilla Odaleta, followed the next year by his La fidanzata ligure. Simultaneously, G. Bazzoni was writing Il castello di Trezzo (1826) and Falco della rupe (1827), tales of Renaissance Italy. Another milestone was the Ettore Fieramosca (1833) of Manzoni's son-in-law d'Azeglio, a truly nationalistic novel which aroused patriotic feeling by its stirring scene in which ten French champions are defeated by ten Italian heroes.² The following year brought Tommaso Grossi's Marco Visconti, some scenes of which were indebted to Scott's The Antiquary and The Monastery. Nationalist sentiment received further impetus from Guerrazzi's L'Assedio di Firenze (1834), picturing the siege of 1530, which also provided the setting of d'Azeglio's Niccolò dei Lapi (1841). The late 1850's saw the publication

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1. Agnoli, op. cit., p. 96n., lists 21 Italian operas, largely in the period 1819-1835, based on Scott.
 2. The name of the reckless, good-natured Fanfulla in this novel has become proverbial.

of two justly famous novels which may be said to close the period of the historical novel in Italy opened by Scott: Rovani's I cento anni (1859-60), and Nievo's Le confessioni di un ottuagenario (1857-8, but published posthumously 1867), the latter being usually considered the only worthy successor to I promessi sposi.

In general, the Italian historical novel suffered from a widespread ignorance of history,¹ a fault not uncommon in writers of the genre elsewhere. However, they compensated for that lack by throwing themselves much more vigorously into the religious, and particularly the amorous, aspects of their novels than did the Scottish author.

Spain

In Spain, Scott was not known or imitated quite as soon as in France and Germany. The earliest reference to him in a Spanish publication dates from 1818.² Five years later, the exiled Blanco White in London included some translated fragments of Ivanhoe in his Variedades (1823), but complete Spanish translations of Scott only began to appear about ten years after their French counterparts. Ivanhoe was translated into Spanish in London in 1825; the first translation to be produced in Spain proper

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1. Agnoli, op.cit., p. 106: "Era l'ignoranza assoluta della storia quella che riteneva i nostri dal tentare il romanzo storico."
 2. In José Joaquín de Mora's Cronica científica y literaria for 1818. See P. L. Churchman and E. A. Peers: Survey of the Influence of Sir Walter Scott in Spain (Revue hispanique, LV, 1922, pp. 227-310)

was that of The Talisman, published at Barcelona in 1826.¹

As may have been gathered from the foregoing remarks, London was a favourite seat of exiled Spaniards whose views were thought too liberal for early nineteenth-century Spain, and it was through such exiles that Scott's influence first reached Spain. His first Spanish imitator was the young exile Trueba y Cosío, who in 1828 began writing romances in Scott's style in English, later turning them into Spanish; in the preface to his Gomez Arias (1828), Cosío praises Scott warmly.

To judge from the number of translations of Scott's work, his influence in Spain was at its peak from 1830 to 1832; his imitators, however, flourished for at least a decade after the latter date. One of the best known of these is M. J. de Larra, whose El doncel de don Enrique el doliente (1834) shows Scott's influence in its long descriptive passages and even in details like the "juicio de Dios" modelled on that of Ivanhoe. The same Scott novel was also the basis of López Soler's Los Bandos de Castilla (1830) and José de Espronceda's Sancho Saldaña (1834). A later direct imitation of Scott was Enrique

1. For a list of Spanish translations of Scott, see the Churchman-Peers Survey, pp. 266-310. A few additions to their list are to be found in Nuñez de Arenas: Simples notas acerca de Walter Scott en España (Revue hispanique, LXV, 1925, pp. 153-159.)

españoles el ingenio; pero de la historia de su patria sabían poco, y aun esto de un modo general y confuso, por lo cual rara vez sus representaciones de costumbres antiguas lograron eficacia artística, ni siquiera apariencias de vida."¹

Nevertheless, we should not criticize them too severely for inadequacies often forced upon them by their literary environment.

Russia
and
Poland

The then still young literatures of the Slavic countries² were quick to take up the new art of Scott.

In Russia, Scott was known and imitated after 1820 by several writers, among them Bulgarin, Grech, and Zagoskin, whose Yury Miloslavsky (1829) was a Russian "best-seller" of the 1830's and 40's.³ Strangely enough, two leading Russian critics, Lermontov and Belinsky, both ranked the American Fenimore Cooper above Scott,⁴ but there is little doubt that Russian novelists⁵ were influenced by

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1. Menéndez y Pelayo: Discurso leído ante la Real Academia Española, en la recepción pública del 7 de feb. de 1897, quoted in L. B. Walton: Pérez Galdós and the Spanish Novel of the Nineteenth Century (London: Dent, 1927), pp. 217-218n.
 2. The present writer's ignorance of the Slavonic languages has made it necessary to depend here on scattered reading in the Slavonic Review, and in the few critical works on the subject available in translation.
 3. M. de Vogüé: Le roman russe (13e édition, Paris: Plon, 1916), p. 69.
 4. P. Struve: Walter Scott and Russia, in Slavonic Review, XI, 1933, p. 404.
 5. In two cases at least (Gogol's Taras Bulba, 1834, and Tolstoi's War and Peace, 1876), Russian historical novelists produced works of a massive epic quality, rare elsewhere. V. Hugo's Quatre-vingt-treize (1873) is somewhat similar.

by the latter, although apparently not to the same extent as their Polish contemporaries.

Scott's works reached Poland through the French versions of Defauconpret, and the earliest Polish translations were made from these. The years 1828 to 1837 saw nineteen of Scott's novels issued in Polish,¹ and his admirers and imitators were numerous. A. Bronikowski's Hipolit Boratynski (1828) was modelled on Kenilworth, and his King Casimir and Esther (1828), mirrored Ivanhoe. Two of the earliest Polish historical novels date from 1825² and 1826³ respectively; the next ten years were a period of apprenticeship, after which some of the finest of Polish historical romances were written. One of the most prolific writers was Kraszewski, whose 105 novels included one cycle of 29 which recounted the whole of Polish history.⁴ During the latter half of the century a number of authors⁵ continued to produce historical novels, until the appearance of the master of the genre in Poland, Henryk Sienkiewicz. His voluminous and care-

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1. J. Krzyzanowski: Scott in Poland, in Slavonic Review, XIII, 1934, p. 181.
 2. J. Niemcewicz: John of Tenczyn.
 3. F. Bernatowicz: Poyata, or the Lithuanians in the 14th Century.
 4. The cycle was introduced by his An Old Saga (1876).
 5. Henryk Rzewuski, Michael Czaykowski, Zygmunt Kaczkowski, etc., (See Krzyzanowski, *passim*)

fully documented novels were read throughout Europe; his Quo Vadis (1859), was translated into thirty languages. Sienkiewicz's works are characterized by an epic vastness similar to that of certain Russian novels;¹ in addition, they all contain a strong love interest based on the "rival" plot, of which we shall speak again later.

It is noteworthy that in Poland the peak period of the historical novel was not of such short duration as elsewhere in Europe; it is possible that the restrictions of national subservience and official censorship made the remote periods treated both more attractive and safer as subjects.

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A full account of the historical novel in nineteenth-century Europe would fill many times the present pages. For example, we have said nothing of the flourishing school of historical novelists in Hungary, prominent in which were the three Magyar nobles Nicolas Jósika,² Joseph Eötvös,³ and Sigismund Kemény,⁴ the "Balzac of Hungary";⁵

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1. W. L. Phelps: Henryk Sienkiewicz, in Essays on Modern Novelists (New York: Macmillan, 1912), pp. 115-131.
 2. Abafi (1836); The Bohemians in Hungary (1839); Esther (1853); Francis Rákóczy II (1861); The Last Báthory (1837).
 3. Hungary in 1514 (1847).
 4. Gyulai Pal (1846); The Fanatics (1859), Rough Times (1862).
 5. E. Reich: Hungarian Literature (Second ed., London: Jarrold, n.d.), p. 157.

their great contemporary Maurus Jókai is a European figure, his The Golden Era of Transylvania (1851) and An Hungarian Nabob (1856) having been early translated into English.¹

What we have attempted in the present chapter is an outline of the rise of the historical novel in Europe, by a rapid enumeration of the chief authors and books involved. We have glanced at the major European literatures of the nineteenth century and have noted certain similarities. The triumph of the historical novel in every case is related to the new interest in nationality and history ushered in by the Romantic Movement: in such soil Scott's influence was able to take root and flourish. Without Scott there might have been no great tradition of the historical novel in Europe, but without the historical spirit of Romanticism his influence might never have been felt,--indeed, the Waverley novels never written.

1. Ibid. See also H. J. V. Temperley: Maurus Jókai and the Historical Novel, in Contemporary Review, July 1904, pp. 107-114.

CHAPTER II

THE HISTORICAL NOVEL AS A GENRE

By virtue of its modernity as compared with the older genres, the novel has escaped the rigorous formalization practised on poetry and the drama by all the legislative critics from Aristotle to Boileau and Pope. Its formlessness gives its writers unparalleled freedom, but at the same time makes tremendous demands on them: it is no coincidence that most of our successful novelists have been in their forties or older.¹ Attempts to assess the novel as a literary form and to analyze its distinctive technique have filled many volumes; in the present chapter we find ourselves obliged to examine that particular form of the novel which is the object of our study, in order that we may have a frame of reference when we come to take up our French-Canadian novels.

The historical novel may be said to have all the features of the novel in general, plus at least one which is peculiar to it: an emphasis on setting, especially in its temporal sense. We may therefore prof-

1. Scott published his first novel, *Waverley*, at 43; Richardson's first, *Pamela*, appeared when he was 51; Hawthorne wrote *The Scarlet Letter* at 46.

itably consider novel-structure in its widest application, concentrating at last on this distinctive element.

Let us take down a novel from the shelf. Before raising the cover, we know two things about it: its size and its title. The question of size is an embarrassing one for the critics. A slim volume like Balzac's Le Colonel Chabert; a substantial tome like Fielding's Tom Jones; the many-volumed fictions in which this twentieth century, like the seventeenth, abounds: all are novels, with none to say them nay. Any limitation in this particular risks being both dogmatic and ahistorical. About all that can be said is that the novel, unlike the smaller genres, is not seriously intended to be read at one sitting. The title, however, is much less elusive, in spite of the fact that contemporary novelists seem to wish to protect themselves against the prejudices of the reading (and buying) public by divulging no hint of their novel's content in the title. Titles fall into several large classes similar to the headings under which novels are usually discussed: there are "character" titles,¹ "plot" titles,² and "setting" titles;³ combinations of these and other smaller classes are less easy to define, although quotations, preferably

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1. Clarissa Harlowe, Cinq-Mars, Joseph und seine Brüder.
 2. The Scarlet Letter, Une de perdue, deux de trouvées.
 3. Les mystères de Paris, The Last Days of Pompeii.

obscure, are conspicuously in vogue as titles to-day.¹

Opening our imaginary novel, we are confronted by the author's name and the date of publication. On these two lines of type has been built the science of historical criticism: the examination of a literary work in the light of its place in its author's life and in the tradition of literature: "la race, le milieu et le moment".

Let us glance at the table of contents. If our novel is old enough, the chapter-headings will be quite informative; if it is recent, we are likely to find the chapters without titles. The important thing is that there are chapters,--divisions in the text which are more or less complete in themselves. To many writers, chapter endings are simply convenient places to change scene or year: to a skilful narrator like Dumas, each chapter has its own beginning, middle and end (in Aristotle's sense), with a closing paragraph to lure the reader on to the next.

Having been much more conscientious in the preliminary handling of our novel than the average reader, we may now reward ourselves by skipping the preface and turning to the first page. We may be sure that the first ten lines we read have cost the author many an hour of travail. How does one begin a novel? This is a question too vast in its scope to be dealt with here; if we restrict its

1. The Canadian best-seller, Earth and High Heaven, is an example.

application to the historical novel, we may perhaps cope with such a query. The opening of a historical novel must above all let us know that the setting is not to be a contemporary one; it must also, of course, fulfil the normal functions of any opening paragraph by arousing interest and creating the tone to be maintained in the book. Most historical novels open in one of two ways: by a brief introductory essay on the period concerned,¹ or by a scene.² the historical remoteness of which is self-apparent, though often aided by a slyly intruded date. This scene will sometimes be designed to create suspense, the reader not knowing its significance till later.³ No matter what the opening, there is one common feature: the first few pages will always contain a date,--perhaps camouflaged in an account of political events, or inserted at the head of a letter, implied in a description of costume or in archaic speech, but most frequently stated coldly at the outset, a practice sanctioned by Scott himself. If the opening is of the essay type, we may expect a dramatic scene to follow it, launching the reader into

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1. As Scott's Ivanhoe, for example.
 2. Scott's Kenilworth: "It is the privilege of tale-tellers to open their story in an inn....."
 3. As in G.P.R. James' "two horsemen" openings; Scott's The Talisman, and Cooper's The Spy open with a solitary horseman, whom the reader follows for several pages before anything happens. A.T. Sheppard has devoted the 13th chapter of his Art and Practice of Historical Fiction (London: Toulmin, 1930) to openings and closings of historical novels.

the action of the novel. Nine times out of ten, this opening scene in either case will require a retrospect to explain the presence of its actors at the given place and time, so that our opening formula becomes: scene (dramatic and descriptive), retrospect (narrative). To attempt to schematize further here would be to fall into the Teutonic error of over-classification, but the pattern thus outlined is useful, as we shall come to see when reading French-Canadian novels.

With our distinction between scenic and panoramic writing,¹ we have crossed into the vast uncharted territory of novel structure. The action of a novel is usually made up of single events presented at some length,² and linked by less detailed passages covering the developments of the intervening periods. In spite of some exceptions, the regular practice is to write a novel in chronological order: even though the author leaps back and forth between action and retrospect, we are still justified in saying that he writes according to normal chronology. One of the chief problems confronting a

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1. These two terms are borrowed from P. Lubbock: The Craft of Fiction (London: Cape, 1921)
 2. Our inadequate critical terminology begins to cause trouble; by "events" we do not mean merely external happenings; in a purely "psychological" novel, there might conceivably be no external happenings at all.

novelist is, therefore, the proportion of scenes to narrative; scenes are of short duration, portraying select events with strong emphasis and considerable detail; panoramic narrative, on the other hand, involves more time, but does not stress individual events, since it aims at emphasis only by cumulation.

All scenic and some panoramic passages may also be regarded from another angle as "pictorial" or "dramatic".¹ If the action is merely described for us by the author or by a character, we have a pictorial account of what has happened, but it has not happened before our eyes; if, on the contrary, the actors appear and speak their own parts, that is, if they become present and immediate, we are witnessing a dramatic performance: in fact, a novel which was entirely dramatic and nowhere pictorial, would be a play.²

With the mention of "drama" we have a natural transition to the question of impersonality in writing. It is debatable whether, in the final analysis, any artist should be called impersonal, since all art consists in the imprint of personality upon external reality,--

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1. Here again we are indebted to Lubbock, op. cit.
 2. It will be noted that the philosophical distinction between "the become" and "the becoming" is reflected in the literary separation of narrative and drama.

the "homo additus naturae" of the philosophers; perhaps instead we should say that one artist is less obviously personal. He is thus described either because he tactfully disguises his own personality in his writing, for example transmitting his views through a character instead of directly, or because he eliminates from his writing as much of his individual personality as possible, seeking to be objective.¹ The latter type of impersonality is negative, and may well rob a work of much of its value if our definition of art is sound; the former sort of impersonality, however, is positive, and has implications of interest for the study of technique, especially on the subject of the narrative point of view, which should be discussed here before we proceed to the "particulars" of a novel:--plot, character and setting.

The "point of view" of a novel may be classified roughly as internal or external,--in other words, is the point of view that of a participant or of a non-participant? The external point of view takes two chief forms for which we might employ the terms "omniscient" and "perceptive". The author who writes from an omniscient point of view feels free to tell us anything he thinks of interest about

1. As Croce has pointed out (Theory and History of Historiography, tr. D. Ainslie, London: Harrap, 1921) when we say "objective" we really mean "intersubjective", common to a number of subjects.

his story: he will tell us what his characters are thinking, what they look like, and what they are doing,-- even to the extent of giving us first hand accounts of two events occurring simultaneously in different places. Such omniscience is clearly a most convenient assumption for an author, but its very freedom is a pitfall. The other external point of view is that of the author who puts before his readers only what may be perceived by the senses: he limits himself to the portrayal of appearance, behaviour and speech, renouncing the fascinating pastime of telling what his characters are thinking.¹

The internal points of view are more varied,-- and more restrictive. The most obvious group is that of the autobiographical points of view, those by means of which the hero (or heroine) tells his own story by a narrative in the first person, by a series of letters, or by a journal. Alike in essence, these three permit differences in technique. A story in the first person has the disadvantage of being all in retrospect and of postulating prodigious powers of memory in the leading actor; furthermore, we are prevented from ever seeing

1. This of course is the point of view of the playwright. The great risk here is that generalizations and inter-relationships which an omniscient writer would patiently explain may escape the audience.

the hero, or hearing what others think of him. In return for the advantage of greater vividness in emotional passages, we find the range of subtlety in our tale limited by the mental stature of the tale-teller. The epistolary method, in spite of being a very obvious literary convention is free from the remoteness of retrospect, and allows of a more plausible intimacy than a tale told in the first person; it is also more flexible, in that several writers may introduce complementary points of view, and fill the gaps caused by the hero's being in only one place at a time. The great weakness of such a method is that spontaneous emotional outbursts fall somewhat flat on letter-paper; one might say the same for journals, which in general have the merits of the epistolary method, but the drawbacks of the one-person point of view.

Another internal point of view is that of a secondary actor.¹ By this arrangement the modesty of the hero is preserved, and we are further enabled to see him in action on any important occasion, as well as having the secondary player's report on any minor scenes unworthy of the hero's participation. An elaboration of this method brings us the multiple point of view, by which

1. A familiar example of this type is The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes, as recounted by the faithful Dr. Watson.

several actors in turn tell the story, each account offering a splendid opportunity for the revelation of the speaker's character.

There is of course no reason why the point of view may not be changed in the course of a novel: Scott in Redgauntlet uses letters, journal, and omniscient narrative, and more than a century later Thomas Mann was to fascinate the readers of his Lotte in Weimar with a single chapter in which we see the world through Goethe's eyes. The few basic points of view which we have described here may be blended, adapted and varied "ad infinitum" by the skilful novelist.

Let us risk neglecting some of the interesting minor problems of novel structure and pass now to the critic's trinity: plot, characterization, and setting. These are the traditional headings under which novels have always been discussed, and although such a separation of elements which should never be separated is artificial, it is extremely convenient, in spite of a certain amount of duplication involved.

In discussing "scenic" and "panoramic" writing we spoke of events in a story. In theory, the simplest type of fiction might consist of a recitation of a series of unrelated events; in actual practice, the simplest story is that which involves a series of events causally distinct but having one element in common: usually their

connection with a single character. The picaresque novel is essentially of this sort: the adventures which befall Gil Blas or Don Quixote are connected only by the fact of happening to the same person. The next stage of complexity is reached when the events, instead of being unrelated, are causally linked as well as temporally consecutive: the sequence becomes a series. Only at this point do we have a plot. "'The king died and then the queen died' is a story. 'The king died and then the queen died of grief', is a plot".¹ It will be seen that to follow a plot requires a certain power of memory in the reader; the most highly developed type of plot also arouses curiosity on the reader's part through "suspense". A plot involving "suspense" is one in which two or more possible outcomes may be envisaged by the reader, at least one of which he desires, while he fears the others. Plot on this level requires events to be either contributory to or prejudicial to the desired solution; the alternation of progress and obstacle creates suspense.

Unfortunately for the critic's peace of mind, good plots are not as elementary as here suggested. In the first place, causal relationships are not unilinear: at every point in any chain of causes and effects a new

1. E. M. Forster: Aspects of the Novel (London: Arnold, 1927), p. 116.

relationship may appear, belonging to another chain, and so on. In a novel, the writer has to make some selection of the number of causal chains he will allow to ramify through his book, and of the points at which he will take us and lay down each chain. It is usually by the interaction of at least two such chains that the phenomena of complication and explication are produced. At the beginning of a novel, everything may seem quite straightforward, but as the causal relationships become more complex, a point is reached, usually from two-thirds to three-quarters of the way through the book, at which the desired goal appears completely unattainable. From this point on, the developments are such as to remove the obstacles: here we have the explication or dénouement.¹ Plots of this general structure, with "happy endings" are often classed as "romances", especially if their characters and events are somewhat idealized.

Secondly, plot is strongly influenced by character. Up till now, we have spoken of plot as if in a vacuum, but in a well constructed novel, the plot is always affected by the reactions of the characters, (as, in

1. Note that it is quite possible for a novel to open at a fairly advanced stage in the plot, especially if the author is chiefly interested in the study of character. The modern detective story is an example of a plot in which the dénouement occupies almost the whole book.

turn, the characters are affected by the plot). We thus have two variable elements in our composition, and it becomes difficult to outline possible trends. As a general rule, if the influence of character upon circumstances is the preponderant one, the characters are likely to be fixed, whereas when the dominant influence is in the opposite direction, the characters usually undergo considerable change and development through the pages of the novel. Development of character, however, must be carefully distinguished from revelation of character in various situations; the latter implies a relatively fixed personality. The most dramatic novel is, of course, one in which a balance is struck between plot and character in such a way that each influences the other.

We are here on the verge of a discussion of character, but let us resolutely draw back from the brink to consider briefly what sort of events usually constitute a plot. If we exclude eating and sleeping, which are somehow not soul-stirring in their implications, the great experiences of life are reduced to three: birth, love and death. Birth used to be a handy starting-point for a novel, especially one written from the autobiographical point of view, but as society has gradually transferred emphasis from heredity to environment, birth is less and less significant in literature. Death, on the other hand,

constitutes an important literary theme. For the study of plot, it has value because of its finality in human terms; it has so often been associated with tragic plots that our journalists use the words "death" and "tragedy" almost interchangeably. Nevertheless, it is on the remaining experience, love, that the majority of novel plots is based: the modern connotation of the word "romance", which we used above in a literary sense, gives evidence of the close association here. It would not be difficult to break down the varieties of the love plot into a few basic types. Nine out of ten romances (in the literary sense again!) consist of one of three patterns: A loves B and is loved by her, but obstacles intervene and the outcome is "sad" or "happy" accordingly as the obstacles are overcome or not; or, A and A₁ both love B, who ultimately makes a choice between them; or, finally, A loves B and is not loved by her, the outcome depending upon his success or failure in his suit.¹ Less common are plots based on the struggle for power or for prosperity, but these and other themes may replace the love-plot. Such simplified formulae accomplish little, however, except to show how limited are the possibilities of plot alone, when it is

1. If the series is extended, of course, we have the "chain of lovers" of French romances like L'Astrée: A loves B, who loves C, who loves D, who in turn loves A.

arbitrarily separated from character.

This time we shall not hesitate to plunge into a study of characterization. In the development of the novel, as in the growth of a child's reading taste, interest in the "story" is gradually transferred to the "people"; the success or failure of a modern novel depends largely on the interest aroused in the reader by its characters.

The historical novel would seem on the surface to present a special case, since its characters are often historical personages. In reality, the chief problem is that of determining how prominent the historical characters shall be in the story. The main body of novelists and critics, headed by Scott and Saintsbury, is of the opinion that the story should centre about a wholly fictitious personage, in order that the author may not be hampered by having to adapt his tale to the exigencies of historical report on his hero; the great figures of the past may well appear in the background, but should not constitute the focal point of a historical novel.¹ Once the writer has made this preliminary allocation of real and imaginary characters, the historical novel then becomes much like any other novel as far as characterization is concerned.

1. Note the titles of historical novels: Cinq-Mars, not Richelieu; Ivanhoe, not Richard Coeur-de-Lion; Quentin Durward, not Louis XI.

Since historical novels express history in terms of the personalities who make it, successful characterization is as necessary for the historical as for the fictional aspect of such novels. There are three common themes for historical novels; the author weaves his story about an age, an event, or a person. In other words, he tries to reconstruct a period and its "Zeitgeist"; he dramatizes a historical incident; or he studies a historical figure as a man. Whether his novel is built upon one, two, or a combination of all, of these bases, he can render his content living only by the characters he delineates.¹

The greater the number of characters in a novel,² the greater the care to be exercised in rendering each one distinct. In novels like Scott's, which introduce hundreds of characters, there is a natural division into primary and secondary actors, a division determined by their relative importance and expressed in detail of portrayal; only occasionally does a novel include more than a dozen or so primary characters.

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1. It is for this reason that one does not often find the "adventurous" historical novel enduring except in the hands of those who, like Dumas, could also create enduring characters.
 2. It should be mentioned in passing that the number of its characters is one of the features distinguishing the novel from its smaller counterpart, the "nouvelle". The latter rarely includes more than half-a-dozen distinct characters.

It is interesting to consider the ways in which characters are presented. In older novels, a direct presentation by the author was favoured: the novelist described the physical appearance of the hero, and exposed his personality in a few concise statements, often "en bloc" when he first appeared in the story, but sometimes scattered throughout the book; the latter device has the double advantage of avoiding long interpolated passages at early stages in the action, and of refreshing the reader's memory from time to time. Sometimes the effect was achieved more subtly by the author's psychological analysis of a character's reactions to each new situation, or by the reports of other characters in the story. The second main method of characterization is used more extensively to-day: characterization by revelation and implication. A character's environment;¹ his name, his speech, his gestures and "tics", his opinions and behaviour, his effect on other characters,--from all these clues the attentive reader pieces together an impression of the personality thus indirectly portrayed. These two methods will be found employed side by side in most novels.

In speaking of plot, we suggested that characters

1. Balzac's Comédie humaine springs to mind here.

might be thought of as static or kinetic: they may be fixed throughout the book, as Scott's romantic heroes are, or else they may change and develop under the influence of the plot and the other characters. The growth of a character before our eyes adds greatly to our reading pleasure, both by the human appeal of such a phenomenon and by the added complications thus introduced into the action. However, characters are rendered interesting on still another basis: that of their representativeness or individuality. A striking character compels our attention by combining representative traits--allegorical¹ or typical²--with individual ones. The historical novel is an account of individuals moving across the stage of history; we might therefore add to the list of Romantic thought-forms which favoured the rise of the historical novel, the cult of the individual. Whenever a character slips too far from the individual to the general, our interest declines; the dramatis personae of mediaeval allegories, and the idealized heroes of many historical romances³ here share a fault. There is always a tendency for the central character of a book to be made all things

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1. In Cinq-Mars, Richelieu may be taken as "ambition", Thou as "friendship", etc.
 2. In the sense of the "social types" of French comedy.
 3. W. Hazlitt: "Why the Heroes of Romances are Insipid", in Essays and Sketches (1839).

to all men:

"Er darf das Weltbild, das der Dichter entwirft, nicht decken noch trüben: und so kommt es, dass der Hauptcharakterzug des typischen Romanhelden, heiße er nun Gil Blas, Wilhelm Meister, Tom Jones, Waverley, oder Anton Wohlfart, in einer reinen Empfänglichkeit für fremde Einflüsse besteht."¹

It can readily be seen that such a danger is everpresent to the historical romancer.

In concluding our remarks on characterization, we should remember that one of the criticisms levelled against historical novels is that their characters never break the bonds of the present; they never really live in the spirit of past times, because no one can know how men lived and thought in days gone by.² It is difficult to deny the possible truth of such a statement, yet equally difficult to uphold it, since to reject a novelist's portrayal of a given period on this assumption would require the very knowledge which it declares unattainable!

With the mention of "the spirit of past times" we are brought to the consideration of setting and "atmos-

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1. Kurt Gaebel: Beiträge zur Technik der Erzählung, (Marburg: Elwert, 1901), p. 26.
 2. This is the charge of J. Brander Matthews in The Historical Novel and other Essays (New York: Scribner's, 1901)

phere", which we have declared to be of special importance in the particular form of novel we are studying.

The development of setting in novels may be likened to the development of background in painting. Byzantine and early Italian art made no use of background; similarly, the Gesta Romanorum and the Decamerone are set "once upon a time" and in no particular place. Italian painting later developed a decorative background, which is paralleled by the pastoral setting of Sidney's Arcadia and other romances of its time.¹ Then with the Dutch and Flemish schools, background finally became an integral part of the picture itself, and in fiction Defoe, Fielding and Rousseau began to relate setting to character and action.

In the later nineteenth century, the growing importance of setting led to an extreme: a sort of determinism of setting became noticeable in the productions of "naturalistic" novelists, reflecting the discoveries then being made in the field of environmental psychology. The historical novel as we have seen it, however, is a Romantic creation, and usually stops

1. The use in the theatre of physical background, i.e., scenery, was to begin even later. We are indebted for this parallel between painting and fiction to Clayton Hamilton: A Manual of the Art of Fiction (New York: Doubleday, Page, 1926) Chap. VI.

short at an earlier stage in the development of setting:¹ that in which an attempt is made to present the spirit, rather than the letter, of the times. Hence we find in historical novels the element we refer to as "atmosphere",-- a collection of details pervaded by a common quality and designed to produce a single effect.

In order to think clearly about setting, we must realize that a setting is simultaneously spatial and temporal. A historical novel emphasizes time just as an exotic novel emphasizes place. Here again, of course, the hard-headed realist has a ready criticism of the historical novel: it is merely a romantic escape from the problems of the present, a prolonged experiment in wishful retrospect.² It would be foolish to deny that such escapism has been a strong factor in the popularity of historical fiction; on the other hand, one may point to the influence of historical fiction on historiography, an art seldom accused of avoiding its obligations to the present.

The question of temporal remoteness has always

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1. E. Bernbaum, in an article, Views of the great critics on the historical novel (P.M.L.A. 1926, pp. 424-441) offers "an explanation why the historical novel fell into disrepute in the world of criticism--namely, the wide permeation of the presuppositions of naturalistic philosophy" (p. 439).
 2. As in Bagehot's celebrated comment on Ivanhoe: "the Middle Ages as we should wish them to have been". (Literary Studies. Fourth ed. London: Longmans-Green, 1891. V. II, p.167)

been a difficult one for critics of historical fiction whose interests are legislative. From the lenient definition of Owen Wister in The Virginian:

"Any narrative which presents faithfully a day and an age is of necessity historical",¹

we turn to Jonathan Nield's more rigorous dictum:

"A novel is rendered historical by the introduction of dates, personages, or events, to which identification can readily be given".²

Both these definitions admit accurate portraits of contemporary life as historical novels, a looseness which makes them unacceptable for our purpose. Other writers have avoided this pitfall by qualifying the necessary lapse of time. Leslie Stephen suggested sixty years back, no doubt thinking of the sub-title of *Waverley*, or 'Tis Sixty Years Since:³ a less illustrious successor extended the period:

"No exact figure can be fixed, but a hundred years seems a convenient time limit. A novel dealing with the past events within a hundred years is a period novel".⁴

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1. Owen Wister: The Virginian (New York: Macmillan, 1902) p. vii.
 2. A Guide to the Best Historical Novels and Tales (London: Matthews and Marrot, 1929) p. XVIII.
 3. Cited in Sheppard, op. cit. p. 16. Stephen was no doubt aware that the wording of the sub-title was changed from "Fifty" to "Sixty" merely to suit the date of publication.
 4. A.C. Ward: Foundations of English Prose (London: Bell, 1931) p. 100. The critic here wishes to pre-date both the author's experience and hearsay.

A similar view is that of a critic known to many Canadians, Pelham Edgar:

"We may recognize as historical such novels as dip behind oral tradition to a merely documented age".¹

We are now on sound ground: the historical novelist must treat what is historical for him, not what may become historical for his readers. We cannot do better than accept the neat summary of one who is a keen Scott student and himself a historical novelist of note, John Buchan,

"An historical novel is simply a novel which attempts to reconstruct the life, and recapture the atmosphere, of an age other than that of the writer".²

An important distinction between history and historical fiction comes to the fore now. The historian looks back on the past as a continuous causal series, appraising each event in terms of its effect on later developments: he is describing the past to men of the present, and the present is the ultimate reference point of the causality he explains. The historical novelist, on the other hand, tries to lower himself into the past at one particular point, and to let the past tell its own tale; the men of 1814, for example, did not know

1. The Art of the Novel (New York: Macmillan, 1933) p. 91.

2. Sir Walter Scott (London: Cassel, 1932) p. 130.

what 1815 would bring, and did not interpret their environment in terms of the same causal chain which a later observer might seize upon. The historical novelist presents a concrete localization of the general trends which the historian induces, but a localization made significant by its intrinsic features, not by its extrinsic relationships. His setting is therefore built up from internal details, and he avoids shattering his "period atmosphere" by intruding anachronistic or contemporary references, although he may use a modern relic of his period, for example a city or building known to his readers, as a starting-point.

Once the author has settled on the period he wishes to treat--and let us here recall Scott's distinction between having "a story" for which one seeks a historical setting, and having "history" which one decides to present by means of a story,--the first problem is to persuade the reader to make an initial transition from present to past. We have already emphasized the fact that the opening sentences of a historical novel must establish the temporal remoteness of the setting. Thenceforward period atmosphere is maintained by allusions to historical events or personages; to architecture, costumes and customs then in vogue; to ideas prevalent in the age being described, and to scenes now passed away. The Romantic historical novel made extensive use

of archaic speech, and "atmosphere" was often aimed at by a liberal sprinkling of "Zounds" and "By Our Lady's", which more recent historical novelists frown upon, considering the very awkwardness of such archaisms prejudicial to the naturalness of their settings. In general, Scott and his imitators went full tilt with their local colour, especially in mediaeval settings: unicorns argent gleamed on field azure, proud knights armed cap-a-pie checked their prancing chargers before a fair damsel's turret, and mendicant friars murmured their benedicites. These however, are externals;¹ the real atmosphere of a period is that which is radiated by its thought-patterns, and the latter are more difficult both to assess and to express than the more familiar elements cited.

While on the topic of time,² we must consider

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1. This is not to deny the strong suggestive power of their associations. R. L. Stevenson had this in mind when he wrote: "I can still recall the merry clatter of hoofs along the moonlit lane, and the words 'post-chaise', 'the great North Road', 'ostler' and 'nag' still sound in my ears like poetry". (Cited in Sheppard, op. cit., p. 24)
 2. One other aspect of this topic deserves brief mention: the device of situating the point of view and the action in different periods: in Henry Esmond and novels of its type, the tale-teller, already a historical figure, reports on a still more remote period than his own. The reader is thus transported simultaneously into two periods earlier than the one common to him and the author; and when the book has itself become historical, the process is pushed one stage further!

also the problem of duration: how does a novelist create the impression of a lapse of time, or of the gradual ebbing away of hours and days? Inability to master this technique spoils many a novel. The accumulation of events alone creates a vague feeling on the reader's part that some time must have elapsed, but insistent references to the number of days and years involved becomes stilted. There are more subtle methods at the disposal of the skillful novelist: the succession of the seasons in natural descriptions, the growth and maturity of characters, changes in scene,--all help to indicate the passage of time. Because of the causal nature of plot, sequence in time cannot be overlooked in the structure of a novel.

Spatial settings do not seem to present as many difficulties. Much of what has been said about temporal settings also applies to them: they may be supplemented by the use of dialect, by description of local customs and living conditions, and by allusion to sites known to the reader. The vast question of the place of external nature in fiction, of course, comes under this heading: since literary expression of a love of nature (in fact, one might well say, the love of nature itself) dates from the Romantic period, we may expect to find natural description playing a part in historical novels.

However, it is unwise to attempt to separate the temporal and spatial aspects of setting for long.

In historical fiction, as we have already remarked in speaking of Scott, they are linked by a multitude of associations which the novelist encourages in order to unify his book; who can think of Sherwood Forest without recalling its denizens of centuries ago, or imagine Florence without the Medici?

Indeed, after roaming far and wide through the novel, dissecting and distinguishing, we must close with a sense of inadequacy: a good novel is a whole, and greater than its parts. To study a novel, we must break it into pieces, but to appreciate it, we must see it whole. Here is the great difficulty of novel criticism: a novel is too large to be viewed at once. When we turn the last page, the first page has grown dim in our memory. At best we can hope somehow to fuse together our impressions of the many parts and aspects of the work before us. There are some qualities of a novel so intangible that we have not tried to deal with them in this short chapter: we have said nothing of the tone of a novel, which is for the point of view what atmosphere is for the setting; nor of emphasis, which establishes internal proportion; nor lastly, of style, that linguistic lustre which enhances "structure" and makes it "form".

PART II

. . . A N D F R E N C H C A N A D A

"Seul le roman historique
est appelé à vivre en Canada."

E. Lareau (1873).

CHAPTER III

THE HISTORICAL NOVEL IN FRENCH CANADA

In the first chapter, we made a "petit tour" of early nineteenth-century Europe. The first few decades of the last century were momentous ones for all Europeans: the Napoleonic wars, the Romantic Movement, the Industrial Revolution, the growth of Mercantilism,--all combined to make these stirring times to live in. Had we set sail from Europe after Waterloo in a sturdy square-rigger--for the "Royal William" was not to cross the Atlantic under steam-power until 1833--and landed in His Majesty's Province of Lower Canada, what a contrast we should have seen! A half-dozen towns and a string of hamlets along the shore of the St. Lawrence; thousands of square miles of farm and forest, inhabited by fewer people than were sheltered in many a single city of England or France. Only a fraction of this tiny ^{wrong} population could read and write; what hope of finding here a trace of the literary uproar which was then greeting Scott's novels on the other side of the Atlantic?

Had we but know, indeed, the very ship on which we travelled from Europe may have been carrying the first Scott novel to enter French Canada. For if we had stopped upon arrival to purchase our first newspaper in the new land, we might have found in the pages of our Abeille canadienne a

substantial "Episode d'un nouveau Roman Anglais",¹ preceded by this comment:

"Le fragment que nous offrons ici à nos lecteurs, est extrait d'un roman Anglais, intitulé l'Antiquaire, qu'on avait d'abord attribué à Walter Scott, auteur du poème de Marmion, de la Dame du Lac, et de quelques autres ouvrages moins connus parmi nous; mais on s'accorde à dire aujourd'hui que ce roman est de l'un de ses frères.² La scène qu'on va lire se passe en Ecosse, sur un rivage dont la description offre une grande vérité locale. Il est même remarquable que l'ouvrage est écrit en partie dans le dialecte Ecossais du Nord, que tous les Anglais n'entendent pas, et ce n'est pas là un petit obstacle à la traduction de ce roman; on assure cependant qu'on s'occupe de le traduire, et qu'il va paraître incessamment à Paris."

A translated excerpt from Scott published in French Canada in 1818! And from what novel? The Antiquary, published in England in May, 1816! French-Canadian literati had not long to wait for their first taste of the Waverley novels. Scott the poet had, as is suggested in the paragraph quoted, been introduced to French Canada even earlier.³

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1. Montréal, 1^{ier} août, 1818, pp. 12-19. L. Bisson who is to be credited with this discovery, states this extract to have been copied from a Bordeaux paper, La Ruche d'Aquitaine. (Le romantisme littéraire au Canada français. Paris: Droz, 1932, p. 35)
 2. During the early years of Scott's anonymity, his brother, Thomas, then in Quebec as paymaster of the 70th Regiment, was credited with the authorship of Waverley. So much so that Scott wrote to him in 1814 suggesting that Thomas compose a novel of his own and thus capitalize on the publicity his name had received! P.-G. Roy, in his "A travers les Mémoires de Philippe Aubert de Gaspé (Montréal: Ducharme, 1943) includes Thomas Scott in his section entitled "Ceux dont M. de Gaspé ne parle pas". (p. 279)
 3. L'Aurore, Montréal, 28 avril, 1817, p. 4, alludes to the huge sale of The Lady of the Lake and Rokeby (The titles are given in English).

During the next few years, a number of passages in French-Canadian papers proves that the "Author of Waverley" was not unknown in the old French province. The "Variétés littéraires" of La bibliothèque canadienne (octobre, 1825) include the paragraph:

"On lit la déclaration suivante dans la préface du dernier ouvrage de Sir Walter Scott, (Histoire du tems des Croisades,) publié chez le libraire Gosselin: 'J'ai dessin d'écrire le livre le plus merveilleux que le monde ait jamais lu: un livre dont tous les incidens seront incroyables, et cependant vrais; un livre qui rappellera le souvenir des faits dont les oreilles de la génération actuelle ont été étourdies, et que nos enfants liront avec une admiration approchante de l'incrédulité: ce sera la vie de NAPOLEON BONAPARTE'".

The Life of Napoleon announced here was reviewed by La Minerve in 1828¹; four years later the same journal offered to its readers a lengthy summary of Scott's last novel, Le château périlleux (Castle Dangerous),² first published in November, 1831, only six months before.

Allusions to Scott in French Canadian newspapers became increasingly numerous in the last few years before the news of his final illness and death reached this side

1. 10 mars, 1828.

2. 21 mai, 1832.

of the Atlantic.¹ Nor were his imitators unknown to French-Canadians. In 1828 appeared a review of a now forgotten novel, Kélédor, by Baron Roger, which mentions:

"....le roman historique, plus curieux, plus instructif, bien souvent, que l'histoire elle-même. Tels sont les chefs-d'œuvre de Walter Scott, et, parmi les imitations heureuses qu'on en a faites, le roman de Kélédor".²

D'Arlincourt's Les écorcheurs was reviewed in 1833,³ as was Fenimore Cooper's The Headsman;⁴ the latter's Le Bravo had been compared to Scott's works in an 1828 issue.⁵ But let us now abandon our newspapers, and turn to greet the newcomer: the French-Canadian novelist.

As we shall see, he is not without his copy of Scott. In 1831, the first complete edition of Scott to be published in America had appeared in Boston, where "Waverley novels were in every house;⁶ French translations

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1. La Minerve, 8 octobre et 15 novembre, 1832, "Sir Walter Scott in French Canada" might comprise a second thesis as long as the present one; the material is extensive, although of course not readily accessible. For example, Scott is mentioned five times in La Minerve for 1828 alone.
 2. Ibid., 6 novembre, 1828.
 3. Ibid., 30 septembre, 1833.
 4. Ibid., 21 novembre, 1833.
 5. Ibid., 20 août, 1828.
 6. Van Wyck Brooks: The Flowering of New England (New ed., n.p., Dutton, 1940) p. 56. Scott was, of course, already well known in America through the pirated editions of his works published there. 500,000 volumes of his novels rolled off American presses in the nine years ending with 1823. (Cambridge History of American Literature, New York: Putnam, 1921; V.IV, p. 541).

reached Canada via England and America to such an extent that by 1855 the Librairie Rolland was able to offer most of the Waverley Novels to its clients.¹

The history of the French-Canadian novel dates from 1837. In that year was published L'influence d'un livre, by Philippe-Ignace François Aubert de Gaspé. Already its twenty-three year old author had read his father's favourite novelist; his own title recalls a Scott novel to his mind:

"Le rusé Dousterswivel de Sir Walter Scott cherchait ses trésors dans les ruines des monastères; mais notre héros avait des idées toutes différentes..."²

The title-page of young de Gaspé's novel bore the caption "Roman historique",³ but he probably wished thereby only to underscore his claim to veracity of detail in his portrait of Canadian manners.⁴ The novel's vague setting in the early years of the nineteenth century give it no more claim to the title "historical novel" than its successor was to have. In 1844, a young

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1. In the translation of M. Louis Barré, a professor of philosophy in the Université de Lille, (A. Dandurand: Le roman canadien-français. Montréal: A. Lévesque, 1937, p. 69)
 2. P. A. de Gaspé, fils: Le chercheur de trésors, ou l'influence d'un livre (Québec: L. Brousseau, 1878) p. 120.
 3. In the 1837 edition only.
 4. Le Chercheur de trésors, p. 7.

law student, Joseph Doutre,¹ persuaded a Quebec publisher to print and put on sale three little booklets bound in blue paper,--the three "livraisons" of Les fiancés de 1812. Here was the first long novel to be written in French Canada. Its author felt himself to be a literary pioneer when he wrote:

"Notre but principal est de donner quelque-
 qu'essor à la littérature parmi nous, si
 toutefois il est possible de la tirer de
 son état de léthargie. Nous nous consolerons
 volontiers des critiques, si l'humilité de
 notre nom peut faire comprendre à nos jeunes
 amis qu'ils sont plus capables qu'ils ne le
 pensent".²

Writing a year before Garneau's Histoire du Canada was to illuminate the obscure past of his country, Doutre was only too well aware of the difficulties besetting the historical novelist in an ahistorical society:

"L'historien sera quelquefois choqué
 du peu de respect que nous avons pour la
 vérité. Mais nous lui en voudrons de notre
 part pour ne nous avoir pas mieux instruits.
 Que connaît-on de l'histoire du Canada depuis
 l'avènement de la domination anglaise sur
 notre pays? Nous n'en avons aucun écrit, ou
 s'il en existe, ce sont tout au plus, quel-
 ques feuilles périodiques que le temps a
 détruites.

Notre ignorance nous eût peut-être
 restreint dans un travail d'une autre nature.
 Mais nous nous sommes contenté de quelque
 relation verbale sur les événements historiques
 avec lesquels nous lions notre nouvelle. Le

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1. Because of the vast territory to be covered in this chapter, it has been decided to dispense with biographical details. The dates of the authors' lives will be found in the Bibliography.
 2. Joseph Doutre: Les fiancés de 1812 (Quebec: Louis Perrault, 1844) p. xx.

public en sera-t-il satisfait?.....
 La faute ne doit pas nous être imputée.
 C'était à nos prédécesseurs ou à nos
 vieux contemporains à y pourvoir".¹

Hard indeed was the lot of a young French-Canadian trying to write a novel amid the jeers of the snobs who would read nothing but the latest novels of France:

"De tels gens nous diront: 'Ecrivez comme un Dumas, un Eugène Sue, etc., en un mot, comme mes auteurs de prédilection, et alors je suis tout à vous'." ²

As a historical novel, Les fiancés de 1812 need not take much of our time. The opening pages are devoted to a superficial résumé of Canadian history to 1812, at which point the hero, Gonzalve de R...., is introduced as a colonel in the militia camped at Châteauguay. A dozen chapters later, the battle of Châteauguay is described in a few paragraphs,³ and we are through with history for the rest of the book. A kidnapping, a brigand's cave, duels, the rescue of an irascible father from drowning, and a chain of adventures strung across Asia, Europe

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1. Ibid., pp. xix, xx. The somewhat distinctive spelling of this passage has been retained.
 2. Ibid., p. vii, xi. It is to be noted that Doutre speaks later of "Les Mystères de Paris, qui passent aujourd'hui pour le roi des Romans", (p. xi), -- this in 1844, only two years after Les Mystères de Paris was published in France.
 3. Ibid., pp. 268-274.

and America fill out the five hundred pages of this "historical" novel, but history,--little or none!

Six years later, the Album de la Minerve included part of Georges de Boucherville's Une de perdue, deux de trouvées. This lengthy novel was not to be printed complete until 1864-5, when the Revue canadienne published it in nineteen generous instalments. Like Dou-
tre's novel, de Boucherville's abounds in brigands, exotic voyages, duels and mistaken identities, with the added attraction (in the first part at least) of a colourful setting in old New Orleans and the West Indies; only the latter part of the action takes place in French Canada.

The historical interest of Une de perdue, deux de trouvées is limited by the fact that its historical material is very slight. In the first part, the only extensive historical topic is that of the emancipation of the slaves, for which St. Luc develops a remarkable scheme; in the second part, we have the chapters devoted to the Rebellion of 1837-8, which might well be discussed in this study were it not for the fact that they deal with an event which occurred when de Boucherville was 23 years of age, and can thus not be included in the province of the historical novel as we have defined it.¹

1. These lines on Une de perdue, deux de trouvées have been admitted here only because of the fact that it, unlike other novels of the time (Charles Guérin, Jean Rivard, etc.) does include specific references to historical situations, even though it is not a historical novel for our purposes.

It will be noted that for the first quarter-century of the history of the French-Canadian novel (1837-1862) no genuine historical novel was written.¹ The reasons are not hard to find. In the first place, the novel was as yet in a very rudimentary state, and its authors, lacking in wide experience, preferred to deal with familiar material. Secondly, and even more important, historical studies were still rare: Garneau, and later Ferland, were almost the only sources of material for the budding historical novelist. The upsurge of interest in Canadian history was yet to come: such patriotic emotions were to be aroused by the leaders of the School of 1860.

The book which firmly established the historical novel as a genre in French Canada was being written in 1862, simultaneously with the publication of the first extended study of Scott in the Province of Quebec, J. M. Lemoine's Essai sur Sir Walter Scott, poète, romancier, historien.² That book was the now famous Les anciens Canadiens, published complete in 1863.³ There is no

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1. We exclude, of course, the historical novels of the French author, Emile Chevalier, who was writing at this time, in spite of the fact that his works dealt with well-known periods of French-Canadian history.
 2. See also: L'opinion publique, 5 déc. 1872, 30 janv., 13 et 27 féb., et 21 mai, 1873.
 3. Two extracts were published in Les soirées canadiennes, v.2, 1862: "Une nuit avec les sorciers", pp. 9-35, and "La débâcle", pp. 36-64.

need to describe this best-known of all French-Canadian novels; let us only point out some interesting literary allusions it contains. Its author, Philippe Aubert de Gaspé, père, was one of the most widely read of French-Canadian writers before or since, and its pages swarm with quotations from, or allusions to, some three dozen classical and modern authors. Two of these authors interest us especially: Victor Hugo¹ and Walter Scott. The latter was probably de Gaspé's favourite author, whom he had translated in part² and read aloud to his family. Some of the characters of Les anciens Canadiens may be likened to those of Scott: it is not hard to see in Scott's Ulrica an inspiration for de Gaspé's "folle du domaine", nor to imagine Raoul's latinity as suggested by that of Erasmus Holiday in Kenilworth. The author himself compares José to Caleb Balderstone in The Bride of Lammermoor because of the former's devotion to his master,³ and remarks that the d'Habervilles' dogs have all borne the same name, "comme chez le fermier Detmont

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1. De Gaspé tells in a "Note" of reading Notre-Dame de Paris. (Les anciens Canadiens. Montreal: Beauchemin, 1899, p. 255).
 2. P.-G. Roy has a cautionary paragraph on the Abbé Casgrain's unqualified statement in this regard. (A travers les Anciens Canadiens de Philippe Aubert de Gaspé. Montréal: Ducharme, 1943; pp.204-5)
 3. Les anciens Canadiens, p. 22.

de Walter Scott, dont tous les chiens s'appelaient Pepper".¹ Later in the novel, de Gaspé prefaces a chapter with eight lines of verse from Waverley;² and the songs that he himself has scattered through the text are also reminiscent of Scott.

If Les anciens Canadiens is truly the first genuine historical novel in French Canada, it is also a further indication of the importance of Scott's influence for the young genre.

Two years later, in 1865, the subscribers to the Revue canadienne eagerly devoured the twelve instalments of Napoléon Bourassa's Jacques et Marie. Bourassa's first literary effort, this unique story of two lovers separated by the Acadian expulsion in 1755 was to pass through several editions and remain one of the most popular of French-Canadian novels. Somewhat dull in spots, and loose in construction, it is noteworthy for the descriptive passages inserted to great advantage by its painter-author, and for the felicitous blending of history and fiction which it at times achieves.

The following year, Abbé H. R. Casgrain's appeal

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1. Ibid., p. 195. De Gaspé's memory has played him false here: the farmer's name was Dinnant (Guy Mannering), and the dogs were called "Pepper" or "Mustard".
 2. Ibid., p. 119.

to French-Canadian writers to capitalize on their country's glorious history¹ provided a stimulus for potential historical novelists, which helped to make up for the paucity of models at their disposal. Simultaneously with the voicing of Abbé Casgrain's plea, a new literary star appeared on the French-Canadian horizon in the person of Joseph Etienne Eugène Marmette, whose Charles et Eva appeared in the Revue canadienne from December, 1866, to May, 1867. This young son-in-law of Garneau was to publish four other novels and several tales in the next decade: all had the same object: "rendre plus populaire en la dramatisant la partie héroïque de notre histoire".²

Like de Gaspé, Marmette had been stimulated by the early reading of Scott:

"Plus tard, bien que très jeune encore je pus lire quelques romans de sir Walter Scott. Alors, quand le soir je regagnais mon lit, il me semblait entendre, dans le vent de la nuit, le son prolongé des trompettes des hérauts sonnant la fanfare d'un tournoi. Et, lorsque le sommeil venait mettre un terme à ces insomnies, je croyais quelquefois, dans un songe, ouïr les pas sonores des chevaux de hardis

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1. In his article, Le mouvement littéraire au Canada, 1866 (in the Oeuvres complètes, Montréal, Beauchemin, 1897, vol I, pp. 353-375). Note the parallel between this article and D. J. van Lennep's dissertation in Holland.
 2. François de Bienville (Deuxième édition. Montréal: Beauchemin et Valois, 1883) p. 8.

hommes d'armes ébranlant le pont-levis
d'un antique donjon".¹

Charles et Eva, which Marmette later called "cette malheureuse nouvelle qui n'en est pas une",² dealt with the French expedition against Schenectady in 1690, and established the type of fiction which Marmette was to develop in his later novels. A beautiful French heroine is loved by a gallant French hero and by a less sympathetic rival. Unscrupulous intrigue by the villainous rival is countered again and again by exemplary courage on the part of the hero; hairbreadth escapes and gory struggles make up these adventurous novels, in which the author would have us believe that "la fiction n'a que juste assez de place pour qu'on puisse les classer dans la catégorie des romans historiques".³

François de Bienville was published in 1870, and has since passed through three new editions; it is probably the most popular of Marmette's works despite its tragic closing: François dies of wounds received in a bloody skirmish, and his fiancée, Marie-Louise d'Orsy, enters a convent. Like Marmette's other tales, the novel abounds in improbable events; a scene in which the rascally Eng-

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1. Ibid., p. 16. The same passage later alludes to the influence of Fenimore Cooper and Louis de Belle-mare: an influence reflected in the emphasis on Indian lore and forest scenes in Marmette's works.
 2. Ibid., p. 18.
 3. Ibid., p. 8.

lishman, John Harthing, and his Iroquois aide laboriously spirit a keg of gunpowder through the French defenses of Quebec in order to blow up the hero after abducting the heroine places a strain upon the credulity of the reader, who sees no reason why François' dispatch could not be effected with greater convenience by some more standard method.

The following year appeared L'intendant Bigot (1871), a tale of intrigue and corruption centering about the mysterious Château de Beaumanoir, and having as its climax Bigot's treachery on the eve of the Plains of Abraham. More orderly and compact than its predecessor, L'intendant Bigot includes a quite effective Prologue and Epilogue, the former a tiny scene revealing the misery of those who suffered from "la Friponne", the latter a series of vivid, but hardly historical, flashes of the heartless intendant's later life and death.

In 1873 followed Le chevalier de Mornac, a novel concerned with "cette vie d'alarmes, d'embûches et de luttes terribles dont est toute remplie l'hémique époque qui précéda l'arrivée du régiment de Carignan".¹ The good chevalier's audacity and superhuman prowess leave little doubt that he could win the hand of the lovely Jeanne de Richecourt.

The Revue canadienne for 1875 included Marmette's last historical novel: La fiancée du rebelle. More restrained in its action than the earlier stories, it is set in a period rarely treated by a French-Canadian novelist: that of the American invasion in 1775.

1. Le chevalier de Mornac. Chronique de la Nouvelle-France 1664 (Montréal: "L'Opinion Publique", 1873) p.6.

After publishing a volume of selections from his novels,¹ a collection of short historical "recits",² and a history of a Canadian family under the French régime,³ Marmette moved to France in 1878 to take up a post in Paris. While there he maintained contact with Maquet, the collaborator of Dumas,⁴ but, back in Canada, Marmette never returned to the historical novel: his later fiction dealt with rural themes.

Although he early admitted that "les lettres ne sauraient, au Canada, faire vivre, même médiocrement, le plus frugal comme le plus fécond des écrivains",⁵ Marmette was always careful to advertise his previous novels in the text of later ones, even to the extent of emending the second edition of François de Bienville to include an allusion to Le chevalier de Mornac, written three years after it!⁶ In many respects a skilful writer, he sometimes displayed a questionable sensationalism in plot and setting which reveals a too-great preoccupation with sales.

1. Le tomahawk et l'épée (1877).

2. Héroïsme et trahison (1878).

3. Les Machabées de la Nouvelle-France (1878)

4. Dandurand, op. cit., p. 94.

5. François de Bienville, p. 15.

6. Ibid., p. 90.

Five or six years after Marmette penned the tribute to Scott cited above, another French-Canadian was to pay Scott a much greater compliment. He was Frédéric Houde, a journalist who had spent some time in the Franco-American settlements in New England, and later returned to Montreal. His only novel, edited by Casimir Hébert in 1913, was Le manoir mystérieux, apparently written before 1878,¹ and having as its hero Gilles Hocquart, intendant of New France in the mid-eighteenth century. Although M. Hébert, in editing it, considered Le manoir mystérieux an original and meritorious French-Canadian novel, a more widely-read critic has since remarked the truth:² this whole novel is merely a clever paraphrase of Scott's Kenilworth. The names of persons and places are changed; all the rest is the same, as a glance at the opening pages of the two will show:

Houde

En 1743, le village de la Rivière-du-Loup (maintenant Louiseville) possédait une auberge qui, bien que n'égalant pas l'hôtel Mineau d'aujourd'hui, n'était cependant pas à mépriser aux débuts de l'établissement de cette belle et riche pa-

Scott (Defauconpret)

Dans la dix-huitième année du règne d'Elisabeth, le village de Cumnor, situé à trois ou quatre milles d'Oxford, avait l'avantage de posséder une excellente auberge du bon vieux style, conduite ou plutôt gouvernée par Giles Gosling, homme de bonne mine,

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1. Le manoir mystérieux (Montréal: Imprimerie Bilaudeau, 1913) préface, p. 11.
 2. Abbé Dandurand, op. cit., p. 100.

roisse. Située sur le grand chemin près de la rive gauche de la petite rivière du Loup, elle était tenue par Léandre Gravel, homme d'une cinquantaine d'années, ayant une femme active et propre, un fils complaisant et une jolie fille.

...

Ce fut dans la cour de cette auberge qu'un voyageur descendit vers la fin d'une tiède journée de septembre. Il remit son cheval, qui paraissait avoir fait une longue course, aux mains du jeune Gravel.

---Hé! le père! cria ce dernier, voici un voyageur qui demande si vous versez du bon vin?

---Malpeste! répondit le père Léandre, nous sommes à sept lieues des Trois-Rivières, et de Berthier, et si mon vin ou mon eau-de-vie laissait à désirer, les voyageurs s'en iraient tout droit se désaltérer chez l'oncle Lafrenière ou le cousin Désy.

Here Houde inserts a paragraph of his own, and then continues:

"---Est-ce là de la logique des récollets? dit le voyageur.

---Vous parlez de logique, reprit l'hôte en rentrant: écoutez donc ceci:

Quand le cheval est à son râtelier,

au ventre arrondi, comptant cinquante et quelques années, modéré dans ses écots, exact dans ses paiements, prompt à la repartie, ayant une bonne cave et une jolie fille.

...

Ce fut dans la cour de l'auberge tenue par ce brave et digne hotelier qu'un voyageur descendit à la chute du jour, et, remettant son cheval, qui semblait avoir fait un long voyage, au garçon d'écurie, lui fit quelques questions qui donnèrent lieu au dialogue suivant entre les mirmidons du bon Cours-Noir:

...

---Voilà un voyageur qui demande si vous tirez de la bonne ale, continua le garçon d'écurie.

---Malpeste de mon coeur sans cela! répondit le garçon du cellier, car il n'y a que quatre milles d'ici à Oxford, et si mon ale ne persuadait pas tous les étudiants, ils convaincraient bientôt ma caboche avec le pot d'étain.

---Est-ce là ce que vous appelez la logique d'Oxford? dit l'étranger en s'avançant vers la porte de l'auberge.

Au même instant Giles Gosling se présenta en personne devant lui.

---Vous parlez de logique? dit l'hôte. Ecoutez donc une bonne conséquence:

Quand le cheval est à son râtelier,

Il faut donner du vin
au cavalier."¹

Il faut donner du vin
au cavalier."²

From the opening scene to the pathetic death of Amy Robsart (whom Houde re-names Josephine de la Touche) at the close of the book, the whole of *Kenilworth* may be found in these pages. The same characters appear under other names,³ the same events are described; the same descriptive passages are applied to a Canadian setting. It is indeed interesting to find that French Canada can show its own imitation of Scott, however slavish; another striking parallel with the European development we have sketched in an earlier chapter.

The next decade, that of the 1880's, brought three noteworthy milestones in the life of the French-Canadian historical novel: two new novelists launched their first works, and a third writer portrayed a historical period untouched before or since in French-Can-

1. *Le manoir mystérieux*, pp. 11-12.

2. *Oeuvres de Walter Scott*, traduction Defauconpret, t.11, *Kenilworth*, (Paris:Furne, Jouvet et Cie, s.d.), pp. 7-8. One might have expected that Houde would use the L. Barré translation which was stocked by J.B. Rolland et fils in Montreal, but a comparison of this text with that of A. Montémont's translation, revised and completed by Barré (*Oeuvres de Walter Scott*, t.5, *Kenilworth*, Paris, Firmin Didot et Cie., s.d.) does not support that view.

A similar juxtaposition of Houde and Scott in French has been made by M.B.Taylor in her *Le roman historique canadien-français des origines jusqu'à 1914* (M.A.Thesis, McGill, 1942, unpublished). We are of course both indebted to Abbé Dandurand for the discovery of this similarity.

3. Michael Lambourne becomes Michel Lavergne; Tressilian and Varney are re-christened Du Plessis and Deschenaux; Tony Foster appears as Thom Cambrai; and so on, -- even to the great Leicester, who is compressed into the person of Gilles Hocquart, intendant of New France!

adian novels. Unique, alas, in content only, for Le revenant (1884),¹ by Rémi Tremblay, has little appeal save to the student who recognizes in it the only French-Canadian novel devoted to the American Civil War.

The two new writers who make their début in the 1880's have little in common. One closes an epoch; the other opens new vistas to the novelists who follow. It will have been noted that, with the possible exception of Les anciens Canadiens, all the novels mentioned thus far have one common characteristic: emphasis on adventure. Complicated plots and exciting action are the order of the day; rivalries in love, skirmishes with the Iroquois, abductions, escapes, battles, disguises, duels, and conspiracies, combine to render thrilling and colourful the recital of past events. But by 1890 the historical novel of adventure is on the decline: its last important representative is Edmond Rousseau.

Rousseau has left us three novels and a "nouvelle". His aim is the same as Marmette's, although not as taste-fully expressed:

"Le but que je poursuis dans les pages qui vont suivre est toujours le même: vulgariser, populariser l'Histoire du Canada et la présenter sous la forme la plus agréable possible".²

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1. Because of its autobiographical content, Le revenant is not a "historical novel" in our sense.
 2. E. Rousseau: La Monongahéla (Tours: Mame, et Montréal: Granger, s.d.), p. 9.

His first novel, Le château de Beaumanoir, was published in 1886, having been written the year before. Its early pages contain a denunciation of "ces inventaires de tapisserie et de modiste qui tiennent une si large place dans les romans",¹ but the reader would often prefer such an inventory to the involved retrospects and digressions which absorb the space thus conserved. The plot is of course based on Bigot's conspiracy with Vergor, a theme already used by Bourassa and Marmette; Rousseau is equally merciless to Bigot and to the English victors. The author's prejudices make of the book a somewhat distorted picture of a period already well-known to its readers.

Two years later, Rousseau published Les exploits d'Iberville, built around the "rival plot" so common in the historical novels of this first period. The English captain, Lewis Glen, who has saved Yvonne Vernouët and her father from the hands of the Iroquois, is completely overshadowed by the French hero, Urbain Duperret-Janson, in the course of this uneven and digressive story set in the months following the Lachine massacre in 1689.

The year 1890 saw the publication of Rousseau's

1. E. Rousseau: Le château de Beaumanoir (Deuxième édition. Québec: La Cie. de Publication "Le Soleil", 1916), p. 47.

last full-length novel: La Monongahéla. The title is inapt since the actual battle is recorded only in the Epilogue. It can not be argued that the battle is the culmination of previous events, because the reader's attention is taken up in the earlier chapters with Daniel de St. Denis' mission to the Spanish settlements in Mexico, where he succeeds in rescuing the lovely Doña Maria from the clutches of her loathsome suitor, Don Gusman. This exotic note is echoed a few years later in Régis Roy's novel, Le cadet de la Vérendrye (1897), which also introduces a Spanish maiden, captive of a Western tribe.

Rousseau's historical fiction came to an end with a shorter tale, A Carillon, in 1903. A story of two lovers in the years before the conquest, A Carillon closes on an unusual note: Marie-Louise Bolduc, refusing to betray her compatriots to her English captors, is turned over to the English soldiery, and wears a veil until her premature death; her fiancé, Michel de la Murette, is killed at Sainte-Foye.

The novels of Edmond Rousseau, although re-edited in the generation following their appearance, are rarely read to-day.¹ Their faults are numerous and evident. Too

1. Abbé Dandurand, op.cit., dismisses Rousseau in one line (p. 141); F. W. Jones (Le roman canadien-français, Montpellier: Imprimerie de la Charité, 1931) does not even mention him.

many pages are filled with pure history, often in the words of Ferland himself; each novel is a confused mixture of several stories, progressing irregularly and digressively; and last but not least, there is almost no convincing local colour. Rousseau was apparently a sincerely patriotic writer, but his art was not equal to his aspirations; he represents the decline of the historical novel of adventure.

The contemporary of Rousseau mentioned earlier was French Canada's first woman novelist: Mlle Félicité Angers, whose novels, written under the pseudonym of Laure Conan, mark the beginnings of psychological analysis in French Canadian fiction. Her first important novel, Angéline de Montbrun, was published in the Revue canadienne of 1881-2. Using the epistolary and diary forms, almost unknown before that time, Laure Conan recounted the metamorphosis of an unrequited love into a saintly Christian resignation so skilfully that her genius was immediately acclaimed. It is doubtful whether she ever surpassed the high standard set in this first work, although she later showed greater technical ease, and avoided the swarm of bookish allusions which characterizes Angéline de Montbrun.

Laure Conan's importance for this study dates from 1891, the year of her first historical novel, A l'oeuvre et à l'épreuve. Here the same method, even to the epistolary form in part of the novel, is applied to the

lives of the Jesuit missionary, Charles Garnier, and his former fiancée, Gisèle Méliand. A line from Mère Marie de l'Incarnation, with which the first chapter of A l'oeuvre et à l'épreuve is prefaced: "Le coeur humain est une forte pièce", reveals the novelist's interests. However, it is possible that Laure Conan's novels might have been rendered even more attractive, had she not sacrificed externals so completely as to dispense with local colour and natural description almost entirely.

Her next historical novel, L'oublié (1900), achieved even greater fame than the two we have mentioned, being crowned by the French Academy in 1902. This time Mlle Angers took as her setting the early days of Ville-Marie, weaving her story about the figures of Lambert Closse and his young wife, Elisabeth Moyen. The epistolary method is abandoned, but the same emphasis on internals is present, the same delicacy and sensibility, which gives her works a distinctive feminine air.

To read a novel by Laure Conan after reading the exciting and often confused tales of adventure written by her predecessors, is a serene and tranquil experience. However, like many innovators, she brings us an extreme which requires to be tempered. Her great contribution remains indubitable: she marks a transition in French Canada from the novel of situation to the novel of character, but her efforts will be complemented by those later

writers seeking a finer balance between the inner and outer worlds. We shall even find Laure Conan herself revealing this trend in a much later novel.¹

The last decade of the nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth witnessed the publication of a certain number of historical novels, mostly by minor authors; we have reached a low ebb in the tide of historical fiction similar to that experienced by most European literatures after Scott's influence had waned. Fortunately, there are two or three capable writers who have helped to bridge the gap between the 1890's and the 1920's.

Of the novels published in these thirty years, no less than six have as their setting the Rebellion of 1837-8, a choice no doubt influenced by L. O. David's publication of Les Patriotes de 1837-1838 (1884). The first of these, Napoléon Legendre's Annibal,² hardly deserves the title "historical novel", since only the sixth and seventh chapters deal with the Rebellion of 1837 and the exile of its leaders. The remainder of the story, Annibal's frivolous youth and sage manhood, is patently didactic, and the chapter³ recounting his farming

1. La sève immortelle (1925). Vide infra.

2. First published in Le Canada Français (1890). Legendre had already published an unsuccessful novel, Sabre et Scalpel, in the Album de la Minerve (1872-3).

3. Chapter VIII.

experiment smacks strongly of Gérin-Lajoie's Jean Rivard. In the same year, eighteen-year old Auguste Fortier was composing his novel on the Rebellion period; it was to be published two years later, in 1893, under the title: Les mystères de Montréal. The sale of the first edition of 1,000 copies encouraged a second publisher to re-edit it in 1894, but to-day there are few who have even heard of this melodramatic tale. A similar fate has befallen four others. L.C.W. Dorion's Vengeance fatale (1893)¹ also passed through two editions to oblivion. Georges Isidore Barthe published a half-historical, half-fictitious, account of events from the Rebellion down to the floods of 1865 and 1896, under the title Drames de la vie réelle (1896), which is in parts little more than a statistical report. Its author's popularity probably saved Rodolphe Girard's Florence (1900) from immediate neglect, but a greater name than Girard's would have been needed to outweigh the forced style and elaborate sentimentality of this story of a chauvinistic hero and his passionate sweetheart, who become engaged on their second meeting and perish soon after on the battlefield of St. Denis. No more worthy of survival was Les fiancés de St. Eustache, by Adèle Bibaud, which appeared in 1910 to close the unhappy series. One wonders what were the thoughts of the late dean of French-Canadian critics when he read the small

1. First published as Pierre Hervart (Album de la Minerve, 1874).

paper-bound copy of this novel which to-day rests on the library shelves of the Université Laval, its title page inscribed in a feminine hand: "Monsieur l'abbé Camille Roy. Hommages de l'auteur". The good Abbé's attention must surely have wandered as he dutifully struggled through these digressive pages recounting the trials and tribulations of two lovers fated to die at St. Eustache!

There is, however, one ray of sunlight falling on this dreary landscape: Dr. Ernest Choquette in Les Ribaud (1898) has left us a novel clear in outline and reminiscent of Laure Conan's novels in its psychological analysis. It is difficult to defend the inclusion of the episode in which Madeleine's English lover, Captain Percival Smith, avoids fighting against her French-Canadian compatriots,--and incidentally saves his own life,-- by changing places with his standard-bearer, but in spite of the novel's defects, we have here the first successful fiction based on the Rebellion period, and the only such novel worthy to precede Les habits rouges.

Another novelist of this decade is Régis Roy, a writer in several other genres, who in Le cadet de la Vérendrye, (1897), carried on the traditional historical novel of adventure. His stories lose much of their interest, however, because of their author's poor planning; his inability to capitalize on striking scenes and to

relegate intervening events to the background makes his novels loose and dull. For example, Le cadet de la Vérendrye opens with an announcement that the Marquis de la Jonquière is about to hold a gay ball. As his readers' eyes sparkle in anticipation, Roy devotes the rest of the page to a survey of the Marquis' past career, and then returns with:

"que la fête de M. le Moyne eut un grand succès, cela va sans dire".¹

Such unwitting anti-climaxes detract from a novel, no matter how well executed its setting and characterization.

We shall pass over Adèle Bibaud's first historical novel, Avant la conquête (1904), an "épisode de la guerre de 1757", and J.-B. Caouette's Le vieux muet (1901), of which the sub-title, "Un héros de Châteauguay", would suggest a much more extensive historical flavour than is noticeable in the opening pages of retrospect by which the exemplary hero, Jean-Charles Lormier, and his villainous brother, Victor, are introduced to us.² We

1. Le cadet de la Vérendrye (Montréal: Leprohon et Leprohon, 1897), p. 1.

2. The calibre of this work may be gauged from the author's statement: "Glorifier la religion, la patrie, la vertu, et être utile et agréable à la jeunesse canadienne-française: tel a été mon unique but en écrivant ce modeste ouvrage, que je dédie à mes jeunes compatriotes". (Le vieux muet. Québec: Le Soleil, 1901, p. 1).

shall thus arrive at two extremely unusual novels from the pen of one of French Canada's leading figures: Sir Adolphe-B. Routhier.

Extremely unusual,--by the fact that they are our only examples of evangelical novels. The first, Le centurion (1909), is described on the title-page as a "roman des temps messianiques"; nine years later, it was followed by "Paulina, roman des temps apostoliques" (1918). The preface of the former will serve to introduce both to us:

"Le livre que je vous présente est un roman historique, où j'ai voulu raconter et décrire les principaux événements de l'époque messianique, avec les conflits religieux, sociaux et domestiques qu'ils ont suscités.

La partie historique est strictement d'accord avec les récits évangéliques, et nous en avons emprunté les éléments aux historiens les plus autorisés, ainsi que la traduction française des textes.

La partie romanesque, ou la fiction, se déroule à côté de l'histoire, sans l'altérer ni la déformer, en y ajoutant certain intérêt qui convient aux gens du monde. Et le but de l'oeuvre est de vous inspirer le désir et le goût de lire les Évangiles".¹

One of the favourite eras portrayed in the European novels of the late nineteenth century was that of the early Christians: we have already mentioned the tremendous popularity of Quo vadis (1895). Routhier was no

1. A.-B. Routhier: Le centurion, Roman des temps messianiques. (Québec: l'Action sociale, 1909), p. 1.

doubt aware of this trend¹ when he ventured into a field untouched by French-Canadian novelists before his day. However, we shall not press a comparison here, for his novels, in spite of their sincere Catholic inspirations, can not be considered of great merit. Le centurion is much the more effective of the two; its weaknesses: lack of convincing local colour, inadequate psychological preparation, and failure to blend history and fiction,-- are repeated and extended in Pauline, which is a combination of New Testament paraphrase and tourist's guide.² Fortunately, Routhier's erudition and written style are as a rule beyond reproach, otherwise his novels would hardly have achieved the popularity which they have enjoyed.³

The setting of Gastone de Montreuil's Flour des ondes (1912), although Canadian, was also unusual. The period is that of Champlain's explorations, rarely portrayed in a French-Canadian novel.⁴ However, the charm

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1. Mgr. C. Roy: Romanciers de chez nous (Montreal: Beauchemin, 1935), p. 121.
 2. Mgr. Roy does not comment upon Pauline, but his criticism of Le centurion reveals a laudable ability to distinguish between the nobility of Routhier's intention and the limitations of his execution. (Ibid., pp. 121-136).
 3. Le centurion, for example, has been translated into more languages than any other French-Canadian novel. (See Bibliography).
 4. A re-arrangement of the novels mentioned, by period of setting, will be found in the Bibliography.

of this semi-legendary tale is seriously marred by the jerky and digressive narrative. For example, when the last paragraph notifies us of the death of Jean Duval, it requires an effort of memory to make the connection between this news and the ducal impersonator who dropped out of the story in the Prologue, well over a hundred pages before. There is also noticeable throughout the novel an exaggerated sentimentality, one particularly infelicitous expression of which is to be found in the astonishing physical feat attributed to an Indian character:

"Malgré la fraîcheur de la nuit, des gouttes de sueur perlaient au front du sauvage. Peut-être aussi s'y mêlait-il des larmes!"¹

Emerging from the three "lean decades" which the French-Canadian historical novel experienced before and after the turn of the century, we enter now upon the epoch of a great revival of historical fiction in French Canada. This revival,--still continuing during the Second World War,--may be accounted for by several developments: the new impetus given the French-Canadian novel by the appearance of Marie Chapdelaine (1916); the consolidation of national consciousness achieved in the World War of

1. Gaétane de Montreuil: Fleur des ondes (Québec: La Cie. d'Imprimerie Commerciale, 1912), p. 108.

1914-1918; the growth of historical studies, often through societies for the preservation and extension of French-Canadian culture; and lastly, an increasing intellectual maturity on the part of both authors and readers. In Europe, the revival of the historical novel was also encouraged by public reaction against naturalism, but in French Canada the naturalist school never flourished.

One of the novelists responsible for this new interest in the historical novel is Robert Laroque de Roquebrune, at that time living in France. Few French-Canadian novels have enjoyed the success of his Les habits rouges, published in 1923. Its author was awarded the Prix David that same year, and saw his novel pass through edition after edition. Seeking an explanation of this sudden success, won in a genre neglected for many years, we should do well to re-read de Roquebrune's "l'avant-propos":

"Ce roman, dont le sujet me poursuit depuis longtemps, s'il a été écrit à Paris, fut imaginé au Canada, dans la région même où la plupart des événements de la rébellion de 1837 se sont passés.

Ayant fait de personnages tels que lord Gosford, le général Colborne, Papineau, etc., un usage rigoureusement romanesque, je crois bon de rappeler les libertés permises au genre. En tout cas, je n'ai fait agir ici les personnages vrais que d'après l'histoire, et, si je leur ai prêté des sentiments, c'est que j'avais besoin que mes personnages eussent une âme et un coeur, fussent des hommes.

J'ai donc tenté, en animant une époque canadienne, de faire vivre ceux qui y ont vécu. Pour cela il m'a paru que c'eût été

une faute de goût de sembler faire
l'apologie d'une cause ou d'un homme.
Je n'ai voulu faire que ce que la
technique élémentaire du roman me
recommandait: une histoire qui eut
un commencement et une fin, et une
psychologie qui fut à l'échelle hu-
maine".¹

How different from the words of other authors whom we have quoted! No suggestion of glorifying French-Canadian history, nor of moralizing about national rights. Instead, a desire to portray the past for its own sake: for its value as the product of human thought and action; and a conviction that a work of art, while respecting its content, should not be dominated by that content.

Although the historical background has been criticized as incomplete, the novel is as worthy as the premises on which it is based. In a series of vivid scenes, enacted against the peaceful landscape of a century ago, is dramatized the story of the discontent which led up to the Rebellion, and of the misery brought by civil strife to those who have interests or loved ones on both sides. So skilfully have the characters been drawn that we can feel admiration for Armentgerry and Jérôme de Thavenet, who go over to the rebels in order to aid their ill-equipped compatriots, yet at the same time be moved

1. Robert de Roquebrune: Les habits rouges (Paris: Aux Éditions du Monde Nouveau, 1923), p. 7-8.

by sympathy for the young English lieutenant, Fenwick, who is killed knowing that Henriette de Thavenet, whom he loves, is supporting his enemies.

The following year (1924), Robert de Roquebrune published D'un océan à l'autre, a novel of the Riel Rebellions in 1870 and 1885.¹ However, an element of utilitarianism has already crept into the author's programme:

"Je serais donc heureux que ce livre-ci contribuât à faire comprendre aux étrangers que les Canadiens, ne sont ni des sauvages, ni des métis et qu'il fût connaître un peu ce que sont les vrais Canadiens et particulièrement les Canadiens-Français".²

It cannot be said that this feature weakens the book, however. Rather, one would criticize the melodramatic action, which suggests an unflattering comparison with a sensational "Western" moving-picture performance.³ There can be little question that this second novel marks a certain decline, although many of the merits of its predecessor persist: especially striking are the outdoor scenes on the prairies.

The year 1924 ushered in another maiden work:

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1. This period had previously been portrayed only by the French novelist J. P.oirier, in his novel Les argents de neige (Paris: Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 1909.)
 2. Robert de Roquebrune: D'un océan à l'autre (Paris: Aux Editions du Monde Nouveau, 1924), p. 10.
 3. De Roquebrune admits that the novel "tient du cinéma et a été composé comme un film". (Ibid., p. 9)

Les aventures de Perrine et de Charlot, by Marie-Claire Daveluy. This was the first of a group of historical novels written expressly for children: in the next decade, Maxine and the French author, Eugène Achard, were to swell the output of simple dramatic tales, which for our purpose usually constitute a reversion to the adventure novel of the nineteenth century, but which display a charm and delicacy not possible at the hands of less mature writers. In 1938 and the two following years, Dr. Daveluy re-edited and expanded her Aventures de Perrine et de Charlot into six volumes, involving her popular little hero and heroine in a series of even more fascinating adventures in seventeenth-century Canada.¹ Also beyond the limits set for the present study is Dr. Daveluy's most recent series, centering about the Rebellion of 1837-8;² in passing, let us only note that she is the first French-Canadian novelist to have created a successful chain of novels concerning the same characters,

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1. I - Les aventures de Perrine et de Charlot (1938).
 II - La captivité de Charlot (1938).
 III - Charlot à la "Mission des Martyrs" (1938).
 IV - L'idylle de Charlot (1938).
 V - Perrine et Charlot à Ville-Marie (1940).
 VI - Le cœur de Perrine (1940).
 2. I - Le Richelieu héroïque. Les jours tragiques de 1837 (1940).
 II - Michel et Josephite dans le tourment. La sombre année 1838 (1942).
 III - Le mariage de Josephite Précourt, Dix ans plus tard 1848-1849 (1942).

a favourite practice of Dumas in France. In addition, she has introduced and perfected the historical novel for children, and has not lacked imitators in the past few years.

French Canada's first woman historical novelist made her final bow shortly after Marie-Claire Daveluy had played her first role. In 1924, Laure Conan, although in the midst of her last sickness, was writing a novel: La sève immortelle (1925), the theme of which may be stated in a remark of the hero, Jean le Gardeur de Tilly: "C'est dans l'épreuve, c'est dans la souffrance que se forme la sève robuste qui fait un peuple fort."¹ Recovering from his wounds received at Sainte-Foye, le Gardeur de Tilly has fallen in love with Thérèse d'Autrée; the novel recounts his deliberations and eventual decision to give Thérèse up, rather than accompany her to France and abandon his homeland. The trying conditions under which the novel was written are indicated by the hurried conclusion: Thérèse, in France, sickens and dies in a single paragraph, and le Gardeur marries Major de Muy's daughter, Guillemette, with only one page of preparation! As in the previous works of Laure Conan, we have here a delicate

1. Laure Conan: La sève immortelle (Montreal: Les Editions de L'Action Canadienne-Française, 1937) p. 97.

portrayal of the states of mind of her characters, but we have also the suggestion of an increased attention to external detail, which might have materialized into a second phase in Laure Conan's writing, had her death not intervened.

The seven years from 1923 to 1930 are filled with historical novels from the hand of French Canada's most prolific author in the genre: Joseph-Marc-Octave-Antoine Lebel, of Arborfield, Saskatchewan, whose novels were published at the rate of three or four a year in the series "Le roman canadien".¹ Writing under the pseudonym Jean Féron, he poured forth a stream of novels, largely grouped about four historical periods: Frontenac's governorship, the conquest, the American Revolution, and the Rebellion of 1837-8.² It is not necessary to linger over the fact that Jean Féron has been inappropriately "surnommé l'Alexandre Dumas canadien";³ his novels are nothing more than "penny-dreadfuls" in the most sensational tradition of the old historical novel of adventure, and add

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1. By Garand. M. Garand has been kind enough to furnish us with a list of the historical novels published by him in this series: they will be found in the Bibliography under the pen-names of their authors: Jean Féron, Azilia Rochefort, and Prosper Willaume.
 2. See Bibliography for Jean Féron's novels arranged by time of setting.
 3. F. -J. Audet and G. Malchelosse: Pseudonymes canadiens (Montréal: G. Ducharme, 1936), p. 62.

nothing to the genre. Much the same may be said for the historical novels in the same series by other authors.¹

With the dawn of a new decade, new names were added to the list of French-Canadian historical novelists. One of them has already been mentioned: that of "Maxine" (Mme Taschereau-Fortier). With the exception of two novels for adults² written early in her career, Maxine has composed all her stories for children; her books fall into two classes, fairy tales and historical fiction. Her best known historical novel is Le petit page de Frontenac, (1930), in which, as in Les orphelins de Grand-Pré (1931) and other of her stories, she interprets historical periods to her young readers by dramatizing episodes in which her equally young heroes and heroines take part; a technique originated, as we have seen, by Marie-Claire Daveluy.

A similar preoccupation with the needs and interests of children characterizes the writings of the prolific French romancer, Eugène Achard. His first Canadian historical novel was a revision of a French novel, and dates from 1909;³ his original works began with two

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1. i.e., A. Huot, A. Rochefort, P. Willaume, etc.
 2. Moment de vertige (1931), and La Blessure (1932).
 3. Sous les plis du drapeau blanc, first printed in L'action catholique (1909-10) and published by Beauchemin a generation later (1935).

novels based on the Rebellion of 1837-8, published in 1925 and 1926 respectively.¹ Since that time, he has produced literally dozens of volumes: history, legends, plays, adaptations of foreign books, biography, and historical fiction, the latter culminating in a six-part novel portraying the life and works of Jacques Cartier.² M. Achard is guided purely by the desire to appeal to children, and readily admits that he seeks only to supplement the teaching of history in school by rendering historical data dramatic and colourful.³

The last, and one of the greatest, historical novelists within our period is Léo-Paul Desrosiers. His first novel, Nord-Sud (1931), attracted wide comment from the moment of its publication, and although more leisurely examination gradually revealed certain faults of style, its portrayal of the deliberations of Vincent Douaire be-

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1. Le trésor de l'Ile-aux-Noix, and La fin d'un traître.
(The latter is not to be confused with Jean Féron's novel of the same title, set in 1674, which appeared in 1930).
 2. I Le marinier de Saint-Malo (1935)
II L'homme blanc de Gaspe (1936)
III Sur le grand fleuve de Canada (1939)
IV Le grand chef de Stadaconé (1941)
V Sur les hauteurs de Charlesbourg-Royal (1941)
VI Le vice-roi du Canada (1942)
 3. M. Achard has been good enough to outline the purpose of his historical fiction in a letter to the present writer, (Oct. 16, 1944). In spite of the volume of his production, since he disclaims any literary pretensions, and also because he is not, after all, a French-Canadian author, it has not been thought necessary to include more than these few lines about his writing.

fore determining to leave his home and his Josephite for the California gold rush of 1848-9 is still generally regarded as a high point in the development of the French-Canadian historical novel. He has since written other novels, of which one, Les engagés du Grand Portage (1938), although beyond the limit set for this study, should be mentioned here: a powerful analysis of the will to "arrive", personified by Nicholas Montour, a voyageur who rose to the rank of "bourgeois" in the "Compagnie du Nord-Ouest" of a century and a half ago. The same meticulous and richly figured description of scenes and daily tasks, which recreated the life of the nineteenth-century habitants in Nord-Sud, is here applied to the long, toiling trips of the voyageurs in their bark canoes. M. Desrosiers and M. de Roquebrune may well be the heralds of a new school of historical novelists in French-Canada, for they are the first authors to blend the accurate realism of Joseph Marmette's descriptions with the serene thoughtfulness of Laure Conan's psychological analysis. M. Desrosiers readily admits that he sees the historical novel as a growing field for the study of character, while yet fully appreciating its value as a link with the beauty and abundance of past life.¹

1. M. Desrosiers has given a fluent summary of his views on the historical novel in a letter to the present writer (Dec. 4, 1944).

Thus we close this rapid survey of the historical novelists of French Canada. It is a far cry from young de Gaspé and Doutre to De Roquebrune and Desrosiers; it is not always possible to observe a steadily rising curve of perfection in the novelists who separate them. Historical fiction in French Canada has developed unevenly, now stagnating, now teeming with life; at one moment slipping back to primitive techniques, at another surging ahead to new discoveries. As in Europe, the national consciousness and historical sense of Romanticism provided a fertile seed-bed for the tiny grain which Scott was to fertilize and tend. The history of the novel as a genre is reflected in the early growth of the French-Canadian novel, and especially in that branch of the novel we are studying: for the technical problems involved in that growth we shall begin a new chapter.

CHAPTER IV

THE GENRE IN FRENCH CANADA

As a literary genre, the historical novel in French Canada has enjoyed a varied career. Its writers have represented several literary schools, and have experimented with many techniques; some have succeeded, others have not. In passing in review the historical novels of French-Canadian authors, we have here and there indicated major trends: it is now a question of settling down to specific aspects of the novels we have named, as we attempt to seize upon the strengths and weaknesses of the genre in French Canada.

In discussing the historical novel in general, we began with a few "externals": size, title, author, and date of publication. In French Canada, as we have seen, the one-volume novel remained the standard until the 1930's: the tiny format of our first French-Canadian novel was enlarged in its successors, but only with Marie-Claire Daveluy and Eugène Achard has the many-volumed historical novel of Dumas been introduced. In the matter of titles, too, de Gaspé fils' early effort is of interest: published in 1837 under the uninformative title: "L'influence d'un livre", it was reproduced in 1864 by Le foyer canadien under the much more alluring title, Le chercheur

de trésors ou l'influence d'un livre, mute testimony to a growing knowledge of the public mind.¹ Since that time, French-Canadian novelists have selected their titles with increasing care: nineteenth-century novels were often surmounted by the name of the hero (François de Bienville, Annibal, Le vieux muet), or of the lovers whose fortunes were recounted between the covers: Les fiancés de 1812, Jacques et Marie, Charles et Eva, La fiancée du rebelle, Les fiancés de St. Eustache. Occasionally the plot was suggested: Une de perdu, deux de trouvées, or A l'oeuvre et à l'épreuve; at other times, the setting was indicated, as in Le château de Beaumanoir, and La Monongahéla. In more recent novels, greater care and subtlety have been displayed in the choice of titles: La sève immortelle, D'un océan à l'autre, and Nord-Sud are but three examples.

Since we have already placed our novels in their chronological order, we may now turn from their covers to their pages. Glancing first at chapter divisions, we find in the novels of adventure the "old-fashioned" long chapter titles of early European novels: Joseph Marmette gives us tempting foretastes of his tale in his chapter headings:

1. See S. Marion: Les lettres canadiennes d'autrefois, (Ottawa: Les Editions de l'Université, 1944) t.IV, p. 48.

"Coups d'archet, de langue et d'épée."¹

"Où le chevalier Robert du Portail de Mornac s'estime fort heureux d'échanger l'illustre nom de ses ancêtres contre celui de Castor-Pelé."²

"Où la faim engendre la course, et la course deux rencontres."³

Marmette obviously considered chapter titles important and composed them along with the story.⁴ In an earlier chapter we mentioned Dumas' use of chapter divisions to heighten suspense: Marmette is a clever exponent of this device, as we shall note when speaking of plot. A few novelists indulged in the Romantic practice of prefixing their chapters with a line or two of verse; we have already observed such quotations in Les anciens Canadiens. Laure Conan did not give her brief chapters titles, no doubt unwilling to be tied X down to specific scenes and events. With the revival of the historical novel in the 1920's, we come to what is probably the most skilful use of chapter titles in any of the novels we have studied: in Les habits rouges, each of the thirteen chapters is centred on one character, and bears his name, so that the reader has the impression that he is observing different facets of the same scene. In general, French-Canadian novelists have not been too careful with their chapter divisions: the conception of each chapter as a unit in itself is

1. La fiancée du rebelle, Chap. II.

2. Le chevalier de Mornac, Chap. X.

3. Charles et Eva, Seconde Partie, Chap. VI.

4. Occasionally he repeated himself; Charles et Eva, Seconde Partie, Chap. VII, has the same title as Le chevalier de Mornac, Chap. XXI, etc.

not widespread.

The importance of the opening pages of a historical novel has also been overlooked by a number of our writers. We have already cited the unhappy opening of Régis Roy's Le cadet de la Vérendrye: his mistake was to suggest an opening scene and then deliver what we have called an "essay opening" instead. A brief introductory essay has been used to advantage by Bourassa, Wermette, Féron, and others; less effectively by Doutre, Gaétane de Montreuil, and Rousseau. Even a page or two of pure historical writing quickly reveals defects in an author's style, both because of his readers' acquaintance with other models, and because the reader's attention is for the moment concentrated on the author's expression, without the relief of plot interest. Scenic openings, on the other hand, must be simple enough to be comprehended by a reader not yet acquainted with the setting, and at the same time interesting enough to retain his attention. Two or three ventures of the latter type are worth quoting:

"--que signifie ce rébus, monsieur Monard?"

"M. Augustin Monard se gratte la tête avec perplexité, et considéra de nouveau le parchemin où d'étranges figures étaient peintes en rouge".¹

1. D'un océan à l'autre.

--Qui vive?
 --France.
 --Le mot d'ordre?
 --Canada.
 --Passez!

Ces mots furent prononcés dans la nuit du 14 octobre de l'an de grâce 1690; et la sentinelle qui veillait au pied du côté de la Montagne, livra passage à trois hommes, des militaires, car leur épée relevait un pan de leur manteau, tandis que leur feutre à longue plume s'inclinait crânement sur l'oreille gauche".¹

"C'était en l'année 1626, aux premiers jours de printemps.

M. Garnier, maître des requêtes au conseil du roi, avait déjà abandonné son hôtel de Paris pour sa délicieuse villa d'Autueil.

Comme il rentra chez lui, un soir:

--Eh bien, demanda sa femme en l'apercevant, avez-vous été à Port-Royal?"²

Closely related to the question of how to compose an opening scene is that of the proportion to be maintained between scenes and narrative. As a general rule, no event in a story should be dramatically presented unless it contributes powerfully to the effect of the whole story: events of which the individual significance is limited should be sketched in panoramic narrative. In Les fiancés de St. Eustache, for example, we have the fourth chapter given over to a scene in

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1. François de Bienville.
 2. A l'oeuvre et à l'épreuve.

which Pierre Dugal and his fiancée Lucienne go for a ride in a boat: Louise, a third member of the party, is drowned. Since Louise has no part in the story,--her death does not affect the plot in any way,--this incident is not worthy of inclusion in scenic form. On the other hand, let us consider the drinking bout between the chevalier and Griffe d'Ours in Le chevalier de Mornac:¹ this single scene serves both to illustrate Mornac's Gascon talents and also to explain the cheftain's undying hatred of him. A good many of the minor novelists we have mentioned would have done well to read Marmette carefully in this particular: Régis Roy and Edmond Rousseau might have improved their novels thereby. Later writers, veering away from the adventure story, cut down the number of events in their novels, and increased the number of scenes: de Roquebrune's D'un océan à l'autre is an extreme experiment of this kind.

The more completely scenic and dramatic a novel becomes, the less opportunity the author has for interpolating his own comments. Perhaps one of the outstanding features of French-Canadian novels until very recently is the large part played by the author directly. An author is quite entitled to express himself directly in his novel, but he should refrain from interfering with the progress of

1. Chapter III.

his plot or the maintenance of his atmosphere. When Joseph Marmette tells us in Le chevalier de Mornac that "peut-etre l'absence de tout medecin"¹ helped Jeanne de Richecourt to recover from her fever, we are amused by his irony; but when he begins a few pages later² to flail modern doctors again, we resent what we now recognize as a prejudice of the author. Similarly, when Edmond Rousseau drops his tale completely to attack an unnamed English journalist among his contemporaries, he loses whatever hold he has gained on our imagination.³ No amount of "local colour" will create the impression of a past civilization if the author insists on interrupting to explain the omission of "diverses ceremonies dont il serait trop long de faire la description",⁴ or to tell his readers what they may expect next.⁵ Of course, such interpolations are often the result of the extremely didactic character of most of the historical novels we are studying. As we have seen in the last chapter, many authors state quite frankly that they are writing for utilitarian purposes, and their interruptions merely reveal their concern with being understood. When Napoleon

1. p. 51

2. p. 74

3. Le château de Beaumanoir, pp. 143, 219.

4. Le centurion, p. 228.

5. Ibid., p. 231.

Bourassa describes the industry of the Acadian women, he does so in preparation for a stinging paragraph directed at his idle female contemporaries;¹ Ernest Choquette describes the fiery anglophobe, Dr. Ribaud, and at the same time laments the absence of such men in his own day.²

This is not to say that all French-Canadian novelists show their hand so readily: Laure Conan does so rarely, and Léo-Paul Desrosiers almost never. In general, however, interpolations by the author are frequent in our novels, and very often clumsy.

The same naïveté and inexperience which have led French-Canadian novelists to show more than "le bout de l'oreille" in their novels have restricted the variety of the points of view involved. Nine out of every ten of our stories are told from the point of view of an omniscient author, who recounts everything that happens everywhere. Joseph Marmette is our best example here: his novels usually contain at least two sets of events progressing simultaneously, and from chapter to chapter the reader is whisked back and forth between two scenes. When we turn from Marmette's multilinear tale to the unilinear

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1. N.. Bourassa: Jacquess et Marie (Montréal: Eusèbe Sénécal, 1866), pp. 21-22.
 2. E. Choquette: Les Ribaud (Montréal: Eusèbe Sénécal, 1898), p. 91

novels of Laure Conan, we feel almost as if we were standing still. Laure Conan is one of the few French-Canadian writers who have been interested in autobiographical points of view. The use of letters and a diary, which she had introduced¹ in Angéline de Montbrun, was equally effective in A l'oeuvre et à l'épreuve to recount the silent, solitary life of Charles Garnier in his Huron missions, and of Gisèle Méliand at home in France. Judge Routhier included much of his description of the Mediterranean world in Camilla's journal in Le Centurion, after introducing his theme in an epistolary "Première Partie", but later examples of either of these procedures are rare. Isolated letters are regularly used as a means of advancing the action or of informing the reader, as when Annibal, exiled in New England, writes his parents reassuringly,² or when Marc Evrard receives his letter of banishment from Governor Carleton on the eve of the American invasion of Québec;³ but on the whole, letters and diaries have not

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1. Joseph Doutre had employed a sort of diary procedure to tell Gustave's story, "Six années de ma vie", in Les fiancés de 1812, pp. 387-470, and can certainly claim priority in the use of an epistolary method (all his "Seconde Partie" is in letters), but his experimentation in this regard can hardly be called successful.
 2. Annibal, Chap. VII
 3. J. Marmette: La fiancée du rebelle (Revue canadienne, 1875), Chap. IV.

been popular with our authors. The autobiographical narrative, moreover, is to all intents and purposes nonexistent in French-Canadian historical novels; the device of telling a story from the point of view of a secondary actor, or from several simultaneous points of view, is also almost unknown. Here as elsewhere, we find that the novelist's art is still at a rudimentary stage: perhaps our contemporaries will capitalize on techniques overlooked by their predecessors.

If we now turn our attention to the first of the three great divisions of novel-structure, plot, we discover, as has already been suggested, that French-Canadian historical novels separate into two very uneven groups: the novels of adventure, marshalled under the banner of Joseph Marmette, and the novels of character, presided over by Laure Conan.¹ It is with the former that we shall have most to do in speaking of plot.

We have already remarked that plot, being causal, obliges a novelist wishing to emphasize it, to write according to normal chronology. Since the normal order of events may not, however, be the most striking, the author will start at an interesting point, and then flash back to pick

1. To be perfectly accurate, there is also a third group: the historical novel of manners, exemplified in Les anciens Canadiens.

up his causal chain: the openings quoted earlier demonstrate this habit. The danger is that the passages of retrospect may outweigh those in which the action progresses, placing the reader in the position of a man sitting in a train with his back to the locomotive: he wants to go forward but is forced to look backwards, and even when he is moving forward, he only half realizes the fact. J. -B. Caouette's Le vieux muet is poorly constructed in this regard: the Prologue pictures for us the hero, Jean-Charles Lormier, in 1850; parts I, II, and III then detail his whole life in retrospect, and the novel closes in 1865. At times the fault is not one of arrangement, but of selection: in Les exploits d'Iberville, a quite superfluous plot is superimposed on the main story by Rousseau's retrospect of Urbain Duperret-Janson's youth and adoption by a French nobleman;¹ this is an example of a retrospect passage which tells another story of its own,--which is, in other words, a story within a story.

Both the de Gaspé included smaller stories within their novels: in L'influence d'un livre we have "L'Etranger" and "L'Homme du Labrador",² and in Les anciens Canadiens the tales of José and of "le bon gentilhomme".³

1. Chaps. XIII-XVI.

2. Chaps. V and IX. Gagnon (Essai de bibliographie canadienne. Québec: Pour l'auteur, 1895) t.I, p. 149, says that de Gaspé, père, is supposed to have written Chap. V.

3. Chaps. IV and X.

Joseph Marmette experimented once with this device: Renard Noir's account of the desolation of Huronia in Le Chevalier de Mornac;¹ but he was careful to preserve the continuity of his main action at the same time by having the story-teller interrupted by skulking Iroquois. Edmond Rousseau is less dexterous in La Monongahéla,² and A Carillon,³ when he includes short Germanic fairy tales in the story: one suspects that Rousseau had run across these stories in his own reading and was determined to work them into his novels at any cost.

In reading these French-Canadian historical novels of adventure, one is struck by the constant repetition of a few stock situations, just as we shall later note the same limitations in the characters of such novels. The most common of these situations is that in which the hero rescues the heroine or some other character; almost every novelist falls back upon this resource at one time or another. In a Canadian setting, of course, the opportunity of effecting a rescue from the hands of the Iroquois is especially tempting. In Les anciens Canadiens, Dumais saves Arché, but it is much more usual for the rescued captive to be a young woman: Ithona in Les fiancés

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1. Chap. VI.
 2. pp. 51-53.
 3. pp. 42-46.

de 1812, Jeanne de Richecourt in Le chevalier de Mornac, Yvonne Kernouët in Les exploits d'Iberville, or Aliénor Guilbault in D'un océan à l'autre.¹ Scott's scene in The Bride of Lammermoor may have inspired some rescues from irate animals: St. Luc in Une de perdu, deux de trouvées saves Asile from a bull,² just as Edgar Ravenswood saves Lucy in Scott's novel. Daniel de St. Denis goes one step further in La Monongahéla, saving a bull-fighter from his enraged adversary,³--no doubt to match the prestige acquired by his friend, Nicolas de Neuville, earlier in the same book, when the latter saved Irène de Linctôt from a mad dog.⁴ Scenes in which the heroine is rescued from a male assailant are not rare: such is the good fortune of Florence Drusac no less than three times in the pages of Rodolphe Girard's novel bearing her name as its title! Most of the remaining rescue scenes involve near-drownings: Gonzalve de R... saves St. Felmar from this fate in Les fiancés de 1812,⁵ Michel de la Muette rescues Marie-Louise Bolduc in A Carillon,⁶ and we must not forget Arché's rescue of Dumais in Les anciens Canadiens.⁷

1. From Cree captors in the latter case.

2. pp. 241-242.

3. pp. 131-133.

4. pp. 52-53.

5. Chaps. V and X.

6. Chap. VI. Apparently Rousseau named his heroine after his mother; see Abbé Chs. Beaumont: Généalogie des familles de la Côte de Beaupré (Ottawa: Imprimeur du Roi, 1912), art. "Rousseau".

7. Chap. V.

However, thrilling rescues are not the only source of melodramatic action in our novels. Abductions and ambushes are almost as popular. The intendant Bigot figures prominently in the former,¹ his passion for young girls supposedly having led him to this extreme; but he is closely rivalled by several Indian chieftains who insist on having white brides.² Probably the most interesting ambush in the novels studied is that in Les Ribaud:³ Dr. Ribaud and his servant François lie in wait for a whole regiment of English troops, hoping to pick off Madeleine Ribaud's English lover! Murders, however, are usually quite rare when not sanctioned by the rules of war: Guillemette in L'influence d'un livre and Le Bison in Le cadet de la Vérendrye are two isolated victims of this crime. Duels are by no means as infrequent: Les fiancés de 1812 opens the tradition with three spirited clashes, and others follow in Le chevalier de Mornac,⁴ Les Ribaud⁵ and Florence.⁶ A search for hidden treasure provides the action of a number of novels: L'intendant Bigot,

1. L'intendant Bigot; Le château de Beaumanoir; Le trésor de Bigot; etc.

2. Loup-Cervier in Charles et Ava; L'Ours in D'un océan à l'autre, etc.

3. pp. 229-230.

4. pp. 63-64.

5. pp. 30-33.

6. pp. 43-51.

Le cadet de la Vérendrye, and Le trésor de Bigot contain episodes of this sort. Disguises and impersonations are also drawn upon to arouse interest: in Les fiancés de 1812, Louise St. Helmar in disguise is unwittingly captured by her brigand brother,¹ and in Le chevalier de Mornac, Joncas deceives the chevalier's Indian captors by disguising himself as a Dutch trader.²

arouse

What are we to say of all these melodramatic episodes, reminiscent of "le bas romantisme" in France? In the first place, that they are overdone: they are both too frequent and too prominent in the novels of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, giving a jerky and episodic aspect to the plot. Secondly, that they frequently lack verisimilitude: Joseph Marmette is often at fault in this respect.³ And lastly, that they limit the study of character, if not render it impossible. In Abbé Dandurand's words,

"Le lecteur se fatigue en peu de
temps de cette littérature épisodique"

1. Première Partie, Chap. VI.

2. Chap. XVII.

3. We have already mentioned the "gunpowder plot" in François de Bienville; the fortuitous earthquake which saves the chevalier from torture in Le chevalier de Mornac (chap. XIV) also has a suspicious ring, but it fades into insignificance before the enormity of Berthe's "resurrection" in L'intendant Bigot (Seconde Partie, p. 82), even if Scott did furnish an example with his resurrection of Athelstane in Ivanhoe!

qui aime mieux agencer des événements
fortuits que d'observer l'âme dans ses
profonds sentiments".¹

If we attempt to determine the purposes for which such episodes were included by our novelists, we find that they are reducible to two: providing excitement and creating suspense. Many of the situations we have cited are surprising or stirring in themselves: the gory episodes of Jean Couture's torture and of Griffé d'Ours' death in Le chevalier de Mornac,² or of Louis Sournois' fate, brought about by the pistol wired to fire at any one tampering with Bigot's treasure,³ are of this type. Others are designed to create in the reader a fear of unpleasant episodes to come, as in the scene portraying Dent-de-Loup's mysterious preparation of poisoned bullets in François de Bienville.⁴ This end is also served by the extensive recording of presentiments on the part of characters in the various novels: in Les anciens Canadiens, M. d'Haberville hears an unexplained noise and fears it may augur ill;⁵ his wife foresees the shipwreck of the "Auguste" in a dream;⁶ and Marie, "la folle du domaine", foresees the tragedy about to strike

1. Op. cit., p. 99.

2. Chaps. VIII and XXIII.

3. L'intendant Bigot, Seconde Partie, chap. VI.

4. p. 322.

5. pp. 111-112.

6. p. 160.

the seigneur's household.¹ Twice in Marmette's novels the choice of Friday as a day on which to commence an expedition is considered an evil omen,² and various other "signs" and "hunches" appear in later novels. Suspense, however, can be created and maintained without reliance upon presentiment: Joseph Marmette cleverly constructs his chapter divisions to heighten suspense, closing one chapter at a point of extreme tension and then devoting the next chapter to some other scene, while the reader is kept "on pins and needles". Nevertheless, such devices are of little value unless the reader's interest in one outcome rather than the other has already been strongly aroused; when that has^{not} been done, his curiosity will hardly be stimulated by a string of questions at the end of a chapter:

"Pendant ce temps-là, où étaient MM.
de Noyelles et de la Vérendrye?
A quoi s'occupaient-ils?
Ne pensaient-ils pas au retour, après
dix jours d'absence du poste de la Jonquière?
Ou bien, leur était-il arrivé quelque
malheur, quelque accident?"³

To close a chapter in such a manner constitutes a confession of inability to arouse even the simplest

1. pp. 94-95.

2. In Charles et Eva by Thomas Fournier, and in François de Bienville by Pierre Bras-de-Fer.

3. Le cadet de la Vérendrye, p. 49.

type of suspense, that of a delayed announcement, as illustrated in these lines from Le chevalier de Mornac:¹ Jeanne de Richecourt hears someone approaching the lodge in which she is a captive:

"A mesure que les pas devenaient plus distincts, les palpitations de son coeur se faisaient plus pressées et frappaient comme des coups de marteau dans sa tête.
Celui qui s'approchait allait entrer.
Qui allait-elle voir apparaître?
Question de vie ou de mort.
Ses deux mains se croisèrent sur sa poitrine qui bondissait convulsivement.
A la porte une main se contra.
La portière s'agita, s'ouvrit.
Jeanne poussa un cri de terreur.
C'était Vilarme."

Although the creation of suspense is often attendant upon a good plot, a successful novel need not be greatly concerned with exciting its readers. After Laure Conan, novel plots become less complicated, and the influence of character upon plot becomes more significant than previously. Nevertheless, the place of the plot in later novels remains important. In la sève immortelle, Laure Conan gives us an interesting example of a twin plot: Jean le Gardeur de Tilly loves Thérèse d'Autrée but gives her up for patriotic reasons. Guillemette de Muy refuses Lt. Laycroft on similar grounds; at the close of the novel the two stories are united by the marriage of Jean and Guillemette. Les habits rouges

1. p. 81.

also contains a double intrigue: two pairs of rivals seek the hands of Lilian Colborne and Henriette de Thavenet, and all four are disappointed in their suits as a result of the Rebellion. The rival plot is quite frequent in the earlier novels, as we have seen; Gaétane de Montreuil gave it an unusual, and not very convincing, twist when she portrayed two girls in love with the same man, Philippe de Savigny.¹ In general, the love-plot may be said to be the mainstay of most French-Canadian historical novels: it varies from something akin to the seventeenth-century "chain of lovers" in Les fiancés de 1812² to the simple story of the chaste loves of Gisèle Meliand and Charles Garnier in A l'oeuvre et à l'épreuve. Rarely do the lovers quarrel in our novels: Hubert and Florence in Florence,³ or Maria and Daniel in La Monongahéla⁴ are estranged for a few pages, but are soon reconciled; in several novels love is overcome by patriotic or religious considerations, but the conversion of love itself into hatred or contempt is unknown. Tragic endings to love intrigues are not infrequent: several novels with such conclusions have been mentioned in the previous chapter. Much more numerous,

1. In Fleur des ondes.

2. Gonzalve loves Louise, whose brother Gustave loves Eliza; the latter's brother Brandsome loves Eugénie, the sister of Alphonse, who loves Ithona!

3. Chap. VII.

4. Chap. XVI et seq.

and more palatable to naive readers, are the "happy endings" of most of our novels: the peal of wedding bells provides an accompaniment for the closing of the majority of Marmette's novels, among others. In many cases, the author also feels obliged to wind up his story by recounting in brief the later lives of his characters,¹ but this practice has declined as the years passed.

In short, the plots of French-Canadian novels have often borne too many traces of Romantic melodrama: they have been too complicated and too fortuitous, they have lacked compactness, and have rarely been integrated with setting and character. Of recent years, the plots of our historical novels have become simpler and have been greatly improved by a growing capacity on the part of the novelists to work out the interaction of plot and character; it is to be hoped that the lead taken by Laure Conan, Robert de Roquebrune and Léo-Paul Desrosiers in this field will continue to be followed.

In the historical novel of adventure, the characters had little real existence apart from the historical events in which they participated. Most of the

1. e.g., "Le lecteur, sans doute, aimera savoir ce qu'il advint des principaux personnages de cette nouvelle historique." (Le cadet de la Vérendrye, p. 72).

persons introduced in such novels were purely fictitious, although fragments of fact often entered into their composition. The leading figures of the periods treated were introduced: for example, we meet Frontenac in François de Bienville and Le Moyne d'Iberville in Les exploits d'Iberville,--but these well-known characters in history were not involved in the plot and were merely present as part of the setting.¹ As we might expect, the actors in these stories of adventure are static characters: they do not change or develop in the course of the novel. The number of characters is small: the far-ranging epic novels of some European authors are unknown in French Canada. An inadequate knowledge of human personality probably explains the limits placed upon the number of characters in our nineteenth century novels: in more recent times, the novelists have portrayed a greater variety of carefully delineated characters.

One of the technical problems confronting an author is how to introduce his characters to the reader. In speaking of plot, we mentioned the numerous rescue

1. More liberty was taken with the person of Bigot: perhaps the disrespect in which he is generally held in French Canada accounts for his being treated much as a fictitious character. In general, historical personages play only a minor part in our novels; Laure Conan's works constitute the major exception to this rule.

scenes in our novels: in several cases these provide the entry of the heroine into the story. Such fortunate coincidences cannot prepare the appearance of all characters, however; most of them must be introduced by the author early in the book. Here was a real stumbling-block for many French-Canadian novelists; they show their embarrassment by their interpolations:

"Nous n'anticiperons pas sur les événements, et avant d'aller plus loin, nous ferons connaissance avec quelques personnages qui figureront puissamment dans la suite de ce récit."¹

"Le lecteur aimera, sans doute, à faire connaissance avec les personnes qui composaient la famille d'Haberville. Pour satisfaire un désir si naturel, il est juste de les introduire suivant leur rang hiérarchique."²

"Mais pardon, lecteurs, je m'aperçois que, dans le premier moment de l'excitation produite par l'arrivée de Bienville, j'ai oublié de vous présenter Louis d'Orsy, maître de céans."³

"J'ai dû parler de cette gaie réunion parce que deux personnages s'y trouvaient qui jouent les principaux rôles dans les pages qui suivent."⁴

The newly-introduced character is usually described physically and morally, and then turned loose in

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1. Les fiances de 1812, p. 24.
 2. Les anciens Canadiens, p. 72.
 3. François de Bienville, p. 74.
 4. Le cadet de la Vérendrie, p. 2.

the pages of the novel. The division of a character's introduction into accounts of appearance and of temperament is evidently in the novelist's mind, for he occasionally lets fall an unguarded remark:

"Brossard devant jouer un rôle important dans ce récit, il convient que j'en donne une petite description, au physique seulement, car au moral le lecteur pourra le juger bientôt."¹

For the description of external appearance in its most elaborate and most impressive form, we must turn to Joseph Marmette's novels. Closely imitating Scott, Marmette has left us some magnificent descriptions of the costumes worn by his characters. Here, for example, is the passage in which he presents the intendant, Bigot:

"Entre tous les galants cavaliers qui papillonnaient auprès des dames, lesquelles n'étaient pas le moins bel ornement de ce lieu enchanteur, "l'intendant, leur hôte, se faisait remarquer autant par la coupe gracieuse et la richesse de ses habits que par l'exquise urbanité de ses manières.

Il portait un habit de satin aurore, à très-larges basques et à revers étroits lisérés d'or. Ce brillant justaucorps laissait voir une veste de satin blanc, par l'échancrure de laquelle s'échappait une cravate de mousseline, dont les bouts très-longes pendaient par devant en compagnie des cascades de dentelle qui tombaient de la chemise.

1. Ibid., p. 21. Joseph Marmette describes Vergor, the French commander at Foulon's Cove in 1759, and adds: "Les faits qui vont suivre montreront assez la noirceur de son caractère sans qu'il soit besoin d'esquisser aussi son portrait au moral." (L'intendant Bigot, p. 53).

La culotte, de même étoffe que l'habit, descendait en serrant la jambe jusqu'au dessous du genou; là, elle s'arrêtait retenue par de petites boucles en or et recouvrait le bas bien étiré sous lequel se dessinait avec avantage un musculeux mollet.

Des souliers à talon, attachés par des boucles d'or, emprisonnaient ses pieds.

Quant à ses cheveux roux, ils étaient poudrés à blanc, relevés et frisés sur le front et les tempes, pour venir se perdre en arrière dans une bourse de taffetas noir.

Une épée de parade à poignée d'ivoire ornée de pierreries, relevait par derrière les basques de son justaucorps."¹

Perhaps Marmette was aware of Goethe's and Sainte-Beuve's criticisms of Scott's full-length descriptions of characters concealed by darkness or by intervening objects, for in describing Charles Dupuis he says:

"Comme la qualité de romancier permet de commettre quelques indiscretions, mes lecteurs voudront bien me laisser entr'ouvrir le collet de son pardessus, qui monte au-dessus des oreilles, afin de leur donner une idée de l'ensemble de ses traits."²

Such extended physical descriptions become less and less common as the influence of Scott's romantic novels wanes and the level of character becomes prominent. A careful reading of Marmette gives a suggestion of the fact that he himself experienced this evolution on a small scale: in his last historical novel, La fiancée du rebelle (1875), the appearance of the characters is de-

1. L'intendant Birot, p. 7.

2. Charles et Eva, p. 705.

scribed only briefly,¹ and we must not forget that Marmette later renounced the genre completely.

Descriptions of temperament are usually limited to a few general statements. An echo of "l'homme fatal" of European Romanticism is heard in Joseph Doutre's portrait of his hero, Gonzalve:

"Une figure pâle et mystérieuse, un air pensif et sérieux, donnaient à l'ensemble de ses qualités un caractère qui commandait le respect... La solitude avait seule du charme pour lui. Souvent on le voyait s'enfoncer seul dans les forêts et disparaître comme le cerf qui fuit les aboiements d'une meute affamée."²

Perhaps the most skilful moral portrait before the advent of the psychological novel is that of "mon oncle Raoul" in Les anciens Canadiens;³ in a few paragraphs, de Gaspé has given us a dramatic picture of the proud, pompous, yet kindly old veteran with his pedantry and patriotism.

It is only after the appearance of Laure Conan, however, that we find any great interest in the portrayal

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1. Note also that L'intendant Bigot contains one chapter in which Mme Péan's sudden jealousy influences her willingness to aid Raoul in thwarting Bigot's schemes; it is a pity that Marmette did not exploit the effect of character upon plot more often.
 2. Les fiancés de 1812, p. 26.
 3. pp. 73-76.

of character as a means of revealing the forces behind historical events. Laure Conan has had two worthy successors in this field: Robert de Roquebrune and Léo-Paul Desrosiers. All three writers have depicted certain historical periods by portraying the mental processes of individuals living in those periods: their works are thus easily distinguishable from historical novels of adventure, belated examples of which are being published to the present day.

Just as in resources of plot, there is a noticeable limitation in the types of characters in French-Canadian historical novels. The heroes tend to be "doué de tout ce que la nature peut prodiguer de plus heureux",¹ the heroines "unique sur la terre".² Joseph Marmette takes ironical note of this fact,³ although he himself is one of the guilty. Almost invariably the heroes and heroines are orphans,⁴ left alone in the world and brought up by some kindly relative. No doubt the novelists wished thus to grant their characters a freedom of action and movement impossible in family life, and to account for their heroic emotions pent up in solitude, without the sympathy of loving

1. Les fiancés de 1812, p. 24.

2. Ibid., p. 49.

3. François de Bienville, p. 29.

4. The characters of J. Marmette, E. Rousseau, R. Roy, A. Bibaud and G. de Montreuil all show this common trait.

parents.¹ The heroines are uniformly beautiful--sometimes too uniformly, as when E. Rousseau describes Yvonne Kernouet in Les exploits d'Iberville in one particular:

"La bouche est peut-être un peu trop grande, mais elle est garnie de belles dents..."²

and then says of Marie-Louise Bolduc in A Carillon:

"La bouche est peut-être un peu grande, mais le sourire est charmant et laisse apercevoir deux rangées de perles d'une blancheur éclatante."³

Blonde heroines are preferred by most of our novelists, as a reading of the descriptive passages devoted to them will show. Some of them display a passion undreamt-of by Philippe Aubert de Gaspé, fils, when he contrasted the Latin and Nordic temperaments in L'influence d'un livre:

"(L'Italienne) veut que le jeune Anglais aux cheveux blonds boive la coupe des passions comme elle, fille du midi, à la longue chevelure noire, à l'âme du feu."⁴

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1. A further Romantic trait in the nineteenth-century novels. Note, for example, Raoul de Beaulac's grief when he hears of his fiancée's death:

"Raoul poussa un cri de rage, un hurlement de bête féroce.

Il ne pouvait plus parler, il suffoquait et tournait autour de sa chambre comme dans sa cage un lion furieux". (L'intendant Bigot, p. 80).

2. p. 16.
3. p. 11.
4. p. 29.

There are a number of minor characters representing various "types", which one may expect to meet in most of the novels. There is the faithful servant who accompanies his master everywhere and who regularly assists him in time of need: André Francoeur in Les anciens Canadiens, Thomas Fournier in Charles et Eva, Jean Lavieue in L'intendant Rigot, Célestin Tranquille in La fiancée du rebelle; even to Cotineau in Les habits rouges. In the novels depicting the Anglo-French wars, there is the cruel, impassive savage: Grande Loure in Les anciens Canadiens, Dent-de-Ioup in François de Bienville, Loup-Cervier in Charles et Eva, Griffe d'Ours in Le chevalier de Vornac, Tête d'Aigle in Les exploits d'Iberville, Oeil de Faucon in Le cadet de la Vérendrye and l'Ours in D'un océan à l'autre. The noble savage of Rousseau is less frequent: Magatawa in Jacques et Marie belongs to this tradition. As we suggested earlier, the Indian characters have two roles in our novels: they incarnate the evil forces opposing the French hero, and at the same time constitute an ever-present menace for the heroine who falls into their hands. A third "type character" is the old sea-dog or veteran, usually gifted with a rich and varied vocabulary: Captain Marcheterre in Les anciens Canadiens, Cacatoès in Les exploits d'Iberville, or Gaspar Bertrand in La Monongahéla. There are also at times characters borrowed from European Romanticism and included to add an eerie or prophetic note to the story:

Bossendos in Les fiancés de 1812 is merely a second Quasimodo, just as "la folle du domaine" in Les anciens Canadiens and Pitre Lafoie in Les Ribaud recall Scott characters.

One noticeable lack in our novels is that of humorous characters: de Gaspe's Jose is at times the most successful of such creations; Adèle Ribaud's Edmond, who labours of "les politesses et les cérémonies" through the pages of Les fiancés de St. Eustache, is a pitiful attempt at a comic character. Joseph Varmette has one amusing scene in François de Bienville,¹ in which the innkeeper, Jean Boisdor, accidentally discharges his wadded musket into the back of Olivier Saucier, cook at the Château Saint-Louis, during a militia drill. Unfortunately, interludes of comedy are rare in our historical novels.

The name of Olivier Saucier brings us to another Scott device employed in characterization by Varmette: that of significant names. What better name for a cook than Saucier, or for a villain than Vilarme?² Bigot's treacherous servant is aptly named Sournois in L'intendant Bigot. Later novelists did not readily employ this trick,

1. pp. 220-221.

2. Le chevalier de Mornac, p. 80: "Voilà Vilarme qui délibère avec lui-même. Il doit ruiner quelque vilainie".

although Edmond Rousseau introduces a tow-headed cabin-boy called Pompon-Filasse in La Monongahéla, and a modern author has named a cool, capable notary Syfroid Douaire.¹

Dialectal variants have been experimented with by some novelists as aids to characterization: here again, José in Les anciens Canadiens set a standard not often surpassed. The members of the lower classes are usually relegated to a minor role in our novels: when they appear, it is by ones and twos, and crowds are rarely depicted.

Before leaving the subject of characterization, we should mention the awkwardness displayed by some authors when they sacrifice characters to the requirements of their plot. For example, Joseph Marmette pictures for us several scenes of carnage and torture,² and provides victims from hastily sketched characters for whom the reader has had no chance to develop any sympathy. The same writer sets up a rival for his chevalier de Mornac in the person of Louis Jolliet, whom he later disposes of by having him take religious orders; even Laure Coran is on one occasion

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1. Léo-Paul Desrosiers: Nord-Sud. One or two other names of characters are of interest in this connection, although probably unintentionally: for example, Joseph Doutre and Rodolphe Girard both called the abductors of their heroines "Gustave".
 2. Jean Couture is tortured in Le chevalier de Mornac, pp. 42-43, and Pierre Mathurin in Charles et Eva, Chap. VIII; the d'Orsy's old servant Marthe is scalped in François de Bienville, p. 277-278.

left with a rival on her hands in the character of Claude Brigeac.¹ The artificiality and incompleteness of such "straw characters" is manifest to the reader; an author who introduces a character for one specific situation must be careful to prepare that character's appearance and disappearance in some probable fashion.

If we turn from questions of characterization to questions of setting, we may note a somewhat similar evolution from blunt statement to subtle and skilful suggestion. The nineteenth-century novelist was very much aware of his obligation to sketch a historical background; he usually told his readers plainly when and where the action was to take place, announcing date and location in the early pages of the novel as Scott did. Joseph Doutre was the first to use dated letters for this purpose: Laure Conan later did the same. Our contemporary writers are less obvious; they often attempt to intrude dates into the dialogue of their characters: "...l'année passée, en 1848..."², "...oui, et depuis deux ans, c'est-à-dire depuis 1867..."³. Once they had established their setting, the older novelists laid on the external details with a heavy hand; we have seen how

1. L'oublié, chap. X.

2. L.-P. Desrosiers: Nord-Sud (Montréal: Les Éditions du Devoir, 1931) p. 37.

3. D'un océan à l'autre, p. 20.

elaborately Marmette reproduced details of costume. De Gaspé, with his wealth of knowledge, was able to introduce lesser-known details of the customs of his period: Marmette realized the value of this sort of background; and we hear at one point that he has searched far and wide to ascertain the brands of wine used in New France.¹ Such tiny details are not often found in the novels of adventure, because their authors' knowledge of the social history of the periods they treated was none too thorough; the little touches of local colour which a well-informed author can supply,--as for example, when Léo-Paul Desrosiers depicts Josephite Auray reading Father Chiniquy's Manuel de tempérance in 1849,²--are absent from older books. Rarely, for example, do we hear a character allude to great figures of an earlier period, as Auguste Ménard refers to Garneau and Casgrain in D'un océan à l'autre;³ yet surely the figures of the past must have been aware that they too could look back to a still more remote past.

One awkward habit of some of our novelists is that of introducing anachronistic references: Régis Roy⁴

1. François de Bienville, pp. 104-105n.

2. Nord-Cud, pp. 13, 18.

3. p. 110.

4. Le cadet de la Vérendrye, p. 28.

and Edmond Rousseau¹ pay tribute to Joseph Marmette in their novels, and the latter compares his hero's gestures to those of his good friend Faucher de Saint-Maurice;² all with the best of intentions, but hardly to the advantage of their period atmosphere. The same may be said of quotations from historians; they wrench the reader out of the past and into the present, just as do Marmette's allusions to later events when he has already transported his readers into the seventeenth century.³ One last amusing example is to be found in the now forgotten Drames de la vie réelle of G. I. Barthe; its eager author is portraying the Rebellion period and the floods of those and later years:

"Pour compléter le récit, devenue historique, de ces terribles débâcles, que le lecteur nous pardonne d'intercaler ici ce qui s'est passé en 1896".⁴

While on the subject of temporal setting, let us see how our novelists have dealt with the technical difficulty singled out in a previous chapter: that of creating an impression of the passage of time. As we have already suggested, some of the authors studied have no sense whatever of the flight of time: La Monnaie covers a period

1. Les exploits d'Iberville, p. 46.

2. Le chevalier de Mornac, p. 40.

3. François de Bienville, pp. 48-49.

4. G.I. Barthe: Drames de la vie réelle (Sorel: J. A. Chênevert, 1896), p. 40.

of forty-eight years, with the hero showing no apparent signs of age, and with his father-in-law, already "vieux" at the beginning of the story,¹ still alive at the end. Other novelists are sometimes able to create the impression of minutes ticking away, as Marmette does when he portrays an English scouting party outside Quebec sitting on stumps and rocks, quietly chewing tobacco and waiting for some passer-by who might be questioned about the town's defences.² From Joseph Doutre's classical periphrasis, "A peine ce nouveau sol s'était-il trois fois revêtu des ornements du printemps, que la mort vint mettre un terme à ses longues souffrances"³ to Robert de Roquebrune's tactful suggestion of the succession of the seasons is a long evolution; in the interval we have a myriad expressions to communicate the same thought. Laure Conan frequently opens her chapters with some stereotyped phrase: "quelques années s'étaient écoulées"⁴, or "l'année ... touchait à sa fin".⁵ Rodolphe Girard breaks a chapter with a line of dots and begins: "Quinze jours plus tard".⁶ Joseph Marmette sometimes invites his readers to bridge the gap

1. p. 135.

2. L'intendant Bigot, p. 37.

3. Les fiancés de 1812, p. 25.

4. A l'oeuvre et à l'épreuve, chaps. XX, XXIV;
L'oublié, Chap. VI.

5. A l'oeuvre et à l'épreuve, chaps. XIII, XIV.

6. Florence, p. 85.

with him, just as his master Scott did:

"Nous prions le lecteur de vouloir bien supposer qu'il s'est écoulé huit jours depuis l'accomplissement des événements du dernier chapitre".¹

The novelist of character has an advantage here, for the development of his characters marks the passage of time: in D'un océan à l'autre, Jacques Ménard as a youth reads Dumas fils, but in a later scene he prefers Racine, subtle proof of the maturity the years have brought him!

The conception of setting in the spatial sense has always been dear to French-Canadian writers. The intimate association between French-Canadian culture and the province in which it has been perpetuated is reflected in the popularity of regionalist studies in the literature; within the boundaries of Quebec, each canton, and even each parish is thought of as possessing its own distinctive atmosphere. Fond of external detail, Varmette finds himself tempted to linger over descriptions of scenes and buildings:

"Pour ne point allonger la partie purement descriptive de ce chapitre, nous donnerons plus loin une esquisse assez détaillée de cette résidence de nos anciens gouverneurs".²

Some buildings are introduced by the novelists more often than others for their historical associations:

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1. Charles et Eva, p. 324.
 2. François de Bienville, p. 54.

the Château Saint-Louis and Bigot's residence are described over and over again by successive authors; other lesser known sites, such as Boisdoré's inn in Varmette's novels, are portrayed purely for their picturesqueness.

In all descriptions of historical settings, there is a constant risk that the novelist may be guilty of a colourless statistical account of his scene which will read like a paragraph from a school-book:

"(Corinth) comptait 600,000 âmes, et sa situation entre la mer Saronique et la mer de Crissa, appelée aujourd'hui golfe de Corinthe, était incomparable. Elle avait deux ports: Iéchée (Iechoeon) sur la mer de Crissa, au nord, et Cenchrées sur le golfe Saronique, au sud. Par le premier elle accaparait le commerce de l'Ouest et du Nord, et par le second le commerce des îles de la mer Egée et de l'Orient. Sa marine marchande était considérable et couvrait les deux mers..."¹

In L'intendant Bigot, Joseph Varmette makes effective use of a contrast between settings when he portrays in succession the hovel of V. de Rochebrune and the Intendant's palace. The same principle was used half a century later in D'un océan à l'autre: Robert de Rochebrune transports us from the comfortable board room of the directors of the C.P.R. in Montreal to the rolling prairie where the company's devoted servants are defending the line

1. A.-R. Routhier: Paulina (Québec: Imprimerie Franciscaine Missionnaire, 1918), p. 166.

against the Métis. Marmette in his descriptions of setting, has one unfortunate habit, alluded to earlier in another connection: that of bringing his readers up abruptly with an anachronistic intrusion which would be better relegated to the notes or omitted:

"De toutes ces magnificences, il ne reste plus que des murailles en ruines, et qui ne se lèvent pas plus haut que le rez-de-chaussée. Le lecteur curieux les pourra voir en arrière de la brasserie de M. Roswell et des usines de M. Bisset".¹

For some of the most effective descriptive passages in our novels, we may turn to the novels of Robert de Roquebrune or Léo-Paul Desrochers, which combine indoor and outdoor scenes:

"Les fenêtres à petits carreaux où la neige s'accroche en diagonale, brillaient doucement sous les reflets du jour mourant. On devinait derrière les vitres l'existence tranquille et monotone de la bonne bourgeoisie, la chaleur des poêles ronflants, le charme des pièces bien closes meublées d'acajou et ornées de cadres ovales".²

Outdoor settings have long been depicted by French-Canadian novelists: a large part of the action of Les anciens Canadiens takes place outside, and Joseph Marmette has many descriptions of external nature, although few as striking as his Romantic autumn scene in

1. L'intendant Bigot, p. 6.
2. Les habits rouges, p. 15.

François de Bienville:

"L'effet que le vent produit, en automne, sur les arbres dépouillés de leurs feuilles, a quelque chose de lugubre, quand surtout la nuit y ajoute son horreur. Les branches dégarnies sont comme autant de bras gigantesques dont les os dénudés se croisent et s'entre-choquent dans une ronde échevelée. On dirait une danse macabre composée de ces gigantesques enfants du Ciel et de la Terre, revenant dans les nuits d'orage lancer de vains défis à la divinité qui les a vaincus".¹

Judge Routhier is often able to reproduce in majestic lines the beauty of nature, especially that of the Mediterranean.² The natural descriptions of the earlier novelists have at times a bookish character, product not of observation but of imitation; our contemporary writers are more skilful in noting the manifold aspects of the outdoor world.

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In discussing these techniques of our historical novelists, we have cited many extracts which might also have furnished material for a study of the style of the authors concerned, but we have not undertaken such a study. The question of style is not limited to the historical novel, and has been treated elsewhere by competent native

1. p. 319.

2. e.g., Le centurion, p. 104, he pictures the sea at sunset "toute moirée de lueurs incandescentes".

critics; we have sought in these pages to illuminate some aspects of novel structure to which attention is not usually given. It is of course impossible to read these novels without noticing some stylistic flaws,--absurd metaphors:

"Il disparaît dans les rues tortueuses et mal éclairées, au point du tout. On dirait des serpents éventrés se tordant en mille contorsions d'atroces souffrances".¹

or careless repetition:

"Bientôt le grondement d'un train qui arrive à toute vitesse s'accentue".²

"Le train allait à toute vitesse".³

"Le train qu'il venait de quitter fuyait à toute vitesse".⁴

but one is sensible also of a growing mastery of prose style which has accompanied the technical development we have noted.

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1. Florence, p. 9.
 2. D'un océan à l'autre, p. 249.
 3. Ibid., p. 250.
 4. Ibid., p. 253.

CHAPTER V

French Canada: History and Literature

If we had examined the book-shelves of French Canada a hundred years ago, what would we have found to throw light on its national history? The relations of the early explorers and voyageurs are rare; scattered in archives and private collections, many of them still resist Jacques Viger's tireless search. The six squat volumes of Charlevoix's Histoire et description générale de la Nouvelle-France (1744) stand in a row, laden with the dust of a century. In striking contrast are the two fresh bindings of Michel Bibaud's Histoire du Canada; the third and final volume of the set will be added thirty years hence.¹ A third item destined for this miniature library of historical French Canadiana in 1848 never found its way to our shelf: before it reached the publisher's hands, the Histoire du Canada in manuscript, over which Jacques Laeirie spent so many patient hours, was lost in the flames in 1838 when St. Benoit was sacked.

A pitiful collection! Yet these were the historical sources available to the average French-Canadian writer of Joseph Doutre's time. Small wonder, then, that

1. Vol. I (1837), Vol. II (1844), Vol. III (1878).

we have no historical novels from those years.

With Garneau's three volumes published in rapid succession,¹ the outlook changed. Now for the first time, a historian caught up all the tangled threads of legend, hearsay, and document, and painstakingly wove them into a rich tapestry in which the glorious past of his country might be read by all his compatriots. So great was the response of Canadians and Europeans alike to his work, that he began the preparation of a second edition, which appeared in 1852 and brought his history down to 1840; he was to issue yet a third edition² before he died. With Garneau's history, the spark was struck which burst into a sheet of flame after 1860; the Romantic School of Quebec set out to interpret the past to its readers with an enthusiasm and emotion unknown before.³ In 1861, Abbé Ferland gathered up his Laval lectures and published them as a Cours d'histoire du Canada; throughout the rest of the century, although the valuable contributions of Gérin-Lajoie, Casgrain, Turcotte, Bédard, David, and others were

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1. 1844, 1846, 1848. Not four volumes as Gagnon and other bibliographers have thought. (G. Lanctôt: François-Xavier Garneau. Makers of Canadian Literature Series, Toronto: Ryerson Press, s.d., p. 177).
 2. 1859.
 3. "L'étude du passé constitue en effet un article essentiel du credo romantique". (J. Varin: En feuilletant nos écrivains. Montréal: La Librairie de l'Action Canadienne-Française, 1931, p. 213.

drawn upon, it was largely to Garneau and Ferland that historical novelists turned for their documentation. In 1873, Edmond Laroche advised embryonic romancers:

"Je conseille à celui qui veut consacrer son temps et son talent à écrire des nouvelles, de lire l'Histoire du Canada de Garneau. Il trouvera presque à¹
chaque page le sujet d'un beau roman".

His advice did not fall on deaf ears. De Gasparé had paid tribute to Garneau in Les anciens Canadiens: "Honneur, cent fois honneur à M. Garneau",² and every one of his successors might sincerely have expressed the same gratitude.

With the passage of the years, new histories were written, documents were copied and edited, collections were catalogued, and gradually the chaos became coherence: the laborious researches of modern historians can now be carried on in orderly fashion, for the groundwork has been laid; historical research in French Canada is perhaps the most advanced of all the humanistic disciplines.

But what of our historical novelists during the century from Garneau to the present? As we have seen, they have been motivated by a patriotic concern with the national past; but how have they expressed this concern? In the

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1. E. Laroche: Histoire de la littérature canadienne. (Montréal: John Lovell, 1874) p. 276. This passage had appeared in 1873 in L'opinion publique, 27 Mars.
 2. Les anciens Canadiens, p. 120.

last chapter, we dealt with some of the literary problems confronting the novelists of our period: let us now consider the historical problems facing them at each stage in the composition of their novels. X

We must first of all realize that for a French-Canadian historical novelist there is little question of a choice of setting for his tale. Seventy years ago, La-reau had already remarked one common feature of his compatriots' novels:

"Rarement la scène passe ailleurs qu'en Amérique, et presque toujours au Canada".¹ S2

The French-Canadian historical novel is in this respect similar to the historical novels of Continental Europe, which were usually set in the country of their author. The novels of Scott and his English successors, on the other hand, frequently portrayed the past of countries other than England; English novelists wandered as far afield as had the men who made England's history. In French Canada, literature has always been at the service of the national ideals to an even greater extent than in the European countries we have mentioned. Since the national ideals of French Canada are intimately bound up with its struggle for survival in a specific geographical location, its literature is consequently concerned with

1. La-reau, op.cit., p. 274.

that same area, and its historical novels reflect that concern in their unanimous choice of setting.

But the historical novelist has not only to choose a spatial setting; he must also decide upon a temporal setting, a period. In this selection, our novelists have by no means been unanimous. Nevertheless, their attention has been directed to certain historical periods rather than to others, and for definite reasons. Since their aim has in most cases been the inspiration and edification of their readers, they have consciously selected those periods of French-Canadian history which they, to the extent of their knowledge, considered most likely to arouse patriotic pride and most fertile in estimable examples of conduct. Furthermore, they have very naturally been guided in their selection of a period by the sources available to them; we have already commented upon the procession of "Rebellion novels" which followed L. O. David's volume, Les patriotes de 1837-1838, in 1884. Looking over our novels¹ with these facts in mind, we notice that the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth centuries in French Canada have rarely formed the setting of a historical novel. In fact, the only focal point of historical fiction in the first two

1. See the Bibliography for a list of the novels studied, arranged by period of setting.

centuries after the discovery of America is the governorship of Frontenac, noteworthy for the victorious campaigns conducted against the Iroquois and the English in those years. The eighteenth-century focal point is, of course, the final clash of French and English during the Seven Years War for the possession of Canada. The first half-century of British rule is not often treated, nor is the War of 1812; the last highlight falls upon the Rebellion of 1837-38. Just as in mediaeval times there were three "matters" of romance--"de France, de Bretagne, et de Rome la grande",¹ so in the French Canadian historical novel there are three popular periods: Frontenac's governorship, the Cession, and the Rebellion. A few novelists have dealt with the intervening years, but the bulk of the novels studied is concerned with these three epochs.

Having chosen his setting, a novelist is then faced with the need for steeping himself in his period. It is a commonplace that an author writes best about what is most familiar to him: the novelist who knows his period as well as Thackeray knew Queen Anne's reign can write with ease and confidence. Every historical novel will show some

1. Carl van Doren: The American Novel (New York: Macmillan, 1931), p. 16, makes this division of fiction in the United States, saying that the three "matters" there are: "the Revolution, the Settlement, and the Frontier".

errors of detail: Scott made dozens of little mistakes; but careful preparation will eliminate all except the most negligible slips. A novelist who presumes to complement the historian's work must be willing to make a similar effort to be accurate. Self-consciousness in this respect is apparently the reason why French-Canadian novelists in the past so frequently interlarded their novels with long quotations from historians:

"Ici nous laisserons parler l'historien, afin que l'on ne nous taxe pas d'exagération dans les tableaux que nous tracerons dans le cours de ce récit".¹

One is continually interrupted by reassuring footnotes to the effect that "tous les détails qui précèdent sont strictement historiques";² occasionally the novelist himself tires and inquires wearily, "Est-il besoin de rappeler au lecteur que tous les détails consignés dans ce livre sont de la plus grande exactitude historique?"³ If such authors consider themselves on trial for historical accuracy, they can hardly expect their own testimony to convince their judges!

While on this subject of the historical competence of our novelists, we should point out that, as in Europe, some of the best French-Canadian historical novelists have

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1. Les exploits d'Iberville, p. 22.
 2. François de Bienville, p. 376.
 3. Les exploits d'Iberville, p. 186.

also been historians; Joseph Marmette, Laure Conan, Adolphe-B. Routhier, Robert de Roquebrune, Marie-Claire Daveluy, and Léo-Paul Desrosiers have all done historical research and published historical studies. It would seem that scholarly training in the disciplines of historical research and composition, although not ensuring ability as a historical novelist, are likely to improve the quality of historical fiction produced. The extent to which some of our novelists have revealed themselves as quite ignorant of the most elementary historical facts is nothing short of astonishing. Rodolphe Girard in Florence speaks of the supporters of "sa très gracieuse Majesté Georges III"¹, unaware that the latter had died seventeen years before the opening date of the novel: and Adèle Bibaud in Les fiancés de St. Eustache² is not even sure of the names of the English commanders opposing her rebel hero and heroine. We have neither the time nor the knowledge necessary to expose all the errors of historical fact contained in the novels we are studying: there are undoubtedly many.

In general, however, the progress of what constitutes political history,--wars, battles, rulers and dates, is reasonably well known to our novelists; their shortcomings usually lie in the domain of social history,--the little details of every-day life, of customs and turns

1. p. 78.

2. p. 127.

of speech. Most French-Canadian novelists reveal in their historical novels that they have read too many histories¹ and not enough newspapers, diaries, despatches, legal documents and letters; it is from these relics of unrecorded history that the atmosphere of a period is reconstructed. At one time or another, the historical novelist must study all manner of seemingly unrelated subjects: costume, coinage, botany, heraldry, architecture, agriculture and music; he must visit the districts he wishes to describe, examining their topography and any ruins which are preserved; he must spend days in museums taking notes on relics of his period, must search avidly for sketches and pictures of scenes or persons involved in his story, and must pore over long-forgotten manuscripts and maps. This laborious accumulation of tiny scraps of information, many of which may never even appear in the book, is the best preparation for a novel which is designed to make the past live for men of the present. Only the novelist who truly appreciates the infinite variety of human activity can realize that life in 1660 was not the same as life a generation, or even a decade, later,--and that even in the same few years, two districts a few miles apart may have been characterized by quite different

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1. How much information does Garneau's history give about the daily lives of French-Canadians at any given period? One of the great merits of Les anciens Canadiens is its emphasis on "la petite histoire".

ways of life. To reconstruct the spirit of a given place and time by the discriminating use of historical detail,--and yet in the midst of his localized portrait to demonstrate the essential continuity of human thought and action throughout all ages,--this is the aim of the good historical novelist. That French-Canadian historical novelists have not often succeeded in this task is in part the result of superficiality in their study of the period they sought to portray. The few authors who have written successful historical novels in French Canada have taken pains to avoid this weakness.

We may forgive inaccuracies and omissions in historical documentation more readily, however, than we may overlook another fault of many French-Canadian historical novelists. No matter how exact the historical details in a novel, they can never constitute a true portrait of a period unless they are representative. Unfortunately, all but the most recent of our novelists are too prone to present only one side of their history. One may count on the fingers of one hand the French-Canadian historical novelists who have achieved even a semblance of Scott's impartiality in their historical portrayals. Napoléon Bourassa, in his Prologue to Jacques et Marie, pretends a certain disinterestedness:

"J'ai pris pour sujet de mon livre un événement lugubre, conséquence d'un acte

bien mauvais de la politique anglaise; mais ce n'est pas pour aculever des haines tardives et inutiles dans le coeur de nos lecteurs: à quoi bon? tous les peuples ne conservent-ils pas dans leur annales des souvenirs qui rappellent des crimes affreux qu'ils ont expiés, ou dont ils porteront la tache durant des siècles?"¹

Joseph Varnette, in a footnote, hastens to proclaim the same innocence: "Je dois ici prévenir le lecteur que je ne prétends nullement réveiller de vieilles haines".² Their successors do not often make even this polite gesture.

Here we have the great lacuna in the historical side of our novels: an incapacity for impartiality. Of the historical novels written by French-Canadians in which English characters appear, how many show any attempt to reconstruct English life in the period concerned, or even to portray an average Englishman? When Americans are introduced in our novels, how representative are they of the members of the then young republic to the south? Some of the novelists have gone so far as to delineate a solitary English or American character with certain good qualities,³ but how often are we given a sympathetic portrait of the

1. Jacques et Marie, p. 6.

2. François de Bienville, p. 75.

3. Arché de Locheill in Les anciens Canadiens; George Gordon in Jacques et Marie; Lewis Cler in Les exploits d'Iberville; Percival Smith in Les Ribaud; Lt. Fenwick in Les habits rouges.

rival races at any stated period? The writer who would depict for us the struggle of French and English for supremacy in seventeenth-century Canada must know the history and the customs of both races; he who would paint a true picture of the Rebellion of 1837-38 must realize that there were English rebels side by side with French, and French bureaucrats hand in glove with English. No one would deny that the enemies of French Canada have many plots on their conscience, but all is not black and white in history, as French-Canadian novelists have too often tried to make it: not only with regard to the English, indeed, but sometimes even in speaking of their mother country. Here, for example, is Bourassa's simplistic view of France,

... "un gouvernement marqué par la main de la justesse divine, et que le peuple, soulevé comme la tempête, allait bientôt briser et rejeter dans l'ombre du passé avec les choses vieilles et souillées,"¹

and Joseph Barrette's equally naive observation:

"Et si plus tard nos pères durent courber un moment la tête sous l'orage (1763), pour la relever ensuite avec fierté, c'est que la Providence voulait nous sauver des plus grands dangers de la révolution française, que Louis XV et sa voluptueuse cour attiraient déjà sur la France au moment de la conquête du Canada par l'Angleterre".²

Such an over-simplification of historical issues,

1. Jacques et Marie, p. 206.

2. François de Bienville, pp. 378-379.

invariably to the advantage of the novelist's own nationality, is no doubt an outgrowth of strong patriotic sentiments, but we should expect one who writes for the edification of his fellow-countrymen to strive for a greater fairness than is displayed by most of the novelists we have studied. Les habits rouges is an isolated example of a just portrait of the two races in Canada; it is to be hoped that future novelists will follow the courageous lead which Robert de Roquebrune has taken in this direction.

Steeping himself in the history he wishes to depict, and preserving an open mind towards the conflicting issues of the past:--these are two great historical problems confronting the historical novelist. But there is a third (and here we are brought back to our starting-point, the historical novel as a literary genre): the blending of history and fiction.

The fact that many of our novelists have inadequately assimilated the historical material they wish to present has been an obstacle in their successful blending of history and fiction. The practice of quoting historical texts in a novel has the double disadvantage of interrupting the story and of producing a contrast of styles not always flattering to the novelist. One is further tempted to think that some of our novels have been deliberately "padded out" by lengthy quotation: it

is difficult to find any other explanation for the eight-page reproduction of Champlain's account of his third voyage in Fleur des Ondes.¹ A statistical study of the number of pages in Edmond Rousseau's novels which are quoted from Abbé Ferland's Cours d'histoire du Canada would be quite revealing; perhaps no other novelist is as guilty of indiscriminate quotation as is Rousseau. S

Equally reprehensible,--is not more so from an artistic standpoint--is the habit of dragging in accounts of events quite foreign to the story, seemingly in an effort to embrace all topics on which the reader might care for information. La Monongahéla, for example, opens with the tolling of the bell of the cathedral of Quebec, announcing the death of Mgr. de Laval. Fourteen pages are then devoted to the career of the good prelate. Surely there can be no question of the importance of Mgr. de Laval's contribution to the life of New France, but the fact remains that he has nothing to do with the action of the novel, and has no right to a lengthy eulogy in its pages. Passages of this type display a passion for historical instruction which might be gratified less openly.

The whole problem of the relationship of history and fiction in historical novels puzzled the authors of nineteenth-century French Canada much more than it does their successors. Edmond Rousseau reveals the dualism of

1. pp. 47-55.

which he is a victim when he interrupts a love-affair in

A Carillon and explains:

"Il y aurait bien des pages à écrire sur les amours de Marie-Louise et de Michel; mais nous ne visons en aucune façon au romanesque, attendu que les faits dont nous sommes le modeste conteur sont véridiques en tous points".¹

Joseph Marnette usually avoids the mistake of lengthy quotation, but often indulges in passages of historical information which are equally damaging to the progress of his story. He gives us directly statistics about opposing armies,² or accounts of armaments and defenses³ which smack too much of the historian, and which he might better attempt to convey through his narrative or dialogue. Like Rousseau, he seems to feel that an accurate historical portrait can only be presented at the expense of the fiction:

"D'ailleurs, loin de fausser l'histoire, comme il arrive malheureusement dans le très grand nombre de romans historiques, je me suis au contraire efforcé de la suivre rigoureusement dans tous les péripéties du drame. De sorte que le lecteur saisira facilement la ligne de démarcation qui dans ce récit, sépare le roman de l'histoire".⁴

The latter statement is unfortunately quite true, as it is in the case of all the writers of historical novels of adventure: their attempts to create the melodramatic

1. p. 77.

2. L'intendant Bigot, p. 40.

3. La fiancée du rebelle, pp. 92-93.

4. François de Bienville, p. 19.

effects of which we have spoken make it almost impossible for them to be loyal to both plot and history at the same time. The novelists who have interested themselves primarily in the study of character or of manners have escaped this difficulty, and the novels of Laure Conan, of Robert de Roquebrune, and of Léo-Paul Desrosiers display a much more unified construction than those of their predecessors.

One other trend has served to improve the blend of history and fiction achieved by French-Canadian historical novelists: a greater freedom in their conception of national identity. In the last two or three decades, the didactic patriotism of the nineteenth-century authors has gradually been replaced by a more enlightened view of the national past. Increased contact with other races, a more widely diffused education, and the growth of intellectual and cultural interests have helped to develop historical and literary thought to the point where modern writers have realized that the "critère-patriotisme"¹ should not enjoy a monopoly over the nation's literary output, even though patriotic motifs continue to furnish the content of their writings. This new outlook, supported by the greater

1. See L.-P. Desrosiers' article "Le roman canadien depuis 1912" in the Mémoires du Deuxième congrès de la langue française au Canada. (Québec, 1938), t. I, p. 407.

historical knowledge of contemporary writers, augurs well for the future of historical writing in French Canada.

That we may look for a richer store of literature inspired by French-Canadian history is further proved by the success and growth of a type of writing which we have not mentioned in these pages: "l'histoire romancée". For its first noteworthy example in French Canada, we should probably need to turn back to Ernest Myrand's Une fête de Noël sous Jacques Cartier (1888); in the preface to the latter, the genre is characterized as "la paraphrase littéraire d'un document archéologique".¹ The real flowering of this literature, however, began much more recently. Several French-Canadian historians and novelists have produced colourful and scholarly works² in this tradition, related to that of the historical novel, yet demanding a more rigorous emphasis on the historical topic or person treated.

In the historical novels which have been written to date, it is possible to detect almost as many shades of

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1. L. Myrand: Une fête de Noël sous Jacques Cartier (2^e édition. Québec: L. J. Demers, 1890), p. 12.
 2. Damase Potvin: La rose noire (Lille: Le Mercure Universel, 1932)
 - Donatien Fréchet: Pierre Redisson (Montréal: A. Lévesque, 1933)
 - Alain Grandbois: Né à Québec...Louis Jolliet (Paris: Messiaen, 1933)
 - Pierre Daviault: La grande aventure de Le Moyne d'Iberville (Montréal: A. Lévesque, 1934).

historical thought as there are varieties of literary ideals. Nevertheless, the best historical novels have always been characterized by a close attention to the three principles we have enunciated: thorough documentation, a scrupulous avoidance of prejudice, and a careful blending of history and fiction. These are the historical aspects of our genre to which future novelists should give much thought.

CONCLUSION

One of the characteristic elements of European Romanticism was its new historical spirit: a keen interest in the origins of social and intellectual concepts, and an untiring search for the picturesque aspects of past days. At the same time, Romanticism stressed individuality at the expense of universality; variety was preferred to consistency. The historical novel was a product of the Romantic Movement, and one which could not have come to the fore except at a period when men's minds were fixed on those very considerations. Given a tremendous initial impetus by the genius of Scott, the new genre was seized upon by his imitators in every part of Europe: in France, Germany, Holland, Spain, Italy, Poland, Russia, and elsewhere, the historical novel soon reached a height of popular esteem rarely attained by any genre before or since. . After enjoying great prominence for thirty or forty years, it declined somewhat in importance, although still deservedly popular, especially since its revival by some contemporary writers.

From a critical point of view, the study of a historical novel embraces the problems of the novel in general: structure, presentation, point of view, plot, characterization, and setting. The latter is of particular importance in the genre under consideration, because the temporal setting of a historical novel is its most

distinctive element. Although it is manifestly impossible to reduce literary criticism to scientific formulae, it is nevertheless of value to evolve a system of headings under which the novel, least tangible of all literary forms, may be discussed.

The first two chapters, comprising Part One, have been included to serve three purposes: to show to what extent the historical novel in Europe was the product of the Romantic Movement; to demonstrate the importance of Scott's contribution to the evolution of the genre, both directly and through his European successors; and lastly, to provide a frame of reference for the examination of French-Canadian historical novels.

In Part Two, we have made a parallel but more detailed study of the genre in French Canada. We have observed a similar literary-historical trend in the old French province, where the novel was born in an atmosphere of Romanticism; as we might have expected, the historical novel appeared almost simultaneously. In spite of the fact that French-Canadian historical fiction was encouraged by a growing sense of national identity, it was to an English model that the early novelists turned. Scott was known and read by the lettered few in French Canada almost as early as in Europe. A part of his Antiquary was published in 1818; the newspapers of the 1820's and 1830's reveal that

his works were a topic of literary discussion in those years. The first French-Canadian novel, L'influence d'un livre (1837), was written by a Scott reader; throughout the century, many of its successors showed Scott's influence. The two masters of the nineteenth-century French-Canadian historical novel, Philippe Aubert de Gaspé, père, and Joseph Marmette, were recognized admirers of the Scottish novelist. And if more proof were needed, French Canada can point to its own "imitation" of a Scott novel, quite equal to the most thorough European plagiarism! As in Europe also, the direct influence of Scott declined as the last century drew to a close; as fiction came under the sway of the doctrines of realism, there was a lull in the production of historical novels, and few examples of the genre were published. Within the last generation, the historical novel has been revived in French Canada, and, combining a wide historical scholarship with an interest in psychological analysis, it continues to enlist strong support.

An examination of some technical aspects of the historical novels written by French-Canadians reveals a change of emphasis from the novel of adventure or situation to the novel of character. The techniques employed display considerable variety: a variety due in part, it must be admitted, to the hesitant and experimental nature of French-Canadian fiction-writing until recent times. In the case

of what we have called the historical novel of adventure, we have noted the repetition of stock devices of plot; an inadequate conception of the relation between plot and character; and a constant negligence in matters of structure and arrangement. In the early stages of the novel of character, especially in the works of Laure Conan, one may note a weakness in the opposite direction: a lack of colour and warmth in the external details of the story. When we have listed all the faults to be found in the novels studied, however, we are still left with a profound conviction of the strong and sincere patriotism of the writers who have struggled manfully with this most difficult of genres; nor is that our only realization, for the progress made by French-Canadian novelists in the comparatively short span of a hundred years has been remarkable indeed.

To repeat the well-known charge of shallow general culture in discussing French-Canadian novelists would be superfluous here: in the field of the historical novel, however, such a lack is infinitely more noticeable than in general fiction, for the historical novelist must do all that the contemporary novelist does, and, in addition, portray the past as vividly as if it were the present. It is with this extra effort that we have concerned ourselves in the final chapter: we have recorded some of the obstacles besetting writers of this particular genre, but

we have not omitted those other self-made obstacles, superficiality and prejudice, which have spoiled many of the novels we have studied.

What is the lesson of these chapters for those French-Canadian authors who will write historical novels in the years to come? A very simple one, almost a platitude: Read more.

Read more of the novels of your French-Canadian predecessors, that you may be inspired by their successes and forewarned by their failures. Read more of the novels of European authors, that you may learn the techniques of your genre from novelists who can draw upon a long and rich tradition of historical fiction. Read more of the history of your own and other lands, that you may be at home in the past.

Let your reading be wide but thoughtful, eager but open-minded. "A good book is the precious life-blood of a master-spirit"; he who would write one must qualify himself by an arduous apprenticeship.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

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With the exception of the remarks on Scott's own novels, the material of this chapter has been derived almost entirely from secondary sources. It has therefore seemed of no value to list here the novels concerned, since they have not been systematically consulted. However, all the critical and literary-historical texts utilized are included in the following listing, arranged in sub-sections according to the natural divisions of the chapter.

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- van Tieghem, P. Précis d'histoire littéraire de l'Europe depuis la renaissance. Paris: Alcan, 1925.

b. Sir Walter Scott:

The Waverley Novels (Border Edition) London: Macmillan, 1932, 25 vols.

Journal of Sir Walter Scott (ed. by J. G. Tait).
London: Oliver and Boyd, 1939.

Buchan, J. Sir Walter Scott. London: Cassel, 1932, 387 p.

Cecil, Lord David Sir Walter Scott. London: Hogarth, 1933, 60 p.

Grey, H. A Key to the Waverley Novels. London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1899, 134 p.

Lockhart, J.G. Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, bart. Toronto: Morang, 1901, 10 vols.

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c. After Scott:

England:

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Nield, J. A Guide to the Best Historical Novels and Tales. Fifth edition. London: Mathews and Marrot, 1929, 424 p.

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- Dargan, E.P. "Scott and the French Romantics", in Publications of the Modern Language Association, XLIX, 1934, pp. 599-629.
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Italy:

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- Krzyzanowski, J. "Scott in Poland", in Slavonic Review, XII, 1934, pp. 181-189.
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Hungary:

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CHAPTER II: The Historical Novel as a Genre.

Many of the books listed as sources for the first chapter have also provided valuable information on the structure of the historical novel, and might therefore be considered equally eligible for inclusion here. Since the number of critical articles devoted to the historical novel alone is small, no apology is offered for the fact that the following list also includes the books on the novel in general.

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- Edgar, P. The Art of the Novel. New York: Macmillan, 1933, 481 p.
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- Hamilton, C. A Manual of the Art of Fiction. New York: Doubleday and Page, 1920, 233 p.
- Lubbock, P. The Craft of Fiction. London: Cape, 1921, 277 p.
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- Ward, A.C. Foundations of English Prose. London: Bell, 1931, 262 p.

CHAPTER III: The Historical Novel in French Canada.

In order to keep this listing of French-Canadian historical novels (1837-1937) within reasonable dimensions, the following have been omitted:

- a) All historical "contes" and "récits".
- b) All novels which contain only a few pages of historical material, such as H. Beaugrand's Jeanne la fileuse (1878).
- c) All novels dealing with periods embraced by their author's lifetime, as for example Georges de Boucherville's Une de perdue, deux de trouvées (1864-5), Rémi Tremblay's Un revenant (1884), etc.
- d) All historical novels by French novelists living in Canada (i.e., Eugène Achard, Émile Chevalier, etc.)

When several editions or impressions of a novel are listed (which has been done whenever the information was available), the one used for this study is marked with an asterisk.

Barthe, Georges Isidore (1834 -)
Drames de la vie réelle.
 Sorel: J. A. Chênevert, 1886, 91 p.

Bibaud, Adèle
Avant la conquête. Episode de la guerre de 1757.
 Montréal: The Montreal Printing & Publishing Co. Ltd., 1904, 172 p.
Les fiancés de St. Lustache.
 Montréal, s.e., 1910, 183 p.

Bouchard, Arthur (1877 -)
Les classeurs de noix.
 Montréal: Imprimerie Populaire
 Ltée, 1922, 323 p.

Bourassa, Napoléon (1827 - 1916)

Jacques et Marie, souvenir d'un
peuple dispersé. La revue
canadienne, 1865-6.

- * Montréal: Eusèbe Sénécal, 1866, 306 p.
- Montréal: Cadieux et Dérôme, 1886,
290 p. (2^e édition).
- Montréal: Librairie Générale
Canadienne, 1944, 3 v.

Cacquette, Jean-Baptiste (1854 - 1922)

Le vieux muet, ou un héros de
Chateauguay

Québec: Imprimerie du "Soleil",
1901, 409 p.

Choquette, Dr. Ernest (1862 - 1941)

Les Ribaud. Une idylle de 37.

Montréal: Eusèbe Sénécal, 1898, 354 p.

Conan, Laure (pseud. of Mlle Félicité Angers, 1845 - 1924)

A l'œuvre et à l'épreuve.

Québec: C. Darveau, 1891, 286 p.

Paris: 1892, 271 p.

Québec: Primeau et Kirouac, 1893,
271 p. (Nouvelle édition)

- * Montréal: Beauchemin, 1914, 237 p.
(Collection Maisonneuve)
- Montréal: Beauchemin, 1924, 202 p.
(Collection Maisonneuve)
- Montréal: Beauchemin, 1943, 219 p.
(Collection Frontenac)

The master-motive, a tale of the days
of Champlain.

St. Louis: B. Herder, 1909, 254 p.
(Tr. by Theresa A. Gethin)

L'oublié

La revue canadienne, 1900-1.

Montréal: La cie de Publication de la
Revue Canadienne, 1900, 183 p.

Montréal: Beauchemin, 1902, 242 p.

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La sève immortelle.

Montréal: Bibliothèque de l'Action
Française, 1925, 231 p.

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Canadienne-Française, 1937, 188 p.

Daveluy, Marie-Claire (1880 -)

Les aventures de Perrine et de Charlot.

- * Montréal: Bibliothèque de l'Action
Française, 1923, 310 p.

Montréal: Granger, 1938, 189 p.
(2^e édition)

Desrosiers, Léo-Paul (1896 -)

Nord-Sud

- * Montréal: Les Editions du "Devoir",
1931, 199 p.

Montréal: Les Editions du "Devoir",
1943, 217 p. (2^e édition)

Les engarés du Grand Portage.

Paris: Gallimard, 1938, 211 p.

Dorion, L. C. W. (1857 -)

Vengeance fatale

L'Album de la Minerve, 1874

- * Montreal: La Cie. d'Imprimerie Desaulniers,
1893, 187 p. (Nouvelle édition
revue et corrigée)

Doutre, Joseph (1825 - 1886)

Les fiancés de 1812. Essai de littérature
canadienne.

Montreal: Louis Perrault, 1844, (3 parts)
484 p.

Féron, Jean (Pseud. of Joseph-Marc-Octave-Antoine Lebel,
1881 -)

La métisse

- * Montréal: E. Garand, 1923, 59 p.
- Montréal: E. Garand, 1926, 214 p.

L'aveugle de St.-Eustache

Montréal: E. Garand, 1924, 76 p.

La besace d'amour

Montréal: E. Garand, 1925, 79 p.

Les cachots d'Haldimand

Montréal: E. Garand, 1928, 73 p.

Le manchot de Frontenac

Montréal: E. Garand, 1926, 78 p.

Le patricien

Montréal: E. Garand, 1926, 63 p.

La taverne du diable

Montréal: E. Garand, 1926, 75 p.

La besace de haine

Montréal: E. Garand, 1927, 100 p.

Le drapeau blanc

Montréal: E. Garand, 1927, 82 p.

Le siège de Québec

Montréal: E. Garand, 1927, 86 p.

Les trois grenadiers

Montréal: E. Garand, 1927, 74 p.

Le capitaine Aramèle

Montréal: E. Garand, 1928, 70 p.

L'espion des habits rouges

Montréal: E. Garand, 1928, 62 p.

Jean de Brébeuf

Montréal: E. Garand, 1928, 68 p.

La prise de Montréal

Montréal: E. Garand, 1928, 66 p.

La belle de Carillon

Montréal: E. Garand, 1929, 69 p.

La corvée

Montréal: E. Garand, 1929, 67 p.

L'échafaud sanglant

Montréal: E. Garand, 1929, 46 p.

L'étrange musicien

Montréal: E. Garand, 1930, 50 p.

La fin d'un traître

Montréal: E. Garand, 1930, 44 p.

L'homme aux deux visages

Montréal: E. Garand, 1930, 53 p.

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Fortier, Auguste (1873 -)

Les mystères de Montréal

Montréal: La Cie. d'Imprimerie Desaulniers,
1893, 455 p.

- * Montréal: Leprohon, Leprohon, et
Guilbault, 1894, 116 p. (2^e édition)

Gaspé, Philippe-Ignace François Aubert de (1814 - 1841)

L'influence d'un livre

Le répertoire national, 1863 (extraits).

La littérature canadienne de 1850 à 1860,

v. II (Québec: G. et G. E. Des-
barats, 1864).

Québec: Wm. Cowan et fils, 1837, 122 p.

Le chercheur de trésors ou l'influence
d'un livre

- * Québec: J. Brousseau, 1878, 166 p.
(2^e édition)

Gaspé, Philippe-Joseph Aubert de (1786 - 1871)

Les anciens Canadiens

Les soirées canadiennes, 1862 (extraits)

Québec: La Direction du Foyer Canadien,
1863, 414 p.

Québec: Imprimerie A. Côté et Cie, 1877,
411 p.

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271 p.

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(Collection Jacques Cartier).

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(Collection Jacques Cartier).

Montréal: Beauchemin, 1931, 298 p.

The Canadians of Old

Québec: G. et G. E. Desbarats, 1864,
331 p. (Tr. by Georgiana V. Pennée)

Cameron of Lochiel

New York: D. Appleton, 1890, 287 p.

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G.D. Roberts)

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Toronto: Musson, 1929, (Revision by T.G.
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Florence, légende historique, patriotique et national.
 Montréal: s.l., 1900, 128 p.
L'Algonquienne, roman des jours héroïques du Canada sous la domination française.
 Montréal: La Cie de Publication de "La Patrie", 1910, 65 p.
- Houde, Frédéric (1847 - 1884)
Le manoir mystérieux
Le nouveau monde, 1878.
 * Montréal: Billaudeau, 1913, 248 p.
- Huot, Alexandre (-)
Le trésor de Rigot
 Montréal: E. Garand, 1926, 68 p.
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Sabre et scalpel
L'album de la Vierge, 1872-3.
Annibal
Le Canada français, 1890
Mélanges, prose et vers. (Québec: 222 p.
 * Québec: Pierre-Georges Roy, 1898, 120 p.
 (La Bibliothèque Canadienne)
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Charles et Eva
La revue canadienne, 1866-7
François de Bienville. Scènes de la vie canadienne au XVII^e siècle
 Québec: L. Brousseau, 1870, 299 p.
 * Montréal: Beauchemin et Valois, 1883, 441 p. (2^e édition)
 Montréal: Beauchemin, 1907, 280 p. (3^e édition)
 Montréal: Beauchemin, 1924, 204 p. (4^e édition)
L'intendant Bigot
L'opinion publique, 1871
 * Montréal: G.J. Desbarats, 1872, 64 p.
Le Chevalier de Mornac, Chronique de la Nouvelle-France, 1664.
L'opinion publique, 1872
 Montréal: Typographie de "L'opinion publique, 1873, 100 p.

La fiancée du rebelle
La revue canadienne, 1875.

Le tomahawk et l'épée
 Québec: L. Brousseau, 1877, 207 p.
 (extraits de François de Bien-
ville et du Chevalier de Mornac)

Maxine (Pseud. cf Mme. François-Alzear-Achille Taschereau-
 Fortier, née Marie-Caroline-Alexandra Bouchette,)
 (1874 -)

Le petit page de Frontenac
 Montréal: La Librairie de l'Action
 Française, 1930, 168 p.

* Montréal: A. Lévesque, 1931, 182 p.
 Montréal: La Librairie de l'Action
 Canadienne-Française, 1938, 162 p.

Les orphelins de Grand-Pré
 Montréal: La Librairie de l'Action
 Canadienne-Française, 1931, 144 p.

Jean la tourte
 * Montréal: La Librairie de l'Action
 Canadienne-Française, 1932, 158 p.
 Montréal: La Librairie de l'Action
 Canadienne-Française, 1938, 129 p.

Le pêcheur d'éperlan.
 Montréal: A. Lévesque, 1930, 185 p.

Le tambour du régiment
 * Montréal: A. Lévesque, 1935, 144 p.
 Montréal: La Librairie de l'Action
 Canadienne-Française, 1937, 130 p.
 (2^e édition)

Montreuil, Gaétane de (pseud. cf Mme Charles Gill, née
 Georgiana Belanger)

Fleurs de ondes
 * Québec: La Cie d'Imprimerie Commerciale,
 1912, 163 p.
 Québec: l'Action Sociale, 1924, 148 p.
 (édition corrigée et augmentée)

Rochelefort, Azilie (-)

Les fantômes blancs
 Montréal: E. Garand, 1923, 96 p.

Roquebrune, Robert LaRoque de (1889 -)

Les habits rouges

Paris: Les Editions du Monde Nouveau,
1923, 280 p.

* Paris: G. Enault, 1930, 220 p.

D'un océan à l'autre

Paris: Les Editions du Monde Nouveau,
1924 254 p.

Rousseau, Edmond (-)

Le château de Beaumanoir

Levis: Mercier et Cie, 1886, 276 p.

* Québec: La Cie de Publication "Le
Soleil", 1916, 234 p.

Les exploits d'Iberville

Québec: C. Darveau, 1888, 254 p.

* Montreal: Granger, and Tours: A.
Mame, s.d., 230 p.

La Monongahéla

* Québec: C. Darveau, 1890, 237 p.

Montréal: Granger, and Tours: A.
Mame, s.d., 234 p.

A Carillon. Dans un yacht. Deux récits.

Montréal: Décarie, Hébert et Beauchesne,
1903, 190 p.

Routhier, Sir Adolphe-Basile (1839 - 1920)

Le centurion. Roman des temps
messianiques.

* Québec: L'Action Sociale, 1909,
461 p.

Lille: La Société St. Augustin,
1909, 457 p.

The Centurion. A Romance of the
Time of the Messiah

St. Louis: B. Herder, 1910, 388 p.
(Tr. by Lucille P. Borden)

Il centurione. Romanzo dei tempi
messianici

Roma: Desclée & Ci., 1909, 389 p.

A Szazados. Regény a Messiás Idejéből.

Budapest: Stephaneum Nyomda R.T.,
1911, 419 p. (Tr. by Tallyán Mihály)

Der Centurio. Roman aus der Zeit
des Messias.

Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuch-
handlung, 1913, 422 p. (Tr. by
C.F. Wienand)

El Centurión. Novela de los tiempos
mesiánicos.

Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1913, 364 p.
(Tr. by Francisco Melgar)

Paulina. Roman des temps apostoliques

Québec: L'Imprimerie Franciscaine
Missionnaire, 1918, 382 p.

Roy, Régis (1864 -)

Le cadet de la Vérendrye ou le trésor
des montagnes de roches

Montréal: Leprichon et Leprichon,
1897, 74 p.

La main de fer

Montréal: E. Garand, 1931, 54 p.

Williaume, Prosper (pseud. of Auguste-Henri de Trémaudan,
(1874 - 1931)

L'Île au Massacre

Montréal: E. Garand, 1928, 73 p.

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Messrs. Desrosiers, Garand, and de Roquebrune
have been good enough to contribute information about some
of the above novels; M. Achard has also supplied details
of his novels, although the latter have not been included
in this listing.

CHAPTER IV: The Genre in French Canada.

The number of critics who have dealt with technical problems of novel structure in French Canada is quite limited. The following works, however, have provided valuable reference material for this chapter:

Dandurand, Abbé A.

Le roman canadien-français
Montréal: A. Lévesque, 1937, 255 p.

Jones, F.M.

Le roman canadien-français
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Marion, S.

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l'Université, 1944, 195 p.

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Montréal: Beauchemin, 1935, 196 p.

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CHAPTER V: French Canada: History and Literature.

The following listing of French-Canadian historical novels by period of setting is included to indicate the relative popularity of the periods concerned.

a) Colonization Period (to 1660):

Bouchard, A.	<u>Les chasseurs de noix</u>
Conan, L.	<u>A l'oeuvre et à l'épreuve</u>
	<u>L'oublié</u>
Daveluy, M.C.	<u>Les aventures de Perrine et de Charlot</u>
Féron, J.	<u>Jean de Brébeuf</u>
Girard, R.	<u>L'Algonquien</u>
Montreuil, G.de	<u>Fleur des ondes</u>

b) French Régime (1660 - 1755):

Bourassa, N.	<u>Jacques et Marie</u>
Féron, J.	<u>Le manchot de Frontenac</u>
	<u>L'échafaud sanglant</u>
	<u>L'homme à deux visages</u>
	<u>L'étrange musicien</u>
	<u>La fin d'un traître</u>
Houde, P.	<u>Le manoir mystérieux</u>
Marmette, J.	<u>Charles et Eva</u>
	<u>Le chevalier de Mornac</u>
	<u>François de Bienville</u>
	<u>Le tomahawk et l'épée</u>
Maxine	<u>Le petit page de Frontenac</u>
	<u>Les orphelins de Grand-Père</u>
Rousseau, E.	<u>Les exploits d'Iberville</u>
	<u>La Monongahéla</u>
Roy, R.	<u>Le cadet de La Vérendrye</u>
	<u>La main de fer</u>
Willaume, P.	<u>L'île au massacre</u>

c) Close of the French Régime (1756-1763):

Riband, A.	<u>Avant la conquête</u>
Conan, L.	<u>La sève immortelle</u>

Féron, J.	<u>La belle de Carillon</u>
	<u>La besace d'amour</u>
	<u>La besace de haine</u>
	<u>Le drapeau blanc</u>
	<u>Le siège de Québec</u>
	<u>Les trois grenadiers</u>
Gaspé, J.A.de	<u>Les anciens Canadiens</u>
Huet, A.	<u>La trésor de Bigot</u>
Marmette, J.	<u>L'intendant Bigot</u>
Maxine	<u>Jean la tourte</u>
	<u>Le pêcheur d'éperlan</u>
	<u>Le tambour du régiment</u>
Rochevert, A.	<u>Les fantômes blancs</u>
Rousseau, E.	<u>Le château de Beaumancir</u>
	<u>A Carillon</u>

d) Late Eighteenth Century (1764-1810):

(Lesrosiers, L.-O. <u>Les engagés du Grand Portage</u>)	
Féron, J.	<u>Les cachots d'Haldimand</u>
	<u>Le capitaine Armèle</u>
	<u>La prise de Montréal</u>
	<u>La taverne du diable</u>
	<u>La corvée</u>
Gaspé, J.A.de,	
fils	<u>L'influence d'un livre</u>
Marmette, J.	<u>La fiancée du rebelle</u>

e) War of 1812 - 14:

Cacquette, J.-B.	<u>Le vieux muet ou un héros de Châteauguay</u>
Doutre, J.	<u>Les fiancés de 1812</u>

f) Rebellion of 1837 - 38:

Barthe, G.	<u>Francs de la vie réelle</u>
Bibaud, A.	<u>Les fiancés de St. Justache</u>
Choquette, L.	<u>Les Bibaud</u>
Dorion, L.	<u>Vengeance fatale</u>
Féron, J.	<u>L'aveugle de St. Justache</u>
	<u>Le patriote</u>
	<u>L'espion des habits rouges</u>
Fortier, A.	<u>Les mystères de Montréal</u>

Girard, R. Florence
 Legendre, N. Annibal
 Roquebrune, R.de Les habits rouges

g) Late Nineteenth Century (1840 - 1900):

Desrosiers, L.-J. Nord-Sud
 Féron, J. La métisse
 Roquebrune, R.de D'un océan à l'autre

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