

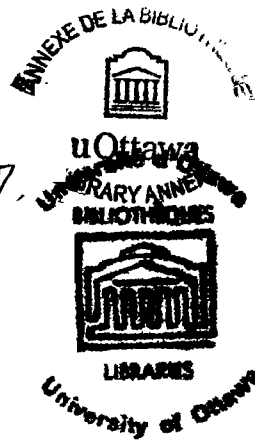
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The Influence of Canadian
Literature Upon the Growth
of Canadian Nationality
to Confederation

By Reginald Thomas Greer,
B. A.

Ottawa April 1937

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A Thesis presented to
the Faculty of the Graduate
School of the University
of Ottawa in Candidacy
for the Degree of Master
of Arts by

Reginald Thomas Greer

B. Comm.

Ottawa, April 1937

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The political history of Canada is the barefaced record of a series of events without question as to why such events occurred. But if we have regard for the spiritual and social aspect and ask: What was it that brought about Responsible government in the various provinces? What made it possible to bring about a union of the separate provinces in Confederation? we must answer that the people in the British North American Provinces were gradually coming to see themselves, their country and their institutions from a national point of view, and were gradually expressing, with more and more conscious fervour and power both in poetry and prose, their growing interest and love of Canada and the Canadian viewpoint.

In the following pages I have endeavoured to summarize as briefly as possible the political events of British North America from the

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Treaty of Paris in 1763 to Confederation 1867. From here I have presented a study of those Canadian born writers who have had a definite influence on Canadian Literature and attempted to show that the national spirit in politics was coincident with and largely a result of the growth of the national sentiment amongst our native-born writers.

I must apologize for failure to evaluate French Canadian literature for any attempt on my part to do so would be of necessity, of a second hand nature. Undoubtedly a work of this kind will suffer irreparably by the neglect of such a body of literature as has been written in French. But to avoid any misunderstanding I wish the reader to remember that I have not considered Canadian native literature in general but simply English Canadian literature.

An American author once said in one of his early books, writing at Niagara and gazing northward, "I look across the cataract to a country without a history." History! What country of the New World can unroll such a pageant of valorous deeds and notable achievements. In what country can we read of such fortitude and resolution as in the story of our ancestors subduing the mighty rivers, impenetrable forests and fierce savages. From the shores of the St. Lawrence went forth the men who opened the continent to its inmost heart; before the English settlers had crossed the Alleghanies. The streets of Montreal have been thronged with painted warriors from the far west, from the north and the south; mingling with boisterous voyageurs, with the white coated soldiers of the French king, and with the scarlet uniforms of the British

Crown. For Montreal has been since earliest times the vortex of our national life; the bottleneck through which passed the beads and blankets and the untold wealth of furs.

But the early story of old Quebec is more than a tale of struggle against nature and savages; it is an epic of man's inhumanity to man; of two civilized nations warring to the death and being preyed upon by a common foe, the Indians.

The conquest of Canada and the Peace of Paris made the French Canadians subjects of the British King and fellow subjects with those wholly dissimilar British colonists, who had no instinct or tradition of wholehearted obedience, and a few of whom, generally bad specimens of their kind, found their way into Canada. A most difficult situation was created for the British Government. That Government wished to treat its new subjects

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with the fullest consideration, to respect their religion and their customs. At the same time the British ministers wished to extend to the French Canadians British laws and institutions within reason because those laws and institutions embodied, so it was assumed, better conditions of life than the Canadians had hitherto known, and because it was desired to convert the Canadians gradually into British citizens. Further, it was desired, so far as possible while conciliating the French Canadians, not to run counter to the wishes of the neighbouring British colonies, and also if possible to meet the wishes of the small but noisy British minority in Canada, and to make Canada an attractive field for British settlers. The only possible result then was a measure of compromise.

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Canada under the British began with military rule and flourished with military rule. The Canadians had been accustomed to it or something closely akin to it. French Colonization was born of the State, it was reared by the State, it was controlled by the State. Its essence was feudalism, imported from the old world to the new, but was not as in the old world a growth but a creation of the Crown. In New France the authority of the Church and Crown was absolute. The habitants had been brought up under authority and had inherited discipline. Military men, therefore, who had known discipline themselves, and who were by reason of their calling, King's men, who moreover, had learnt to respect the bravery of the French Canadians, sympathized with them more and understood them better than did civilians, and far better than well meaning ministers in far off England.

Although civil government was established by the proclamation of 1763, soldier governors were continued. James Murray, the first governor, and Sir Guy Carleton, were both in sympathy with the Canadians, and Carleton urged as little interference as possible with their laws and customs, and the importance of employing the Canadian seignors in the King's service, thereby giving the personal link they had known under the old regime. The absence of this recognition left the Canadian noblesse half-hearted in their new allegiance. The introduction of English law and institutions led to a general uneasiness. The habitants found the bonds of discipline relaxed and began to forget obedience. The noisy British minority clamoured for an Assembly, on the model of the adjoining colonies and they made the French peasantry familiar with all the claptrap expressions of colonial democracy.

It was in this state of general unrest that Carleton guided the Quebec Act through the British Parliament in 1774.

Unfortunately the Act which was passed to alleviate the evils in Canada, gave great offence to the old colonies, already on the eve of revolt, mainly because it included the Western territories within the Province of Quebec. those lands which the New England colonies looked upon as their own sphere of expansion; nor did it satisfy the British minority as it made no provision for an elected assembly. But the Canadians on the other hand regarded it with great satisfaction; it safeguarded their religion and gave them their own laws in civil matters. The Act created a Legislative council but not on an elective basis.

The passing of the Quebec Act was followed almost immediately by the American War of Independence. In the war the Canadians on the whole

were neutral. they were a recently conquered people with no great reason to love their conquerors, and they were invited and urged to rise for freedom and imaginary privileges which they did not understand. On the other hand, they liked their soldier governors; some of them at least, recognized the kindly dealing of the Quebec Act. But if they had no great love for the English overseas, they had certainly less reason to love those of the adjoining colonies. The better class still retained some sentiment for a King and these generally fought against their revolting neighbours. The majority however remained neutral.

The result of the war was that Canada remained within the British Empire with far greater relative importance now that the other colonies had broken away; and that

the Loyalist emmigration from the United States led to the creation of two new provinces, New Brunswick which was the mainland of Nova Scotia, and Upper Canada the hinterland of Quebec.

These Loyalists brought with them intense hatred for the newly formed United States, intense loyalty to Britain but strong traditions and instincts of colonial self-government. Their coming to Quebec created a new set of conditions. The British population of Canada was now no longer an insignificant minority, but a strong body of substantial citizens whose political training had been wholly different from that of the Canadians. They settled mainly in a part of the province which the French had not colonized; and this fact made it possible, and, it was thought, desirable, to divide the province and give to either part a separate administration. After careful attention was given to all the facts

of the case this course was taken, and by the Constitutional Act of 1791, the Province of Quebec was divided into Upper and Lower Canada, each province to have a constitution of its own, but neither province being given full control of its revenues or of its executive officers. Thus it was hoped that by dividing the old province friction would be avoided and that French Canada, being side by side with a British Province, and enjoying the same institutions, would gradually become assimilated without jealousy or ill-will.

Did the Act achieve the ends for which it was passed? This is very doubtful. Unfortunately, at almost any time between 1783 and 1867 the arguments for having one Canada or two Canadas left little to choose between them. But it may be concluded that from 1791 onward until Lord Durham's time, there were two Canadas, one mainly French, the other

mainly English, each province enjoying representative institutions without responsible government, and the Legislatures consisting in either case of a nominated Legislative Council and an elected Assembly. There were thus abundant opportunities for discord; between the two governors; between the provinces as Upper Canada was now an inland colony dependent upon its sister province in the matter of customs duties; between the races and religions wherever French and English came in contact; finally between the two branches of the legislature--the Council as representing the Crown and the Assembly as representatives of the people. Finally it may be said that the history of the two provinces from 1791 till the Act of Union, is a story of friction of the last named kind, coloured by racial and religious animosities.

Although practically all our time so far has been devoted to the troubles in the Canadas, Constitutional evils were not unknown in the Maritimes. But the story is not such a stormy one because of the homogeneous nature of the population--there were no racial or religious differences. The fight here was a straight constitutional issue. But the struggle for responsible government in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick was virtually one with that in Canada.

An Assembly was first granted Nova Scotia in 1758. At this time the sparsely populated province was really an economic part of the New England colonies. The province was controlled by a governor and the history of Nova Scotia's relations with the British Colonial Office is remarkable during this period for its absence of discord. But the American

Revolution with its resulting influx of Loyalists to Nova Scotia created new political conditions as it did in Canada. The Loyalists, educated as they were in Colonial self-government were soon dissatisfied with the old type of government. Dissatisfaction came to a head after the War of 1812 against the Family Compact--that group into whose hands power had been concentrated during the war of defence.

The fight for Responsible government really begins in 1835 when Joseph Howe attacked the Family Compact in his paper the "Nova Scotian". As a result of his legal victory in this memorable fight, he was elected to the Assembly and was soon the recognized leader of the Reform movement. But it was not till after the adoption of Lord Durham's report that the battle for free government was really fought. New Brunswick had, since its beginning, always been strongly Loyalist and

Sir John Harvey, the Governor, attempted to introduce the principle of Lord John Russell's despatch of October 16, 1839 into the government of his province. But strange to say, the New Brunswick Assembly, by a small majority, refused to accept the principle, not valuing the freedom offered it.

In Nova Scotia, on the other hand, the Governor suppressed Russell's despatch, and made no allusion to its having been received. In 1840, in the Nova Scotia Assembly, Howe introduced four resolutions asserting the doctrine of responsible government, and declaring want of confidence in the existing Executive Council. The resolutions were adopted.

Representations were made to the Governor but his obstinacy led to his recall by Russell in 1840. The next few years are a story of fierce personal contests between Howe and the new Governor, but with the appointment of Earl

Grey as Colonial Secretary, victory was at last in sight. In 1846 Grey sent a despatch to Governor Harvey telling him to put Responsible government into effect at the earliest possible moment. In the election of 1848 the Reform Party was victorious and Uniacke was elected the first premier of a British Responsible Government overseas.

In the meantime in Canada, in conformance with Lord Durham's Report completed in 1839, the Imperial Parliament passed the Act of Union in the following year uniting Upper and Lower Canada into one province under one legislature. It was indeed most fortunate that such a man as Lord Sydenham was the first Governor of the United Provinces. His task was to delay Responsible government until the Country was ready for it. He it was who had accomplished the Union of the two provinces, overcoming the strong racial and political objections of Lower Canada particularly. It remained for him to assure the working of the new plan and he did everything that most needed

doing at the time except granting the final step in Responsible Government. He taught the people how to carry on the business of a responsible executive; but he did not give them a responsible Prime Minister. All important legislation emanated from the Governor, not from the Assembly. The Reform leaders tried to persuade him to choose a leader from the party in power. Sydenham refused. He felt and Britain felt with him, that if final power were placed in the hands of a Canadian, Canada would soon cease to be a colony of Britain.

But the spade work had been done by Sydenham; responsibility was at last in sight. With a responsible Assembly, a responsible Council, only one final step was necessary.

In 1847 Lord Elgin arrived in Canada committed to Responsible Government. In that year the Reform Party regained the power which had been in the hands of the Tories for the pre-

ceding session. Elgin showed his policy by choosing his ministry from the party in power and it seemed at last Responsible Government was won. But there remained a severe testing for the new won responsibility. In 1844 the Rebellion Losses Bill raised such a tempest in Lower Canada that with a man of less courage or more selfish interests, Responsible Government would have broken down. But in spite of his personal opinion in the matter, Elgin supported the government although opposed to the measure, and signed the Bill making it law. Responsible Government had been tried and found not wanting.

There remains but the final step in our constitutional history--Confederation. In 1848 a union of all the provinces was but an impossible dream because of such strong local feeling, but certain political and economic factors made a federal union

the logical conclusion of the long fight for freedom. These causes which now led to the drawing together of the provinces into one dominion, were partly provincial, and partly imperial. The remarkable progress of the United States stimulated a desire on the part of the several provinces to pursue a similar career.

The presence of this great power alongside of the provinces became somewhat of a menace to the weak colonies, especially as the republic had a large army but lately engaged in internal strife, but now not unwilling to engage in a foreign war. The Trent affair at the beginning of the American Civil War, when war seemed imminent between Britain and the United States, forced the fact of their own weakness very strongly on the British colonies.

In Canada, as we have seen, the struggle for representation by population had brought on a serious crisis over the Rebellion Losses Bill. The Act of Union had been of service; such progress had been made, but a stable government was found impossible, and some constitutional change was inevitable.

Commercial considerations were also working towards a union. The Reciprocity Treaty between Canada and the United States, negotiated by Lord Elgin, and which had worked to the advantage of the British colonies, was about to lapse. It was necessary to find a new field of commerce and Finance Minister Galt saw the solution in a commercial union of the provinces.

The struggle for freedom in the old thirteen colonies had fused them into one in the pursuit of a common object and their constitution had been of their own devising,

but the remedies for colonial misgovernment had, in the case of Canada and the Maritime Provinces, been suggested by British statesmen. Now once again the Imperial Parliament was pressing for improvement in colonial government. Between 1850 and 1860 railroad building called for huge investments and the Mother Country was called upon to do the financing. But British bankers refused to risk their fortunes in the face of such political instability; a united government was necessary to give strength to the promises of good faith.

Finally, the necessity for westward expansion was becoming more and more apparent, if that great hinterland, defined in the Act of 1791, was to be retained as a field for Canadian expansion. The settling of the American west was proceeding rapidly and encroachments had already begun. A vigorous

policy on the part of the British provinces was necessary, and the isolated effort of one province was not sufficient.

The British Government heartily approved of the Confederation and assisted the project in its adoption by the several provinces. On the 4th of December, 1866 representatives of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick agreed upon certain resolutions. A Bill was then formulated and introduced into the Imperial Parliament and on March 29, 1867, it was passed as the British North America Act.

A British Journal of the time stated: "The Confederation scheme of Canada solves, not for itself alone, but for other colonies, the problem of how to transmute a jealous dependency into a cordial ally." Undoubtedly the union of the four provinces of British America bore a stately aspect. Compared with the petty struggles, in which all the provinces

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had engaged, there was a breadth and scope about
Confederation most imposing.

No group of people really becomes a nation until it has a literature, and one of the most interesting and illuminating ways in which to study the history of a country is to trace its development in its literature.

The political circumstances of Canada are so exceptional that almost every problem which can arise in the domain of politics has been, at some time or other, encountered by our statesmen. Questions of race, of language, of religion, of education--questions of local government, of provincial autonomy, of federal union--of the relative obligations between an Imperial central power and self governing colonies, have all been, of necessity, threshed out in the Dominion of Canada. Their underlying principles have not only been laid bare, but legislation has built firm social and political structures about them. For this reason there has always been a great deal of political pamphleteering in Canada and of solid

thinking also which, in later days, and in larger communities, would have been expanded into books. Much respect is due a pamphlet upon a serious subject because it is written, not for money, but because the writer has a principle to set forth. These pamphlets come straight from the brain of a man because he cannot help writing. Great upheavals have been caused by such writings because they are like sparks falling upon inflammable material. Much of this writing devotes itself to Responsible Government; others to a union of the colonies; still others to organization of the Empire. For these reasons the numbers of our prose writers who have devoted themselves to parliamentary and constitutional history and law is large. But the roll of such writers is a lean one and space is limited; nor is it my intention to deal at any length with this type of literature. Canadian historical documents are readily accessible to the student of Canadian history and among the records of legislative

debates, journalistic editorials, reports of Royal commissions, and correspondence of historical figures, is to be found a wealth of instructive reading. Along with the good is the bad but it is my intention to devote this work chiefly to the study of imaginative literature.

As in the early pages of this work I endeavoured to trace the political development from the date of the Conquest I will endeavour to follow the history of Canadian literature during the same period.

Naturally English Canadian Literature has its origin in Nova Scotia, the oldest of the provinces, and the one most likely to be affected by its close proximity to the English colonies on the south.

Very little writing was done in British North America between the time of the Conquest and the American Revolution. The times were troubled, the people unsettled. There were printed in Halifax a few journals written by clergymen or travellers, a few volumes of sermons, prayers and verse;

nothing more. But the study of English Canadian literature dates from this period because with the expulsion of the Acadians in 1755 and the resulting influx of Puritans from New England, Nova Scotia came under the influence of Harvard culture and Puritanism. As a result the writing of the period is devoted almost entirely to religious matters. These settlers from New England had few interests outside their church and it is not surprising then that the literature should be of this nature. But it is interesting to note that the best writings came not from the pens of the Puritan Conformists but from that of a dissenter to the now established religion. It is to be expected that in a new country where rugged individualism and self-reliance are prerequisite to life that dissenters would revolt against the narrow life of Puritanism.

But the Puritan contribution to Canadian literature was episodic and their claim to a permanent contribution to Canadian culture lies in the

achievement of the educational institution which they founded--Acadia University.

As we have noticed in an earlier page one result of the American War of Independance, was a great migration of loyal New England Colonists into British North America. Before the War of 1812 large numbers of these had settled in Nova Scotia, and to a lesser degree in Upper Canada. During this period 1793-1812 English Canadian literature had its real beginning. That these beginnings were in Nova Scotia rather than elsewhere in Canada is due to the fact that the United Empire Loyalists, as they were called, who came to the Maritime Provinces were generally from the Eastern States. Many of them were educated men and women who belonged to the landlord and professional classes. These refugees represented the highest traditions of American culture. Many of them were graduates of Harvard and of other less known colleges. Byt these people had been

trained to express themselves and presently they began to write.

On the other hand, those who settled in Upper Canada were from the humbler ranks of society; they were traders and farmers. Their interests were not literary, and it was a little later before books began to be written in the Upper Country.

Even in the Maritime Provinces the newcomers were, for a time, overwhelmed with the difficulties and hardships of making new homes in the wilderness. The first letters, diaries, articles, and verses which appeared are full of complaints against Canada and homesickness for the familiar and beloved places they had left. But these people had inherited certain literary traditions and they brought their ideals with them.

The American colonies at this time were still dominated by the classical influence of

Pope and Dryden. Although the Romantic School of thought was sweeping England, naturally its impact was not felt in the colonies until some time had passed. The New England writers therefore still favoured ^{THE} and satirical theme of Classical tradition in both prose and verse. Furthermore the general mode of verse expression was the traditional heroic couplet.

The Loyalists, being Tories, considered the Revolution a thoroughly plebeian affair and a fit subject therefore for ridicule. Thus it is natural that with such a subject and with such a tradition, the poetry and prose of the time strongly resembles the 18th century classicism of England.

Another characteristic feature of Loyalist literature is the note of sadness and complaint which runs through a large part of it. It must not be supposed that people of such social and cultured eminence as the Loyalists gladly

exchanged the land in which they were so well established for the comparatively unsettled regions of Canada in which they were offered homes. Most of them had been compelled by official or unofficial persecution to leave home and for a long time they looked forward to the time when they could return.

This note of homesickness and despair dominated practically all Loyalist prose and verse but it finds its fullest expression in the latter. We may take the work of Joseph Stansbury as an example even though he was not a typical Loyalist in that he did not remain permanently in Nova Scotia. He had emigrated from England to Philadelphia from whence he was banished in 1776. He fled to New York and then to Nova Scotia where he lived for ten years at Shelburne, one of the important Loyalist settlements before returning to the United States.

Before the revolution he had shown considerable

skill as a poet. While on exile he wrote little, but the lines "To Cordelia" are among the best of the time and deserve quotation as they reflect two characteristic aspects of the early Loyalist mood--the sense of exile in an undeveloped and intractable country and the irritation against England on account of her failure (as they thought) to make adequate provision for those who had suffered in her cause.

To Cordelia

Believe me, Love, this vagrant life
O'er Nova Scotia's wilds to roam,
While far from children, friends, or wife,
Or place that I can call a home
Delights not me;--another way
My treasures, pleasures, wishes lay.

In piercing, wet, and wintry skies,
Where man would seem in vain to toil
I see, where'er I turn my eyes,
Luxuriant pasture, trees and soil.
Uncharmed I see;--another way
My fondest hopes and wishes lay.

But when I see a sordid shed
Of birchen bark procured with care,
Designed to shield the aged head
Which British mercy placed there--
'Tis too, too much: I cannot stay

But turn with streaming eyes away.

If so far humbled that no pride remains,

But moot indifference which way flows

the stream;

Resign'd to penury, its cares and pains;

And hope has left you like a painted

dream;

Then here, Cordelia, bend your pensive

way,

And close the evening of Life's little

day.

Another writer of verse who struck the same chord of homesickness and despair was Jacob Bailey. Bailey was a typical Loyalist in respect of his permanent residence in Nova Scotia. His best poem "A Farewell" was written on the occasion of his expulsion from his New England home and contains many fine passages. But his "Journal" is more worthy of mention. Although like all Loyalist writers, he is depressed by the hardships of his exile, he is still philosopher enough to be interested in his new surroundings and to see humour in episodes which to contemporary writers were unbearable hardships.

The most important figure of the period from a literary standpoint is Jonathan Odell. He was born at Newark, New Jersey in 1737, a scion of a distinguished colonial family. At the beginning of the Revolution he was already an able writer of prose and verse, and he put

his vigorous pen at the service of the Loyalists, during the progress of the war, and at its close, he settled in New Brunswick where he became an influential citizen.

It is from Odell chiefly that Loyalist prose and verse inherits its early tradition of Classicism. Being well educated and an experienced writer, Odell was well qualified to bring into Canada the tradition of Dryden and Pope. Although he is of some interest outside the realm of satire, his chief importance in Canadian literature is that he brought in the old Tory tradition of satire and the heroic couplet, both of which had considerable effect upon succeeding generations, the former finding its last and greatest expression in Haliburton.

It has already been noted that Odell established himself in New Brunswick where he became an influential citizen. But this understates his qualities. He became Provincial Secretary

and even a member of the Executive Council. The new country became for him not only a "safe retreat" as he calls it in the following poem, for not only had he served it well himself, but he had been treated kindly by it in return and he saw his family rise to distinction in public service.

The following ode reflects another characteristic attitude of the Loyalists--the staunch devotion to the British cause during the progress of the war. The poet here uses the heroic couplet as his mode of expression.

Ode on the King's Birthday

June 4, 1776

O'er Britannia's happy land,
Rul'd by George's mild commend,
On this bright, auspicious day
Loyal hearts their tribute pay,
Ever sacred be to mirth
The day that gave our monarch birth!

Here we now lament to find
Sons of Britain, fierce and blind,
Drawn from loyal love astray,
Hail no more this welcome day.

When by foreign foes dismay'd
Thankless sons, ye call'd for aid:
Then we gladly fought and bled,
And your foes in triumph led.

Now, by Fortune's blind command,
Captives in your hostile Land;
To this lonely spot we stray

Here unseen to hail this day!

Though by Fortune thus betray'd,
For a while we seek the shade,
Still our loyal hearts are free,
Still devoted, George, to thee!

Long as Sun and Moon endure
Britain's Throne shall stand secure,
And great George's royal line
There in splendid honour shine.
Ever sacred to be Wirth
The day that gave our Monarch birth!

In truly Tory fashion the writer exalts the Monarchy giving one the impression of the poets belief in the Divine Right of Kings. Then again condemnation of the revolutionists is also typical. A plaintive note is sounded where the writer leaves his native land; but still his courage is undimmed.

When we consider the vehicle by which the author expresses himself--the heroic couplet, we can see a summation of all the literature to follow for some time.

But as Odell rose to prominence in his newly adopted home so his hatred for the revolutionists waned. With many writers the old hatred of United States and proper love of Britain became in time a matter of conventional good form, with the detrimental effect of insincerity in their work. But this is not true of Odell.

In the lines following Odell looks back from the vantage point of his seventy-third

year over the circumstances which have brought
him to the country of his adoption.

On Our Thirty-Ninth Wedding Day,

6th, January, 1810

Twice nineteen years, dear Nancy, on this day
Complete their circle since the smiling May
Beheld us at the altar kneel and join
In holy rites and vows, which made thee mine.
Then, like the reddening East without a cloud,
Bright was my dawn of joy. To Heaven I bowed
in Thankful exultation, well assured
That all my heart could covet was secured.
But ah, how soon this dawn of Joy so bright
Was followed by a dark and stormy night!
The howling tempest, in a fatal hour,
Drove me, an exile from our nuptial bowers,
To seek for refuge in the tented field,
Till Democratic Tyranny should yield.
Thus torn asunder, we, from year to year,
Endured the alternate strife of Hope and Fear;

Till from Suspense deliver'd by Defeat,
I hither came and found a safe retreat.

Here, join'd by thee and thy young playful train,
I was o'erpaid for years of toil and pain.
We had renounced our native hostile shore;
And met, I trust, till death do part no more!

The severe conditions under which the Loyalists struggled is perhaps chiefly responsible for their limited contribution to Canadian literature. But however adverse these conditions, these Loyalists still strove to maintain the educational and cultural standards which they had inherited from their old home. Although I have mentioned only three writers, the written contributions of the period are numerous. Evidence of the efforts of the Loyalists to maintain their standards is found in the pages of contemporary papers. The "Nova Scotia Magazine", which

lasted only two years (1789-91) had a twofold purpose: " to preserve and diffuse a taste for British literature; " " to encourage young writers among the rising generation to try their strenght. " To teach appreciation and to encourage creative art is all that any institution can do for literature.

A summary of this period would be incomplete without some mention of the work of the great explorers. Our discussion of Loyalist literature has remained within the realm of imagination^{VE} prose but I would like to mention a group, the mere stories of whose lives, regardless of anything they wrote, have an almost epic interest. Of this group the most famous historical figure is Alexander Mackenzie (1763-1820). He was born in Scotland and received a fair education before coming to Canada. His journeys through the wolds of the north were undertaken at the instance of the North West Fur Company for trading with the

Indians, but Mackenzie was at heart an explorer. His first trip was from Fort Chipewyan along the Great Slave Lake and ^{DOWN} ~~was~~ the river which bears his name to the Arctic Ocean. His second (recorded with the first, in his "Voyages Through the Continent of North America to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans") was from Fort Chipewyan across the Rockies to the Pacific Coast.

It is impossible to do justice to Mackenzie's "Voyages" by excerpts. The writer was destitute of artistry. His imagination is not affected nor does he visualize the scenes through which he passes. It is only to the reader who has the patience to follow his matter-of-fact record, step by step, that the realization comes that here is not only a matter of abiding interest, but a great human document as well.

The "Voyage" to the Pacific, is a revelation of great courage in the face of almost insuperable difficulties that has few parallels; but it is

only here and there in a casual phrase that the dauntless and passionate ambition of the man burns through his plain prose. When he at last reaches his goal not a word of rejoicing occurs to him. Simply "I now mixed up some vermillion in melted grease and inscribed in large characters, on the South East face of the rock on which we had slept last night, this brief memorial; Alexander Mackenzie, from Canada, by land, the twenty-second of July, one thousand, seven hundred and ninety-three."

Mackenzie himself calls attention to the fact that he is not an artist in description and narration, but the simplicity and truth, and the intrinsic interest of the "Voyages" stamp it as a permanent contribution to Canadian literature.

It is, of course, impossible to divide literature into clear cut divisions exactly parallel to political and historical development. For instance, the Declaration of American Independence immediately opened a new chapter in American history. The resulting influx of Loyalists into the Maritimes and Canada started new currents moving in the British colonies. But this new stream required time to make its impact felt. This was particularly true in the realm of literature. The Loyalists had to build homes, churches and schools. The fundamental needs of life had to be cared for before time could be spared for artistic activity. But early in the new century a change is gradually noticeable. The roughest and hardest work of the settlers is done. The new houses and barns were being made comfortable; the fields blossomed; the towns and villages began to

be homely places. The Revolution had left the Loyalists homeless and bereft; the war of 1812, in which they stood shoulder to shoulder with the French and Scottish elements, bound them together and taught them that they had once more a country. The young men and women growing up, had been born in Canada and knew no other home. The note of longing for the old home has now disappeared from our literature, its place being taken by proud descriptions of the beauties of the new.

But the war intensified an already existing evil in both the Maritime Provinces and in the Canadas--centralized control by a small minority. In an early page, reference has already been made to the Family Compact and stout hearts were not lacking in any of the provinces for the fight against

this minority rule. But it remained for the oldest province--Nova Scotia--to produce the main figure of political and literary interest--Joseph Howe.

The best of Howe's life was lived in the days before Confederation, but such was his brilliance and so wide his acclaim that all Canada claims him. He loved his province with his whole heart and what was more important, he taught his fellows to feel this love. He saw the Nova Scotia of the future, not a member of small isolated settlements, but with tilled farms and wealthy cities. He talked and boasted of his province--of its people and their kindness, of the rivers of fish, of its valleys of apple blossoms. The people caught his vision and believed it; believing it they became a people.

Howe was born in 1804, son of a United Empire Loyalist. His school education was meagre and at thirteen he entered his father's printing office. But he was an inveterate reader and he continued his reading until he had made himself thoroughly familiar with the best works in English literature.

As he grew up, Howe discovered a gift for versification and he began to send contributions to the newspapers. He continued to write throughout his life, but he was not a great poet although he had lofty ideals and a gift of expression. But it is in the field of prose that Howe will always hold a high place in our national literature.

Probably because such favourable notice had been taken of his poem "Melville Island" he purchased the Weekly Chronicle in 1827 at the age of twenty-three. For a year he

worked at this completing his apprenticeship for the great task of his life, namely conducting the Nova Scotian, a paper he bought in 1828.

At first Howe himself wrote practically all the articles appearing in his paper. Joyfully he tramped the long roads, first of western, then of eastern Nova Scotia, feasting his eyes upon the beauties of his native land. He visited the farms, talked with everyone he met, learning at first hand both the possibilities and needs of the country. Then he returned to his paper to write the charming sketches in prose and verse, which first caused Canadian literature to be noticed abroad. The circulation of the Nova Scotian grew and seven years of incessant labour on his part made it the leading newspaper of British North America at least, both in political and

literary influence.

He published books also, risking failure to bring out Haliburton's history of the province. He and his friends formed a small group known as "The Club" for the purpose of disseminating literary and political principles. Thomas Chandler Haliburton was probably the most famous figure of this group, but rich and numerous were the written contributions of this little society to the Nova Scotian.

It is difficult in this day of free speech to realize the extent to which the Family Compact of the various provinces controlled the press, the church and even educational institutions. The newspapers were throttled in spite of the Loyalist efforts to keep journalism alive. But in 1835 occurred an event of primary historical

importance. Howe published a letter in his paper which accused the magistrates of Halifax of corrupt practices in administering the affairs of the city. He was promptly indicted and pleading his own cause in a speech which lasted for six hours he was acquitted. Anyone reading his speech will readily comprehend his subsequent success as an orator. The speech is regarded as the foundation stone of the freedom of the press in Canada. I quote a few lines of his plea to illustrate the lofty tone and high mind of the man, and yet the simplicity of his expression:

"Will you, my countrymen, descendants of these men, warmed by their blood; inheriting their language; and having the principles for which they struggled confided to your care, allow them to be

violated in your hands? Will you permit the sacred fire of liberty, brought by your fathers from the venerable temples of Britain, to be quenched and trodden out on the simple altars they have raised? Your verdict will be the most important in its consequences ever delivered before this tribunal; and I conjure you to judge me by the principles of English law, and to leave an unshackled press as a legacy to your children. You remember the press in your hours of conviviality and mirth-- Oh, do not desert it in this its day of trial."

This speech made Howe famous and the next year he was elected as a member of the Assembly for Halifax. When he took his seat in the House, he was almost

immediately acknowledged as the leader of his party. He led the Reformers of Nova Scotia in their fight for responsible government, and won it without the strife and bloodshed which embitters the memory of the victory in the Canadas. From 1850 on his worth was recognized by his appointment to numerous high offices. The crowning reward was his appointment as Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia in 1873, an appointment which was cut short by his sudden death just one month after taking office.

Naturally the question arises, is Howe's greatness due entirely to his statesmanship? Is his literary fame simply reflected glory of his political vision? This is readily answered in the negative.

I have already pointed out that his sketches of social life, and the scenic

beauties of Nova Scotia brought him recognition from abroad. These word pictures, though not always on the same high level, are written in a style which marks the beginning of a new epoch in Canadian prose.

Joseph Howe was the son of a Loyalist family so it is to be expected that his writing should show the influence of Loyalist tradition--adherence to the eighteenth century English models. Some of his work does this; some poems are written in the heroic couplet; certain of his descriptive sketches are reminiscent of the eighteenth century in England. But throughout his work he shows a marked individuality and a personal touch which is more akin to the Romantic school which now dominated the tone of English literature. Traces of literary influence in his political essays pale into insignificance in the grandeur

of his thought and simplicity of his speech. The following lines are from a speech made by Joseph Howe in the Nova Scotia Assembly, February 24, 1854, to a motion brought forward by the leader of the Opposition "to promote union of the Provinces of British North America." The quotation illustrates the satirical heritage of Classicism.

"Mr. Chairman,--Had the Government brought this question here, my honourable friend from Londonderry might have charged upon us the selection of an inappropriate season or disregard of the pressure and strain of public business already taking the industry of this Assembly. But, Sir, this resolution has been brought here by the leader of the Opposition, and we are challenged to discuss it. Perhaps if we had introduced the measure it might not

have been met in the spirit which I trust we shall display. One half of the House might have fancied that some sinister design lurked within the resolution and the supposed interests of party might have combined them against it."

The power of his language and depth of feeling are felt in the following extract from the same speech.

"Sir, I regret not the time which this question will engross, but my inability to do it justice. When the prophets and orators of old were about to discourse of the destinies of nations, they retired to the mountains or by the streams to meditate; they communed in the abundance of their leisure with God above, and caught their inspiration alike from the tranquility which enabled them to penetrate

the dispensations of His Providence, and from the phenomena of nature all around them; a communion which tinged with beauty the 'thoughts that breathe and words that burn,' which have come streaming down, like lines of light, even to the present hour."

Our discussion of Howe's prose cannot properly neglect his letters to Lord John Russell. In connection with the struggle for responsible government he addressed four letters to Russell, dated from Halifax, September 18, 1839. The breadth and nobility of his views on responsible government, organization of the Empire, and on the future of British North America, as expressed in these letters, make it impossible for Canadians to over-estimate his importance in literature and statesmanship.

In fitting tribute to his greatness,

I quote the following lines from his poem

"Our Fathers"

Room for the dead! Your living hands may
pile

Treasures of art the stately tents within,
Beauty may grace them with her richest smile,
And genius there spontaneous plaudits win:
But yet amidst the tumult and the din
Of gathering thousands, let me audience crave!
Place claim I for the Dead--'twere mortal sin,
When banners o'er our country's treasures wave,
Unmarked to leave the wealth, safe garnered
in the grave.

* * *

The Roman gathered in a stately urn
The dust he honoured, while the sacred fire,
Nourished by vestal hands, was made to burn
From age to age. If fitly you'd aspire,
Honour the Dead; and let the sounding lyre
Recount their virtues in your festal hours.

(59)

Gather their ashes; higher still, and higher
Nourish the patriot flame that history dowers,
And o'er the old mens' graves go strew your
choicest flowers.

In our previous study we had occasion to mention as one of the members of that group, known as the "Club", Thomas Chandler Haliburton. A protégé of Joseph Howe he was destined to surpass even his fame as a writer.

Haliburton was the only son of the Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas. On his father's side he was descended from an old Scotch Border family. His mother was the daughter of one of Wolfe's officers who was killed at the storming of Fort Stanwix while leading his regiment. Thus by birth Haliburton was connected with the principal elements of Canadian society.

At the Windsor Grammar School, and afterwards at King's College, he received a sound classical education. As his father's son he was born into the most aristocratic society of the exclusive little university town. Like Joseph Howe he early turned to thoughts of

public service. He chose law as his profession, and after being called to the bar practised in Annapolis. Like Howe, too, he was elected to the Legislature while still a young man. As would be expected, he was a Tory with the old Loyalist tradition of love of England and dislike of Republican institutions. Politics did not appeal to him and he left the Legislature to become a judge; in fact to take the post vacated by his father's death. While travelling on circuit duty, he gathered the ideas, characters and incident for the work which was to make him famous. In 1856 he resigned and moved to England where he died in 1865.

Haliburton's work taken as a whole can be considered as the greatest and culminating expression of personal and political satire brought into the province by the Loyalists and whose first real exponent was Jonathan Odell.

Not all of his work is of equal merit but he is generally recognized as the Father of American Humour and as the first humourist and satirist of the Anglo-Saxon peoples. He did not write to produce literature; rather his satiric humour was propaganda; social and political propaganda for the purpose of effecting a world wide unity of the Anglo-Saxon peoples. All his work must be considered in this light.

At the time Haliburton wrote there was a realistic revolt under way against the historical and sentimental romance. It appears that he was moved by this feeling to write with realism and truth. But he wrote without restraint; his humour is introduced to relieve the pain of his satiric truth. With the first publication of his humorous work he was an immediate success and acclaimed on both sides of the Atlantic.

As a protege of Howe and a member of the "Club" his first work of importance appeared in serial form

in the Nova Scotian. These were a series of sketches based on the social life in Nova Scotia. Previous to this Haliburton had published a pamphlet entitled "An Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia". Neither of these works had much success. They were neither good literature nor accurate history. But the sketches in the Nova Scotian were so favorably received that he had them published in book form in 1837 under the title "The Clockmaker; or The Sayings and Doings of Sam Slick of Slickville". In the same year they were published in London and reprints appeared in United States and translations in France and Germany. The success of the book was enormous and his reputation as a satiric humorist was established. He now became a systematic creative humorist publishing among other works: "The Attache; or Sam Slick in England" (1843-44), "The Old Judge; or Life in a Colony"

(1849), "Sam Slicks Wise Saws and Modern Instances" (1853), "Nature and Human Nature" (1855), and "The Reason Ticket" (1860). Besides these creative works in satiric humour, he edited certain American anthologies such as "Traits of American Humour by Native Authors" (1852) and a sequel, "The Americans at Home" (1854). All his creative works and his anthologies appeared on both sides of the Atlantic, so it appears on the grounds of original production, Haliburton was the first and foremost satiric humorist of the Anglo-Saxon peoples.

There is no doubt that in many features of his work, Haliburton was not original. Sam Slick so astonished the reading world that he was regarded as being more original than he really was. Sam was a rogue, but he was a descendant of the rascal in Europe who gave the name to a whole school of literature, the picaresque novel. Nor was the use of dialect

new to the reading public. It had already been used by at least two American authors. But when the English people read Haliburton's satiric comedy and characterization, they encountered an absolute literary novelty--literature that was not English, not English--American, not English-Canadian, but an original American species new and unique. Here was work written in English but not English in matter, manner, or tone. Here was such novel humour, arresting characterization and such a strange mixture of roguery and practical wisdom, all told in such an unique dialect that the like had never been seen before. A profound change in the minds of the English reading public resulted. Hitherto America had looked to England for fresh literature, but when Haliburton produced an entirely native literature, England looked, for the first time, across to America both for fresh and original work and for literary models to follow.

It is generally acknowledged that Licking's
Sam Teller of the "Lickwick papers" is an
English version of Sam Slick.

What was Haliburton's purpose in creating
his famous character? The secret of all his
work in creative humour lies in some problem of
larger politics--Imperialism, Responsible
Government, Confederation, annexation with the
United States. For instance in "The Little
he opposed Responsible Government for the colonies;
in "The Clockmaker" he advocates an
Imperial Federation of the Anglo-American peoples
for political security and economic development.
In every one of his works there is some social
thesis but chiefly satiric arguments for a union
of the Anglo-Saxon peoples. To this end he bends
all his powers of satire, humour and ridicule.

It may be wondered how Haliburton managed to
achieve such noble ideals by the creation of such
~~noble ideals by the creation of such a character.~~

Sam was a disreputable plebeian creature--
 coarse, slangy, boastful, irreverent, yet
 wise, shrewd, practical, courageous, quick-
 witted, critical of standards, frank in speech,
 and direct in action. He represents Haliburton's
 conception of typical Americanism. It was the
 author's purpose to present in the form of Sam
 Slick the last word in absurdity of republican
 culture and institutions in America. Sam is not
 one person of many characteristics, but a com-
 posite character. He was conceived and drawn
 to represent a people and his characteristics
 are a criticism or satirizing of the vices and
 virtues of republican democracy.

Haliburton gathered his material from life--
 parliament, the courtroom, the circuit, the
 inn--in fact everywhere. Many of his characters
 are so lifelike as to be easily recognized. He
 was the foe of sham, attacking it with satire
 and ribald laughter. Unfortunately at times he

but he was a realist and hated hypocrisy. His gifts were varied and he employed them without reserve. To-day he is read not for his views on democracy, which were wrong, or for his championship of an Anglo-Saxon union which may yet be realized, but for his in- suppressible mirth, for the laughter he in- troduced into the situations of every day life. Historically he is the first Canadian writer to challenge the attention of the world.

We have seen how literature had its early beginnings in the Maritime Provinces largely because of the immigration of educated Loyalists from the Eastern States. It has been suggested that a different type of emigrant going to the Upper Country made a late start in English Canadian literature inevitable there. The purchase of the Nova Scotian by Joseph Howe and the editorial policy, largely influenced by the "Club" inaugurated a new epoch in literature in the Maritime Provinces. Ten years after Howe's purchase of this paper, a journal was founded in Upper Canada which seems to have had a profound influence in the encouragement of letters in this part of the country.

The first magazine in Canada to spread culture and at the same time to foster amongst native-born or resident emigre writers the creative literary spirit, and to publish contributions in the form of essays, Nature sketches and poems by native-born and resident writers, was the "Literary Gar-

land." It flourished from 1838 to 1851, and numbered amongst its contributors such men and women as Rosana Mullins later Mrs. Leprohon, Charles Sangster, who was the first native-born Canadian poet of significant power in original creation, Susanna Moodie who was a versatile writer of colorful prose and the first singer of Canadian National poetry, her sister Catherine Parr Traill, whose Nature studies are still eminently worth reading; and John Richardson the father of the Canadian Historical romance.

We have seen that the chief literary work of the Maritimes grew out of the Loyalist heritage of Classical tradition and its last and greatest exponent was Haliburton. But by the time cultured settlers began to arrive in Upper Canada, the ideals of romanticism held sway in England. As a result we find that a greatly different type of literature flourished in the Upper Country.

Probably the most important of the early figures of Romantic literature was Major John Richardson

(1796-1852). By the time Richardson as a young man romantic historical writing had found full expression in England through the metrical romance of Scott and Byron, and the romantic historical novel of Scott. The latter had also found expression in the works of Fenimore Cooper in the United States. Richardson was quite alive to the advantage of using forms already well received as is shown by his efforts at the metrical romance in his *Tecumseh*. But as in the case of Scott he realized that the most popular form and the best medium of expression as being more suited to his material, was not the metrical romance but the historical novel. Moreover, after the founding of the *Literary Garland* in 1839, there was a serial market for romantic material.

Richardson was born near Niagara Falls in 1796 (the same year as Haliburton). He spent his first sixteen years up to the outbreak of the War of 1812 in the vicinity of the Falls and Detroit. Then,

ough a mere lad, he enlisted in Brock's army. o that time, during his most impressionable s, he was entertained by his grandparents and nts with tales of Pontiac's seige of Detroit, with stories of the thrilling and romantic events he history of the Niagara and Detroit districts-- ts which were amongst the most stirring in the dly romantic history of Canada and the United es. These early days then created in him a love omance, of the heroic past of his own country, later when he came to write furnished him with inspiration and the material for authentic Can- a historical romances.

Two other formative influences besides that of parents and grandparents determined Richardson's iration and creative method. In the War of 1812 ad fought side by side with the noble Indian lor Tecumseh. Further by his own confession he vidly read Cooper's Indian romance "The Last e Mohicans". There is a tendency therefore to

consider Richardson a mere imitator of Cooper; that he studied the Indian second hand through the work of Cooper, and that he learned the mechanics of writing historical fiction through the same medium.

Upon the first point there is of course no basis. His life in the Niagara and Detroit districts brought him daily in contact with the Indians, and the War of 1812 in which he fought side by side with Indian allies occurred years before the publication of Cooper's book. Upon the other point there may be some justification. Richardson may have got some of his craftsmanship from Cooper. But this does not make him a mere imitator for when we compare the general style of the two, Richardson appears, except as a plot-maker, the superior as a craftsman and stylist. His character drawing is superior, not only of Indians, but of soldiers, fur-traders and the rest, which is clear evidence that he drew upon his own experiences of the frontier and his own romantic imagination.

Richardson's first novel *Ecarte*, a tale of

Parisian life met with moderate success being fairly well received in Canada and the United States. In it he achieved vividness of setting but failed in effective characterization and unity of plot. Under the influence of Cooper's successful Indian fiction, he next turned to the story of Pontiac, with the events and setting of which he was thoroughly familiar. That was "Wacousta" a great advance on his first book and in spite of its faults, Richardson's greatest work.

"Wacousta" is a carefully constructed narrative filled with rapid action and vivid scenes, and it is rich in suspense a quality dear to the reader of fiction. The writer appears at his best in martial passages. In his descriptions of the pomp and glamour of war he is almost unrivalled. But his faults, as in *Ecarte* are still stilted dialogue, melodrama and sensationalism. Of course these faults are much more likely to occur in romantic fiction than in realistic, and people with a romantic taste are likely to overlook such defects.

"Acousta" was received with great favour both in England and the United States where Richardson was recognized as a powerful rival of Cooper and one of the masters of romantic fiction. But his restless spirit prevented him from continuing his success and he accepted a commission in the Imperial Army in England. While overseas he published his "Movements of the British Legion" (1836). Subsequently returning to Canada as the colonial representative of the London Times, his unquiet conscience led to his dismissal from this remunerative position. He then associated himself with the "Literary Garland" to which he contributed articles and sketches, two of which he utilized in his next romance "The Canadian Brothers", published in 1840. This book was well received in Canada but the audience was too limited to provide the author with a living. Recognizing this he turned back to journalism. In 1850 he went to New York where he tried in vain to adapt his tales to

a new audience. He retained his pride to the last, dying of starvation in 1852.

Richardson published many books most of which are not worthy of mention. But he was the first Canadian of letters in Upper Canada. His significance in Canadian literature lies in the fact that "Wacousta", his masterpiece is the pioneer of the historical novel in Canada and his work is an early attempt to give expression to the spirit of Canadian nationality.

With Richardson's work on the romantic historical novel should be mentioned that of Rosanna (Mullins) Lepronon (1832-79), already named as a contributor to the "Literary Garland". She was a lifelong resident of Montreal, being educated at the Congregation of Notre Dame as was Richardson's mother. At 16 years of age she had published her first novel "Ida Beresford" which was published serially in the "Literary Garland"; a remarkable work for a girl in her teens. In 1859 she published "The Manor House of de Villeraf", and in 1864, "Antoinette de Mirecourt", and has several

other works in prose and verse to her credit. Her characters and settings are almost entirely Canadian and she seems to have consciously set out to create an entirely national literature which should portray life and social customs of French Canada both before and after the Conquest. In her "Antoinette de Mirecourt" she appears as the first Canadian writer to explore the history, manners and customs of Quebec under the old regime as well as the new. Her work was repeatedly translated into French. Her stories are told with an engaging sweetness and taste, and though the construction of her plots is not strong, the interest seldom flags. She gives a faithful picture of the domestic life of the Canadiennes, their racial ambitions and their religious zeal. She caught the spirit of French Canada, gave it an appealing literary form. loved it and gave.

It is not from the point of view of intrinsic literary merit, however, that her romances are entitled to a permanent place in the patriotic

literature of Canada. Rather it is because she was distinctly inspired to express the national spirit of Canada. We have already noticed that Lepréhon felt an awakening consciousness of this national sense but in Mrs. Lepréhon's work there is a distinct consciousness of this spirit.

Her verse shows the influence of the English romantic movement. Of a mystical and emotional nature she is inclined too much to sentiment. Her poems of Canadian nature are best and though not militantly nationalistic they show a conscious love of her native country. In her nature poems she comes nearest to escaping from her greatest weakness, namely, lack of metrical smoothness. The following lines are from her "Summer Evening":

See, rising out of that copse, dark and dense,

The fire flies,

Each bearing his flickering lamp!

Like meteors, streaming, gleaming, they pass
 Like meteors, str

O'er hillside and meadow, and down-land grass;

(79)

Contrasting with ripple on river and stream,
Alternately playing in shadow and beam;
The fulness of beauty fills hearing and sight
Throughout the still hours of a calm summer night.

We have so far noticed how the growing spirit of Canadian nationality has been expressed in the works of Howe, Haliburton, Richardson and Mrs. Lepreton. Although certain of these writers composed verse they were all essentially writers of prose. Largely through the encouragement of the "Literary Garland" a large body of prose writing was produced during this period. Throughout the work of the nativistic and emigre writers a growing love of Canada and a spirit of patriotism is becoming more and more manifest. Many of the emigre writers had a lasting influence on Canadian literature and their efforts are worthy of consideration. But it is in the native-born writers before Confederation that our chief interest lies and we will now turn to observe how the national spirit was gradually awakening in the works of the nativistic poets.

Nova Scotia, the oldest province of Canada, has not only produced for us the first great prose

writer, but has also given us the first poet of any account. Nativistic poetry in Canada did not take form till late in the first quarter of the 19th century. In 1825 Oliver Goldsmith (1731-1861), a grand-nephew of the English poet, published his poem "The Rising Village". The author was born at Annapolis, Nova Scotia, in the year that his father, a Loyalist and ex-soldier of the American Revolution settled there. He died in Liverpool, England after a long official service in his native country.

"The Rising Village" is important because it is the first poem of any length by a native author to be published in both Canada and Great Britain. It is of further significance because it illustrates the trend of Loyalist literature which we noticed in an earlier page. It is the first poetic representation of the experience by which the Loyalists triumphed over home sickness and material obstacles and came to love and have faith in the

land of their adoption. As regards the subject matter then, the poem is genuinely Canadian. But the form and rhyme, the diction, the characters and the settings are all definitely imitative of the elder Goldsmith. But since it is correct in form and musical and gives a true picture of Loyalist history, the poem may be regarded as the beginning of nativistic poetry.

The following extracts illustrate clearly how closely "The Rising Village" is modelled on the "Deserted Village".

From "The Rising Village"

When Winter rules the sad inverted year,
And ice and snow alternately appear,
Sports not less welcome lightly they essay,
To chase the long and tedious hours away.
Here ranged in joyous groups around the fire,
Jambols and freaks each honest heart inspire;
And if some venturesome youth obtain a kiss,
The game's reward, and summit of its bliss,

Applauding shouts, the victor's prize acclaim,
And every tongue augments his well earned fame;
While all the modest fair one's blushes tell
Success had crowned his fondest hopes too well.
Dear humble sports, Oh! long may you impart
A guileless pleasure to the youthful heart.

From "The Deserted Village"

How often have I blest the coming day,
When toil remitting lent its turn to play,
And all the village train, from labour free,
Led up their sports beneath the spreading tree;
While many a pastime circled in the shade,
The young contending as the old survey'd;
And many a gambol frolick'd o'er the ground,
And sleights of art and feats of strength
went round;
And still, as each repeated pleasure tired,
Succeeding sports the mirthful band inspired;
The dancing pair that simply sought renown
By holding out to tire each other down:

The swain mistrustless of his smutted face,
While secret laughter titter'd round the place;
The bashful virgin's sidelong looks of live,
The matron's glance that would those looks
reprove:

These were ^{THY} charms, sweet village! sports like
these

With sweet succession, taught e'en toil to
please.

Although Nova Scotia has the distinction of giving us the first native-born poet, Upper Canada was the birth place of the first Canadian poet to make extensive use of Canadian subject matter. Charles Sangster (1824-93), was the son of a Scottish Loyalist who moved to Upper Canada after the Revolution. He was born at Kingston, Ontario, and followed a Civil Service career at Kingston and Ottawa. Practically all his writing was done before Confederation so we are justified in treating him as a pre-Confederation poet.

Sangster's birth, education and life work made him Canadian in thought and feeling. In his poetry he caught the spirit of the nationalistic movement inaugurated by the "Literary Garland" to employ Canadian material. He published the "St. Lawrence and the Saguenay, and Other Poems", in 1856, and "Hesperus and Other Poems", in 1860.

Sangster had little education but he was a great reader and a lover of poetry. His first publication already mentioned, was written under the influence of Byron's work and the verse form is distinctly imitative. But the subject matter is entirely Canadian, and whereas Goldsmith's work was in descriptive style, Sangster is a lyric poet responding deeply to the magic and beauty of Canadian nature. His first work is a response to Nature's call and as yet contained no note of national feeling. But in his second publication "Hesperus and Other Poems", there is a distinctly national tone. In his work can be seen, for the first time in Canadian poetry, the consciously

felt sentiment of nationality.

In his Nature poetry the influence of Wordsworth is apparent. Note how he identifies himself with nature or at least shows his affinity to it in these lines from "The Falls of the Chaudiere, Ottawa":

"Within my pearl-roofed shell,
Whose floor is woven with the iris bright,
Genius and Queen of the Chaudiere I dwell,
As in a world of immaterial light.

I've seen the eras glide
With Muffled tread to their eternal dreams,
While I have lived in vale and mountain side,
With leaping torrents and sweet purling streams.

As Sangster lacked a cultural background he exhibits no deep philosophy of life, but he did have a fine ear for simple cadence and a passionate love of Canadian scenery.

But he was not limited merely to Nature poetry. As already stated his work in "Hesperus and Other Poems" portray for the first time in poetry the sense of national unity. Such poems as "A Song for Canada", "Wolfe", "England and America", show such vigour and stirring of the national impulse that he deserves the veneration in which he is held as "the father of Canadian poetry".

The following lines from the poem "Brock" express his sense of nationality.

"Brock"

October 13th, 1859

Once voice, one people, one in heart
And soul, and feeling, and desire!
Re-light the smouldering martial fire,
Sound the mute trumpet, strike the lyre,
The hero dead can not expire,
The dead still play their part.

There remains but one more writer to consider in following the growth of Canadian nationality

to 1867. This is Charles Mair, sometime called the dean of Canadian authors. At Confederation Mair was only 29 years of age, but nevertheless he was a stalwart member of the "Canada First Party".

Born at Lanark, Ontario, he studied at Queen's University from where he entered the Civil service at Ottawa. Sent to Northwest in 1869, his experiences as paymaster in the first expedition, brought him into early contact with the life of the West. He took part in the suppression of the Riel Rebellion, was subsequently in the Immigration service at Winnipeg, and only died in British Columbia in 1927.

Mair's first poems were published in 1868, one year after Confederation but previous to this he had contributed a variety of journalistic efforts to the newspapers of the day. His first volume "Dreamland and Other Poems" contained many gems of descriptive verse.

His best work is marked by precise and exact observation and colorful description as well as considerable imaginative power and singing ability. The following lines from "The Fire-Flies", a truly beautiful poem well conveys his lyrical ability.

This is the hour
When fire-flies flit about each lofty crag,
And down the valleys sail on lucid wing,
Luring their spouses to the love-decked bower.
I see them glimmer where the waters lag
By winding bays, and to the willows sing;
And, far away, where stands the forest dim,
Huge-built of old, their tremulous lights are seen.

This poem is in the volume mentioned above. Other works worthy of mention in the same group are "The Pines", "The Last Bison", and "August".

Although Sangster is recognized as the first genuine Canadian poet, the legitimate forerunner and founder of the nature school of poetry, is

Charles Mair. Of the pre-Confederation school his direct descendant in thought is Charles G. D. Roberts.

The most ambitious of Mair's poems is the historical drama "Tecumseh". More important from the standpoint of this essay than his nature poetry, is the fact that Mair, a member of the Canada First Party, is also the real forerunner of poetry touching on Canada's distinctive national spirit and her international relations. The drama "Tecumseh", is founded on the invasion of Canada by General Hull in 1812; the surrender of Detroit; the assistance Tecumseh rendered Brock in defeating the Americans and his own death at Moraviantown. The play is written in blank verse, in a simple, narrative style, occasionally rising to dramatic intensity, but it was never intended to be acted. The materials of the play do not compose into a drama. Neither the personality of the central figure, nor the interwoven

love plot avail to fuse the different elements of the story. Even as a dramatic poem, it is marred by the stiffness, the grandiloquence, and the mechanical uniformity of the style. But the work reveals an understanding appreciation of certain features of Indian life and contains many lines of great strength and felicity and deserves to be remembered as one of the few efforts to deamitize Canadian history in verse.

But certain of his shorter poems convey more clearly the forward looking spirit of the poet. His poem "In Memory of William A. Foster" from which the following lines are taken, is imbued with that spirit.

But mark, by fate's strong finger traced,
Our country's rise; see time unfold,
In our own land, a nation based
On manly deeds, not lust for gold.

First feel, throughout the throbbing land
A nation's pulse, a nation's pride--
The independant life--then stand
Erect, unbound, at Britain's side!

The spirit is just as clearly evident in the following lines taken from "In Memory of Thomas D'Arcy McGee"

And in his visions true
There came high forms anew--
Dim outlines of a nation yet to stand,
Knit to the Empires fate,
 In power and virtue great,
The lords and reapers of a virgin land--
A mighty realm where Liberty
Shall roof the northern climes from sea to sea.

The sentiment of the poet as expressed here is definitely a precursor of the view widely held in Canada to-day.

In the year 1867 the provinces of British North America were united in a political federation as the Dominion of Canada. It is apparent from the foregoing pages that the spirit of national consciousness was moving strongly within the people at that time as expressed through the poets and the prose writers. What a change of thought had taken place in one brief century! In the first part of this work we followed this change in the field of politics, but more interesting than this is the change of heart we have gradually seen take place in the people as represented by the works studied. To the early Loyalist settlers, Canada was simply a place of refuge--a land to be left as soon as it was safe to do so; a land of "piercing, wet, and wintry skies." But with the new generation,--the sons and daughters of these early settlers--a new conception arose. Canada to them was home; there was no yearning in their hearts for a return to the former "happy

land". They looked to the future for happiness and did not dwell in thoughts of the past. In this new conception we can see the forward spirit which brought about Confederation. ^{TRUE} ~~It~~ it is the "Fathers of Confederation" are justly hailed as benefactors of our country, but what could their political manoeuvres have availed if the spirit had not been ripe in the hearts of the people. Who or what was responsible for this feeling? From the time of the later Loyalists-- those of the second generation--to Confederation, the spirit of Nationality has been gaining a stronger and stronger voice largely through the influence of such writers as we have studied. Nor should we neglect the work of the great explorers such as Alexander Mackenzie for did not they make a nation possible by showing the people the vastness of their heritage.

Joseph Howe is one of the greatest figures in Canadian History. A great statesman with

literary genius he found the soul of his people and showed them the Nova Scotia of the future. His colleague, Richard Chandler Haliburton, a greater figure in the field of literature, went even further; he conceived an Empire; a union of England, Canada and the United States.

In Upper Canada the people were made conscious of their heroic past and noble heritage by the works of John Richardson and Mrs. Leprohon. But it remained for the poets to stir the flame of national consciousness with their songs of brave deeds and noble ambitions. It is to them that we are indebted for seeing the beauties of Canada and for our faith in her future.

In nothing, if not poetry, does the pride of country express itself. In the writings of no other country does the love of the land express itself more than in Canadian literature. The nature movement begun by Sangster and given its real impetus by Mair has been carried on by a

long line of national poets whose genius has brought them recognition on both sides of the Atlantic. Their work expresses a national consciousness of the rich and varied beauty of Canada.

National consciousness is vital for the future welfare of Canada; it is essential that, whatever language we speak, we should feel that we are one people. This sense of union cannot come through race, language or religion. But Canadians can be one in their love of the land and their pride in Canadian achievement. The surest way to this is building upon a national literature which was so effective in uniting the provinces in 1867.

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